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**THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY  
OF U.S. PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH**

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## Introduction

The pivotal role of personality in politics has received growing recognition in recent presidential campaigns. *Texas Monthly* magazine, for example, in the preface to its June 1999 special report on George W. Bush, asserted that

personal details are exactly what people want to know about presidential candidates. Most elections are about issues, but a presidential election is about choosing a leader — and personal characteristics make a leader. That was true even for Ronald Reagan, the most ideological president in modern times. He attracted his political base with his ideas but won his elections by force of personality. (“Who is George W. Bush?” 1999, p. 105)

This perspective provides the context for the current chapter, which presents an analysis of the personality of U.S. president George W. Bush and examines the political implications of his personality profile with respect to presidential leadership and executive performance.

### *Background to the Study*

In his landmark work *Personality and Politics* (1969), Greenstein lamented that the study of personality in politics was “*not* a thriving scholarly endeavor,” principally because “scholars who study politics do not feel equipped to analyze personality in ways that meet their intellectual standards. . . . [rendering it primarily] the preserve of journalists” (p. 2). Compounding his pessimism, Greenstein (1969) noted that the personality-and-politics literature was “formidably gnarled — empirically, methodologically, and conceptually” (p. 2).

The present volume bears witness to the fact that the study of political personality *has* thrived as a scholarly endeavor in the three decades since Greenstein’s bleak prognostication. But it is equally evident that the field has not evolved beyond an embryonic, preparadigmatic (Kuhn, 1970) stage of scientific inquiry. As Millon (1991) has cogently stated, “unrelated knowledge and techniques . . . are a sign of a primitive science” (p. 358). The current study attempts to narrow the conceptual and methodological gap that still exists between contemporary personality theory, standard psychodiagnostic procedures, and theories of political leadership on the one hand, and the study of personality in politics on the other.

Conceptually, the present study is informed by Theodore Millon’s model of personality (1969, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1991, 1994a, 1996; Millon & Davis, 2000; Millon & Everly, 1985) as adapted (Immelman, 1993a, 1998) for the study of personality in politics. The methodology, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*,<sup>1</sup> entails the construction of theoretically grounded personality profiles derived from empirical analysis of biographical source materials.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term *meta-analysis* because the personality profiles represent a synthesis of the observations of others, including biographers, psychobiographers, historians, psychohistorians, journalists, political analysts, and political psychologists. I use the term *psychodiagnostic* because the conceptual framework is more closely related to the realm of contemporary clinical assessment than to classic psychobiography or to conventional social-psychological and cognitive approaches to the assessment of political personality. The “psychodiagnostic” label is not intended to imply a presupposition of psychopathology: *diagnostic* is used in a generic sense to denote a process “serving to distinguish or identify,” as defined in *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary* (1997); accordingly, the object is to identify a leader’s enduring personality configuration and to specify its political implications.

The psychodiagnostic approach to studying political personality is equivalent to that of Simonton (1986, 1988) in that it quantifies, reduces, and organizes qualitative data derived from published biographical materials. As observed by Simonton, who has credited Etheredge (1978) with establishing the diagnostic utility “of abstracting individual traits immediately from biographic data” to uncover the link between personality and political leadership (1990, p. 677), “biographical materials [not only] . . . supply a rich set of facts about childhood experiences and career development . . . [but] such secondary sources can offer the basis for personality assessments as well” (1986, p. 150).

It goes without saying that the validity of personality assessments based on biographical accounts and other sources of data in the public domain is restricted by the quality of these secondary sources. Nonetheless, in my opinion this approach is superior to the more common procedure of soliciting expert ratings on personality measures. Although the latter method has the advantage of permitting the investigator to establish interrater reliability, it raises accountability problems — a difficulty overcome in the present procedure by means of the transparency with which item endorsements on the personality measure are documented, and therefore open to independent verification and replication (see “Diagnostic Procedure” in the Method section).

Depending on the purpose of the assessment, the present approach may also be preferable to conventional content-analytic procedures. Although content analysis has been successfully employed to assess politically relevant psychological variables such as motives (Winter, 1987), cognitive complexity (Suedfeld & Wallace, 1995), and aspects of world view and personal political style that contribute to a leader’s foreign policy role orientation (Hermann, 1987), it is conceptually and methodologically at variance with standard approaches to personality assessment in professional psychodiagnostic practice (Immelman, 1993a; see also note 4).

### ***Millon’s Model of Personality and Its Utility for Political Personality Assessment***

A comprehensive review of Millon’s personological model and its applicability to political personality has been provided elsewhere (see Immelman, 1993a, 1998). Briefly, Millon’s model encompasses eight attribute domains, namely expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization (see Table 1). In short, political personality assessment grounded in Millon’s system is multidimensional, which affords the distinct advantage of accounting for (to quote Millon & Davis, 2000) “the patterning of [personality] variables across the entire matrix of the person” (p. 65). Furthermore, a distinctive aspect of Millon’s model is that it offers an integrative view of normality and psychopathology: “No sharp line divides normal from pathological behavior; they are relative concepts representing arbitrary points on a continuum or gradient” (Millon, 1994b, p. 283). This conceptual feature has important implications for the assessment of personality in politics; it enhances the predictive utility of the method by anticipating, with theoretical precision, the character of a leader’s coping strategies in the face of adversity and the likely course of catastrophic breakdown in adaptive functioning, rare though this contingency may be.

**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 underlies 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* (chap. 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.

### ***Purpose of the Study***

The present investigation is a psychodiagnostic case study of George Walker Bush, at the time of the study governor of the state of Texas and presumptive Republican Party nominee in the 2000 presidential election. The purpose of the study was to construct a Millon-based personality profile of Bush and to explore the relationship between his prevailing personality patterns and prospective political role performance as president of the United States.

## 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 George W. Bush.

**Sources of data.** Diagnostic information pertaining to the personal and public lives of George W. Bush was gathered during the 2000 presidential campaign from a variety of published materials. The following sources were consulted for diagnostic information:

1. *First Son: George W. Bush and the Bush Family Dynasty* (1999), a biography by Bill Minutaglio of *The Dallas Morning News*.
2. *George W. Bush: A Charge to Keep* (1999), Bush's campaign autobiography.
3. "Is There Room on a Republican ticket for Another Bush?" by Sam Howe Verhovek, *New York Times* Texas correspondent for five years, in the September 13, 1998 issue of *The New York Times Magazine*.
4. "Who is George W. Bush?" — a special report in the June 1999 issue of *Texas Monthly* magazine, including generally admiring contributions by Pamela Colloff, Helen Thorpe, Skip Hollandsworth, Patricia Kilday Hart, Evan Smith, Joe Nick Patoski, and Paul Burka.
5. A seven-part series of articles by Lois Romano and George Lardner Jr., in the July 25–31, 1999 issues of *The Washington Post*.

**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.<sup>2</sup> Information concerning the construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual (Immelman, 1999).<sup>3</sup>

Following Millon (1986b), each of the 170 MIDC items consists of a defining term and a brief description that amplifies or elucidates the diagnostic indicators of the criterion. The MIDC taps the five attribute domains characterized by Millon (1990, p. 157) as essentially "noninferential," namely expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, and self-image. Millon (1990) has attested that this "narrower scope of [five directly observable] attributes . . . [is] sufficient to provide a reasonably comprehensive picture" of a person's major characteristics (p. 160).

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<sup>2</sup> No doubt the placement of individuals on the adaptive–maladaptive continuum is a complex and controversial undertaking (see Frances, Widiger, & Sabshin, 1991, for a review). Establishing the viability and utility of such an endeavor awaits empirical confirmation.

<sup>3</sup> Inventory and manual available upon request to qualified professionals.

The 12 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (1994a, 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 (1994a), 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.

[Text continues below Table 2]

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

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

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

## ***Diagnostic Procedure***

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 one; 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 two.

***Data collection.*** The analysis phase, which is the most time-consuming, proceeds as follows: First, the source materials are scrutinized for diagnostically relevant information pertaining to the personal characteristics of the subject. This step constitutes a process analysis<sup>4</sup> in which each source is coded for MIDC prototypal features. It is a task that requires specialized knowledge of Millon's clinical attributes and their diagnostic criteria and is best served — ethically as well as practically — by appropriate clinical training and psychodiagnostic expertise.

***Scoring.*** Next, the subject is rated on the MIDC, drawing from the process analysis of the literature. An MIDC item is endorsed if the presence of the diagnostic criterion (prototypal feature) is substantiated by at least two independent sources, without convincing contradictory evidence from these sources or from other sources consulted. Positively endorsed items are recorded on the MIDC score sheet, whereupon scale scores for each of the 12 scales and item endorsement frequencies for each of the five attribute domains are calculated. Scale scores are then transferred to and plotted on the MIDC profile form.<sup>5</sup>

***Interpretation.*** After scoring the MIDC, the personality profile yielded by the inventory is interpreted. The principal interpretive task is to identify the subject's prevailing personality patterns (categorical distinctiveness) and to note the specific elevation (scale gradation, or dimensional prominence) within each of these patterns. This establishes the identity of the primary and secondary personality designations relevant to describing the political personality of the subject. Personality patterns (i.e., scale labels) and gradations (i.e., types) are reported in the format: Pattern/gradation (e.g., Dominant/asserting).

***Inference.*** The final stage of the diagnostic procedure is to explore the leadership implications of the subject's MIDC profile. Useful resources for interpreting the profile and inferring leadership style are the brief, theoretically grounded narrative descriptions of

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<sup>4</sup> I use the term *process* to accentuate the contrast between the present approach and more conventional content-analytic procedures, which arguably tend to capture surface features of source materials. Process analysis, in contrast to content analysis, seeks to identify the underlying structural and functional personality processes revealed by theory-driven empirical analysis of biographical data with respect to the political leader under investigation.

<sup>5</sup> MIDC score sheet, profile form, and more detailed scoring instructions are available upon request to qualified professionals.

personality patterns provided by Millon (1994a, 1996; Millon & Davis, 2000), Oldham and Morris (1995), and Strack (1997). The resulting personality portrait can be further elaborated by establishing, rationally and intuitively, its discernable conceptual links to more explicitly framed personality-based models of political leadership (e.g., Etheredge, 1978; Hermann, 1987; Renshon, 1996; Simonton, 1988).

### ***Cross-Cultural Considerations***

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

The present method has been used to study leaders on four continents. In addition to earlier studies of U.S. leaders (e.g., Immelman, 1998) and South African presidents F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela (Immelman, 1993b, 1994), psychodiagnostic meta-analysis more recently has been employed in studies of Dutch politicians (De Landtsheer, van der Schaaf, & Immelman, 2002; van der Schaaf, 2000) and of prime ministers Indira Gandhi of India, Golda Meir of Israel, and Margaret Thatcher of Britain (in progress; B. S. Steinberg, personal communication, November 20, 2000).

## **Results**

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

Bush received 34 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Descriptive statistics for Bush's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
***MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain for George W. Bush***

Expressive behavior	8
Interpersonal conduct	6
Cognitive style	4
Mood/temperament	8
Self-image	8
Sum	34
Mean	6.8
Standard deviation	1.6

Bush's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4 and graphically displayed in Figure 1.

**Table 4**  
**MIDC Scale Scores for George W. Bush**

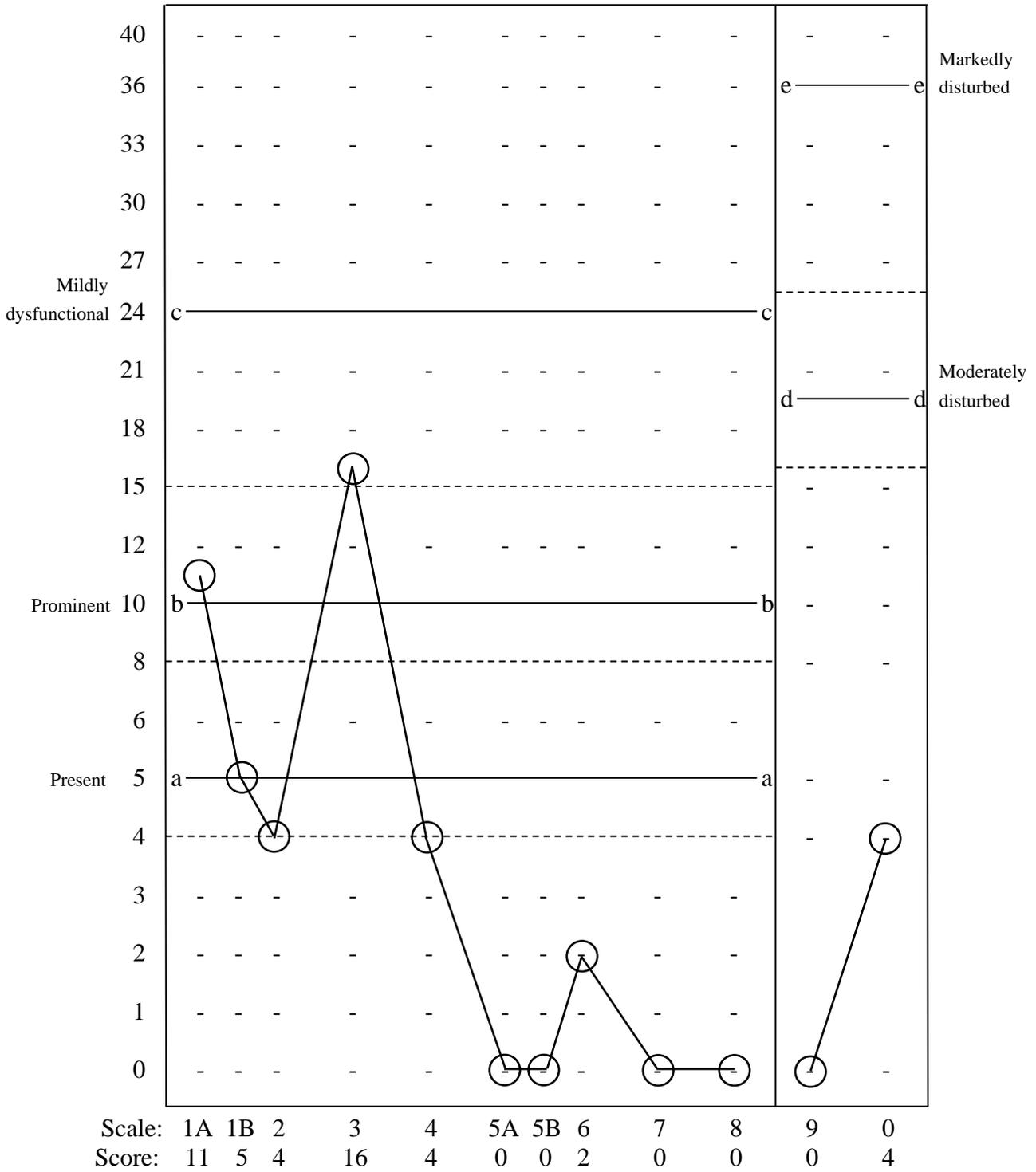
Scale	Personality pattern	Raw	RT%
1A	Dominant (Controlling)	11	26.2
1B	Dauntless (Dissenting)	5	11.9
2	Ambitious (Asserting)	4	9.5
3	Outgoing (Outgoing)	16	38.1
4	Accommodating (Agreeing)	4	9.5
5A	Aggrieved (Yielding)	0	0.0
5B	Contentious (Complaining)	0	0.0
6	Conscientious (Conforming)	2	4.8
7	Reticent (Hesitating)	0	0.0
8	Retiring (Retiring)	0	0.0
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	42	100.0
9	Distrusting	0	0.0
0	Erratic	4	8.7
	Full-scale total	46	108.7

*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). Scale names in parentheses signify equivalent personality patterns in the Millon Index of Personality Styles (Millon, 1994a).

The MIDC profile yielded by the raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.<sup>6</sup> Bush's most elevated scale, with a score of 16, is Scale 3 (Outgoing), followed by Scale 1A (Dominant), with a score of 11. The primary Scale 3 elevation is well within the *prominent* (10–23) range and the secondary elevation (Scale 1A) is just within this range. One additional scale is diagnostically significant: Scale 1B (Dauntless) with a score of 5, placing this modest elevation just within the *present* (5–9) range. Scale 2 (Ambitious) and Scale 4 (Accommodating) approach diagnostic significance.

<sup>6</sup> See Table 2 for scale names. Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1–8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation a) of the personality pattern in question; scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (gradation b) variant; and scores of 24 or higher indicate an exaggerated, *mildly dysfunctional* (gradation c) variation of the pattern. For Scales 9 and 0, scores of 20 through 35 indicate a *moderately disturbed* syndrome and scores of 34 through 45 a *markedly disturbed* syndrome.

**Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for George W. Bush**



In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, George W. Bush was classified as an amalgam of the Outgoing/gregarious and Dominant/controlling personality patterns, with subsidiary features of the Dauntless/adventurous pattern.<sup>7</sup> Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, Bush's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are within normal limits, though Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 1A (Dominant) are moderately elevated, in the *prominent* range.

## Discussion

The discussion of the results examines George W. Bush's MIDC scale elevations from the perspective of Millon's (1994a, 1996; Millon & Davis, 2000) model of personality, supplemented by the theoretically congruent portraits of Oldham and Morris (1995) and Strack (1997). The discussion concludes with a theoretically integrative synthesis of President Bush's personality-based leadership qualities.

With his elevated Scale 3, George W. Bush emerged from the assessment as a predominantly gregarious type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Outgoing pattern. In interpreting Bush's profile, due consideration also must be given to his concurrent elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant), which modulates his Outgoing pattern.

### *Scale 3: The Outgoing Pattern*

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

Normal, adaptive variants of the Outgoing pattern (i.e., congenial and gregarious types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Dramatic* style, Strack's (1997) *sociable* style, and Millon's (1994a) *Outgoing* pattern. In combination with the Ambitious pattern (Scale 2) — which is modestly elevated in the case of Bush — the Outgoing pattern bears some resemblance to Simonton's (1988) *charismatic* presidential style; and in combination with the Accommodating pattern (Scale 4) — also modestly elevated in Bush's profile — to Simonton's *interpersonal* style. Millon (1994a)<sup>8</sup> 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

<sup>7</sup> In each case the label preceding the slash signifies the basic pattern, whereas the label following the slash indicates the specific scale gradation, or personality type, on the dimensional continuum; see Table 2.

<sup>8</sup> All Millon 1994a citations in this chapter 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.

people like them. Most enjoy engaging in social activities, and like meeting new people and learning about their lives. Talkative, lively, socially clever, they are often dramatic attention-getters who thrive on being the center of social events. Many become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks. . . . [Although prone to] intense and shifting moods. . . . 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 prototype of the Outgoing pattern:

[Outgoing] individuals have a need for attention and approval. . . . They can be quite sensitive to the needs and wants of others, at least to those aspects that will help them get the attention they seek. . . . 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, [and] may be skilled and adept at rallying or motivating others. (From Strack, 1997, p. 489, with minor modifications)

Millon's (1994a) and Strack's (1997) descriptions of the outgoing, sociable personality style provide the theoretical underpinnings for what Drew (1994), with reference to Bill Clinton, called "a very personal presidency" (p. 15). Leadership ability may well be impaired in individuals who "become easily bored, especially when faced with repetitive and mundane tasks," and who are prone to "intense and shifting moods." These shortcomings must, however, be weighed against the high degree of skill with which these individuals are able to engage their Outgoing talents of "energizing and motivating others," as affirmed in Bush's own words in a 1994 interview with Tom Fiedler of the *Miami Herald*: "When your name is George Bush, with the kind of personality I have, which is a very engaging personality, at least outgoing, in which my job is to sell tickets to baseball games, you're a public person" (quoted in Minutaglio, 1999, p. 291).

It bears note that Bush's Outgoing personality features, particularly in combination with his modest loadings on Scale 1B (Dauntless) and Scale 2 (Ambitious), and his low score on Scale 6 (Conscientious), may render him susceptible to errors of judgment by contributing to "neglect of the role demands of political office, low resistance to corrupting influences, and impulsiveness. . . . [as well as] favoring loyalty and friendship over competence-for-the-position in making appointments to high-level public office" (Immelman, 1993a, p. 736). However, his extensive connections with the political establishment, his cessation of alcohol use, and the attenuating effect of aging may temper the tendency toward such lapses of judgment.

Millon's personality patterns have predictable, reliable, and — for the most part — observable psychological indicators (expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization). Owing to the clinical emphasis of his model, Millon's (1996) attribute domains accentuate the maladaptive range of the personality patterns in his taxonomy — in the case of the Outgoing pattern, the impulsive pole of the congenial–gregarious–impulsive continuum. The "normalized" (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 238) diagnostic features of the Outgoing pattern are summarized below; nonetheless, some of the designated traits may be attenuated, less pronounced, and more adaptive in the case of George W. Bush.

**Expressive behavior.** 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. As leaders they tend to lack “gravitas” and may be prone to scandal, predisposed to reckless, imprudent behaviors, and inclined to make spur-of-the-moment decisions without carefully considering alternatives. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 366–367, 371; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

**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. They are interpersonally seductive. In a political leadership role, these traits translate into a substantial need for validation, one manifestation of which may be an overreliance on polls as an instrument of policy direction and formulation. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 367–368, 371; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

**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. They may be slow to learn from their mistakes and prone to thoughtless judgments. Politically speaking, more extreme forms of the Outgoing pattern may result in lapses of judgment and flawed decision making. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 368–369, 371; Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 236)

**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 this personality pattern are skilled at staying in touch with public sentiments, but may be mercurial, volatile, or capricious, prone to periodic emotional outbursts, and easily angered or bored. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 370–371)

**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, Outgoing personalities are confident in their social abilities. In politics, Outgoing personalities, more than any other character types, are political animals strongly attracted to the lure of campaigning. They thrive on the validation of self offered by adulating crowds and the frenetic, connect-with-people activity of whistle-stop tours, political rallies, and town meetings. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 369, 371; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

**Regulatory mechanisms.** The core diagnostic feature of the regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of 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. Whereas healthy self-distraction is generally adaptive in coping with the stress of high-level public office, some of its political implications may be troubling — including a leader’s failure to face up to unpleasant or dissonant thoughts, feelings, and actions, which may be compounded by cosmetic image-making as revealed in a succession of socially attractive but changing facades. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 370)

**Object representations.** The core diagnostic feature of the object representations of Outgoing individuals is their *shallow* nature. Outgoing personalities characteristically seek stimulation, attention, and excitement, presumably to fill an inner void. These individuals thrive on the thrill of the political campaign, and in office may not be averse to instigating a crisis for instrumental purposes. Thus, although generally conflict averse, they may engage in brinkmanship to force a desired outcome. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 369)

**Morphologic organization.** The core diagnostic feature of the morphologic organization of Outgoing individuals is *exteroceptiveness*; they tend to focus on external matters and the here-and-now, being neither introspective nor dwelling excessively on the past, presumably to blot out awareness of a relatively insubstantial inner self. Their internal controls are relatively scattered and unintegrated, with ad hoc methods for restraining impulses, coordinating defenses, and resolving conflicts. The personal political style of these individuals, hypothetically, may have a similar quality, with ad hoc strategies sometimes displacing the disciplined pursuit of carefully formulated policy objectives. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 370)

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

Few people exhibit personality patterns in “pure” or prototypal form; more often, individual personalities represent a blend of two or more prevailing orientations. As noted earlier, Bush’s secondary elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant) modulates<sup>9</sup> his primary Outgoing pattern. Bush’s loading on Scale 1A classifies him as a controlling type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Dominant pattern.

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, and Millon’s (1994a) *Controlling* pattern. In combination with the Conscientious and Contentious patterns, an elevated Dominant pattern points to Simonton’s (1988) *deliberative* presidential style; however, Bush obtained very low scores on both of these scales, suggesting a less studied, more spontaneous, freewheeling — possibly impatient or impulsive — leadership style. According to Millon (1994a), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals:

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<sup>9</sup> Bush’s well-documented habit of giving people nicknames offers an interesting illustration of the interaction between his Dominant and Outgoing orientations. Outgoing personalities seek personal approval and validation, and they may do so in a manipulative, seductive manner. Dominant personalities, on the other hand, strive to exert dominance and control. In dispensing nicknames, Bush has apparently devised a strategy of asserting his dominance and control in a playful, relatively nonthreatening manner.

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

Caution should be exercised in applying Millon's description of the Controlling pattern to Bush, given that the Dominant pattern is not his primary orientation. This caveat also holds for Oldham and Morris's (1995) portrait of the Aggressive personality, which supplements Millon's description:

[Dominant individuals] 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) provides the following portrait of the normal prototype of the Dominant pattern, aspects of which can be expected to modify Bush's primary Outgoing pattern:

[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. . . . 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 (1994a), Oldham and Morris's (1995), and Strack's (1997) descriptions of the controlling, aggressive, forceful personality style are theoretically congruent with Minutaglio's (1999) contention that George W. Bush "loved it when author Richard Ben Cramer [in his 1993 book, *What It Takes*] had described him as an ass-kicking foot soldier, a quick-witted spy, the 'Roman candle' in the family" (p. 311).

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

In view of questions raised during his presidential campaign about George W. Bush's personal conduct as a young adult, his modest elevation on Scale 1B (Dauntless), with a diagnostically significant score of 5, warrants brief comment. Bush's scale elevation meets the minimum criterion for identifying the presence of a Dauntless/adventurous element in his overall personality configuration. Normal, adaptive variants of the Dauntless pattern (i.e., adventurous and dissenting types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Adventurous* style, Millon's (1994a) *Dissenting* pattern, and the low poles of Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* and *interpersonal* presidential styles.

It should be noted that Adventurous (Oldham & Morris, 1995) and Dissenting (Millon, 1994a) personalities are adaptive variants of antisocial personality disorder. Perhaps by dint of more favorable socialization experiences, these more adaptive styles express themselves "in behaviors that are minimally obtrusive, especially when manifested in sublimated forms, such as independence strivings, ambition, competition, risk-taking, and adventuresomeness" (Millon, 1996, p. 449).

Millon's description of this pattern provides the theoretical underpinnings for what Bush himself has variously alluded to as his "nomadic" years (see Romano, 1998) and the "so-called wild, exotic days" of his youth (see Hollandsworth, 1999); indeed, the DSM-IV's description of antisocial personalities as "excessively opinionated, self-assured, or cocky" people with "a glib, superficial charm" (APA, 1994, p. 646) does not seem too far removed from accounts of the "young and irresponsible" (see Minutaglio, 1999, p. 320) Bush in his twenties.

It must be emphasized, however, that antisocial-spectrum personality patterns (see Millon & Davis, 1998, pp. 161–170) commonly become less pervasive, intrusive, and maladaptive by early middle age. According to DSM-IV, "Antisocial Personality Disorder has a chronic course but may become less evident or remit as the individual grows older, particularly in the fourth decade of life" (APA, 1994, p. 648). The conventional wisdom is that George W. Bush's "so-called wild, exotic days" ended the day after his 40<sup>th</sup> birthday when he quit drinking and began to turn his life around. Of course, there is no way of determining whether this is diagnostically significant or sheer coincidence.

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

It is not only in socially underprivileged families or underclass communities that we see the emergence of antisocial individuals. The key problem for all has been their failure to experience the feeling of being treated fairly and having been viewed as a person/child of value in the family context. Such situations occur in many middle- and upper-middle class families. Here, parents may have given special attention to another sibling who was admired and highly esteemed, at least in the eyes of the "deprived" youngster. (p. 462)

The circumstances surrounding the death of his three-year-old sister Robin when George was seven, younger brother Jeb's early achievements, and the unspoken burden of being the standard bearer of the Bush legacy may all have played a part in the emergence of these — admittedly speculative — dynamics. Verhovek (1998), for example, writes that young George "was a mischievous boy with a passion for sports, especially baseball, and a penchant for wisecracks that may well have its origins in a family tragedy. . . . [B]oth of his parents told friends that George seemed to develop a joking, bantering style in a determined bid to lift them from their grief" (p. 57). And Colloff (1999) explains, "During the seven months that Robin battled the disease at a New York hospital, Barbara Bush stayed at her bedside; George Bush . . . shuttled back and forth between Midland and New York. When he was gone, George W. and his baby brother Jeb were left in the care of family friends" (p. 141).

With reference to Jeb's favored status in the Bush family and the burden of first-born family status, Burka (1999) writes:

[George W. Bush] will inevitably be compared to his father. . . . They spent quality time together . . . but well into George W.'s adulthood, their relationship was marked by the competitive issues that often arise between fathers and firstborn sons. . . . Perhaps the source of the tension lies in the status within the family of brother Jeb, seven years his junior . . . , who was regarded as the smart one, while George was the smart-alecky one. (p. 115)

There can be little doubt, however, that the life course that George W.'s parents charted for him — following in his father's footsteps to Andover, Yale and the oil fields of Texas, and his prominent role in his father's political campaigns — also bestowed special privileges on the "First Son," scion of the Bush political dynasty.

### ***A Composite Personality Portrait of George W. Bush***

George W. Bush's overall personality configuration, with his primary elevation on Scale 3 (Outgoing), his secondary elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant), his less prominent elevation on Scale 1B (Dauntless), and near-significant elevations on Scale 2 (Ambitious) and Scale 4 (Accommodating) suggests the following composite personality portrait, drawn from the work of Millon:

- Characteristically engaging, energetic, and optimistic; driven by a need for excitement and stimulation and willing to take risks; full of ideas, though tending to be a superficial thinker; likely to start many projects but inconsistent in following through, compensating with a natural salesperson's ability to persuade others to join in getting things done (adapted from Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 111, 242)
- Assertive, realistic, and competitive; enjoys the power to direct others and to evoke respect, often asserting control under the guise of good-natured fun and teasing; authoritative without being authoritarian, tending to use position power for the greater good; creates rules and expects subordinates to follow them, though within reasonable limits (adapted from Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 514–515)
- Disarmingly affable and charming, making a good first impression; possesses a keen ability to read others' motives and desires, and willing to scheme in calculated fashion to realize personal ambitions (adapted from Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 243)
- Congenial, cordial, and agreeable; generally benevolent and approval-seeking, preferring to avoid conflict without being conflict averse; anti-introspective and unwilling to acknowledge disturbing emotions, denying personal difficulties or covering inner conflicts with self-distraction (adapted from Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 211)

### ***Leadership and Policy Implications***

It is possible to coordinate the present findings with alternative models of political personality and complementary theories of political leadership. Renshon (1996), for example, 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).

Simonton (1988), who has proposed five empirically derived presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative), offers another promising frame of reference. 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, 1994a,

p. 82), Simonton's stylistic dimensions may have considerable heuristic value for establishing links between personality and political leadership. Similarly, Etheredge (1978) and 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 relations.

In terms of Renshon's (1996) three critical components of political leadership, Bush's outgoing personality will be instrumental in rallying, energizing, and motivating others, and in concert with his considerable political connections will stand him in good stead with respect to *mobilization*. In the sphere of *orchestration*, Bush's relative paucity of personality traits related to conscientiousness (e.g., sustained focus and attention to detail), along with his extravert's impulsiveness and susceptibility to boredom, may serve as an impediment to presidential performance. Bush is no "policy wonk" — an attribute firmly embedded in his personality — though as governor he proved himself adept at delegating the more mundane aspects and minutiae of the day-to-day operation of his office. This particular leadership skill — rooted in Bush's dominant personality attributes, including the drive to excel, goal-directedness, and proficiency in taking charge and seeing that the job gets done — will also aid Bush in the arena of *consolidation*, where it will potentially augment his outgoing, "retail" politician's skills in consummating his policy objectives.

From Simonton's perspective, Bush'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 his 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" . . . [Dominant, Ambitious], is a "dynamo of energy and determination" . . . [Outgoing, Dominant, Ambitious], . . . "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods" . . . [Outgoing], "has [the] ability to maintain popularity" . . . [Outgoing], [and] "exhibits artistry in manipulation" . . . [Dominant, Ambitious]. (p. 931; associated Millon patterns added)

In addition, the charismatic leader "rarely permits himself 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).

Bush's weak loadings on the Conscientious (Scale 6) and Contentious (Scale 5B) patterns, along with his elevations on the Dauntless (Scale 1B) and Outgoing (Scale 4) patterns, suggest that he 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 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)

To a lesser extent, the deliberative leader is not inclined “to force decisions to be made prematurely,” “knows his limitations,” and does not place “political success over effective policy” (pp. 930, 931). Based on his personality profile, these qualities will likely *not* be hallmarks of the leadership style of President Bush.

Concerning his likely foreign policy orientation, Bush’s profile most closely resembles what Etheredge (1978), in his “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), has called the “high-dominance extrovert.” Etheredge contends that high-dominance extraverts (such as 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)

Bush’s personality profile also converges with Hermann’s (1987) “mediator/integrator” orientation, a foreign policy role orientation motivated by “[c]oncern with reconciling differences between . . . nations, with resolving problems in the international arena” (p. 168). In these leaders’ worldview, conflict can be resolved through third-party mediation, prompting a foreign policy “principally diplomatic in nature,” in which the leader engages in “collaborative activities with other nations to foster [a] sense of mutual trust and understanding.” The rhetoric of these leaders “is generally positive in tone.” They use “consensus-building and group maintenance techniques effectively” and have a personal political style characterized by a “willingness to ‘take a back seat’ in the policymaking process, having an impact without seeming to control” (pp. 168–169).

## ***Conclusion***

George W. Bush’s major personality-based leadership strengths are the important political skills of charisma and interpersonality — a personable, confident, socially responsive, outgoing tendency that will enable him to connect with critical constituencies, mobilize popular support, and retain a following and his self-confidence in the face of adversity. Outgoing leaders characteristically are confident in their social abilities, skilled in the art of social influence, and have a charming, engaging personal style that tends to make people like them and overlook their gaffes and foibles.

Bush’s major personality-based limitations include the propensity for a superficial grasp of complex issues, a predisposition to be easily bored by routine (with the attendant risk of failing to keep himself adequately informed), an inclination to act impulsively without fully appreciating the implications of his decisions or the long-term consequences of his policy initiatives, and a predilection to favor personal connections, friendship, and loyalty over competence in his staffing decisions and appointments — all of which could render a Bush administration relatively vulnerable to errors of judgment.

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