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**THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY OF FRENCH PRESIDENT
NICOLAS SARKOZY**

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Abstract

THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY OF FRENCH PRESIDENT

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This paper presents the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of French president Nicolas Sarkozy. The study was conducted from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon's model of personality. Information concerning Sarkozy was collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the second edition of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with Axis II of *DSM-IV*.

The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Sarkozy's primary personality patterns were found to be Ambitious/exploitative and Dominant/controlling, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful, Outgoing/gregarious, Dauntless/adventurous, and Contentious/resolute patterns.

The amalgam of Ambitious and Dominant patterns in combination with distinctive Contentious features in Sarkozy's profile suggests the presence of an adaptive, nonpathological variant of Millon's *compensatory narcissist* syndrome. According to Millon, people with this personality composite seek to counteract feelings of inferiority by creating illusions of superiority.

The major implication of the study is that it offers an empirically based personological framework for anticipating Nicolas Sarkozy's leadership style as chief executive.

Introduction

This paper reports the results of a psychodiagnostic case study, conducted in summer and fall 2006, of the personality of Nicolas Paul Stéphane Sarközy de Nagy-Bocsa (born 28 January 1955 in Paris), commonly known as Nicolas Sarkozy. Sarkozy, interior minister at the time of the study, was the candidate of France's ruling Union for a Popular Movement in the 2007 French presidential election, which he won against Socialist candidate Ségolène Royal.

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

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

Personality may be concisely defined as:

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

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

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

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

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

Table 1
Millon's Eight Attribute Domains

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

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

Method

Materials

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

Sources of data. Diagnostic information pertaining to Nicolas Sarkozy was collected from a variety of sources that offered useful, diagnostically relevant biographical information.¹

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

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

Diagnostic Procedure

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

¹ References available upon request from the first author.

² Inventory and manual available upon request from the second author.

Table 2
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations

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

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

Results

The analysis of the data includes a summary of descriptive statistics yielded by the MIDC scoring procedure, the MIDC profile for Nicolas Sarkozy, diagnostic classification of the subject, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure. Sarkozy received 69 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Descriptive statistics for Sarkozy's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain

Expressive behavior	17
Interpersonal conduct	14
Cognitive style	11
Mood/temperament	15
Self-image	12
Sum	69
Mean	13.8
Standard deviation	2.1

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

Table 4
MIDC Scale Scores for Nicolas Sarkozy

Scale	Personality pattern	Raw	RT%
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic)	22	22.2
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial)	9	9.1
2	Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative (Narcissistic)	24	24.2
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic)	14	14.1
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent)	6	6.1
5A	Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic)	1	1.0
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)	7	7.1
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)	14	14.1
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant)	2	2.0
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid)	0	0.0
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	99	100
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid)	17	13.2
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline)	13	10.1
	Full-scale total	129	123.3

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

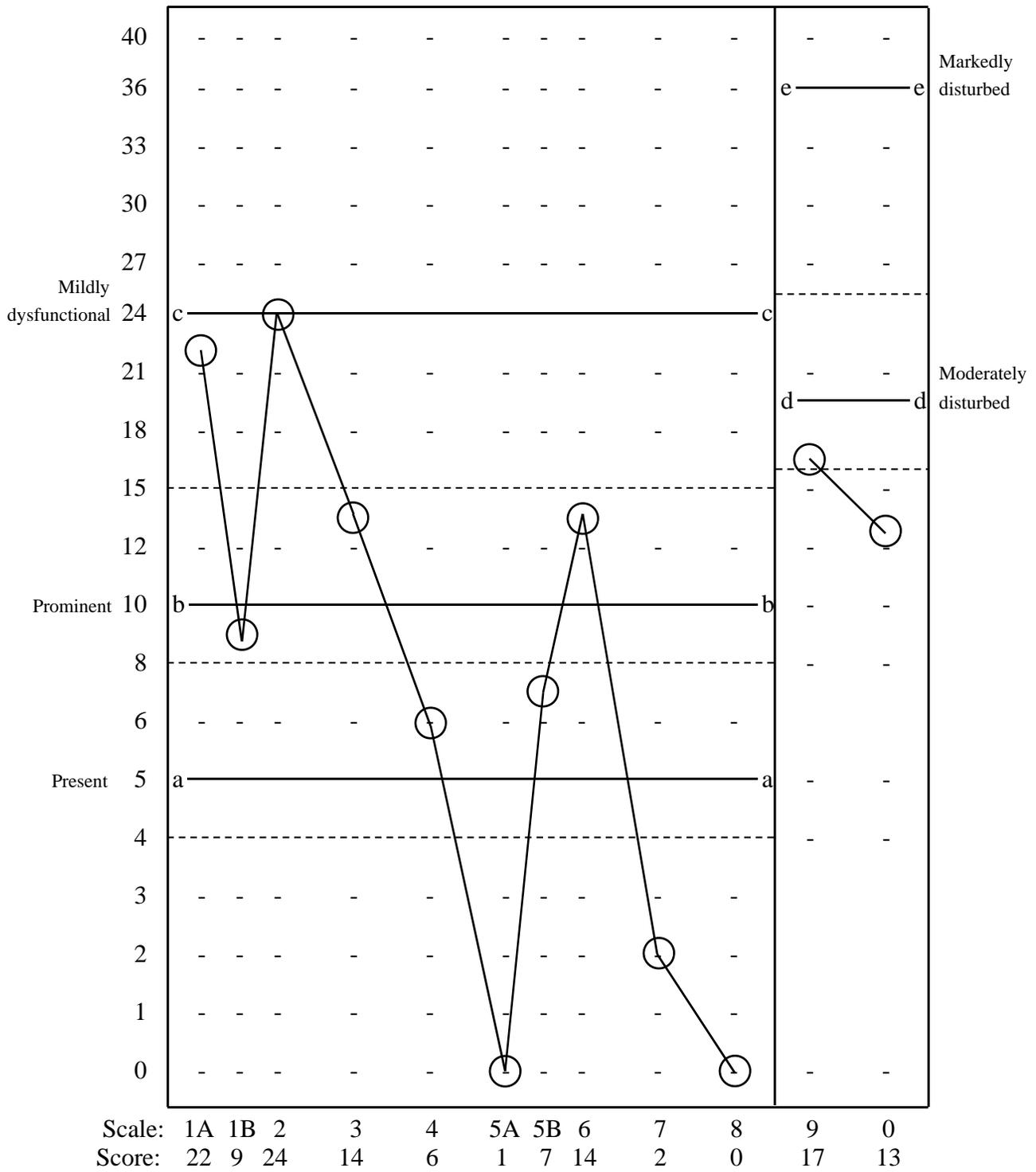
The MIDC profile yielded by the raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.³ Sarkozy's most elevated scale, with a score of 24, is Scale 2 (Ambitious), closely followed by a score of 22 on Scale 1A (Dominant). Based on cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, the Scale 2 elevation just reaches the threshold for the *mildly dysfunctional* (24–30) range, whereas Scale 1A is well within the *prominent* (10–23) range. Four additional scales reached diagnostically significant elevations: Scale 6 (Conscientious) and Scale 3 (Outgoing) in the *prominent* (10–23) range; and Scale 1B (Dauntless) and Scale 5B (Contentious) in the *present* (5–9) range.

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, Nicolas Sarkozy was classified as primarily an Ambitious/exploitative (Scale 2) and Dominant/controlling (Scale 1A) personality, with secondary features of the Conscientious/dutiful, Outgoing/gregarious, Dauntless/adventurous, and Contentious/resolute personality patterns.⁴

³ 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.

⁴ 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 Nicolas Sarkozy



Discussion

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

With his elevated Scale 2, Sarkozy emerged from the assessment as a highly ambitious personality in the self-serving to exploitative range of profile elevation. The self-serving style is an adaptive though exaggerated variant of the Ambitious (narcissistic) pattern, whereas the exploitative style is the maladaptive equivalent of narcissistic personality disorder. Sarkozy's scale elevation places him at the threshold where the self-serving tendency begins to shade into exploitativeness.

The interpretation of Sarkozy's profile must also account for a slightly less elevated Scale 1A (Dominant) elevation and more modest elevations on Scale 6 (Conscientious), Scale 3 (Outgoing), Scale 1B (Dauntless), and Scale 5B (Contentious).

Scale 2: The Ambitious Pattern

The Ambitious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole⁵ are confident, socially poised, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Ambitious features⁶ occur in personalities that are sometimes perceived as self-promoting, overconfident, or arrogant. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,⁷ the Ambitious pattern manifests itself in extreme self-absorption or exploitative behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder.

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

⁵ Not applicable to Nicolas Sarkozy.

⁶ Relevant to Nicolas Sarkozy.

⁷ It is likely that some of these dysfunctional, maladaptive features are present in Nicolas Sarkozy; however, the results suggest that these traits are not deeply ingrained or pervasive across broad domains of Sarkozy's personality, given that the scale elevation just reaches the threshold.

Millon (1994)⁸ summarizes the Asserting (i.e., Ambitious) pattern as follows:

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

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

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

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

Aloof, calm, and confident, these personalities tend to be egocentric and self-reliant. They may have a keen sense of their own importance, uniqueness, or entitlement. Confident [Ambitious] individuals enjoy others' attention and may be quite bold socially. . . . They can be self-centered to a fault and may become so preoccupied with themselves that they lack concern and empathy for others. These persons have a tendency to believe that others share, or should share, their sense of worth. As a result, they may expect others to submit to their wishes and desires, and to cater to them. Ironically, the confident [Ambitious] individual's secure appearance may cover feelings of personal inadequacy and a sensitivity to criticism and rejection. Unfortunately, they usually do not permit others to see their vulnerable side. When feeling exposed or undermined, these individuals are frequently disdainful, obstructive, or vindictive. In the workplace, confident [Ambitious] persons like to take charge in an emphatic manner, often doing so in a way that instills confidence in others. Their self-assurance, wit, and charm often win them supervisory and leadership positions. (From Strack, 1997, pp. 489–490, with slight modifications)

Millon's 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

⁸ All Millon 1994 citations in this report refer to the Manual of the *Millon Index of Personality Styles* (MIPS). Copyright © 1994 by Dicandrien, Inc. "MIPS" is a trademark of The Psychological Corporation registered in the United States of America and/or other jurisdictions. Reproduced by permission of the publisher, The Psychological Corporation, a Harcourt Assessment Company. All rights reserved.

organization. Millon's (1996) attribute domains accentuate the maladaptive range of the personality patterns in his taxonomy — in the case of the Ambitious pattern, the exploitative pole of the confident–self-serving–exploitative continuum. The major diagnostic features of the prototypal maladaptive variant of the Ambitious pattern are summarized below, along with “normalized” (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 273–277) descriptions of the more adaptive variants of this pattern.

Expressive behavior. The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Ambitious individuals is their *confidence*; they are socially poised, self-assured, and self-confident, conveying an air of calm, untroubled self-assurance. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern tend to act in a *conceited* manner, their natural self-assurance shading into supreme self-confidence, hubris, immodesty, or presumptuousness. They are self-promoting and may display an inflated sense of self-importance. They typically have a superior, supercilious, imperious, haughty, disdainful manner. Characteristically, though usually unwittingly, they exploit others, take them for granted, and frequently act as though entitled. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *arrogant*; they are self-serving, reveal a self-important indifference to the rights of others, and are manipulative and lacking in integrity. They commonly flout conventional rules of shared social living, which they view as naive or inapplicable to themselves. All variants of this pattern are to some degree self-centered and lacking in generosity and social reciprocity. (Millon, 1996, p. 405; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Interpersonal conduct. The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Ambitious individuals is their *assertiveness*; they stand their ground and are tough, competitive, persuasive, hardnosed, and shrewd. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are *entitled*; they lack genuine empathy and expect favors without assuming reciprocal responsibilities. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *exploitative*; they shamelessly take others for granted and manipulate and use them to indulge their desires, enhance themselves, or advance their personal agenda, yet contributing little or nothing in return. Ironically, the sheer audacity of all variants of this pattern, rather than being clearly seen for what it is — impertinence, impudence, or sheer gall — often conveys confidence and authority and evokes admiration and obedience from others. Indeed, these personalities are skilled at sizing up those around them and conditioning those so disposed to adulate, glorify, and serve them. (Millon, 1996, pp. 405–406; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Cognitive style. The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Ambitious individuals is their *imaginativeness*; they are inventive, innovative, and resourceful, and ardently believe in their own efficacy. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are cognitively *expansive*; they display extraordinary confidence in their own ideas and potential for success and redeem themselves by taking liberty with facts or distorting the truth. The most extreme variants of this pattern are cognitively *unconstrained*; they are preoccupied with self-glorifying fantasies of accomplishment or fame, are little constrained by objective reality or cautionary feedback, and deprecate competitors or detractors in their quest for glory. All variants of this pattern to some degree harbor fantasies of success or rationalize their failures; thus, they tend to exaggerate their achievements, transform failures into successes, construct lengthy and intricate justifications that inflate their self-worth, and quickly deprecate those who refuse to bend to or enhance their admirable sense of self. (Millon, 1996, p. 406; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Mood/temperament. The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Ambitious individuals is their social *poise*; they are self-composed, serene, and optimistic, and are typically imperturbable, unruffled, and cool and levelheaded under pressure. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern are *insouciant*; they manifest a general air of nonchalance, imperturbability, or feigned tranquility. They characteristically appear coolly unimpressible or buoyantly optimistic, except when their narcissistic confidence is shaken, at which time either rage, shame, or emptiness is briefly displayed. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *exuberant*; they experience a pervasive sense of emotional well-being in their everyday life — a buoyancy of spirit and an optimism of outlook — except when their sense of superiority is punctured. When emotionally deflated, their air of nonchalance and imperturbability quickly turns to edgy irritability and annoyance. Under more trying circumstances, sham serenity may turn to feelings of emptiness and humiliation, sometimes with vacillating episodes of rage, shame, and dejection. All variants of this pattern to some degree convey a self-satisfied smugness, yet are easily angered when criticized, obstructed, or crossed. (Millon, 1996, p. 408; Millon & Everly, 1985, pp. 32, 39)

Self-image. The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Ambitious individuals is their *certitude*; they have strong self-efficacy beliefs and considerable courage of conviction. More exaggerated variants of the Ambitious pattern have an *admirable* sense of self; they view themselves as extraordinarily meritorious and esteemed by others, and have a high degree of self-worth, though others may see them as egotistic, inconsiderate, cocksure, and arrogant. The most extreme variants of this pattern have a *superior* sense of self. They view themselves as having unique and special qualities, deserving of great admiration and entitled to unusual rights and privileges. Accordingly, they often act in a pompous or grandiose manner, often in the absence of commensurate achievements. In high-level leadership positions, some of these individuals may exhibit a messianic self-perception; those failing to pay proper respect or bend to their will typically are treated with scorn and contempt. (Millon, 1996, p. 406)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of Ambitious individuals are *rationalization* and *fantasy*; when their 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. They rationalize their difficulties, offering alibis to put themselves in a positive light despite evident shortcomings and failures. When rationalization fails, they turn to fantasy to assuage their feelings of dejection, shame, or emptiness, redeem themselves, and reassert their pride and status. (Millon, 1996, p. 407)

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

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

Scale 1A: The Dominant Pattern

The Dominant pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole⁹ are strong-willed, commanding, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Dominant features¹⁰ occur in forceful, intimidating, controlling personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,¹¹ the Dominant pattern displays itself in domineering, belligerent, aggressive behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of sadistic personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Dominant pattern (i.e., asserting and controlling types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Aggressive* style, Strack's (1997) *forceful* style, Millon's (1994) *Controlling* pattern, and the *managerial* segment of Leary's (1957) managerial–autocratic continuum. Millon's Controlling pattern is positively correlated with the five-factor model's *Conscientiousness* factor, has a more modest positive correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, is negatively correlated with its *Agreeableness* and *Neuroticism* factors, and is uncorrelated with its *Openness to Experience* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Thus, these individuals — though controlling and somewhat disagreeable — tend to be emotionally stable and conscientious. In combination with the Conscientious (Scale 6) and Contentious (Scale 5B) patterns, an elevated Dominant pattern points to Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* presidential style. According to Millon (1994), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals

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

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

⁹ Not applicable to Nicolas Sarkozy.

¹⁰ Relevant to Nicolas Sarkozy.

¹¹ Not applicable to Nicolas Sarkozy.

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

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

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

Millon's 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 Dominant pattern, the aggressive pole of the asserting–controlling–aggressive continuum. The diagnostic features of the Dominant pattern with respect to each of Millon's eight attribute domains are summarized below, along with “normalized” (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 514–515) descriptions of the more adaptive variants of this pattern. Nonetheless, some of the designated traits may be less pronounced and more adaptive in the case of individuals for whom this pattern is less elevated.

Expressive behavior. 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. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *aggressive*; they are intimidating, domineering, argumentative, and precipitously belligerent. They derive pleasure from humiliating others and can be quite malicious. For this reason, people often shy away from these personalities, sensing them to be cold, callous, and insensitive to the feelings of others. All variants of this pattern tend to view tender emotions as a sign of weakness, avoid expressions of warmth and intimacy, and are suspicious of gentility, compassion, and kindness. Many insist on being seen as faultless; however, they invariably are inflexible and dogmatic, rarely

concede on any issue, even in the face of evidence negating the validity of their position. They have a low frustration threshold and are especially sensitive to reproach or deprecation. When pushed on personal matters, they can become furious and are likely to respond reflexively and often vindictively, especially when feeling humiliated or belittled. Thus, they are easily provoked to attack, their first inclination being to dominate and demean their adversaries. (Millon, 1996, pp. 483, 487)

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. The most extreme variants of this pattern are *belligerent*; they reveal satisfaction in intimidating, coercing, and humiliating others. Individuals with all gradations of this pattern frequently find a successful niche for themselves in roles where hostile and belligerent behaviors are socially sanctioned or admired, thus providing an outlet for vengeful hostility cloaked in the guise of social responsibility. (Millon, 1996, p. 484; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

Cognitive style. The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Dominant individuals is its *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. The most extreme variants of this pattern are narrow-mindedly *bigoted*; they are socially intolerant and inherently prejudiced, especially toward envied or derogated social groups. Some of these individuals have a crude, callous exterior and seem coarsely unperceptive. This notwithstanding, 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. The more extreme variants of this pattern, in particular, are quick to turn another's perceived weaknesses to their own advantage — often in an intentionally callous manner — by upsetting the other's equilibrium in their quest to dominate and control. (Millon, 1996, pp. 484–485)

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 flares readily into contentious argument and physical belligerence. The most extreme variants of this pattern evince pervasive *hostility* and anger; they are fractious, mean-spirited, and malicious, with callous disregard for the rights of others. Their volcanic temper seems perpetually primed to erupt, sometimes into physical belligerence. More than any other personality type, people with this extreme variant of the Dominant pattern are willing to do harm and persecute others if necessary to have their way. 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 & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

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. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern perceive themselves as *powerful*; they are combative, viewing themselves as self-reliant, unyielding, and strong — hard-boiled, perhaps, but unflinching, honest, and realistic. They seem proud to characterize themselves as competitive, vigorous, and militantly hardheaded, which is consistent of their “dog-eat-dog” view of the world. 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 & Everly, 1985, p. 32)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic feature of the regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of highly 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. Individuals with extreme, malignant variations of this pattern may engage in group scapegoating, viewing the objects of their violations impersonally as despised symbols of a devalued people, devoid of dignity and deserving degradation. (Millon, 1996, pp. 485–486)

Object representations. The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly 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. For individuals with extreme, malignant variations of this pattern, 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 aggressive feelings and memories, and images comprising harsh relationships and malicious attitudes. Consequently, their life experience is recast to reflect the expectancy of hostility and the need to preempt it. These dynamics undergird a “jungle philosophy” of life where the only perceived recourse is to act in a bold, critical, assertive, and ruthless manner. Of particular relevance to politics is the harsh, antihumanistic disposition of the more extreme variants of these personalities. Some are adept at pointing out the hypocrisy and ineffectuality of so-called “do-gooders”; they rail against the

devastating consequences of international appeasement. Others justify their toughness and cunning by pointing to the hostile and exploitative behavior of others; to them, the only way to survive in this world is to dominate and control. (Millon, 1996, p. 485)

Morphologic organization. The core diagnostic feature of the morphologic organization of highly 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. This tendency is exacerbated by the unrestrained expression of intense and explosive emotions stemming from early life experiences. Moreover, 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)

Scale 5B: The Contentious Pattern

Among Sarkozy's secondary elevations, discussion is limited to the Contentious pattern, because of the way it frequently combines with the Ambitious (Scale 2) pattern — usually in conjunction with the Reticent (Scale 7) pattern — to reflect a “compensatory” narcissistic tendency (see Millon, 1996, p. 411).

The Contentious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted¹² pole are cynical, headstrong, resolute personalities. Exaggerated Contentious features¹³ occur in complaining, irksome, oppositional personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,¹⁴ the Contentious pattern displays itself in caustic, contrary, negativistic behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of negativistic or passive-aggressive personality disorder.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Contentious pattern (i.e., resolute and oppositional types) correspond to Strack's (1997) *sensitive* style and Millon's (1994a) *Complaining* pattern. Empirically, Millon's (1994a) Complaining pattern has a high positive correlation with the five-factor model's *Neuroticism* factor, is negatively correlated with its *Agreeableness* factor, has a small negative correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, and is uncorrelated with the remaining two factors (Millon, 1994a, p. 82). Millon (1994a) describes the Complaining (i.e., Contentious) pattern as follows:

Those scoring high on the Complaining [Contentious] 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

¹² Relevant to Nicolas Sarkozy.

¹³ Not applicable to Nicolas Sarkozy.

¹⁴ Not applicable to Nicolas Sarkozy.

them, they may be disinclined to carry out responsibilities as well as they could. Ambivalent about their lives and relationships, they may get into problematic wrangles and disappointments as they vacillate between acceptance one time and resistance the next. When matters go well, they can be productive and constructively independent-minded, willing to speak out to remedy troublesome issues. (p. 34)

According to Millon (1996, p. 554), the normal, adaptive variant of the Contentious pattern corresponds to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Mercurial* style; however, the case can be made that its normal, *discontented* variant has more in common with Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Leisurely* style. Moreover, the *Mercurial* style appears to be a better fit for the less maladaptive (*unstable*) form of the Erratic pattern (Scale 0). Oldham and Morris (1995) describe the *Leisurely* style as follows:

Free to be me — no one can take this right away from the person who has a *Leisurely* personality style. These men and women play by the rules and fulfill their responsibilities and obligations. But once they've put in their time, they will let no person, institution, or even culture deprive them of their personal pursuit of happiness, for to the *Leisurely* person, this is what life is all about. . . . If threatened, these normally easygoing individuals will vigorously defend their fundamental right to do their "own thing." (p. 203).

Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal (*sensitive*) prototype of the Contentious 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:

Sensitive [Contentious] personalities tend to be unconventional and individualistic in their response to the world. They march to the beat of a different drummer and are frequently unhappy with the status quo. They may be quick to challenge rules or authority deemed arbitrary and unjust. They may also harbor resentment without expressing it directly and may revert to passive-aggressive behavior to make their feelings known. Many sensitive people feel as if they don't fit in, and view themselves as lacking in interpersonal skills. In fact, to others they often appear awkward, nervous, or distracted, and seem angry or dissatisfied with themselves and others. They can be indecisive and have fluctuating moods and interests. An air of uncertainty and general dissatisfaction may reflect an underlying dependency and sense of personal inadequacy. With their best side forward, sensitive persons can be spontaneous, creative, and willing to speak out for what they believe in. These qualities make them especially suited to jobs that are not rule-bound, that give them a certain independence from supervision, and that require unusual duties or creative expression. (From Strack, 1997, pp. 490–491, with minor modifications)

Scale 2–5B/7: The Ambitious–Contentious/Reticent Composite Pattern

A highly Ambitious (Scale 2) personality pattern, combined with substantial Contentious (Scale 5B) and/or Reticent (Scale 7) features, suggests a personality composite that Millon (1996, pp. 411–412; see also Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 278–279) has labeled the *compensatory narcissist* — a narcissistic (i.e., Ambitious) subtype infused with avoidant (i.e., Reticent) and/or negativistic (i.e., Contentious) features:

The compensating variant essentially captures the psychoanalytic [self-psychological] understanding of the narcissistic personality. The early experiences of compensating narcissists are not too dissimilar to those of the avoidant and negativistic personalities. All have suffered "wounds" early in life. Rather than collapse under the weight of inferiority and retreat from public view, like

the avoidant, or vacillate between loyalty and anger, like the negativist, however, the compensating narcissist develops an illusion of superiority. Life thus becomes a search to fulfill aspirations of status, recognition, and prestige. . . .

Like avoidant personalities, compensating narcissists are exceedingly sensitive to the reactions of others, noting every critical judgment, feeling slighted by every sign of disapproval. Unlike avoidants, however, they seek to conceal their deep sense of deficiency from others, and from themselves, by creating a façade of superiority. (Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 278–279)

Compensatory narcissists deviate in a fundamental way from other narcissistic subtypes as well as from the prototypal narcissist. The origins that undergird their overtly narcissistic behaviors derive from an underlying sense of insecurity and weakness, rather than from genuine feelings of self-confidence and high self-esteem. . . .

Compensatory narcissists need others to fulfill their strivings for prestige. Their motive is to enhance their self-esteem, to obtain and to store up within the self all forms of recognition that will “glorify” their public persona. . . . As this inflated and overvalued sense of self rises evermore highly, these narcissists look down on others as devalued plebeians. More and more, they acquire a deprecatory attitude in which the achievements of others are ridiculed and degraded. . . .

Owing to the insecure foundations on which their narcissistic displays are grounded, compensatory narcissists are “hypervigilant.” . . . What is meant here is they are exquisitely sensitive to how others react to them, watching and listening carefully for any critical judgment, and feeling slighted by every sign of disapproval. . . . [T]hese narcissists are prone to feel shamed and humiliated, especially hyperanxious and vulnerable to the judgments of others. . . . [However,] they do not act shy and hesitant, as would seem likely. Instead, they submerge and cover up their deep sense of inadequacy and deficiency by pseudo-arrogance and superficial grandiosity. (Millon, 1996, pp. 411–412; italics in original)

Theoretical Links Between Personality Patterns and Leadership Style

Because high-level leaders, like all human beings, tend to exhibit more than one significant or predominant personality pattern, it is useful to begin an examination of the links between personality patterns and leadership style by serially hypothesizing about the influence of each personality prototype on leadership style. In the case of Sarkozy, we will examine hypothesized linkages between his primary Ambitious and Dominant personality patterns and his likely leadership style (adapted from Steinberg, 2008).

1. Motivation for leading

Leaders with prominent **Ambitious** personality traits are likely to be motivated by *power*, *pragmatism*, *ideology*, and *self-validation*, in descending order of importance. As extremely confident, often arrogant, individuals with a strong belief in their talents and their leadership ability, *power* is an obvious motivator for their leadership behavior. Their ambition, which is largely in the service of their own personal needs, may also dictate a policy of *pragmatism* as a way of ensuring their continued success. At the same time, given that their personality patterns demonstrate cognitive expansiveness, that is, displaying extraordinary confidence in their own ideas and potential for success, they may be motivated by *ideology* and the wish to transform their societies. Those ranking very high on the Ambitious scale have a strong narcissistic component to their personalities, with a corresponding need for affirmation of their self-esteem; thus, they are likely to be motivated by the need for *personal validation*.

Forceful, controlling leaders with a **Dominant** pattern are conjectured to be primarily concerned with issues of *power* and *ideology*; at the same time they are expected to be significantly less occupied with pragmatic or self-validation issues. To assert control over one's environment in the face of opposition requires the acquisition of power; in addition, such individuals — given their strong opinions and ideas — might be expected to have an ideological bent. Because they are not interested in maintaining a version of the status quo, they are less likely to be pragmatic in their outlook. Nor are they primarily concerned with being liked; hence, they display a relative lack of interest in issues of self-validation.

2. Task orientation

Leaders who rank high on the **Ambitious** scale are more likely to be *goal-* rather than process oriented. Motivated by factors that involve their own advancement and success, their interest in maintaining good relations with their colleagues is much less important than their ability to achieve their goals.

Dominant leaders are more likely to be *goal-* rather than process oriented. Motivated by power and ideology, the assumption is that they are less likely to be interested in maintaining good relations among their colleagues and more interested in accomplishing ideological goals.

3. Investment in job performance

The strong desire of **Ambitious** leaders to prove themselves means that they are more likely to be *tireless* in the amount of effort they will expend in their jobs.

Because they are motivated by power and ideology, the investment of **Dominant** leaders in job performance is more likely to be *tireless* rather than circumscribed. For them, not the relaxed, casual, laissez-faire approach.

4. Staff management strategy

Ambitious leaders are more likely to act as *advocates* within their administration than as consensus builders or arbitrators. Given that their personalities stress self-promotion, persuasiveness, and substantial arrogance and entitlement, they are less likely to take on a constrained role for themselves.

Dominant leaders are more likely to act as *advocates* within their administration than as consensus builders or arbitrators.

5. Information management strategy

Because they are activist, **Ambitious** leaders are more likely to exhibit a *high degree of involvement* in managing information and to prefer to obtain their information from a variety of *independent sources* so that they can make up their own minds.

Given their personality pattern (where the emphasis is on domination, toughness, and strong beliefs) and the nature of their goals and the energy they bring to bear on their implementation, **Dominant** leaders are also more likely to exhibit a *high degree of involvement* in managing information. In addition, their competitiveness leads them to prefer to obtain their information from a variety of *independent sources*, rather than relying merely on administration and civil service sources.

6. Personnel relations – degree and type of involvement

In the arena of personnel management, **Ambitious** leaders are likely to be *highly interactive* with civil servants and personal staff and to treat their subordinates in a *manipulative/exploitive*, even arrogant fashion. They are also more likely to engage in *attention-seeking/seductive* behavior than other personality types, except for the Outgoing personality, because they require a good deal of self-validation to maintain their somewhat fragile self-esteem.

In the area of personnel management, **Dominant** leaders can be expected to be both *highly interactive* with aides, assistants, and staff and — given their concern with power as a means of exercising control — to treat their subordinates in an extremely *demanding/domineering*, and perhaps even *manipulative/exploitative* fashion.

7. Party-political relations

In their dealings with members of their party in the legislative branch of government, their national party organization, and opposition parties, **Ambitious** leaders are likely to be involved and to exhibit a broad range of behaviors. When it appears that behaving in a *cooperative/harmonious* manner will further their interests, they will do so for instrumental reasons. But their self-involved and entitled disposition will more frequently produce behavior that is *competitive/oppositional* and *controlling/overbearing*. However, because Ambitious personality types are more likely than their Dominant counterparts to exhibit both cooperative and competitive behavior with their staff, the expectation is that the latter will demonstrate a greater percentage of controlling and overbearing behavior in this area.

In their dealings with members of their own party in the legislative branch of government, their national party organization, and opposition parties, **Dominant** leaders are unlikely to remain uninvolved or to behave in a cooperative/harmonious fashion. Given their competitive nature, they probably view all these constituencies as potential sources of challenge to their leadership, and thus their leadership behavior is more likely to be *competitive/oppositional* and even *controlling/overbearing*.

8. Media relations

In the arena of media relations, **Ambitious** leaders may enjoy some degree of harmonious relations with the press, if they feel the press can be manipulated. However, the combination of a critical press and the sensitivity of the Ambitious personality to narcissistic wounding means that their relationship is more likely to be *closed*, characterized by a lack of cooperation and even outright hostility.

In the arena of media relations, **Dominant** leaders are equally unlikely to enjoy harmonious relations with the media; rather, they will want to dominate and control it. As a result, their relationship with the media is more likely to be characterized as *closed* (uncooperative or hostile) in a competition for control over the image and agenda projected.

9. Public relations

In their relations with the public, **Ambitious** leaders can be expected to be more *active* than passive. Given their self-confidence and their certitude about themselves and their persuasiveness, such leaders will more probably prefer to articulate and defend their policies themselves rather than relying on others.

In their dealings with the public, **Dominant** leaders can be expected to be *active* rather than passive. Given their strong-willed, outspoken personalities, such leaders are likely to show a preference for personally articulating and defending their policies.

Leadership Implications

There may be some utility in coordinating the present findings with alternative models of political personality. Dean Keith Simonton (1988), for example, has proposed five empirically derived presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative). Given the fidelity with which they mirror the currently popular five-factor model, whose correlates with Millon's personality patterns have been empirically established (Millon, 1994, p. 82), Simonton's stylistic dimensions may have considerable heuristic value for establishing links between personality and political leadership.

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

From Simonton's perspective, Sarkozy's elevated Scale 6 (Conscientious) score suggests a *deliberative* leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor. According to Simonton (1988), the deliberative leader

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

In terms of Etheredge's (1978) fourfold typology of personality-based foreign policy role orientations, which locates policymakers on the dimensions of dominance–submission and introversion–extraversion, Sarkozy's Scale 1A (Dominant) elevation suggests that he is highly dominant in orientation. His considerable elevation on Scale 3 (Outgoing), in conjunction with a flat Scale 8 (Retiring), offers convincing evidence of extraversion. Thus, Sarkozy is best classified as a *high-dominance extravert* in Etheredge's (1978) typology of personality-based foreign policy

role orientations. Etheredge contends that high-dominance extraverts (such as U.S. presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Lyndon 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).

From the perspective of Hermann's (1987) sixfold typology, the best fit for Sarkozy, with his elevated Scales 1A and 1B, appears to be the *active-independent* orientation to foreign affairs. These leaders, though recognizing the importance of other countries, are self-reliant and prefer to participate in international affairs on their own terms and without engendering a dependent relationship with other countries (p. 168).

In terms of personal political style, they "[s]eek a variety of information before making a decision; examine carefully the possible consequences of alternatives under consideration for dealing with a problem; [and] cultivate relationships with a diverse group of nations" (Hermann, 1987, p. 169).

The foreign policy resulting from their personal orientation is generally "focused on economic and security issues." Their behavior "is usually positive in tone but involves little commitment" because they "shun commitments that limit maneuverability and . . . independence" (Hermann, 1987, p. 169).

In conclusion, the major implication of the study is that it offers an empirically based personological framework for anticipating Nicolas Sarkozy's leadership style as chief executive.

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