

College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University

DigitalCommons@CSB/SJU

Psychology Faculty Publications

Psychology

3-2020

The Political Personality of 2020 Democratic Presidential Contender Bernie Sanders

Aubrey Immelman

St. John's University / College of St. Benedict, aimmelman@csbsju.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs

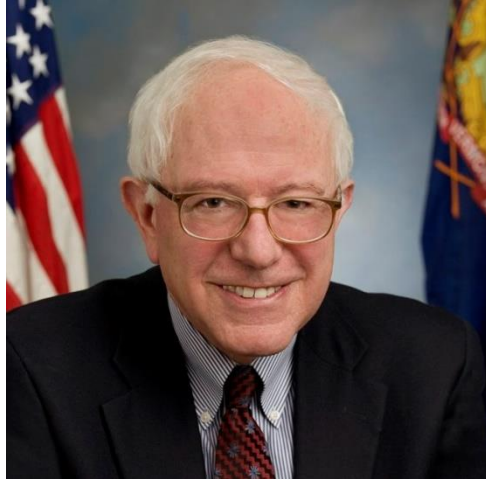


Part of the [American Politics Commons](#), [Leadership Studies Commons](#), [Other Psychology Commons](#), and the [Personality and Social Contexts Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Immelman, A. (2020, March). *The political personality of 2020 Democratic presidential contender Bernie Sanders* (Working Paper No. 1.0). Collegeville and St. Joseph, MN: St. John's University and the College of St. Benedict, Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics. Retrieved from Digital Commons website: http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs/126/

Copyright © 2020 by [Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics](#) / Aubrey Immelman



**THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY
OF 2020 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDER BERNIE SANDERS**

Aubrey Immelman

Department of Psychology
Saint John's University
College of Saint Benedict
St. Joseph, MN 56374
Telephone: (320) 363-5481
E-mail: aimmelman@csbsju.edu

Working Paper — Release 1.0
Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics
<http://personality-politics.org/>

March 2020

Acknowledgments. Data collected by research assistants Christian Grande, Catherine Lundstrom, Hanae Nakamoto, Atarah Pinder, Joe Trenzeluk, and Jacob Wankel (2016); Erik Balder, Tommy Lenard, and Andy Saunders (2019); James Hasselbrink, ad hoc editorial consultant.

Abstract

The Political Personality of 2020 Democratic Presidential Contender Bernie Sanders

Aubrey Immelman
Saint John's University
College of Saint Benedict
St. Joseph, MN 56374, U.S.A.
Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics
<http://personality-politics.org/>

This paper presents the results of an indirect assessment of the personality of U.S. senator Bernie Sanders — a contender for the Democratic nomination in the 2020 presidential election — from the conceptual perspective of personologist Theodore Millon. Information concerning Sanders was collected from biographical sources and media reports and synthesized into a personality profile using the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with *DSM-III-R*, *DSM-IV*, and *DSM-5*.

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. Sanders's primary personality pattern was found to be Dominant/asserting, complemented by secondary Dauntless/adventurous and Ambitious/confident patterns and infused with a Contentious/resolute tendency.

Based on his overall personality configuration, Sanders may be characterized as a *deliberative nonconformist*: tough, strong-willed, and outspoken; fearless, daring, and attracted to challenge; self-confident, persuasive, and competitive; and resolute, with a strong oppositional streak.

As president, leaders with Sanders's personality profile can be expected be deliberative but low on interpersonality (more aloof than interactive), temperamentally active–negative, and more skilled in mobilizing supporters than in consummating policy objectives.

Introduction

This paper reports the results of a psychodiagnostic case study of Bernard Sanders, U.S. senator from Vermont (since 2007) prior to which he represented Vermont in the U.S. House of Representatives (1991–2007) and served as mayor of Burlington (1981–1989).

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

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

Personality may be concisely defined as:

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

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

That perspective provides the context for the current paper, which presents an analysis of the personality of Bernie Sanders and briefly examines the political implications of his personality profile with respect to leadership style and executive performance.

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

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

Table 1
Millon's Eight Attribute Domains

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

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

Method

Materials

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

Sources of data. Diagnostic information pertaining to Sanders was collected from a broad array of approximately 100 media reports that offered useful, diagnostically relevant psychobiographical information.

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

The 12 MIDC scales correspond to major personality patterns posited by Millon (1994, 1996), which are congruent with the syndromes described in the revised third edition, fourth edition, and fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III-R, DSM-IV, and DSM-5)* of the American Psychiatric Association (APA; 1987, 1994, 2013) 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, 2003, 2005, 2014 for a more detailed account of the procedure).

¹ Inventory and manual available to eligible professionals upon request.

Table 2
Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Scales and Gradations

Scale 1A:	Dominant pattern 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 Bernie Sanders, diagnostic classification of the subject, and the clinical interpretation of significant MIDC scale elevations derived from the diagnostic procedure.

Sanders received 29 affirmative (and 20 equivocal/affirmative) endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Judging from endorsement-rate deviations from the mean (see Table 3), data on Sanders's expressive behavior (8 endorsements) were most easily obtained and may be overrepresented in the data set, whereas data on his self-image (3 endorsements) were most difficult to obtain and may be underrepresented in the data set.

Descriptive statistics for Sanders's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.

Table 3
MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain for Bernie Sanders

Attribute domain	Diagnostic criteria (Items)	
	Present	Possible
Expressive behavior	8	12
Interpersonal conduct	6	11
Cognitive style	6	9
Mood/temperament	6	8
Self-image	3	9
Sum	29	49
Mean	5.8	9.8
Standard deviation	1.6	1.5

Sanders's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4. The MIDC profile yielded by Sanders's raw scores is displayed in Figure 1.²

² See Table 2 for scale names. Solid horizontal lines on the profile form signify cut-off scores between adjacent scale gradations. For Scales 1–8, scores of 5 through 9 signify the *presence* (gradation *a*) of the personality pattern in question; scores of 10 through 23 indicate a *prominent* (gradation *b*) variant; and scores of 24 to 30 indicate an exaggerated, *mildly dysfunctional* (gradation *c*) variation of the pattern. For Scales 9 and 0, scores of 20 through 35 indicate a *moderately disturbed* syndrome and scores of 36 through 45 a *markedly disturbed* syndrome.

Table 4
MIDC Scale Scores for Bernie Sanders

Scale	Personality pattern	Lower	Upper
1A	Dominant: Asserting–Controlling–Aggressive (Sadistic)	9	13
1B	Dauntless: Adventurous–Dissenting–Aggrandizing (Antisocial)	5	11
2	Ambitious: Confident–Self-serving–Exploitative (Narcissistic)	5	9
3	Outgoing: Congenial–Gregarious–Impulsive (Histrionic)	3	4
4	Accommodating: Cooperative–Agreeable–Submissive (Dependent)	2	5
5A	Aggrieved: Unpresuming–Self-denying–Self-defeating (Masochistic)	0	1
5B	Contentious: Resolute–Oppositional–Negativistic (Passive-aggressive)	4	12
6	Conscientious: Respectful–Dutiful–Compulsive (Obsessive-compulsive)	3	5
7	Reticent: Circumspect–Inhibited–Withdrawn (Avoidant)	0	0
8	Retiring: Reserved–Aloof–Solitary (Schizoid)	1	2
	Subtotal for basic personality scales	32	62
9	Distrusting: Suspicious–Paranoid (Paranoid)	0	0
0	Erratic: Unstable–Borderline (Borderline)	0	0
	Full-scale total	32	62

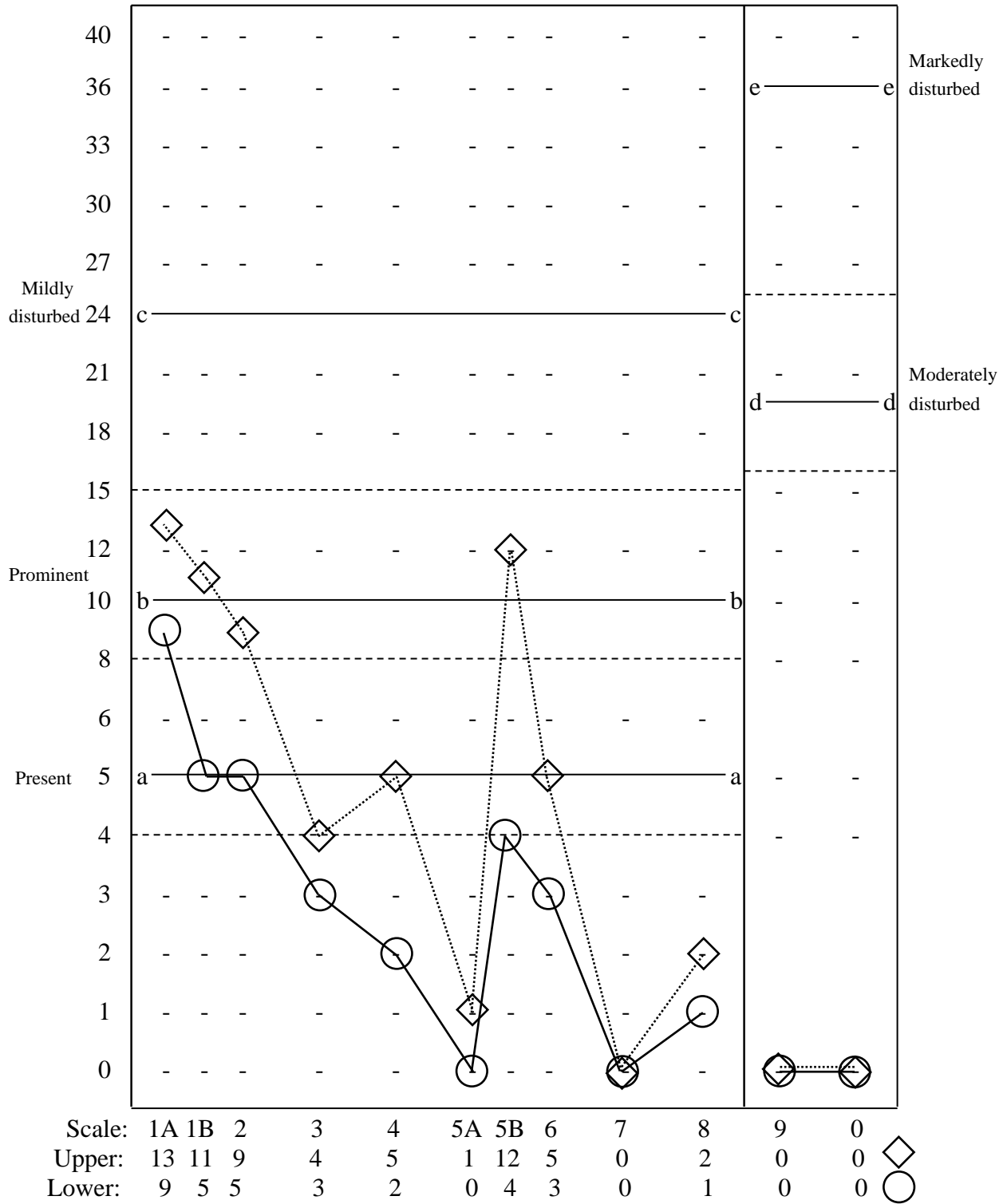
Note. Table 4 depicts the 12 personality patterns along with their normal, exaggerated, and pathological scale gradations and equivalent *DSM* terminology (in parentheses). Interpretation of the data is based on scale scores derived from affirmative MIDC item endorsements only, specified in the column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

Sanders's most elevated scale is Scale 1A (Dominant), with a score of 9. In addition, Sanders obtained secondary elevations on Scale 1B (Dauntless) and Scale 2 (Ambitious), both with a score of 5. The only other scale elevation of note is Scale 5B (Contentious), with a score of 4. The primary Scale 1A elevation approaches the *prominent* (10–26) range, while the secondary elevations on Scales 1B and 2 are at the lower threshold of the *present* (5–9) range. The Scale 5B elevation approaches the lower threshold of the *present* (5–9) range. No other scale elevation is psychodiagnostically significant.

Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, all of Sanders's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are within normal limits. In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, supplemented by clinical judgment, Sanders was classified as primarily a Dominant/asserting personality, complemented by secondary Dauntless/adventurous and Ambitious/confident patterns and a subsidiary Contentious/resolute tendency.³ The prominence of the Dominant pattern, in conjunction with distinctive Dauntless and Ambitious patterns infused with Contentious features, suggests that Sanders is best described as a prototypical *deliberative nonconformist* personality type likely to exhibit an individualistic, relatively *aloof* leadership style in a chief executive role.

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

Figure 1. Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria: Profile for Bernie Sanders



Discussion

The discussion of the results examines Bernie Sanders'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 political implications of Sanders's personality profile.

With his slightly elevated Scale 1A, Sanders emerged from the assessment as an *asserting* type (bordering on controlling, but not aggressive), an adaptive, normal (perhaps slightly exaggerated in some respects) variant of the Dominant pattern. Sanders's modest secondary elevations on Scale 1B (Dauntless) and Scale 2 (Ambitious) reflect adaptive levels of, respectively, adventurousness (or boldness) and self-confidence (adaptive narcissism). Sanders's subsidiary elevation on Scale 5B (Dominant) is above the typical range of presidential candidates,⁴ suggesting — in concert with his secondary Dauntless pattern — an independent streak, with a dissenting orientation and a tendency to go against the grain.

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 pole⁵ are strong-willed, commanding, assertive personalities. Slightly exaggerated Dominant features⁶ occur in forceful, intimidating, controlling personalities. In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form,⁷ 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, the *managerial* segment of Leary's (1957) managerial–autocratic continuum, Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* executive leadership style, and the low pole of his *interpersonal* leadership style. 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. According to Millon (1994), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals

⁴ In descending order of magnitude, the lower and upper bounds of Scale 5B elevations for presidential candidates studied in the 2020 election cycle are: Bernie Sanders, 4–12; Donald Trump, 4–9; Elizabeth Warren, 2–3; Amy Klobuchar, 1–3; Beto O'Rourke, 1–3; Kamala Harris, 1–2; Joe Biden, 1–1; and Pete Buttigieg, 0–1.

⁵ Relevant to Sanders.

⁶ Marginally relevant to Sanders.

⁷ Not applicable to Sanders.

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)

In combination with the Conscientious (Scale 6) pattern (marginally present in the case of Sanders), an elevated Dominant pattern points to a presidential style that Simonton (1988) has labeled *deliberative*.

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

While others may aspire to leadership, Aggressive [Dominant] men and women move instinctively to the helm. ... 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) provides 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. (Adapted 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 normal variant of the Dominant pattern with respect to each of Millon's eight attribute domains are summarized below, along with the diagnostic features of the exaggerated variant of the pattern. The maladaptive, pathological variant of the Dominant pattern is omitted because it does not apply to Sanders.

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. 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 conceding 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 may respond reflexively and 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. 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. All variants of this pattern are finely attuned to the subtle elements of human interaction, keenly aware of the moods and feelings of others, and skilled at using others' foibles and sensitivities to manipulate them for their own purposes. (Millon, 1996, pp. 484–485)

Mood/temperament. The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Dominant individuals is *irritability*; they have an excitable temper that they may at times find difficult to control. More exaggerated variants of the Dominant pattern tend to be *cold* and unfriendly; they are disinclined to experience and express tender feelings, and have a volatile temper that readily flares into contentious argument and physical belligerence. All variants of this pattern are prone to anger and to a greater or lesser extent deficient in the capacity to share warm or tender feelings, to experience genuine affection and love for another, or to empathize with the needs of others. (Millon, 1996, p. 486; Millon & 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. Hostile behavior 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. Occupationally, socially sanctioned resolution (i.e., sublimation) of hostile urges is seen in the competitive careers to which these aggressive personalities gravitate. (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. (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. 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. (Millon, 1996, p. 486)

Scale 1B: The Dauntless Pattern

The Dauntless pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole are individualistic, daring, adventurous personalities.⁸ Exaggerated Dauntless features occur in somewhat unconscientious, risk-taking, dissenting personalities.⁹ In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form, the Dauntless pattern

⁸ Relevant to Sanders.

⁹ Not applicable to Sanders.

displays itself in reckless, irresponsible, self-aggrandizing behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder.¹⁰

Normal, adaptive variants of the Dauntless pattern (i.e., adventurous and dissenting types) are congruent with Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Adventurous* style, and Millon's (1994) *Dissenting* pattern. Theoretically, the normal, adaptive variant of the Dauntless pattern incorporates facets of the five-factor model's *Extraversion* factor and the low pole of its *Agreeableness* factor; however, the Dissenting scale of the Millon Index of Personality Styles (Millon, 1994) is uncorrelated with the NEO Personality Inventory's (Costa & McCrae, 1985) Extraversion factor, though — as expected — this scale is negatively correlated with its *Agreeableness* factor. In addition, the Dissenting pattern is moderately correlated with the NEO Personality Inventory's *Neuroticism* factor, has a small negative correlation with its *Conscientiousness* factor, and is uncorrelated with its *Openness to Experience* factor (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). The Dauntless pattern, as conceptualized in the MIDC, is congruent with the low poles of Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* and *interpersonal* leadership styles and incorporates elements of his *neurotic* and *charismatic* styles.

According to Oldham and Morris (1995, pp. 227–228), the following eight traits and behaviors are reliable clues to the presence of an Adventurous style:

1. *Nonconformity*. Live by their own internal code of values; not strongly influenced by the norms of society.
2. *Challenge*. Routinely engage in high-risk activities.
3. *Mutual independence*. Not overly concerned about others; expect each individual to be responsible for him- or herself.
4. *Persuasiveness*. “Silver-tongued” charmers talented in the art of social influence.
5. *Wanderlust*. Like to keep moving; live by their talents, skills, ingenuity, and wits.
6. *Wild oats*. History of childhood and adolescent mischief and hell-raising.
7. *True grit*. Courageous, physically bold, and tough.
8. *No regrets*. Live in the present; little guilt about the past or anxiety about the future.

Oldham and Morris (1995) provide the following description of the *Adventurous* style:

[People] with this personality style venture where most mortals fear to tread. ... They live on the edge, challenging boundaries and restrictions, pitting themselves for better or for worse in a thrilling game against their own mortality. No risk, no reward, they say. Indeed, for people with the Adventurous personality style, the risk is the reward. (p. 227)

Ultimately, adventurous types “are fundamentally out for themselves” (Oldham & Morris, 1995, p. 228); they “do not need others to fuel their self-esteem or to provide purpose to their lives, and they don't make sacrifices for other people, at least not easily” (p. 229). Furthermore, they believe in themselves and do not require anyone's approval; they have “a definite sense of what is right or wrong for them, and if something is important to them, they'll do it no matter

¹⁰ Not applicable to Sanders.

what anyone thinks” (p. 229). Despite their self-orientation, adventurous people are capable of advancing a cause incidentally in the service of their personal desires or ambition (p. 229).

Technically, Oldham and Morris’s Adventurous style appears to be a more adaptive variant of Millon’s “risk-taking psychopath,” a composite of his aggrandizing (antisocial) and gregarious (histrionic) personality patterns (see Millon, 1996, p. 452; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164; Millon & Davis, 2000, pp. 111–112).

Millon (1994), who uses the term *Dissenting* as a label for the normal, adaptive variant of the aggrandizing, antisocial pattern, asserts that these individuals tend to “flout tradition,” “act in a notably autonomous fashion,” “are not social-minded,” and “are not inclined to adhere to conventional standards, cultural mores, and organizational regulations” (p. 32). They are

unconventional persons who seek to do things their own way and are willing to take the consequences for doing so. They act as they see fit regardless of how others judge them. Inclined at times to elaborate on or shade the truth, as well as ride close to the edge of the law, they are not conscientious — that is, they do not assume customary responsibilities. Rather, they frequently assert that too many rules stand in the way of people who wish to be free and inventive, and that they prefer to think and act in an independent and often creative way. Many believe that persons in authority are too hard on people who don’t conform. Dissenters dislike following the same routine day after day and, at times, act impulsively and irresponsibly. They will do what they want or believe to be best without much concern for the effects of their actions on others. Being skeptical about the motives of most people, and refusing to be fettered or coerced, they exhibit a strong need for autonomy and self-determination. (p. 33)

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

Expressive behavior. Dauntless personalities are typically adventurous, fearless, and daring, attracted to challenge and undeterred by personal risk. They do things their own way and are willing to accept the consequences for doing so. Not surprisingly, they often act hastily and spontaneously, failing to plan ahead or heed consequences, making spur-of-the-moment decisions without carefully considering alternatives. (Millon, 1996, pp. 444–445, 449–450; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164)

Interpersonal conduct. Dauntless personalities are rugged individualists, not compromisers or conciliators. They take clear stands on the issues that matter, backed up by the self-confidence and personal skills and talents to prevail. Though generally jovial and convivial, they may become confrontational and defiant when obstructed or crossed. (Millon, 1996, pp. 445–446, 449–450; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164)

Cognitive style. Dauntless personalities are original, independent-minded, and unconventional. At their best, these personalities are enterprising, innovative, and creative. They

are nonconformists first and foremost, disdainful — even contemptuous — of traditional ideals and values. Moreover, Dauntless personalities shirk orthodoxy and typically believe that too many rules stand in the way of freedom. In politics, these individuals may be described as “mavericks.” (Millon, 1996, pp. 446–447, 449–450; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164)

Mood/temperament. Dauntless personalities are untroubled and easygoing, but quickly become irritable and aggressive when crossed. They are cool, calm, and collected under pressure, restless and disgruntled when restricted or confined. Tough-minded and unsentimental, they display their feelings openly and directly. (Millon, 1996, pp. 448–450; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164)

Self-image. Dauntless personalities are self-confident, with a corresponding view of themselves as self-sufficient and autonomous. They pride themselves on their independence, competence, strength, and their ability to prevail without social support. (Millon, 1996, pp. 447, 449–450; Millon & Davis, 1998, p. 164)

Regulatory mechanisms. Dauntless personalities are unconstrained. They express their impulses directly, often in rash and precipitous fashion, and generally without regret or remorse. They rarely refashion their thoughts and actions to fit a socially desirable mold. (Millon, 1996, p. 448)

Object representations. Dauntless personalities are driven by restive impulses to discredit established cultural ideals and mores, yet are skilled in arrogating for themselves what material spoils they can garner from society. Though fundamentally driven by self-serving motives, they are capable of incidentally advancing social causes in the service of their own ambition. (Millon, 1996, p. 447)

Morphologic organization. The inner drives and impulses of Dauntless personalities are unruly, recalcitrant, and rebellious, which gives rise to unfettered self-expression, a marked intolerance of delay or frustration, and low thresholds for emotional discharge, particularly those of a hostile nature. (Millon, 1996, p. 448)

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 pole are confident, socially poised, assertive personalities.¹¹ Slightly exaggerated Ambitious features occur in personalities that are sometimes perceived as self-promoting, overconfident, or arrogant.¹² In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form, the Ambitious pattern manifests itself in extreme self-absorption or exploitative behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder.¹³ In

¹¹ Relevant to Sanders.

¹² Not applicable to Sanders.

¹³ Not applicable to Sanders.

the case of Sanders, only the normal variant — well-adjusted, confident, and socially poised — has any significance.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Ambitious pattern (i.e., confident and self-serving types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Self-Confident* style, Strack's (1997) *confident* style, and Millon's (1994) *Asserting* pattern. Millon's Asserting pattern is positively correlated with the five-factor model's *Extraversion* and *Conscientiousness* factors and negatively correlated with its *Neuroticism* factor (Millon, 1994, p. 82). It is associated with "social composure, or poise, self-possession, equanimity, and stability" (Millon, 1994, p. 32).

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

An interpersonal boldness, stemming from a belief in themselves and their talents, characterize[s] those high on the ... Asserting [Ambitious] scale. Competitive, ambitious, and self-assured, they naturally assume positions of leadership, act in a decisive and unwavering manner, and expect others to recognize their special qualities and cater to them. Beyond being self-confident, those with an ... [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)

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

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

As noted before, Millon's personality patterns have well-established diagnostic indicators associated with each of the eight attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization. The diagnostic features of the normal variant of the Ambitious pattern with respect to each of these attribute domains are summarized below. The exaggerated and maladaptive, pathological variants of the Ambitious pattern are omitted because they do not apply to Sanders. In addition, it should be noted that the Ambitious pattern plays a rather limited, secondary role in Sanders's overall personality functioning.

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, without being conceited or arrogant, as is often the case with less adaptive variants of this pattern. (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 without being entitled or exploitative, as is sometimes the case with less adaptive variants of this pattern. (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 — without the cognitive expansiveness or unconstrained self-glorifying fantasies of maladaptive variants of this pattern. (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 — without the insouciance, irrational exuberance, or narcissistic rage characteristic of less adaptive variants of this pattern. (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 — without the overly admirable sense of self or egotistic sense of superiority frequently evident in maladaptive variants of this pattern. (Millon, 1996, p. 406)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic features of the unconscious regulatory mechanisms of more extreme variants¹⁴ of the Ambitious pattern are *rationalization* and *fantasy*; however, those ego defenses are only minimally present in adaptive variants of this pattern. (Millon, 1996, p. 407)

Object representations. The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of more extreme variants¹⁵ of the Ambitious pattern is their *contrived* nature, where the inner imprint of significant early experiences that serves as a template for perceiving and reacting to current life events consists of illusory and changing memories, permitting problematic experiences to be transmuted into more admirable images and percepts; however, those structural residues are minimally present in adaptive variants of this pattern. (Millon, 1996, pp. 406–407)

Morphologic organization. The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of more extreme variants¹⁶ of the Ambitious pattern is the *spuriousness* of the interior design of their personality system, resulting in a deficiency of the inner skills necessary for regulating impulses, channeling needs, and resolving conflicts; however, such deficits in ego strength are rarely present in adaptive variants of this pattern. (Millon, 1996, pp. 407–408)

¹⁴ Marginally relevant or inapplicable to Sanders.

¹⁵ Marginally relevant or inapplicable to Sanders.

¹⁶ Not applicable to Sanders.

Scale 5B: The Contentious Pattern

It is doubtful that Bernie Sanders's subsidiary Contentious pattern (Scale 5B) plays a central role in his overall personality functioning beyond accounting for a threshold level of resoluteness and dissention.

The Contentious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole are cynical, headstrong, resolute personalities.¹⁷ Exaggerated Contentious features occur in complaining, irksome, oppositional personalities.¹⁸ In its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form, 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.¹⁹

Normal, adaptive variants of the Contentious pattern (i.e., resolute and oppositional types) correspond to Strack's (1997) *sensitive* style and Millon's (1994) *Complaining* pattern. Empirically, Millon's (1994) 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, 1994, p. 82). Millon (1994) 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 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*) variant of the Erratic pattern (Scale 0). Oldham and Morris (1995) describe the Leisurely style as follows:

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)

¹⁷ Relevant to Sanders.

¹⁸ Not applicable to Sanders.

¹⁹ Not applicable to Sanders.

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. (Adapted from Strack, 1997, pp. 490–491, with minor modifications)

As previously noted, Millon's personality patterns have predictable, reliable, observable psychological indicators associated with each of the eight attribute domains of expressive behavior, interpersonal conduct, cognitive style, mood/temperament, self-image, regulatory mechanisms, object representations, and morphologic organization. The diagnostic features of the normal variant of the Contentious pattern with respect to each of these attribute domains are summarized below. The exaggerated and maladaptive, pathological variants of the Contentious pattern are omitted because they do not apply to Sanders. In addition, it should be noted that the Contentious pattern plays only a subsidiary role in Sanders's overall personality functioning.

Expressive behavior. The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Contentious individuals is *nonconformity*; they are individualistic and independent, tend to be outspoken or unconventional, and are frequently unhappy with the status quo. Thus, they are quick to challenge rules or authority deemed arbitrary and unjust. (Millon, 1996, pp. 549–550; Strack, 1997, pp. 490–491)

Interpersonal conduct. The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Contentious individuals is their *unyielding* manner; they are superficially acquiescent but fundamentally determined and resolute, even willful, in their independence strivings. (Millon, 1996, pp. 550–551)

Cognitive style. The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Contentious individuals is its *freethinking* nature; they are inherently critical, skeptical, cynical, and doubting, with a seemingly ingrained tendency to question authority. Their preference for indirect expression of aggressive intent may be reflected in a propensity for sarcasm or barbed humor. (Millon, 1996, pp. 551–552)

Mood/temperament. The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Contentious individuals is *moodiness*; they are typically sensitive or discontented, with a tendency to be testy or irritable. (Millon, 1996, pp. 551–552; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

Self-image. The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Contentious individuals is *dissatisfaction*; they recognize themselves as being generally discontented or cynical about life, with a predisposition to feeling disillusioned, misunderstood, or unappreciated, with a sense of having been wronged or cheated. (Millon, 1994, p. 33; Millon, 1996, p. 552)

Regulatory mechanisms. The core diagnostic feature of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of more extreme variants²⁰ of the Contentious pattern is *displacement*; they discharge anger and other troublesome emotions either precipitously or by employing unconscious maneuvers to shift them from their instigator to settings or persons of lesser significance. (Millon, 1996, pp. 552–553)

Object representations. The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of more extreme variants²¹ of the Contentious pattern is *vacillation*; 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 comprise a complex of countervailing relationships, setting in motion contradictory feelings, conflicting inclinations, and incompatible memories that are driven by the desire to degrade the achievements and pleasures of others, without necessarily appearing so. (Millon, 1996, p. 552)

Morphologic organization. The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of more extreme variants²² of the Contentious pattern is its *divergence*; there is a clear division in the pattern of morphologic structures such that coping and defensive maneuvers are often directed toward incompatible goals, leaving major conflicts unresolved and full psychic cohesion often impossible because fulfillment of one drive or need inevitably nullifies or reverses another. (Millon, 1996, pp. 553)

Summary and Formulation

Primarily dominant (Scale 1A) personality types with distinctive dauntless (Scale 1B) and ambitious (Scale 2) characteristics and a contentious tendency (Scale 5B), as in the case of Bernie Sanders, may be characterized as *deliberative nonconformists* — tough, strong-willed, and outspoken (1A); fearless, daring, and attracted to challenge (1B); self-confident, persuasive, and competitive (2); and resolute, with a strong oppositional streak (5B). The deliberative nonconformist subtype, in which dominance is melded with individualistic and negativistic (passive-aggressive) tendencies, captures the essence of a leader with a strong power motive and weak affiliative needs, driven by a need to control.

²⁰ Marginally relevant or inapplicable to Sanders.

²¹ Marginally relevant or inapplicable to Sanders.

²² Marginally relevant or inapplicable to Sanders.

Leadership Implications

The present study offers an empirically based framework for anticipating Bernie Sanders's executive performance as president, should he become the Democratic nominee and defeat Donald Trump in the 2020 presidential election. There is utility in coordinating the present findings with alternative models of political personality and complementary theories of political leadership.

Presidential Style

Dean Keith Simonton's (1988) empirically derived framework of five presidential styles (charismatic, interpersonal, deliberative, neurotic, and creative) offers a promising frame of reference. Given the fidelity with which his leadership styles mirror the currently popular five-factor model (FFM), whose correlates with Millon's personality patterns have been empirically established (Millon, 1994, p. 82), Simonton's stylistic dimensions may have considerable heuristic value for establishing links between personality and political leadership.

The transposition of Sanders's Dominant personality pattern to Simonton's stylistic dimensions is problematic. Millon's (1994) Controlling pattern is positively correlated with the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor and negatively correlated with its Agreeableness and Neuroticism factors (see Millon, 1994, p. 82). Sanders obtained a relatively low score on the MIDC Accommodating scale (i.e., FFM Agreeableness) and a relatively high score on the Ambitious scale (i.e., low FFM Neuroticism, or high emotional stability), which fits the model; however, he scored relatively low on the Conscientious scale, which is not a good fit for the model. Thus, it is hypothesized that a leader with Sanders's personality configuration would, at best, display only some of the leadership traits associated with Simonton's "deliberative" style, which is associated with conscientiousness and dominance. 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 [and] background reports" ..., is "cautious, conservative in action" ..., and only infrequently "indulges in emotional outbursts." (p. 931)

Considering his relatively low scores on extraversion and agreeableness — respectively MIDC Scale 3 (Outgoing) and Scale 4 (Accommodating) — a better fit for Sanders's personality profile appears to be the low pole of Simonton's (1988) "interpersonal" style. A leader *low on interpersonal* characteristically

"accepts recommendations of others only under protest" ..., "believes he knows what is best for the people" ..., "is emphatic in asserting his judgments" ..., is "suspicious of reformers" ..., is "impatient, abrupt in conference" ..., "bases decisions on willfulness, nervousness, and egotism" ... [and] "tends to force decisions to be made prematurely." (p. 931)

In addition, leaders *low on interpersonal*ity tend *not* to

“[encourage] the exercise of independent judgment by aides” ... “[give] credit to others for work done” ... “[endear himself] to staff through his courtesy and consideration” ... “[be] flexible” ... “[emphasize] teamwork” ... “[be frequently] in contact with his advisers” ... “[maintain] close relationships with a wide circle of associates” ... “[be] willing to make compromises” ... “[rely] on working in a staff system, deciding among options formulated by advisers.” (Simonton, 1988, pp. 929, 931)

Presidential Temperament

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

In terms of presidential temperament, Sanders seems most similar to Barber’s (1972/1992) *active–negative* presidential character — leaders such as Woodrow Wilson and Richard Nixon, who were rigid and highly driven, compulsively expending great energy on task performance yet seemingly deriving little inherent joy from the office of president and using power primarily as a means to self-realization.

Character-Based Leadership Skills

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

In terms of Renshon’s (1996) three critical components of political leadership, Sanders’s greatest strength, by dint of his dominant personality, in concert with substantial self-confidence, is *mobilization*, which will be instrumental in rallying, energizing, and motivating his supporters. In the sphere of *orchestration*, Sanders’s relative dearth of personality traits related to conscientiousness (i.e., diminished capacity for sustained focus and insufficient attention to detail), along with his dauntlessness, may hamper his presidential performance. Finally, Sanders’s resolute, oppositional tendency may be an impediment to *consolidation*, potentially acting as a personological barrier to implementing his policy preferences.

Foreign Policy Leadership Orientation

Lloyd Etheredge (1978) developed a “four-fold speculative typology” of “fundamental personality-based differences in orientation towards America’s preferred operating style and role in the international system” (p. 434). This personality-based model of foreign policy leadership orientation 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 Etheredge's (1978) fourfold typology of personality-based foreign policy role orientations, which locates policymakers on the dimensions of dominance–submission and introversion–extraversion, Sanders's primary Scale 1A (Dominant) elevation unambiguously points to a dominant orientation. This is amplified by his low agreeableness, which implies low submissiveness. Sanders's very low elevation on Scale 8 (Retiring) indicates that he is not an introvert, yet nor is he very extraverted, based on his relatively low score on Scale 3 (Outgoing). Empirically, available data does not permit unequivocal classification of Sanders on the introversion–extraversion dimension. Clinical judgment, based on informal observation, suggests that a prospective President Sanders's foreign policy role orientation would most likely be that of a *high-dominance introvert*. According to Etheredge, these leaders tend

to divide the world, in their thought, between the moral values they think it ought to exhibit and the forces opposed to this vision. They tend to have a strong, almost Manichean, moral component to their views. They tend to be described as stubborn and tenacious. They seek to reshape the world in accordance with their personal vision, and their ... policies are often characterized by the tenaciousness with which they advance one central idea. ... [They] seem relatively preoccupied with themes of *exclusion*, the establishment of institutions or principles to keep potentially disruptive forces in check. (p. 449; italics in original)

Conclusion

In conclusion, the major implication of the study is that it offers an empirically based personological framework for inferring Bernie Sanders's major personal strengths and limitations as a presidential candidate and anticipating his likely leadership style as president.

References

- American Psychiatric Association. (1987). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (3rd ed., rev). Washington, DC: Author.
- American Psychiatric Association. (1994). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.
- Barber, J. D. (1992). *The presidential character: Predicting performance in the White House* (4th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. (Originally published 1972)
- Etheredge, L. S. (1978). Personality effects on American foreign policy, 1898–1968: A test of interpersonal generalization theory. *American Political Science Review*, 72(2), 434–451.
- Greenstein, F. I. (1992). Can personality and politics be studied systematically? *Political Psychology*, 13(1), 105–128. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3791427>
- Immelman, A. (1993). The assessment of political personality: A psychodiagnostically relevant conceptualization and methodology. *Political Psychology*, 14(4), 725–741. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3791383>
- Immelman, A. (1998). The political personalities of 1996 U.S. presidential candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 9(3), 335–366. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843\(98\)90035-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(98)90035-2)
- Immelman, A. (2002). The political personality of U.S. president George W. Bush. In L. O. Valenty & O. Feldman (Eds.), *Political leadership for the new century: Personality and behavior among American leaders* (pp. 81–103). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Immelman, A. (2003). Personality in political psychology. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.), T. Millon & M. J. Lerner (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Vol. 5. Personality and social psychology* (pp. 599–625). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Immelman, A. (2005). Political psychology and personality. In S. Strack (Ed.), *Handbook of personology and psychopathology* (pp. 198–225). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Immelman, A. (2014). *Millon inventory of diagnostic criteria manual* (3rd ed., rev.). Unpublished manuscript, Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics, College of St. Benedict and St. John's University, St. Joseph and Collegeville, MN.
- Immelman, A. (Compiler) (2015). *Millon inventory of diagnostic criteria* (3rd ed., rev.). Unpublished research scale, Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics, College of St. Benedict and St. John's University, St. Joseph and Collegeville, MN.
- Immelman, A., & Millon, T. (2003, June). *A research agenda for political personality and leadership studies: An evolutionary proposal*. Unpublished manuscript, Unit for the Study of Personality in Politics, St. John's University and the College of St. Benedict, Collegeville and St. Joseph, MN. Retrieved from Digital Commons website: http://digitalcommons.csbsju.edu/psychology_pubs/124/

- Leary, T. (1957). *Interpersonal diagnosis of personality: A functional theory and methodology for personality evaluation*. New York: Ronald Press.
- Millon, T. (1969). *Modern psychopathology: A biosocial approach to maladaptive learning and functioning*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders. (Reprinted 1985 by Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, IL)
- Millon, T. (1986a). A theoretical derivation of pathological personalities. In T. Millon & G. L. Klerman (Eds.), *Contemporary directions in psychopathology: Toward the DSM-IV* (pp. 639–669). New York: Guilford.
- Millon, T. (1986b). Personality prototypes and their diagnostic criteria. In T. Millon & G. L. Klerman (Eds.), *Contemporary directions in psychopathology: Toward the DSM-IV* (pp. 671–712). New York: Guilford.
- Millon, T. (1990). *Toward a new personology: An evolutionary model*. New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T. (1991). Normality: What may we learn from evolutionary theory? In D. Offer & M. Sabshin (Eds.), *The diversity of normal behavior: Further contributions to normatology* (pp. 356–404). New York: Basic Books.
- Millon, T. (with Weiss, L. G., Millon, C. M., & Davis, R. D.). (1994). *Millon Index of Personality Styles manual*. San Antonio, TX: Psychological Corporation.
- Millon, T. (with Davis, R. D.). (1996). *Disorders of personality: DSM-IV and beyond* (2nd ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T. (2003). Evolution: A generative source for conceptualizing the attributes of personality. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.), T. Millon & M. J. Lerner (Vol. Eds.), *Handbook of psychology: Vol. 5. Personality and social psychology* (pp. 3–30). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Millon, T., & Davis, R. D. (2000). *Personality disorders in modern life*. New York: Wiley.
- Millon, T., & Everly, G. S., Jr. (1985). *Personality and its disorders: A biosocial learning approach*. New York: Wiley.
- Oldham, J. M., & Morris, L. B. (1995). *The new personality self-portrait* (Rev. ed.). New York: Bantam Books.
- Renshon, S. A. (1996). *The psychological assessment of presidential candidates*. New York: New York University Press.
- Simonton, D. K. (1988). Presidential style: Personality, biography, and performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55(6), 928–936. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.55.6.928>
- Strack, S. (1991). *Personality Adjective Check List manual* (rev.). South Pasadena, CA: 21st Century Assessment.
- Strack, S. (1997). The PACL: Gauging normal personality styles. In T. Millon (Ed.), *The Millon inventories: Clinical and personality assessment* (pp. 477–497). New York: Guilford.