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**A COMPARISON OF THE POLITICAL PERSONALITIES
OF 1996 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES
BILL CLINTON AND BOB DOLE**

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Abstract

A COMPARISON OF THE POLITICAL PERSONALITIES OF 1996 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES BILL CLINTON AND BOB DOLE

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This paper employs the conceptual framework of Theodore Millon to examine and compare the political personalities of President Bill Clinton and Senator Bob Dole. Information pertaining to President Clinton and Senator Dole was gathered from published material and employed to generate a personality profile using the *Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist* (MPPC).

The assessment shows that President Clinton's primary personality patterns are Asserting/self-promoting and Outgoing/gregarious, with secondary features of the Complaining/discontented, Controlling/forceful, and Agreeing/cooperative patterns. Senator Dole's primary personality patterns are Controlling/aggressive and Conforming/regimented, with secondary features of the Asserting/self-promoting and Complaining/negativistic patterns.

The personality profiles yielded by the MPPC are analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the *Millon Index of Personality Styles Manual*. The profiles of President Clinton and Senator Dole are compared and the political implications of the two candidates' personalities are examined with reference to their likely performance as president.

Introduction

The post-Watergate era in American politics has been marked by a level of interest in the personal characteristics and leadership qualities of presidential candidates that transcends mere knowledge of their public records and policy positions (cf. Renshon, 1995b, p. vii). As Bob Woodward writes in *The Choice* (1996), “[As a nation] . . . Who are we? What matters? Where are we going? In the private and public actions of the candidates are embedded their best answers. Action is character, I believe, and when all is said and sifted, character is what matters most” (p. 11). The U.S. presidential election in November offers voters a clear choice between two men who, beyond being generations apart, are very different characters indeed with distinctive personal styles and divergent world views.

The purpose of this paper is to assess and compare the political personalities of Democratic incumbent President Bill Clinton and Republican challenger Senator Bob Dole and to examine the political implications of the two candidates’ personalities with reference to their likely performance as president, if elected.

A crucial requirement for the assessment of political personality is the employment of a coherent psychodiagnostic framework to integrate, organize, and systematize personological knowledge from a broad range of sources encompassing divergent perspectives. A methodology that meets this criterion will be heuristically useful in (a) *inferring* that which is not readily observed when studying political leaders at a distance and (b) *predicting* future political behavior, based on established knowledge concerning temporally stable and cross-situationally consistent predispositions associated with specific personality patterns.

The conceptual scheme of Theodore Millon (see Millon, 1996), as adapted (Immelman, 1993a, 1993c) for studying political personality at a distance, provides a solid foundation for the study of personality in politics by firmly anchoring the target discipline of political personality assessment to its source disciplines of personality theory and psychodiagnostics, and by yielding a taxonomy of personality types that places normal and disordered manifestations of personality within a unified, theoretically coherent framework (cf. Livesley, Schroeder, Jackson, & Jang, 1994; Widiger & Costa, 1994). The conceptual basis for this approach is the principle of “syndromal continuity,” which holds that personality disorders are simply “exaggerated and pathologically distorted deviations emanating from a normal and healthy distribution of traits” (Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 34).

An important distinction between the current approach and some conventional approaches to the study of political personality is the present emphasis on description and prediction. Traditional varieties of psychobiography, for instance, often have an explanatory focus, searching for the developmental roots of political behavior. In contrast, it is not the object of this study to trace the psychodynamic or social origins of the political personalities of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

Method

The present study compares newly revised findings from a recent study (Immelman, 1995a, 1995b) of Bill Clinton with preliminary data from a study of Bob Dole currently underway (Immelman & Schneider, in progress). Both studies employed a methodology that I have termed (Immelman, 1995b) "psychodiagnostic meta-analysis." This approach involves the construction of personality profiles derived from clinical analysis of diagnostically relevant content in political-psychological accounts and biographies or autobiographies of political figures.

Subjects

The subjects were William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton, current president of the United States, and Robert Joseph (Bob) Dole, at the time of the study senior senator from the state of Kansas, majority leader in the U.S. Senate, and front-runner for the Republican Party's 1996 presidential nomination.

Materials

Personality Inventory

The assessment instrument was the *Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist* (MPPC), compiled by Immelman (1993b) from the published work of Millon (1969, 1986; 1990; Millon & Everly, 1985). Its development was stimulated by the need (see Immelman, 1993a) for a psychodiagnostically relevant conceptual framework and methodology for the assessment of political personality. Information on its construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation is provided in the *Millon-Type Political Personality Checklist Preliminary Manual* (Immelman, 1993c). The 140-item MPPC is compatible with 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 taps five attribute domains, namely expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, and self-image.

The 10 MPPC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (e.g., 1994, 1996). Scales 1 through 8 have three gradations (a, b, c) and Scales 9 and 0 have two (d, e), yielding a total of 28 personality classifications. Gradations a and b fall within the "normal" or well-adjusted range of personality functioning, whereas gradations c, d, and e, being in the pathologically disturbed range, constitute personality disorders. Gradation c personality variants are mildly dysfunctional, whereas gradations d and e personality types constitute more seriously maladaptive syndromes. Table 1 displays the full MPPC taxonomy (DSM codes are specified in parentheses along with equivalent DSM terms in cases where the MPPC departs from standard DSM terminology).

Table 1
MPPC Personality Typology

SCALE 1:	ACTIVE-INDEPENDENT (CONTROLLING) PATTERN
	a. Forceful/Dominant
	b. Aggressive
	c. Sadistic (Antisocial; 301.7)
SCALE 2:	PASSIVE-INDEPENDENT (ASSERTING) PATTERN
	a. Confident
	b. Self-promoting/Egotistic
	c. Narcissistic (301.81)
SCALE 3:	ACTIVE-DEPENDENT (OUTGOING) PATTERN
	a. Sociable
	b. Gregarious
	c. Histrionic (301.50)
SCALE 4:	PASSIVE-DEPENDENT (AGREEING) PATTERN
	a. Cooperative/Congenial
	b. Submissive
	c. Dependent (301.6)
SCALE 5:	ACTIVE-AMBIVALENT (COMPLAINING) PATTERN
	a. Discontented/Sensitive
	b. Negativistic/Resentful
	c. Self-defeating/Masochistic (Passive-aggressive; 301.94)
SCALE 6:	PASSIVE-AMBIVALENT (CONFORMING) PATTERN
	a. Respectful/Dutiful
	b. Regimented
	c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; 301.4)
SCALE 7:	ACTIVE-DETACHED (HESITATING) PATTERN
	a. Inhibited
	b. Withdrawn/Insecure
	c. Avoidant (301.82)
SCALE 8:	PASSIVE-DETACHED (RETIRING) PATTERN
	a. Introversive
	b. Asocial/Aloof
	c. Schizoid (301.20)
SCALE 9:	DISTURBED INDEPENDENT/PASSIVE-AMBIVALENT (DISTRUSTING) PATTERN
	d. Suspicious
	e. Paranoid (301.0)
SCALE 0:	DISTURBED DEPENDENT/ACTIVE-AMBIVALENT (ERRATIC) PATTERN
	d. Unstable
	e. Borderline (301.83)

Sources of Data

Diagnostic information pertaining to the personal and public lives of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole was gathered from a wide variety of published material. With reference to Clinton I consulted the following sources for diagnostic information:

1. Several contributions (Bennett, 1995; Greenstein, 1995; Hermann, 1995; Kumar, 1995; Renshon, 1995a; Suedfeld & Wallace, 1995; Winter, 1995) in *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership* (1995), edited by Stanley Renshon.
2. Three articles (Friedman, 1994; Heifetz, 1994; Mazlish, 1994) from a collection of papers published as the symposium "Further Reflections on the Clinton Presidency" in the December 1994 issue of *Political Psychology*.
3. *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (1994), an account of Bill Clinton's first two years in office, by political writer and broadcast media commentator Elizabeth Drew.
4. *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House* (1994) by journalist Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post*.
5. *On the Make: The Rise of Bill Clinton* (1994) by Meredith Oakley, political reporter for the *Arkansas-Democrat Gazette*.
6. *The Dysfunctional President: Inside the Mind of Bill Clinton* (1995), a clinically oriented study by psychologist Paul Fick.
7. *First in His Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton* (1995) by journalist David Maraniss of *The Washington Post*.

In the case of Bob Dole I consulted the following sources for diagnostically useful information:

1. *The Doles: Unlimited Partners* (1988), Bob and Elizabeth Dole's autobiography written in collaboration with Richard Norton Smith.
2. *Senator for Sale: An Unauthorized Biography of Senator Bob Dole* (1995), a highly critical biography by Stanley G. Hilton, who served as Senate counsel and aide on Bob Dole's staff in 1979 and 1980. This book is a revised, updated version of Hilton's earlier *Bob Dole: American Political Phoenix* (1988).
3. *The Quotable Bob Dole: Witty, Wise and Otherwise* (1996) by Jon Margolis, a collection of Bob Dole quotes and anecdotes.
4. The revised paperback edition (1996) of *Bob Dole: The Republicans' Man for All Seasons* (first published in 1994) by Jake Thompson, Washington correspondent for the *Kansas City Star*.

Diagnostic Procedure

Data Collection

First, I scrutinized the specified sources for diagnostically relevant information pertaining to the personal characteristics of Bill Clinton and Bob Dole.

Scoring

Next, I rated Bill Clinton and Bob Dole on the MPPC, drawing from the diagnostic data collected from the literature.¹ Positively endorsed items (i.e., diagnostic criteria) for Clinton and Dole were recorded on their respective MPPC score sheets and scored according to the scoring strategy explicated in the *MPPC Preliminary Manual*. The MPPC scale scores were then plotted on the subjects' respective profile forms (see Figures 1 and 2).

Interpretation

After scoring the MPPC, I interpreted the personality profiles yielded by the checklist in accordance with procedures stipulated in the *MPPC Preliminary Manual*.² The principal interpretive task is to identify the subject's dominant personality patterns and to note the specific gradation (i.e., elevation) within these patterns, thus establishing relevant personality types for more precise classification.

Inference

Finally, I used the MPPC profiles as the basis for inferring the implications of the subjects' personalities with respect to presidential performance, drawing primarily from the brief narrative descriptions of personality patterns in the *Millon Index of Personality Styles Manual* (Millon, 1994; also available in Millon, 1996).³

Results

In this section I report the analysis of the data. It includes a summary of descriptive MPPC statistics yielded by the scoring procedure, MPPC profiles for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, and the interpretation of MPPC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

¹ Raw data are available upon request.

² This part of the diagnostic procedure is reported in the Results section.

³ This part of the diagnostic procedure is presented in the Discussion section.

Scoring

Clinton received 36 endorsements on the 140-item MPPC, and Dole 51. Although this difference in endorsement frequency could conceivably be an artifact of between-subject differences in the volume and quality of source material available for scoring, in the present study the literature on Bob Dole simply yielded a larger volume and broader range of diagnostically relevant data. Judging by attribute domain endorsement rates below the mean, the domains of cognitive style and expressive behavior were the most elusive for Clinton, whereas for Dole cognitive style, mood/temperament, and expressive behavior received relatively few endorsements. In the case of cognitive style lower endorsement rates can be partially explained by virtue of the fact that the identification of this attribute relies substantially on inference, a difficult task when appraising a subject at a distance. Although the same holds true for self-image, the items in this domain lend themselves more readily to inference, particularly where autobiographical material is available, as was the case for Dole. Descriptive statistics for the MPPC ratings obtained by Clinton and Dole are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

MPPC Diagnostic Criteria Endorsement Frequency by Attribute Domain

Attribute domain	Clinton	Dole
Expressive behavior	6	10
Interpersonal conduct	8	16
Cognitive style	5	6
Mood/temperament	8	8
Self-image	9	11
Sum ¹	36	51
Mean	7.2	10.2
Standard deviation	1.47	3.37

¹ Total number of MPPC items = 140

Interpretation

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 and higher 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*, and a score of 34 through 45 a *markedly disturbed*, syndrome.

Table 3
MPPC Scale Scores for Bill Clinton and Bob Dole

Scale	Personality pattern	Clinton		Dole	
		Raw	Ratio	Raw	Ratio
1	Controlling (Active-independent)	7	12.7	21	28.4
2	Asserting (Passive-independent)	17	30.9	12	16.2
3	Outgoing (Active-dependent)	15	27.3	4	5.4
4	Agreeing (Passive-dependent)	5	9.1	2	2.7
5	Complaining (Active-ambivalent)	8	14.5	11	14.9
6	Conforming (Passive-ambivalent)	3	5.5	19	25.7
7	Hesitating (Active-detached)	0	0.0	4	5.4
8	Retiring (Passive-detached)	0	0.0	1	1.4
9	Distrusting (Independent/Passive-ambivalent)	0	0.0	14	15.1
0	Erratic (Dependent/Active-ambivalent)	9	14.1	5	5.4
	Total	64	114.0	93	120.6

Note. For Scales 1-8, ratio scores are the raw scores for each scale expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for Scales 1-8 only. For Scales 9 and 0, ratio scores are raw scores expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all ten MPPC scales (hence, ratio totals exceed 100).

Clinton's Profile

The MPPC profile yielded by the raw scores for Bill Clinton is presented in Figure 1. Clinton's most elevated scale, with a score of 17, is Scale 2 (Asserting), followed closely by a score of 15 on Scale 3 (Outgoing). Three additional MPPC scales are diagnostically significant: Scale 5 (Complaining), with a score of 8; Scale 1 (Controlling), with a score of 7; and Scale 4 (Agreeing), with a score of 5. (The score of 9 on Scale 0 is not diagnostically critical; the MPPC *Preliminary Manual* specifies a clinical significance threshold of 20 for Scales 9 and 0, versus 5 for Scales 1-8.)

In terms of MPPC scale gradation (see Table 1) criteria Bill Clinton may be classified as a blend of the Asserting/self-promoting and Outgoing/gregarious personality patterns, with secondary features of the Complaining/discontented, Controlling/forceful, and Agreeing/cooperative types. (In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or type; see Table 1.)

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MPPC *Preliminary Manual*, Clinton's scale elevations are generally within the normal range ("present" or below; see Figure 1) of functioning, though Scales 2 (Asserting) and 3 (Outgoing) are moderately elevated, being in the "prominent" range (see Figure 1). Scale 2 in particular is of potential clinical relevance in that it approaches the "mildly dysfunctional" Asserting/narcissistic range of profile elevation.

Dole's Profile

The MPPC profile yielded by the raw scores for Bob Dole is presented in Figure 2. Dole's most elevated scale, with a score of 21, is Scale 1 (Controlling), followed closely by a score of 19 on Scale 6 (Conforming). Two additional MPPC scales are diagnostically significant: Scale 2 (Asserting) with a score of 12 and Scale 5 (Complaining) with a score of 11. (For the reason stated in the preceding section, the score of 14 on Scale 9 is not diagnostically critical.)

In terms of MPPC scale gradation (see Table 1) criteria Bob Dole may be classified as a blend of the Controlling/aggressive and Conforming/regimented personality patterns, with secondary features of the Asserting/self-promoting and Complaining/negativistic types. (In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or type; see Table 1.)

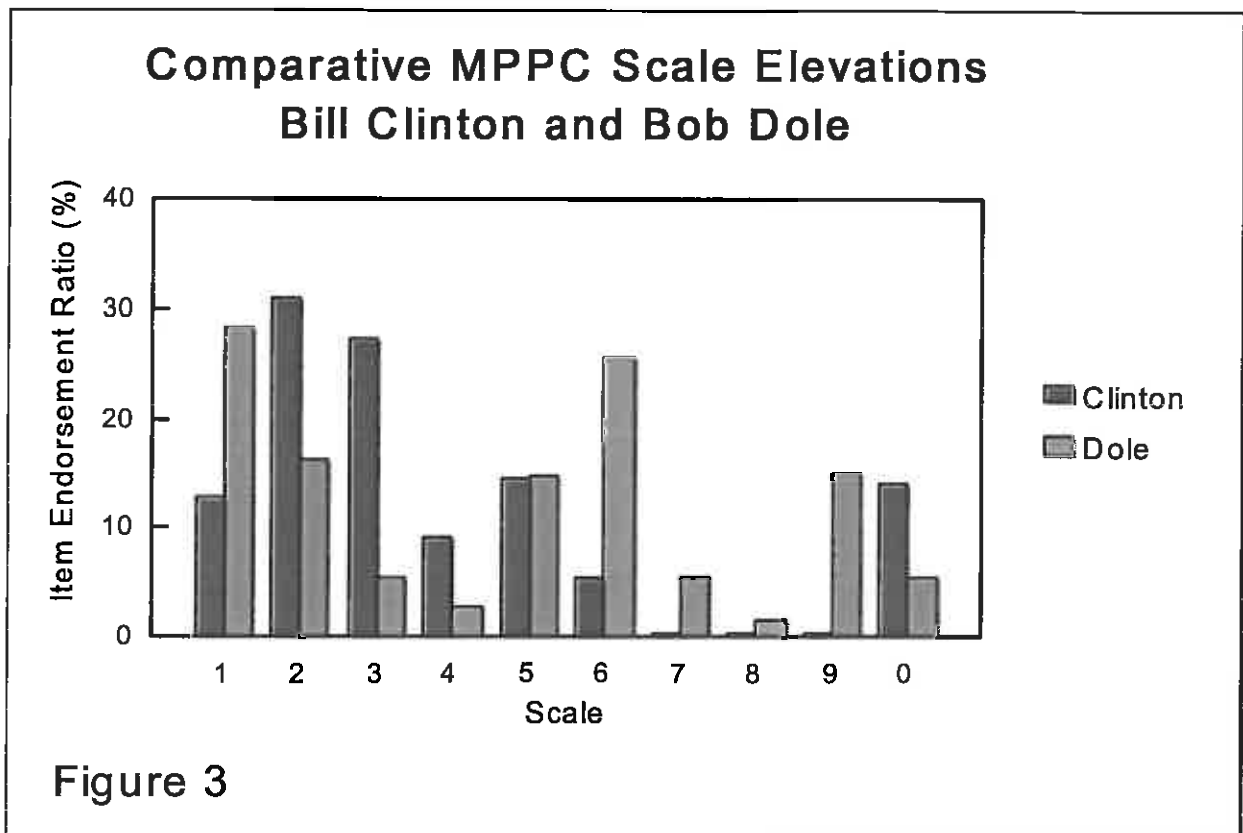
Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MPPC *Preliminary Manual*, Dole's scale elevations are generally within the normal range ("present" or below; see Figure 2) of functioning, though Scales 1 (Controlling) and 6 (Conforming) are moderately elevated, being in the "prominent" range (see Figure 2). These two scales are of potential clinical relevance in that they approach the "mildly dysfunctional" Controlling/sadistic and Conforming/compulsive ranges of profile elevation.

Comparative Scale Elevations for Clinton and Dole

A direct comparison of Clinton's and Dole's MPPC profiles is complicated by the fact that more MPPC items were endorsed for Dole (51) than for Clinton (36), contributing to higher scale elevations for Dole (full scale raw score = 93) than for Clinton (full scale raw score = 64).

The use of ratio scores offers only a partial solution to this problem, owing to the psychometric properties of the checklist; the MPPC scales possess the properties of distinguishability and rank order, but not those of equal intervals or absolute magnitude. To prevent inordinate profile distortion, the scores for Scales 1-8 are thus expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for the first eight scales only, whereas for Scales 9 and 0, scores are expressed as a percentage of the sum of raw scores for all ten MPPC scales. The rational basis for this strategy is that Scales 1-8 are conceptually independent, whereas Scales 9 and 0 patterns are conceptually and psychometrically superimposed on Scale 1-8 patterns (Scale 9 being linked to Scales 1, 2, and 6, and Scale 0 to Scales 3, 4, and 5).

Comparative scale elevations for Clinton and Dole are displayed in the bar graph in Figure 3 (see p. 11). Caution should be exercised in interpreting this graphic representation of the data; although Figure 3 serves as a useful index of the differences between Clinton and Dole with respect to the within-subject distribution of personality patterns, Figures 1 and 2 contain the appropriate data for discerning absolute (observed) differences in their scale elevations.



Discussion

In this section I examine and compare the profiles of President Clinton and Senator Dole, and infer the political implications of their personalities with reference to their likely performance in office if elected President of the United States in 1996.

Bill Clinton

The Asserting Pattern

With his considerably elevated Scale 2, Clinton emerged from the assessment as a predominantly self-promoting type, an adaptive, somewhat exaggerated variant of the Asserting pattern. Millon (1994) summarizes the Asserting pattern as follows:

An interpersonal boldness, stemming from a belief in themselves and their talents, characterize[s] those high on the . . . Asserting 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 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)

Millon's description is generally consistent with the picture of Bill Clinton that emerged from the survey of the literature, with the exception of the statement that Asserting individuals "act in a decisive and unwavering manner," and possibly also the contention that "they typically prove to be effective leaders." A clue as to possible reasons for this inconsistency can be found in an examination of the second-highest elevation in Clinton's MPPC profile, to be examined in the discussion of Clinton's Outgoing pattern.

Concerning the political relevance of the Asserting pattern, a moderate Scale 2 elevation concurrent with secondary elevations in the "normal" range on Scale 1 (Controlling), Scale 3 (Outgoing), and Scale 4 (Agreeing), as is the case for Clinton, suggests a personality configuration resembling James David Barber's (1992) active-positive character. Barber has advanced the notion that active-positive leaders possess "personal strengths specially attuned to the Presidency" (p. 267). In its extreme form, however, the Asserting pattern incorporates aspects of the severely disturbed personality disorder that Otto Kernberg (1984) has referred to as "malignant narcissism." Clinton's scale elevation, though quite high, does not appear to be critical in this regard. Moreover, his Scale 1 (Controlling) score is not sufficiently elevated, and his "other-directed" Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 4 (Agreeing) scores are too high to support the presence of malignantly narcissistic tendencies. Of much greater political relevance in the case of Clinton is the confidence and resourcefulness associated with the Asserting pattern.

The Outgoing Pattern

Clinton's elevation on Scale 3 follows closely behind his elevation on Scale 2. This indicates coexisting gregarious (Scale 3) and self-promoting (Scale 2) orientations. The gregarious personality is an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Outgoing pattern. Millon (1994) summarizes this pattern as follows:

At the most extreme levels [not the case for Clinton] of the Outgoing pole are persons characterized by features similar to the DSM's histrionic personality. At less extreme levels [consistent with Clinton's profile], 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, and like meeting new people and learning about their lives. 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. Often characterized by 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)

Individuals inclined to “go out of their way to be popular with others,” with an inclination to be “fickle and excitable” (Outgoing traits), would clearly be less likely to “act in a decisive and unwavering manner” (Asserting trait). Similarly, individuals who “become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks,” and who are prone to “intense and shifting moods” (Outgoing traits), could be expected to be somewhat handicapped in their attempts to be “effective leaders,” though they could, at least in part, compensate for this with their Outgoing talents of “energizing and motivating others.” These tendencies can potentially serve as a check on some of the Asserting traits (e.g., decisiveness and leadership effectiveness) highlighted in the discussion of the Asserting pattern, in the preceding section.

Concerning their political relevance, exaggerated Outgoing personality features, particularly in combination with a high score on Scale 2 (Asserting) and a low score on Scale 6 (Conforming), as with Clinton, may render a leader susceptible to scandal by contributing 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, 1993a, p. 736).

In combination with Scale 4 (Agreeing), Scale 3 resembles Barber’s (1992) passive-positive character — the “receptive, compliant, other-directed” leader whose “dependence” may lead to “disappointments in politics” (p. 10). Clinton apparently possesses some of these traits; however their effect is offset by more significant elevations on Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 2 (Asserting).

The Asserting-Outgoing Mixed Pattern

According to Millon (1981), it has been empirically established that there is “a common association” between histrionic and the narcissistic personality features (p. 146). On rational and intuitive grounds one would expect this relationship to hold true throughout the Outgoing and Asserting continua, whose maladaptive extremes are represented by the histrionic and narcissistic syndromes (see Table 1). Based on Millon’s (1981, pp. 146-147) description of the histrionic-narcissistic mixed personality it is possible to construct the following Asserting-Outgoing composite:

Persons who score high on both the Asserting and Outgoing scales tend to be clever and charming; they are skilled at attracting and seducing others. Though highly ambitious, Asserting-Outgoing individuals also tend to be undisciplined, traveling an erratic course of successes, failures, and abandoned hopes. Having a strong need for excitement, stimulation, and challenge they are easily bored by routine activities; at extreme levels they may act impulsively. They display a tendency to be overly but transiently attached to one thing or person after another, exhibiting a restless, “driven” quality which may be accompanied by a deficit in social dependability. Because agreements are often hastily assumed, they may experience difficulty in honoring their promises or meeting their obligations. Ultimately, they are more attuned to their own needs than to those of others.

This vignette provides an integrated description to account for Clinton’s concurrent Asserting and Outgoing personality traits, thus offering a more reliable basis for inference and prediction.

Bob Dole

The Controlling Pattern

With his highly elevated Scale 1, Dole emerged from the assessment as a predominantly aggressive type, an adaptive, somewhat exaggerated variant of the Controlling pattern. According to Millon (1994), Controlling individuals

enjoy the power to direct . . . others, and to evoke obedience and respect from them. They tend to be tough and unsentimental. . . . 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 types typically make effective leaders, being talented in supervising and persuading others to work for the achievement of common goals. (p. 34)

Millon's description is generally consistent with the picture of Bob Dole that emerged from the survey of the literature, where Dole is portrayed as a hardnosed political power broker who enjoys taking charge. There is ample evidence that a career in politics has provided an outlet for his power oriented and aggressive tendencies, which have been clearly evident in numerous political campaigns and in the nature of his service to Republican presidents. Hilton (1995), for example, has characterized Dole as "Nixon's Doberman pinscher," "hatchet man" for Gerald Ford during the 1976 presidential campaign, and "spear-carrier" for George Bush in the Senate.

Similarly, the Controlling intransigence of Dole, whom Hilton (1995) has called the "dark prince of Washington gridlock," has periodically been evident during the Clinton presidency — as seen, for example, in his unrelenting efforts to scuttle Clinton's health care plan, his toughness during budget negotiations (though more accommodating than House Speaker Newt Gingrich), and his frequent use of the filibuster in the Senate. As president, Dole might show similar intransigence, obstinacy, and a willingness to exercise contentious influence strategies to achieve his goals, particularly if his election were to coincide with a Democratic takeover of the legislature or if his policies failed to gain public approval.

As stated earlier, Scale 1 and Scale 2 (Asserting) jointly incorporate features of Barber's (1992) active-positive type. Dole scored high on both; however, this trend is tempered by his high score on Scale 6 (Conforming) and his significant loading on Scale 5 (Complaining). The volatile mix of a high need for power, strong drive and energy, and ambition (Scales 1 and 2) with negativity, pessimism, and compulsiveness (Scales 5 and 6) seems to capture the essence of Barber's active-negative orientation. These leaders, as depicted by Barber, have "a persistent problem" managing their aggressive impulses, "a perfectionistic conscience," experience "life . . . [as] a hard struggle to achieve and hold power," and are generally failures as presidents (p. 9). In this regard the closing paragraph in Jake Thompson's *Bob Dole* (1996) is not without foreboding. It reads, in part:

The achievement of Dole's life . . . is not . . . that he simply rose from humble origins and endured the vicissitudes of politics for more than thirty years, positioning himself as the ultimate Washington power broker. It is that even though nothing has ever come easy for him . . . he has relentlessly forged ahead, always, as he said in 1995, "in hot pursuit of something." (p. 265)

This raises the question, What *will* Bob Dole pursue as president of the United States?

The Conforming Pattern

Dole's elevation on Scale 6 follows closely behind his elevation on Scale 1. This indicates coexisting regimented (Scale 6) and aggressive (Scale 1) orientations. The regimented personality is an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Conforming pattern. According to Millon (1994), Conforming individuals possess

traits not unlike Leary's 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)

Millon's brief synopsis of the Conforming pattern is a close match for the picture of Dole presented in the literature, with the notable exception of being well-organized. Hilton (1995), for example, refers unflatteringly to "Dictator Dole and a Senate of organized chaos" and to "Dunkirk Dole, the disorganization man." In addition, Dole has been known to exhibit a lack of restraint, epitomized by his infamous "Democrat wars" statement in the 1976 vice-presidential debate against Walter Mondale and his rash "Stop lying about my record" remark after his 1988 New Hampshire primary loss to George Bush. These anomalies should be understood against the background of Dole's primary elevation on Scale 1 (Controlling) which modulates the expression of his Conforming tendencies.

It is, however, precisely these Conforming tendencies that serve to attenuate the more negative aggressive and sadistic expressions of Dole's Controlling pattern. The most interesting example in the case of Dole is perhaps the way in which sadistic impulses are sublimated in the form of cutting humor, which in addition to being sanctioned by society, serves a useful, adaptive function in the bipartisan, adversarial context of the American political system. With respect to Dole's concurrent Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 6 (Conforming) elevations, it should be noted that Dole may, at times, display authoritarian aggression and submission, though the power inherent in the Office of the President would tend to counteract the latter.

The preponderance of Conforming features in Dole's profile suggests that he is unlikely to be a highly imaginative, visionary president or to initiate dramatic changes. The notable exception to

this reluctance for change would be a willingness to work for a return to traditional values, particularly if mandated by a Republican majority in Congress (whom Dole would serve out of loyalty, another Conforming trait).

Finally, the secondary elevation on Scale 5 (Complaining) concurrent with Dole's Conforming pattern, provides a descriptive if not explanatory framework for his notorious hesitancy, indecisiveness, and ambivalence (see, for example, Woodward, 1996, pp. 65-68).

The Asserting Pattern

A strong secondary elevation in Dole's MPPC profile occurred on Scale 2. Following Millon (1994), the Asserting pattern may be summarized as follows:

An interpersonal boldness, stemming from a belief in themselves and their talents, characterize[s] those high on the . . . Asserting 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 profile often are audacious, clever, and persuasive, having sufficient charm to win others over to their own causes and purposes. . . . [T]heir ambitions often succeed, and they typically prove to be effective leaders. (p. 32)

Dominant traits of the Asserting pattern have already been discussed in the section on Clinton. These characteristics also pertain to Dole, though to a lesser degree, given the more modest elevation of Scale 2 in Dole's overall profile.

A finding of greater import is Dole's moderate loading on Scale 2 *in combination with* his very prominent Scale 1 (Controlling) elevation. A noteworthy political implication here is a proclivity for playing "hardball politics." Practitioners of hardball politics have a "public veneer of . . . idealistic concern" (Etheredge, 1979), but are, in fact, "cynically calculating, ambitious promoters of themselves" who are narcissistic and Machiavellian (Stone & Schaffner, 1988, p. 156). On a more positive note, however, these tendencies are probably modified by Dole's conventionality and conscientiousness, as reflected in his more prominent Scale 6 (Conforming) features.

The Complaining Pattern

The secondary elevation on Scale 5 in Dole's profile was quite pronounced. Millon (1994) describes the Complaining pattern as follows:

Those scoring high on the Complaining scale often assert that they have been treated unfairly, that little of what they have done has been appreciated, and that they have been blamed for things that they did not do. Opportunities seem not to have worked out well for them and they "know" that good things don't last. Often resentful of what they see as unfair demands placed on them, they may be disinclined to carry out responsibilities as well as they could. . . . When matters go well, they can be productive and constructively independent-minded, willing to speak out to remedy troublesome issues. (p. 34)

Dole's life in many ways has been a struggle, not the least of which was his near-fatal wounding in World War II, the long, difficult process of recovery, and his unsuccessful vice-presidential and presidential campaigns of 1976, 1980, and 1988. A significant number of MPPC items loading on Scale 5 reflect these disappointments and frustrations. Possibly then, the Complaining features in Dole's profile are more reflective of situational factors than of deep-seated, enduring, primary personality traits.

Nonetheless, as noted earlier, Dole's indecisive and ambivalent tendencies may be traced to his concurrent Scale 5 and Scale 6 (Conforming) elevations. More specific to Scale 5 is a predisposition to negativistic and passive-aggressive behaviors such as procrastination, resentment, irritability, obstructionism, a tendency to externalize blame, and of course the trademark acerbic humor.

Finally, reference has already been made (in the discussion of Dole's Controlling traits) to the potential contribution of Scale 5 characteristics, in combination with loadings on Scales 1, 2, and 6, to the prospects of an active-negative presidency for Dole. The key here may well be whether Dole, as president, is called upon to work with a Republican or a Democratic majority in Congress.

Bill Clinton and Bob Dole: A Comparative Analysis

The American electorate, in at least one respect, is fortunate in 1996: The extent to which Bill Clinton has been assailed in the media during his 1992 campaign and throughout his presidency makes it unlikely that there are many skeletons left in the closet. And, given Bob Dole's long legislative career and previous presidential bids, "Bob Who?" is not an expression likely to be heard in 1996. The biggest surprise may be the election result in November, though even here an upset victory for Dole seems unlikely, given Bill Clinton's commanding lead in the final months of the presidential campaign.

In short, both candidates have extensive public records by which to judge them — legislative in the case of Dole and executive in the case of Clinton. We have probably seen their best and their worst. This having been said, when a politician holds the reins of government of a nation as powerful as the United States, there is some justification in briefly elaborating on the question, What might the president be like at his worst?

Clinton, in view of significant Asserting characteristics in his MPPC profile, may commit errors of judgment stemming from a combination of strong ambition, a sense of entitlement, and inflated self-confidence. Asserting characteristics may also predispose him to dissemble or equivocate, not only ego-defensively to protect and bolster an admirable self-image, but instrumentally to have his way with others. Concurrent Outgoing features in Clinton's MPPC profile suggest a strong need for social recognition, approval, and validation, and a willingness to use his social skills to influence and charm others (though perhaps lacking the fidelity to fulfill his promises consistently). Outgoing traits are further associated with scattered attention to detail, boredom with routine activities, intense but short-lived moods, and avoidance of introspection — all of which may potentially interfere with

effective leadership. Finally, there is a danger that Outgoing individuals such as Clinton may be overly sensitive to public opinion and neglectful of role demands relating to oversight. In Choiniere and Keirse's (1992) scheme of presidential temperament, anchored to the *Myers-Briggs Type Indicator* (Myers, 1962), the task of "guarding protocol and morality against violation" and "physical resources against improper and unwarranted use" (p. 164) is the province of "Monitor Guardians" such as Dole, not the "Engineer Rational" or "Player Artisan" types personified in hybrid form by Clinton.

Dole, by virtue of the significant Controlling element in his MPPC profile, carries the risk of asserting his power and dominance at the expense of openness to information, sensitivity to the environment, and meeting the needs of others. His prominent Conforming features suggest that he may be dogmatic and resistant to new ideas, unsuccessful in delegating authority, and vulnerable in crises, where indecision can be fatal.

As stated earlier, Scale 1 (Controlling) and Scale 2 (Asserting) of the MPPC jointly incorporate features of Barber's (1992) active-positive presidential type. The relatively high scores of both Clinton and Dole on Scales 1 and 2 provide suggestive evidence that both are active-positive characters. Their MPPC profiles also indicate that both Clinton and Dole have the potential for active-negative leadership. This predisposition is, however, considerably weaker for Clinton, given not only his relatively low elevation on Scale 5 (Complaining), but his substantial loadings on Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 4 (Agreeing), absent in the case of Dole, which jointly serve as an index of "other-directedness."

Conclusion

In 1972, President Nixon was reelected by a landslide in the looming shadow of Watergate. It is tempting to look for parallels a quarter-century later in the run-up to the 1996 election as President Clinton, comfortably ahead in the polls, denies wrongdoing amidst allegations of shady land deals, sexual harassment, and the misuse of FBI files by White House staff. In psychological terms, however, Bill Clinton is far removed from Richard Nixon. Should wrongdoing on the part of Clinton ever be proven, his underlying motives hypothetically would be vastly different from those that scuttled the political career of Nixon. To close on a more optimistic note, Bill Clinton will continue to bring to the presidency his self-confidence and energy. Bob Dole, on the other hand, offers durability and diligence. Where Clinton offers a personal charisma that can energize and inspire, Dole promises a certain decorum that may well foster greater respect for the White House. This is not to say, of course, that these mandates are the sole domain of one candidate at the exclusion of the other.

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