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**THE PERSONALITY PROFILE AND LEADERSHIP STYLE
OF U.S. VICE PRESIDENT
AND 2024 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE KAMALA HARRIS**

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Abstract

The Personality Profile and Leadership Style of U.S. Vice President and 2024 Democratic Presidential Nominee Kamala Harris

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This paper presents the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of U.S. vice president Kamala Harris, Democratic presidential nominee in the 2024 U.S. presidential election, from the conceptual perspective of personologist Theodore Millon.

Psychodiagnostically relevant data about Harris were collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with *DSM-III-R*, *DSM-IV*, and *DSM-5-TR*.

The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed in accordance with interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Harris's primary personality patterns were found to be *Outgoing/congenial* and *Dominant/asserting*, supplemented by secondary *Reticent/circumspect* and *Ambitious/confident* patterns and a subsidiary *Accommodating/cooperative* tendency.

Outgoing individuals are cordial and strive to be popular with others. *Dominant* individuals enjoy the power to direct others and to evoke compliance and respect. *Reticent* individuals are circumspect, risk averse personalities sensitive to criticism. *Ambitious* individuals are socially poised and project self-confidence. *Accommodating* personalities are inclined to act in a cooperative, conciliatory manner.

In summary, Harris's personality composite can be characterized as a *guardedly dominant extravert* — guarded by virtue of a substantial degree of circumspection infused in her basic *Outgoing–Dominant* personality composite.

Harris's major personality strength as a chief executive is her confident, outgoing assertiveness. Her major personality-based limitation (rooted in an outgoing tendency operating in concert with low conscientiousness) is likely to be insufficient attention to detail, a diminished capacity for sustained focus, and occasional lapses in emotional restraint. She could potentially be hampered by apprehension or unease in high-stakes public settings, rooted in a secondary reticent pattern.

Introduction

This paper reports the results of a psychodiagnostic case study of U.S. vice president Kamala Devi Harris, Democratic presidential nominee in the 2024 U.S. presidential election.

Conceptually, the study is informed by Theodore Millon's (1969, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 2003, 2011; Millon & Davis, 2000; Millon & Everly, 1985) model of personality as adapted (Immelman, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2003, 2005) for the at-a-distance study of personality in politics.

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).

Personality may be concisely defined as:

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

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

That perspective provides the context for the current paper, which presents an analysis of the personality of Kamala Harris as perceived through the lens of media reports and examines the political implications of her personality profile with respect to leadership style and executive performance.

The methodology employed in this study involves the construction of a theoretically grounded personality profile derived from empirical analysis of biographical source materials (see Immelman, 2003, 2005, 2014).

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

Table 1
Millon's Eight Attribute Domains

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

Sources of Data

Diagnostic information pertaining to Harris was collected from a broad array of more than 200 media reports that offered diagnostically relevant psychobiographical information.

Personality Inventory

The assessment instrument, the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC; Immelman, 2015), was compiled and adapted from Millon's (1969, 1986b; 1990, 1996, 2011; Millon & Everly, 1985) prototypal features and diagnostic criteria for normal personality styles and their pathological variants. Information concerning the construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual (Immelman, 2014).¹ The 12-scale (see Table 2) instrument taps the first five "noninferential" (Millon, 1990, p. 157) attribute domains previously listed in Table 1.

The 12 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (1994, 1996, 2011), which are congruent with the syndromes described in the revised third edition, fourth edition, and fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R, DSM-IV, and DSM-5-TR)* of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1987, 1994, 2022) 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 10 have two gradations (d, e) yielding four variants, for a total of 34 personality designations, or types. Table 2 displays the full taxonomy.

There is strong empirical evidence for the validity and reliability of commercial personality instruments derived from Millon's theory (see, for example, Millon, 1994; Millon, Grossman, & Millon, 2015).

Diagnostic Procedure

The diagnostic procedure, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*, can be conceptualized as a three-part process: first, an *analysis* phase (data collection) during which source materials are reviewed and analyzed to extract and code diagnostically relevant content; second, a *synthesis* phase (scoring and interpretation) during which the unifying framework provided by the MIDC prototypal features, keyed for attribute domain and personality pattern, is employed to classify the diagnostically relevant information extracted in phase 1; and finally, an *evaluation* phase (inference) during which theoretically grounded descriptions, explanations, inferences, and predictions are extrapolated from Millon's theory of personality based on the personality profile constructed in phase 2 (see Immelman, 2003, 2005, 2014 for a more detailed account of the procedure).

¹ Inventory and manual available to eligible professionals upon request.

Table 2
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations

Scale 1A: Dominant pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Asserting b. Controlling c. Aggressive (Sadistic; <i>DSM-III-R</i>, Appendix A)
Scale 1B: Dauntless pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Adventurous b. Dissenting c. Aggrandizing (Antisocial; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.7)
Scale 2: Ambitious pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Confident b. Self-serving c. Exploitative (Narcissistic; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.81)
Scale 3: Outgoing pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Congenial b. Gregarious c. Impulsive (Histrionic; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.50)
Scale 4: Accommodating pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cooperative b. Agreeable c. Submissive (Dependent; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.6)
Scale 5A: Aggrieved pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Unassuming b. Self-denying c. Self-defeating (<i>DSM-III-R</i>, Appendix A)
Scale 5B: Contentious pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Resolute b. Oppositional c. Negativistic (Passive-aggressive; <i>DSM-III-R</i>, 301.84)
Scale 6: Conscientious pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Respectful b. Dutiful c. Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.4)
Scale 7: Reticent pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Circumspect b. Inhibited c. Withdrawn (Avoidant; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.82)
Scale 8: Retiring pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Reserved b. Aloof c. Solitary (Schizoid; <i>DSM-5</i>, 301.20)
Scale 9: Distrusting pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> d. Suspicious e. Paranoid (<i>DSM-5</i>, 301.0)
Scale 10: Erratic pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> d. Unstable e. Borderline (<i>DSM-5</i>, 301.83)

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

Coding

The diagnostic procedure during the analysis phase (phase 1) does not rely on expert ratings. Instead, diagnostically relevant content extracted from biographical source materials is coded for congruence with MIDC diagnostic criteria. For example, coding an MIDC item as B/7-a signifies Attribute B (Interpersonal Conduct), Scale 7 (Reticent), Level *a* (Circumspect).

Classification

During the synthesis phase (phase 2), each of the 170 MIDC items (i.e., diagnostic criteria) is examined to determine whether psychodiagnostically relevant extractions coded for that item (if any) provide unequivocally affirmative support for the presence of the diagnostic criterion in question. If all investigators concur that sufficient empirical support from independent sources exists for the diagnostic criterion in question, the item is classified as *Affirmative*. If there is disagreement among the investigators or if available data are deemed inconclusive, the item is classified as *Equivocal/Affirmative* or *Equivocal/Negative*, depending on the degree of support for the criterion. Items for which there are no (or few) psychodiagnostically relevant extractions are coded *Negative* or *Equivocal/Negative*, depending on the degree to which support for the criterion is absent. Only Affirmative items are scored; however, Equivocal/Affirmative classifications are also documented because they provide a qualitative index akin to quantitative statistical constructs such as confidence intervals, credibility intervals, or margins of error.

Results

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

Harris received 25 affirmative (and 16 equivocal/affirmative) endorsements on the 170-item MIDC (see Appendix). Judging from endorsement-rate deviations from the mean (see Table 3), data on Harris's expressive behavior, interpersonal contact, and cognitive style (all with 6 endorsements) were most easily obtained and may be overrepresented in the data set, whereas data on her mood/temperament (4 endorsements) and self-image (4 endorsements) were most difficult to obtain and may be underrepresented in the data set.

Descriptive statistics for Harris's MIDC ratings are reported in Table 3, her MIDC scale scores in Table 4, and her MIDC profile is displayed in Figure 1.²

² 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.

Table 3
MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain for Kamala Harris

Attribute domain	Diagnostic criteria (Items)	
	Present	Possible
Expressive behavior	6	12
Interpersonal conduct	6	12
Cognitive style	6	6
Mood/temperament	4	6
Self-image	3	5
Sum	25	41
Mean	5.0	8.2
Standard deviation	1.3	3.1

Table 4
MIDC Scale Scores for Kamala Harris

Scale	Personality pattern	Lower	Upper
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic)	7	11
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial)	0	1
2	Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative (Narcissistic)	4	7
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic)	7	13
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent)	3	5
5A	Aggrieved: Unassuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic)	0	0
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)	1	2
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)	1	3
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant)	5	10
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid)	0	0
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	28	52
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid)	0	0
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline)	0	0
	Full-scale total	28	52

Note. Table 4 depicts the 12 personality patterns along with their normal, exaggerated, and pathological scale gradations and equivalent *DSM* terminology (in parentheses). Interpretation of the data is based on scale scores derived from affirmative MIDC item endorsements only, specified in the column labeled *Lower*. (The column labeled *Upper* displays scale scores based on the sum of affirmative and equivocal/affirmative classifications.)

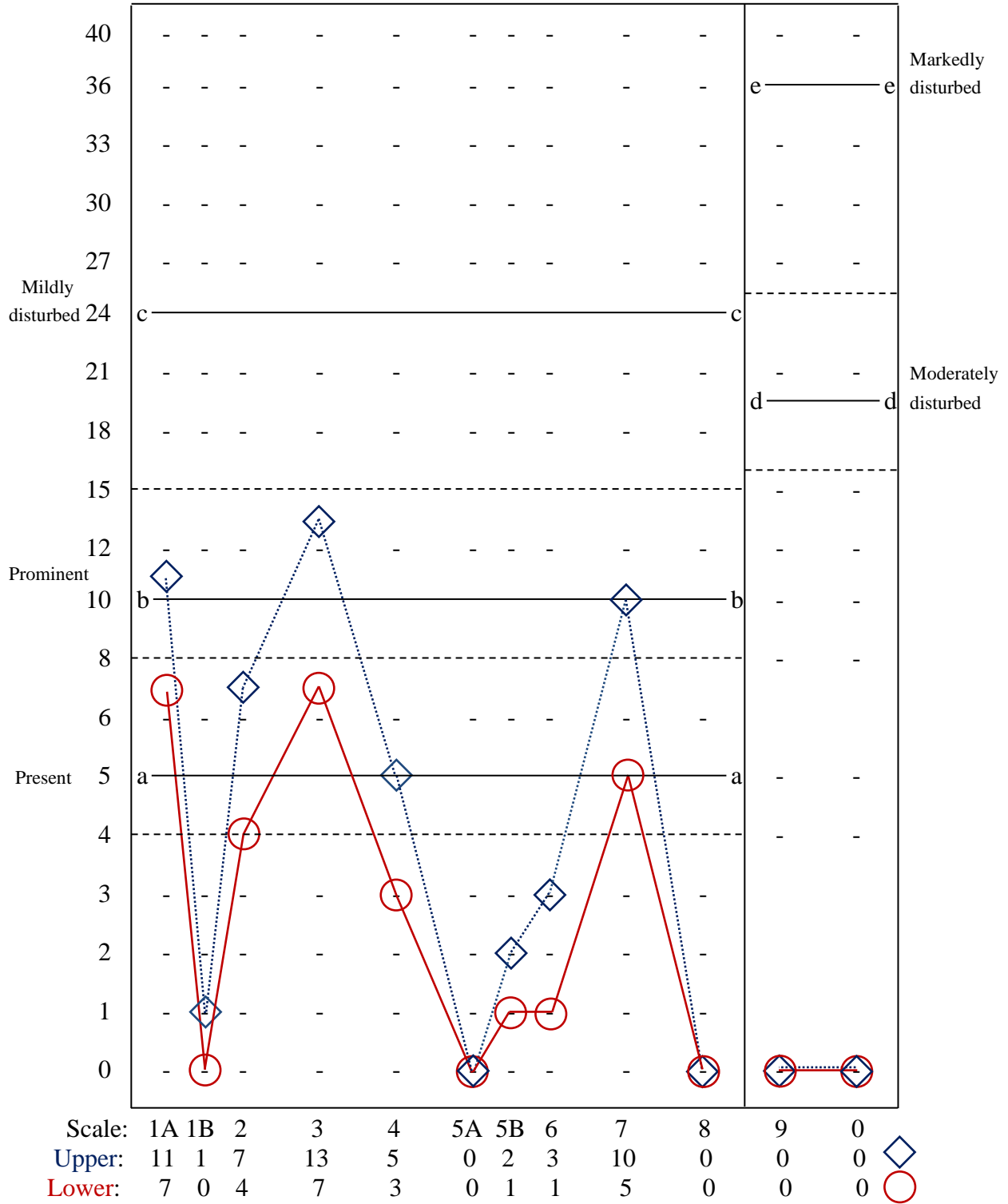
Harris's most elevated (i.e., primary) scales are Scale 3 (Outgoing), with an affirmative score of 7 (upper limit 13) and Scale 1A (Dominant), also with an affirmative score of 7 (upper limit 11). In addition, Harris obtained secondary elevations on Scale 7 (Reticent), with an affirmative score of 5 (upper limit 10) and Scale 2 (Ambitious), with an affirmative score of 4 (upper limit 7). Finally, there is equivocal evidence for a minor subsidiary tendency on Scale 4 (Accommodating), with a score of 3 (upper limit 5).

The primary Scale 3 and 1A and the secondary Scale 7 elevations are all within the *present* (5–9) range, though Scale all of them are equivocally just within the *prominent* (10–23) range. The Scale 2 elevation just failed to reach the *present* range but is equivocally within that range. The Scale 4 score failed to reach the lower threshold of the *present* range but is equivocally at the lower limit of that range. No other scale score is psychodiagnostically significant, though it is diagnostically relevant that Scale 6 (Conscientious) is well below the *present* range, even when accounting for equivocally affirmative items.

Based on cut-off score guidelines in the MIDC manual, all of Harris's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are within normal limits. In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, supplemented by clinical judgment, Harris's personality composite was classified as primarily Outgoing/congenial and Dominant/asserting, complemented by secondary Reticent/circumspect and Ambitious/confident patterns and a subsidiary Accommodating/cooperative tendency.³

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

Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for Kamala Harris



Discussion

The discussion of the results examines Kamala Harris's MIDC scale elevations from the perspective of Millon's (1994, 1996, 2011; Millon & Davis, 2000) model of personality, augmented by the theoretically congruent portraits of Oldham and Morris (1995) and Strack (1997). The discussion concludes with a brief synthesis of the practical political implications of Harris's personality profile.

Few people exhibit personality patterns in "pure" or prototypical form; more often, individual personalities represent a composite of two or more primary and secondary orientations. With her modestly elevated Scale 3 and Scale 1A, Harris emerged from the assessment as primarily a blend of the *congenial*⁴ and *asserting*⁵ types — normal, adaptive variants of, respectively, the Outgoing and Dominant patterns. Harris's secondary elevations on Scale 7 (Reticent) and Scale 2 (Ambitious) are classified as normal, adaptive *circumspect*⁶ and *confident*⁷ variants of those patterns. Finally, Harris's subsidiary elevation on Scale 4 (Accommodating) provides equivocal evidence for a minor *cooperative*⁸ tendency.

Primary Elevation — Scale 3: The Outgoing Pattern

The MIDC Outgoing pattern is congruent with Millon's (2011) SPH Spectrum: [Level *a*] Sociable Styles – [Level *b*] Pleasuring Types – [Level *c*] Histrionic Disorders.

The Outgoing pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole⁹ are warm, congenial personalities. Slightly exaggerated Outgoing features¹⁰ occur in sociable, gregarious personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,¹¹ extraversion manifests itself in impulsive, self-centered, overdramatizing behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of histrionic personality disorder.

⁴ Kamala Harris's score of 7 on MIDC Scale 3 (Outgoing) — a measure of extraversion — compares as follows with U.S. presidents studied at the [Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics](#): Donald Trump, 20; George W. Bush, 16; Bill Clinton, 15; Joe Biden, 13; Barack Obama, 3.

⁵ To place Harris's MIDC scale elevation of 7 in broader perspective, the Scale 1A (Dominant) elevations of major-party presidential nominees studied at the [Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics](#), in descending order of magnitude, are: Donald Trump, 22 (2020); Hillary Clinton, 21 (2016); Bob Dole, 21 (1996); George W. Bush, 11 (2000); John McCain, 10 (2008); Al Gore, 8 (2000); Mitt Romney, 8 (2012); Bill Clinton, 7 (1996); Barack Obama, 7 (2008); John Kerry, 6 (2004); Joe Biden, 3 (2020).

⁶ No major-party presidential nominee studied at the [Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics](#) since 1996 has obtained a primary or secondary scale elevation on Scale 7.

⁷ To place Harris's MIDC scale elevation of 4 in broader perspective, the Scale 2 (Ambitious) elevations of major-party presidential nominees studied at the [Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics](#), in descending order of magnitude, are: Donald Trump, 24 (2020); Hillary Clinton, 24 (2016); Bill Clinton, 17 (1996); Bob Dole, 12 (1996); John Kerry, 7 (2004); Barack Obama, 7 (2008); Joe Biden, 5 (2020); John McCain, 5 (2008); Mitt Romney, 5 (2012); George W. Bush, 4 (2000); Al Gore, 3 (2000).

⁸ Harris's score of 3 on MIDC scale 4 (Accommodating) — a measure of agreeableness — compares as follows with recent U.S. presidents: Joe Biden, 9; Barack Obama, 5; Bill Clinton, 5; George W. Bush, 4; Donald Trump, 0.

⁹ Relevant to Harris.

¹⁰ Marginally relevant to Harris.

¹¹ Not applicable to Harris.

The Millon Index of Personality Styles manual (Millon, 1994) describes Outgoing personalities as dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events, go out of their way to be popular with others, have confidence in their social abilities, and become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks (pp. 31–32).

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

Millon (1994) summarizes the Outgoing pattern as follows:

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

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

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

The diagnostic features of the *congenial* variant of the Outgoing pattern with respect to each of Millon's eight attribute domains are summarized below. The maladaptive *impulsive* variant of the Outgoing is omitted because it does not apply to Harris.

Expressive Behavior (Emotional Expression)

The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Outgoing individuals is *sociability*; they are typically friendly, engaging, lively, extraverted, and gregarious. More exaggerated variants of the Outgoing pattern are predisposed to *impulsiveness*, intolerant of inactivity and inclined to seek sensation or excitement to prevent boredom; such individuals may display a penchant for

momentary excitements, fleeting adventures, and short-sighted hedonism. As leaders, Outgoing personalities may be somewhat lacking in “gravitas,” inclined to make spur-of-the-moment decisions without carefully considering alternatives, predisposed to reckless or imprudent behaviors, and prone to scandal. (Millon, 1996, pp. 366–367, 371; Millon, 2011, p. 342; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Sample observation: “Harris remained unflaggingly engaged, asking each child a question, paying a compliment, nodding exaggeratedly. ‘That’s her real personality,’ Emhoff said, shaking his head, starstruck, at his wife. ‘She smiles and laughs and has a good time.’” (Goodyear, 2019)

Interpersonal Conduct

The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Outgoing individuals is *demonstrativeness*; they are amiable and display their feelings openly. More exaggerated variants of the Outgoing pattern tend to be *attention seeking*, being attentive to popular appeal and actively soliciting praise and approval. In a political leadership role, Outgoing personalities display a substantial need for validation, one manifestation of which may be an overreliance on public opinion as an instrument of policy direction and formulation. (Millon, 1996, pp. 367–368, 371; ; Millon, 2011, pp. 342–343; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Sample observation: “But she’s magnetic, authoritative, warm — leaning in, nodding, gesturing with both hands, moving those hands from a voter’s biceps or shoulder to a position of deep appreciation over her heart.” (Weil, 2019)

Cognitive Style

The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Outgoing individuals is *unreflectiveness*; they avoid introspective thought and focus on practical, concrete matters. More exaggerated variants of the Outgoing pattern tend to be *superficial*, which is sometimes associated with flightiness in reasoning or thinking. They are not paragons of deep thinking or self-reflection and tend to speak and write in impressionistic generalities; though talkative, they tend to avoid earnest or complex matters and their words may lack detail and substance. In politics, more extreme variants of the Outgoing pattern (not the case with Harris) may be associated with lapses of judgment and flawed decision making. (Millon, 1996, pp. 368–369, 371; Millon, 2011, pp. 343–344; Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 236)

Sample observation: “But in her early state debuts, Harris has at times compensated for her lack of precision and detailed policy prescriptions by lapsing into prepared remarks, turning to legislation she supports — even when it indirectly relates to the question — and leaning on anecdotes to connect with audiences.” (Cadelago, 2019b)

Mood/Temperament

The core diagnostic feature of the temperamental disposition and prevailing mood of Outgoing individuals is emotional *expressiveness*; they are animated, uninhibited, and affectively responsive. More exaggerated variants of the Outgoing pattern are quite *changeable*, with

occasional displays of short-lived and superficial moods. Leaders with an Outgoing personality pattern are skilled at staying in touch with public sentiments, but may be mercurial, volatile, or heedless, prone to periodic emotional outbursts, and easily angered or bored. (Millon, 1996, pp. 370–371; Millon, 2011, pp. 345–346)

Sample observation: “Finally, let’s face it, she has some of that ‘it’ — the smile, the joyous laugh, the ability to intersperse inspiration with policy responses. ... She doesn’t get lost in airy platitudes or in the weeds of policy; she paces her appearances with some of each. She can read a room. Call it connectivity or empathy, but the best politicians have it, and those who don’t cannot fake it.” (Rubin, 2019)

Self-Image

The core diagnostic feature of the self-image of Outgoing individuals is their view of themselves as being socially desirable, well liked, and *charming*. More exaggerated variants of the Outgoing pattern tend to perceive themselves as stimulating, popular, and *gregarious*. Given their appealing self-image, these personalities are confident in their social abilities. In politics, Outgoing personalities, more than any other character types, are strongly attracted to the self-validation offered by adulating crowds. (Millon, 1996, pp. 369, 371; Millon, 2011, p. 344; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Sample observation: ““Having had the life experience I’ve had, having had the professional experiences I’ve had, people know that I have the ability to fight — and fight on behalf of them,” Harris continued. ‘And that’s what they want.’” (Cadelago, 2019a)

Regulatory Mechanisms (Intrapsychic Dynamics)

The core diagnostic feature of the regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly¹² Outgoing individuals is *self-distraction*; their preferred stress-management strategy is to engage in relatively mindless activities — for example, games, physical diversions, or other forms of amusement or recreation. (Millon, 1996, p. 370; Millon, 2011, p. 345)

Object Representations (Intrapsychic Content)

The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly¹³ Outgoing individuals is their *shallow* nature. Outgoing personalities characteristically seek stimulation, attention, and excitement, presumably to fill an inner void. (Millon, 1996, p. 369; Millon, 2011, p. 344)

Morphologic Organization (Intrapsychic Architecture)

The core diagnostic feature of the morphologic organization of highly¹⁴ Outgoing individuals is *exteroceptiveness*; they tend to focus on external matters and the here-and-now, being neither

¹² Harris’s extraversion is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

¹³ Harris’s extraversion is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

¹⁴ Harris’s extraversion is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

introspective nor dwelling excessively on the past, presumably to blot out awareness of a relatively insubstantial inner self. (Millon, 1996, p. 370; Millon, 2011, p. 345)

Primary Elevation — Scale 1A: The Dominant Pattern

The MIDC Dominant pattern is congruent with Millon’s (2011) ADS Spectrum: [Level *a*] Assertive Styles – [Level *b*] Denigrating Types – [Level *c*] Sadistic Disorders.

The Dominant pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole¹⁵ are strong-willed, commanding, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Dominant features¹⁶ occur in forceful, intimidating, controlling personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,¹⁷ 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 *Openness to Experience* (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Thus, these individuals — though tending to be controlling and sometimes disagreeable — typically are emotionally stable and conscientious. According to Millon (1994), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals

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

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

Aggressive [Dominant] men and women. ... can undertake huge responsibilities without fear of failure. They wield power with ease. They never back away from a fight. ... When put to the service of the greater good, the Aggressive [Dominant] personality style can inspire a man or woman to great leadership, especially in times of crisis. (p. 345)

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

¹⁵ Relevant to Harris.

¹⁶ Marginally relevant to Harris.

¹⁷ Not applicable to Harris.

[F]orceful [Dominant] people. ... are characterized by an assertive, dominant, and tough-minded personal style. They tend to be strong-willed, ambitious, competitive, and self-determined. ... In work settings, these personalities are often driven to excel. They work hard to achieve their goals, are competitive, and do well where they can take control or work independently. In supervisory or leadership positions, these persons usually take charge and see to it that a job gets done. (From Strack, 1997, p. 490, with minor modifications)

Millon's personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). The diagnostic features of the *asserting* and *controlling* variants of the Dominant pattern with respect to each of Millon's eight attribute domains are summarized below. The maladaptive *aggressive* variant of the Dominant pattern is omitted because it does not apply to Harris.

Expressive Behavior (Emotional Expression)

The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Dominant individuals is *assertiveness*; they are tough, strong-willed, outspoken, competitive, and unsentimental. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern are characteristically *forceful*; they are controlling, contentious, and at times overbearing, their power-oriented tendencies being evident in occasional intransigence, stubbornness, and coercive behaviors. When they feel strongly about something, these individuals can be quite blunt, brusque, and impatient, with sudden, abrupt outbursts of an unwarranted or precipitous nature. (Millon, 1996, p. 483; Millon, 2011, pp. 627, 629)

Sample observation: "In one of the sharpest exchanges of the night, the former prosecutor [Kamala Harris] took direct aim at the Democratic field's frontrunner — confronting former Vice President Joe Biden over his 1970s-era opposition to the federal government's role in using school busing to integrate schools while highlighting her personal story as small child who benefited from early busing in Berkeley, California." (Schouten, 2019)

Interpersonal Conduct

The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Dominant individuals is their *commanding* presence; they are powerful, authoritative, directive, and persuasive. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern are characteristically *intimidating*; they tend to be abrasive, contentious, coercive, and combative, often dictate to others, and are willing and able to humiliate others to evoke compliance. Their strategy of assertion and dominance has an important instrumental purpose in interpersonal relations, as most people are intimidated by hostility, sarcasm, criticism, and threats. Thus, these personalities are adept at having their way by browbeating others into respect and submission. (Millon, 1996, p. 484; Millon, 2011, p. 629; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

Sample observation: "[Kamala Harris] impressed Californians with her commanding presence — offering a preview of the senator the country would see pointedly questioning Republican nominees during confirmation hearings." (Zernike, 2019)

Cognitive Style

The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Dominant individuals is their *opinionated* nature; they are outspoken, emphatic, and adamant, holding strong beliefs that they vigorously defend. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern tend to be *dogmatic*; they are inflexible and closed-minded, lacking objectivity and clinging obstinately to preconceived ideas, beliefs, and values. All variants of this pattern are finely attuned to the subtle elements of human interaction, keenly aware of the moods and feelings of others, and skilled at using others' foibles and sensitivities to manipulate them for their own purposes. (Millon, 1996, pp. 484–485; Millon, 2011, pp. 629–630)

Sample observation: “Sen. Kamala Harris (D-CA), an outspoken progressive in the Senate who is increasingly whispered about as a potential 2020 presidential candidate, joined a growing cadre of Democrats willing to discuss major alterations to the [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] agency.” (Resnick, 2018)

Mood/Temperament

The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Dominant individuals is *irritability*; they have an excitable temper that they may at times find difficult to control. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern tend to be *cold* and unfriendly; they are disinclined to experience and express tender feelings and have a volatile temper that readily flares into contentious argument and physical belligerence. All variants of this pattern are prone to anger and to a greater or lesser extent deficient in the capacity to share warm or tender feelings, to experience genuine affection and love for another, or to empathize with the needs of others. (Millon, 1996, p. 486; Millon, 2011, p. 631; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

Sample observation: “The Washington Post had a sweeping, searing piece that described a ‘dysfunctional’ and chaotic office full of bitter enmities. A consistent problem: Ms. Harris refuses ‘to wade into briefing materials prepared by staff members’ and would ‘then berate employees when she appeared unprepared.’” (Noonan, 2021)

Self-Image

The core diagnostic feature of the self-image of Dominant individuals is that they view themselves as *assertive*; they perceive themselves as forthright, unsentimental, and bold. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern recognize their fundamentally *competitive* nature; they are strong-willed, energetic, and commanding, and may take pride in describing themselves as tough and realistically hardheaded. Though more extreme variants may enhance their sense of self by overvaluing aspects of themselves that present a pugnacious, domineering, and power-oriented image, it is rare for these personalities to acknowledge malicious or vindictive motives. Thus, hostile behavior on their part is typically framed in prosocial terms, which enhances their sense of self. (Millon, 1996, p. 485; Millon, 2011, p. 630; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

Sample observation: “And I’ll tell you [Kamala Harris said], I come from fighters. My parents met when they were active in the civil rights movement.” (Democratic debate transcript, 2019)

Regulatory Mechanisms (Intrapsychic Dynamics)

The core diagnostic feature of the regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly¹⁸ Dominant individuals is *isolation*; they are able to detach themselves emotionally from the impact of their aggressive acts upon others. In some situations — politics being a case in point — these personalities may have learned that there are times when it is best to restrain and transmute their more aggressive thoughts and feelings. Thus, they may soften and redirect their hostility, typically by employing the mechanisms of *rationalization*, *sublimation*, and *projection*, all of which lend themselves in some fashion to finding plausible and socially acceptable excuses for less than admirable impulses and actions. Thus, blunt directness may be rationalized as signifying frankness and honesty, a lack of hypocrisy, and a willingness to face issues head on. On the longer term, socially sanctioned resolution (i.e., sublimation) of hostile urges is seen in the competitive occupations to which these aggressive personalities gravitate. Finally, these personalities may preempt the disapproval they anticipate from others by projecting their hostility onto them, thereby justifying their aggressive actions as mere counteraction to unjust persecution. (Millon, 1996, pp. 485–486; Millon, 2011, pp. 630–631)

Object Representations (Intrapsychic Content)

The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly¹⁹ Dominant individuals is their *pernicious* nature. Characteristically, there is a marked paucity of tender and sentimental objects, and an underdevelopment of images that activate feelings of shame or guilt. (Millon, 1996, p. 485; Millon, 2011, p. 630)

Morphologic Organization (Intrapsychic Architecture)

The core diagnostic feature of the morphologic organization of highly²⁰ Dominant individuals is its *eruptiveness*; powerful energies are so forceful that they periodically overwhelm these personalities' otherwise adequate modulating controls, defense operations, and expressive channels, resulting in the harsh behavior commonly seen in these personalities. These personalities dread the thought of being vulnerable, of being deceived, and of being humiliated. Viewing people as basically ruthless, these personalities are driven to gain power over others, to dominate them and outmaneuver or outfox them at their own game. Personal feelings are regarded as a sign of weakness and dismissed as mere maudlin sentimentality. (Millon, 1996, p. 486; Millon, 2011, p. 630)

Secondary Elevation — Scale 7: The Reticent Pattern

The MIDC Reticent pattern is congruent with Millon's (2011) SRA Spectrum: [Level *a*] Shy Styles – [Level *b*] Reticent Types – [Level *c*] Avoidant Disorders.

¹⁸ Harris's dominance is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

¹⁹ Harris's dominance is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

²⁰ Harris's dominance is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

The Reticent pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole²¹ are watchful, private, socially reserved *circumspect* personalities. Slightly exaggerated Reticent features²² occur in guarded, insecure, self-conscious, *inhibited* personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,²³ the Reticent pattern displays itself in overanxious, mistrustful, reclusive, *withdrawn* behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of avoidant personality disorder or social phobia. In the case of Harris, only the normal variant — circumspect and risk avoidant — has any significance.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Reticent pattern (i.e., circumspect and inhibited types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Sensitive* style, Millon's (1994) *Hesitating* pattern, and Strack's (1997) *inhibited* style. Millon's Hesitating pattern has a strong positive correlation with the five-factor model's *Neuroticism* factor, is negatively correlated with its *Extraversion* factor, has a small negative correlation with its *Conscientiousness* factor, and is uncorrelated with the *Agreeableness* and *Openness to Experience* factors (Millon, 1994, p. 82). According to Millon (1994), the Hesitating (i.e., Reticent) pattern is characterized by

social inhibition and withdrawal. ... [and] has some common ground with the self-effacing segment of Leary's [1957] self-effacing-masochistic pattern, notable for its tendency to downplay personal abilities, to be shy and sensitive, and to experience feelings of anxiety and uncertainty. ... [It is] akin to Factor IV of the Big-Five, usually termed Neuroticism (the low pole of Emotional Stability). Those scoring high on the Hesitating [Reticent] scale have a tendency to be sensitive to social indifference or rejection, to feel unsure of themselves, and to be wary in new situations, especially those of a social or interpersonal character. Somewhat ill at ease and self-conscious, these individuals anticipate running into difficulties in interrelating and fear being embarrassed. They may feel tense when they have to deal with persons they do not know, expecting that others will not think well of them. Most prefer to work alone or in small groups where they know that people accept them. Once they feel accepted, they can open up, be friendly, be cooperative, and participate with others productively. (p. 32)

Oldham and Morris (1995), with their *Sensitive* style, add the following perspective:

Sensitive [Reticent] people come into possession of their powers when their world is small and they know the people in it. For this commonly occurring personality style, familiarity breeds comfort, contentment, and inspiration. These men and women — although they avoid a wide social network and shun celebrity — can achieve great recognition for their creativity. (p. 180)

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

As with the introversive style [Retiring pattern], the inhibited [Reticent] personality is marked by a tendency toward social withdrawal. However, for inhibited [Reticent] individuals this pattern is motivated not by indifference, but by a fear of negative consequences. Inhibited [Reticent] persons tend to be sensitive to their own feelings and to those of others. They often anticipate that others will be critical or rejecting of them, and because of this they frequently seem shy or skittish in unfamiliar surroundings. In this regard, family members and acquaintances may see them as being

²¹ Relevant to Harris.

²² Marginally relevant to Harris.

²³ Not applicable to Harris.

unnecessarily nervous, wary, and fearful. Although inhibited [Reticent] persons tend to get along reasonably well with others, they are often difficult to get to know on a personal level. These individuals usually wish that they could be at ease with others and tend to desire closeness, but they often are just too uncertain of the consequences of closeness and intimacy to let down their guard. ... Because of their sensitivity to others, inhibited [Reticent] persons are often described as kind, considerate, and empathic by close acquaintances. Inhibited [Reticent] persons often prefer to work alone or in a small group with people they can come to know well. They do best in a stable work environment where stimulation and commotion are kept at low to moderate levels. Persons working with inhibited [Reticent] types need to appreciate their sensitivity to both positive and negative feedback, as well as their need to build trust over a long period of time. (From Strack, 1997, p. 488, 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 Reticent pattern, the withdrawn pole of the circumspect–inhibited–withdrawn continuum. The “normalized” (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 141–143) diagnostic features of the Reticent pattern are summarized below; nonetheless, some of the specified traits may be attenuated, less pronounced and more adaptive, in the case of high-functioning political leaders.

Expressive Behavior (Emotional Expression)

The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Reticent individuals is their *watchfulness*; they are circumspect, mindful, quiet, inhibited, and hesitant. More exaggerated variants of the Reticent pattern are distinctly *guarded*; they are wary or fretful, insecure or uneasy, and tend to anticipate embarrassment or personal ridicule. (Millon, 1996, p. 261; Millon, 2011, p. 718; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 33, 40)

Sample observation: “Morain’s admiration for Harris’s ‘skill and charisma, her intelligence and grit, and her willingness to fight hard,’ are tempered by Morain’s view that Harris’s ambition and national sights led her to ‘be both innovative and cautious,’ sometimes acting as a trailblazer and other times holding her fire: ‘She took strong stands or she stood mute on the important criminal justice issues of her day.’ Though balancing both sides, he seems to agree with the critics he cites who viewed her as ‘overly cautious.’” (McGirr, 2021)

Interpersonal Conduct

The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Reticent individuals is their *private* manner; they are socially reserved and quiet. More exaggerated variants of the Reticent pattern are *apprehensive*; they seek acceptance, yet are self-conscious and maintain social distance, avoiding close personal relationships as a safeguard against social rejection or humiliation. (Millon, 1996, pp. 261–263; Millon, 2011, pp. 718–720; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 33, 40)

Sample observation: “Rather than denouncing or contradicting this appalling accusation of ‘ethnic genocide’ against America’s best friend in the Middle East, Harris chose instead to nod respectfully and then failed to counter the antisemitic libel.” (Freund, 2021)

Cognitive Style

The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Reticent individuals is their *preoccupation* with their inner thoughts and ideas; they may be reflective or ruminative. More exaggerated variants of the Reticent pattern are cognitively *distracted*; they tend to be absent-minded or absorbed in their inner thoughts, sometimes disruptively so, which may interfere with rationally focusing on and attending to external stimuli. (Millon, 1996, p. 263; Millon, 2011, pp. 720; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 33, 40)

Sample observation: “Harris — who was taking part in the briefing over video — appeared to become distracted by something behind the camera.” (Nava, 2024)

Mood/Temperament

The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Reticent individuals is their *uneasy* disposition; they are uncomfortable, anxiety-prone, and easily embarrassed. More exaggerated variants of the Reticent pattern are *anguished*; they often seem distressed or agitated, and their emotional experiences are marked by confusing feelings of tension, sadness, and anger. (Millon, 1996, p. 265; Millon, 2011, p. 722; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 33, 40)

Sample observations: “Critics say Harris resorts to this kind of phony, uncomfortable laughter when she struggles to answer questions for which she is not prepared.” (Elder, 2021); “Harris has a long history of laughing when confronted with tough questions and famously giggled on multiple occasions when she was asked about visiting the southern border.” (Flood, 2021)

Self-Image

The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Reticent individuals is their sense of *loneliness*; they recognize themselves as relatively friendless or isolated yet desire social acceptance. More exaggerated variants of the Reticent pattern feel *alienated* from the world; they are socially isolated and detached and feel empty, neglected, and disaffected. (Millon, 1996, p. 263; Millon, 2011, p. 720; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 33, 40)

Sample observation: “Vice President Kamala Harris feels increasingly isolated inside the White House as her approval ratings plummet — with the first female veep believing she’s not getting the same support given to other members of the Biden administration, according to a detailed new report.” (Brown & Chamberlain, 2021)

Regulatory Mechanisms (Intrapsychic Dynamics)

The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly²⁴ Reticent individuals is *fantasy*; they withdraw into reverie as a means of safely discharging frustrated affiliative needs or angry impulses and may depend excessively on imagination to achieve need gratification or conflict resolution. (Millon, 1996, p. 264; Millon, 2011, p. 721)

²⁴ Harris’s reticence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

Object Representations (Intrapsychic Content)

The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly²⁵ Reticent individuals is their *vexatious* 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, are composed of readily reactivated, intense, and conflict-ridden memories of problematic early relations. (Millon, 1996, pp. 263–264; Millon, 2011, pp. 720–721)

Morphologic organization (Intrapsychic Architecture)

The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of highly²⁶ Reticent individuals is its *fragility*; the overall architecture of their psychic interior constitutes a precarious complex of tortuous emotions that depend almost exclusively on a single modality for its resolution and discharge (i.e., avoidance, escape, and fantasy). (Millon, 1996, pp. 264–265; Millon, 2011, pp. 721–722)

Secondary Elevation — Scale 2: The Ambitious Pattern

The MIDC Ambitious pattern is congruent with Millon’s (2011) CEN Spectrum: [Level *a*] Confident Styles – [Level *b*] Egotistic Types – [Level *c*] Narcissistic Disorders.

The Ambitious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole are confident, socially poised, assertive personalities.²⁷ Slightly exaggerated Ambitious features occur in personalities that are sometimes perceived as self-promoting, overconfident, or arrogant.²⁸ In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form, the Ambitious pattern manifests itself in extreme self-absorption or exploitative behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder.²⁹ In the case of Harris, only the normal variant — confident and socially poised — has any significance.

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” (Millon, 1994, p. 32). In combination with an elevated Outgoing (Scale 3) pattern (as in the case of Harris), it bears some resemblance to Simonton’s (1988) *charismatic* executive leadership style.

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

²⁵ Harris’s reticence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

²⁶ Harris’s reticence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

²⁷ Relevant to Harris.

²⁸ Marginally applicable to Harris.

²⁹ Not relevant to Harris.

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

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

Aloof, calm, and confident, these personalities tend to be egocentric and self-reliant. ... In the workplace, confident [Ambitious] persons like to take charge in an emphatic manner, often doing so in a way that instills confidence in others. Their self-assurance, wit, and charm often win them supervisory and leadership positions. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, pp. 489–490, with minor modifications)

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

Self-Confident [Ambitious] individuals stand out. ... [and are] leaders ... [and] attention-getters in their public or private spheres. ... 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)

As noted earlier, Millon's personality patterns have well-established diagnostic indicators associated with each of the eight attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object-representations, and morphologic organization. The diagnostic features of the *confident* variant of the Ambitious pattern with respect to each of Millon's eight attribute domains are summarized below. The exaggerated *self-serving* and maladaptive *exploitative* variants of the Ambitious pattern are omitted because they do not apply to Harris.

Expressive Behavior (Emotional Expression)

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. All variants of this pattern are to some degree self-centered and lacking in generosity and social reciprocity. (Millon, 1996, p. 405; Millon, 2011, pp. 388–389; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Sample observation: “Alumni boast about a Howard swagger. They see it in Harris now — in her impatient questioning as a senator, in her tone of voice as a candidate that can read as confident, cocky and condescending all at once.” (Givhan, 2019)

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. (Millon, 1996, pp. 405–406; Millon, 2011, p. 390; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Sample observation: “Several people attending Harris’s book event at George Washington University on Wednesday night said they knew very little about her until her hard-nosed performance at Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh’s Supreme Court confirmation hearings seized their attention.” (Janes, 2019)

Cognitive Style

The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Ambitious individuals is their *imaginativeness*; they are inventive, innovative, and resourceful, ardently believing in their own efficacy. All variants of this pattern to some degree harbor fantasies of success, rationalize their failures, or exaggerate their achievements. (Millon, 1996, p. 406; Millon, 2011, pp. 390; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Sample observation: “Thus far, Harris has stayed inside the bounds of Washington politics while still pushing innovative ideas that have a chance of realization.” (Smith, 2019)

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. (Millon, 1996, p. 408; Millon, 2011, p. 392; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Sample observation: “On a crowded stage, she emerged poised, smart, and ready to fight.” (King, 2019)

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. (Millon, 1996, p. 406; Millon, 2011, pp. 390–391)

Sample observation: “So far, Harris’ poll numbers in Iowa haven’t shown much improvement. A New York Times/Siena College poll released Friday showed her mired in the low single-digits, a world away from the upper echelon of candidates. ... When a reporter noted that Harris had said in the past she considered herself a top-tier candidate, the California senator interrupted to firmly insist: ‘I still do.’” (Mason, 2019)

Regulatory Mechanisms (Intrapsychic Dynamics)

The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly³⁰ Ambitious individuals are *rationalization* and *fantasy*; when their subjectively 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. (Millon, 1996, p. 407; Millon, 2011, p. 391)

Object Representations (Intrapsychic Content)

The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly³¹ 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. (Millon, 1996, pp. 406–407; Millon, 2011, p. 391)

Morphologic Organization (Intrapsychic Architecture)

The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of highly³² 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. (Millon, 1996, pp. 407–408; Millon, 2011, pp. 391–392;)

Subsidiary Elevation — Scale 4: The Accommodating Pattern

The MIDC Accommodating pattern is congruent with Millon's (2011) DAD Spectrum: [Level *a*] Deferential Styles – [Level *b*] Attached Types – [Level *c*] Dependent Disorders.

The Accommodating pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. In the case of Kamala Harris, only the normal variant — associated with cooperative, conciliatory personalities — has any bearing, and marginally so, on her overall personality functioning and executive performance.³³

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

³⁰ Harris's self-confidence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

³¹ Harris's self-confidence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

³² Harris's self-confidence is in the adaptive range, so this description, at best, is marginally applicable to her.

³³ Harris's agreeableness plays a subsidiary role in her overall personality configuration, so the trait descriptors, at best, are marginally applicable to her.

factor model's *Agreeableness* factor. In political leadership, the Accommodating pattern points to Simonton's (1988) interpersonal executive leadership style.

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

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

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

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

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

It should be emphasized, however, that the Accommodating pattern plays a rather limited, subsidiary role in Harris's overall personality functioning. Accordingly, we will not elaborate on the diagnostic indicators associated with each of the eight attribute domains with respect to the Accommodating pattern.

Summary and Formulation

With her primary elevations on Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 1A (Dominant) and secondary elevations on Scale 7 (Reticent) and Scale 2 (Ambitious), Kamala Harris may be classified as Composite Type 3-1A-7-2. In summary, Harris's personality amalgam may be characterized as a *guardedly dominant extravert* — guarded by virtue of a substantial degree of circumspection infused in her basic Outgoing–Dominant personality composite.

Leadership Implications

Should Harris succeed in defeating Donald Trump in the 2024 presidential election, it would raise the question of what kind of president Kamala Harris would be. The present study offers an empirically based personological framework for anticipating Harris's executive performance as president. Following is a brief outline of the likely tenor of a prospective Harris presidency inferred

from theoretical coherence between the present findings and complementary models of political leadership.

Presidential Style

Dean Keith Simonton's (1988) empirically derived framework of five presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative) offers a promising frame of reference. Given the fidelity with which Simonton's leadership styles mirror the currently popular five-factor model (FFM), 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.

From Simonton's perspective, Harris's MIDC elevations on the Outgoing, Dominant, and Ambitious scales imply a *charismatic* leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Extraversion factor. According to Simonton (1988), the charismatic leader

typically "finds dealing with the press challenging and enjoyable" ... [Outgoing], ... "consciously refines [her] own public image" ... [Outgoing, Ambitious], "has a flair for the dramatic" ... [Outgoing], "conveys [a] clear-cut, highly visible personality" ... [Outgoing], is a "skilled and self-confident negotiator" ... [Dominant, Ambitious], "uses rhetoric effectively" ... [Ambitious, Dominant], is a "dynamo of energy and determination" ... [Outgoing, Ambitious, Dominant], ... "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods" ... [Outgoing], "has [the] ability to maintain popularity" ... [Outgoing], [and] "exhibits artistry in manipulation" ... [Ambitious, Dominant]. (p. 931; associated Millon patterns added)

In addition, the charismatic leader "rarely permits [herself] to be outflanked" [Dominant, Ambitious] and rarely "suffers health problems that tend to parallel difficult and critical periods in office" (pp. 930, 931; associated MIDC patterns added).

Harris's relatively weak loadings on the Conscientious (Scale 6) pattern, in concert with her elevation on the Outgoing (Scale 3) pattern, suggest that she is *not* likely to display Simonton's "deliberative" leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor. According to Simonton (1988), the deliberative leader

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

As a *nondeliberative* leader, Harris would be inclined "to force decisions to be made prematurely," lose sight of her limitations, and place "political success over effective policy" (pp. 930, 931). Based on her personality profile, those qualities could hamper a prospective President Harris. It is noteworthy, however, that this portrait is at variance with Harris's own view of conscientiousness as her central trait:

In her 2019 memoir, "The Truth We Hold," Harris describes her leadership style as "sweating the small stuff" and "embracing the mundane" to create big change.

While good leadership requires "vision and aspiration" and bold ideas to move people to action, "it is often the mastery of the seemingly unimportant details, the *careful execution of the tedious*

tasks [emphasis added], and the dedicated work done outside of the public eye that make the changes we seek possible,” she writes.

It “means making sure that our solutions actually work for the people who need them,” Harris says.

Such *attention to detail* [emphasis added] is especially needed in politics to tackle big issues, she says.

“Politics is a realm where the grand pronouncement often takes the place of the *painstaking and detail-oriented work* [emphasis added] of getting meaningful things done,” she writes. (Scipioni, 2020)

Presidential Temperament

James David Barber (1972/1992), focusing more narrowly on presidential temperament, developed a simple model of presidential character that has shown some utility in predicting successful (active–positive) and failed (active–negative) presidencies.

In terms of presidential temperament, Harris seems most similar to Barber’s (1972/1992) *active–positive* presidential character — leaders like Bill Clinton and Donald Trump: self-confident, optimistic, and deriving pleasure from the exercise of power in pursuit of political objectives.

Character-Based Leadership Skills

Stanley Renshon (1996) has proposed “three distinct aspects” (p. 226) of political leadership shaped by character: mobilization — the ability to arouse, engage, and direct the public; orchestration — the organizational skill and ability to craft specific policies; and consolidation — the skills and tasks required to preserve the supportive relationships necessary for an executive leader to implement and institutionalize his or her policy judgments (pp. 227, 411).

In terms of Renshon’s (1996) three critical components of political leadership, Harris, by dint of her extraversion, self-confidence, and dominance appears most skilled in *mobilization*, which makes her well-equipped to rally, energize, and motivate her supporters. In the sphere of *orchestration*, Harris’s relative dearth of personality traits related to conscientiousness (i.e., having insufficient attention to detail and diminished capacity for sustained focus), exacerbated by the relatively superficial cognitive style characteristic of outgoing personalities, may hamper her leadership performance; indeed, this shortcoming may well have been a critical variable in her unsuccessful primary campaign for the 2020 Democratic nomination for president. Finally, Harris’s outgoing nature will likely stand her in good stead with respect to *consolidation*, enabling her to foster the supportive relationships necessary for consummating her policy objectives.

Foreign Policy Leadership Orientation

Lloyd Etheredge (1978) and Margaret Hermann (1987) 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 relations.

Etheredge (1978) proposed a “four-fold speculative typology” of “fundamental personality-based differences in orientation towards America’s preferred operating style and role in the international system” (p. 434). In terms of Etheredge’s model, which locates policymakers on the dimensions of dominance–submission and introversion–extraversion, Harris’s Scale 1A (Dominant) pattern in concert with her Scale 3 (Outgoing) elevation unambiguously points to dominance and extraversion. This suggests that a prospective President Harris’s foreign policy role orientation would most likely be that of a *high-dominance extrovert*. Etheredge contends that high-dominance extraverts (such as Presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson) share high-dominance introverts’ tendency “to use military force”

[b]ut in general ... are more flexible and pragmatic, more varied in the wide range and scope of major foreign policy initiatives. ... [In contrast to high-dominance introverts, they] want to lead rather than contain. They advocate change, seek to stir up things globally. ... [and] are relatively more interested in *inclusion* [compared with high-dominance introverts, who favor exclusion], initiating programs and institutions for worldwide leadership and cooperative advance on a wide range of issues. (p. 449).

Among Hermann’s (1987) six possible orientations to foreign affairs, the “influential” foreign policy role orientation appears to be the best fit for Harris’s outgoing, dominant, ambitious personality composite. *Influential* leaders are interested in “having an impact on other nations’ foreign policy behavior” and “playing a leadership role in regional or international affairs” (p. 168). Their personal political style is to “[s]how interest in and seek information on [the] problems of countries [they] wish to influence; [they] initiate collaborative activities with such countries and meet frequently with their leaders” (p. 169). This results in a foreign policy of fostering “friendly relations with nations [they] wish to have influence over,” making “necessary commitments to secure working relationships with such nations,” and acting “protectively toward such nations in their dealings with adversaries” (p. 169).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the present study offers an empirically based personological framework for inferring the general tenor of a prospective Harris presidency. By dint of her outgoing, dominant, and ambitious qualities, Kamala Harris’s major personality strength as chief executive is her confident outgoing, assertiveness, which endows her with some measure of personal charisma. Her major personality-based shortcoming, rooted in a distinctive outgoing tendency in concert with low conscientiousness, is likely to be insufficient attention to detail, a diminished capacity for sustained focus, and occasional lapses in self-discipline or emotional restraint. In addition, she could potentially be hampered by apprehension or unease in high-stakes public settings, rooted in a secondary reticent pattern.

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