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## Recommended Citation

# THE POLITICAL PERSONALITY

# OF VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE

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September 2000

# *Abstract*

# The Political Personality of Vice President Al Gore

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This paper presents the results of an indirect psychodiagnostic assessment of the political personality of U.S. vice president Al Gore, Democratic nominee in the 2000 presidential election, from the conceptual perspective of Theodore Millon. Information concerning Al Gore was collected from published biographical and autobiographical accounts and political reports in the print media, and synthesized into personality profiles using the second edition of the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (MIDC), which yields 34 normal and maladaptive personality classifications congruent with Axis II of *DSM-IV*.

The personality profile yielded by the MIDC was analyzed on the basis of interpretive guidelines provided in the MIDC and Millon Index of Personality Styles manuals. Vice President Gore was found to be Conscientious/dutiful and Retiring/aloof.

A dimensional reconceptualization of the results to examine convergences among the present Millon-based findings, Simonton's dimensions of presidential style, and the five-factor model of personality suggests that Gore is highly deliberative/conscientious, somewhat lacking in interpersonality/agreeableness, and low in charisma/extraversion.

Al Gore's major personality-based leadership strengths are his conscientiousness, a detail-oriented ability to craft specific policies, and low susceptibility to ethical misconduct. His major limitations are his disdain for social interaction, his lack of spontaneity and personableness (with an associated deficit of important political skills crucial for mobilizing and retaining popular support), and his self-defeating potential for dogmatically pursuing personal policy preferences despite legislative or public disapproval.

# Introduction

The pivotal role of personality in politics has received growing recognition in recent presidential campaigns. In *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates* (1996), political scientist Stanley Renshon writes:

> Debate on public issues and candidates' stands on them have traditionally represented the bulk of knowledge sought about presidential candidates. In recent decades, however, an important change has taken place. Presidential elections increasingly revolve around issues of character and leadership. Rather than ask candidates where they stand, the public now wants to know who they are. (p. 5)

Who is Al Gore? On August 28, 1997 *The New York Times* assailed Vice President Gore for his "repugnant" misuse of federal property for fundraising purposes and called for an independent counsel to investigate the matter (Al Gore meets the enemy, 1997). Previously, Gore could bask in his image as "an All-American boy … [without] mud on his uniform," having "a squeaky-clean record" and a reputation for decency and morality "so impressive you'd think he was born with his pants on" (Elvin, 1997).

Gore appeared increasingly beset by scandal as television news programs broadcast embarrassing images of Buddhist nuns testifying before a Senate committee that they were reimbursed for checks made out to the Democratic National Committee following an ostensible vice-presidential fundraiser at the Hsi Lai temple in Hacienda Heights, California, on April 29, 1996 (Fineman, 1997). The fundraising fiasco quickly became the biggest crisis in Al Gore's long political career, despite Attorney General Janet Reno's repeated refusals to appoint an independent or special counsel to investigate his fundraising practices.

For political psychology, charges of impropriety against Gore — flying in the face, so to speak, of his prior reputation for unblemished integrity — present a conceptual dilemma. The personality construct is predicated on the assumption that an individual's psychological functioning is shaped by a coherent set of tightly knit, pervasive, enduring dispositions, yielding temporal stability and cross-situational consistency in the core domains of psychological functioning.

Though compelling contextual and role-related variables such as economic conditions and constitutional constraints modulate and modify the expression of personal attributes, personality psychologists expect functional continuity. Accordingly, the differential salience of abrupt discontinuity is rendered both perplexing and intriguing. This prompts the question: Is Al Gore's "repugnant" fundraising behavior simply a function of his particular role in a given political context — that of loyal vice president in an administration "hungry for cash at whatever cost," to quote Martin Peretz (1997) of *The New Republic* — or is it indicative of a heretofore hidden character flaw, or both?

This question provides the context for the present study, whose object was to assess the personality of Vice President Al Gore and to examine the political implications of personality for presidential leadership and executive performance.

## *Background to the Study*[1]

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 current study attempts to narrow the conceptual and methodological gap that still exists between contemporary personality theory, standard psychodiagnostic procedure, 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, 1993, 1998a) for the study of personality in politics. The methodology, termed *psychodiagnostic meta-analysis*,[2] entails the construction of theoretically grounded personality profiles derived from empirical analysis of biographical source materials.

## *Millon's Model of Personality*[3]

A comprehensive review of Millon's personological model and its applicability to political personality has been provided elsewhere (see Immelman, 1993, 1998a). 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). A distinctive aspect of the 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).

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[1] This section is reproduced from an earlier paper on "The political personality of U.S. presidential candidate George W. Bush" (Immelman, in press).

[2] 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 personality configuration and to specify its political implications.

[3] This section is reproduced from an earlier paper on "The political personality of U.S. presidential candidate George W. Bush" (Immelman, in press).

**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* (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.

## *Purpose of the Study*

The present investigation is a psychodiagnostic case study of Albert Arnold "Al" Gore Jr., vice president of the United States, former congressman and senator from the state of Tennessee, and Democratic Party nominee in the 2000 presidential election. The purpose of the study was to construct a Millon-based personality profile of Al Gore and to explore the relationship between his prevailing personality patterns and prospective political role performance as president of the United States.

# Method[4]

## *Materials*

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

*Sources of data*.  Diagnostic information pertaining to the personal and public life of Al Gore was gathered from a variety of published materials. The following sources were consulted for diagnostic information:

1. *Al Gore Jr.: His Life and Career* (1992), a hagiographic chronicle by Hank Hillin, former FBI agent and at the time of writing the sheriff of Nashville, Tennessee. In spite of his unconventional credentials in the genre, Hillin's book nonetheless provides useful biographic information and informative accounts by individuals well acquainted with Gore during his formative years.
2. *All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President* (1994), by political commentators and consultants Mary Matalin and James Carville.
3. *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency* (1994) by political writer and broadcast media commentator Elizabeth Drew.
4. *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House* (1994) by Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post*.
5. *The Choice* (1996) by Bob Woodward of *The Washington Post*.
6. *Gore: A Political Life* (1999), a biography by Bob Zelnick, a former ABC News correspondent teaching at Boston University.
7. "Can Al bare his soul?" — an in-depth article by Eric Pooley and Karen Tumulty, in the December 15, 1997 issue of *Time* magazine.
8. "Who's sorry now?" by Frank Rich, in the December 16, 1997 issue of *The New York Times*.

*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.[5] Information concerning the construction, administration, scoring, and interpretation of the MIDC is provided in the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual (Immelman, 1999).[6]

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[4] The current presentation of the method, with the exception of the section on the sources of the data, is reproduced from an earlier paper on "The political personality of U.S. presidential candidate George W. Bush" (Immelman, in press).

[5] 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.

[6] Inventory and manual available to qualified professionals upon request from the author.

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).

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.

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

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

*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[7] 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.[8]

*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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[7] 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.

[8] MIDC score sheet, profile form, and more detailed scoring instructions are available to qualified professionals upon request from the author.

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).

# Results

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

Gore received 43 endorsements on the 170-item MIDC. Descriptive statistics for Gore's MIDC ratings are presented in Table 3.

**Table 3**
*MIDC Item Endorsement Rate by Attribute Domain for Al Gore*

| | |
|---|---|
| Expressive behavior | 11 |
| Interpersonal conduct | 11 |
| Cognitive style | 8 |
| Mood/temperament | 6 |
| Self-image | 7 |
| Sum | 43 |
| Mean | 8.6 |
| Standard deviation | 2.1 |

Gore's MIDC scale scores are reported in Table 4. The same data are presented graphically in the profile displayed in Figure 1.
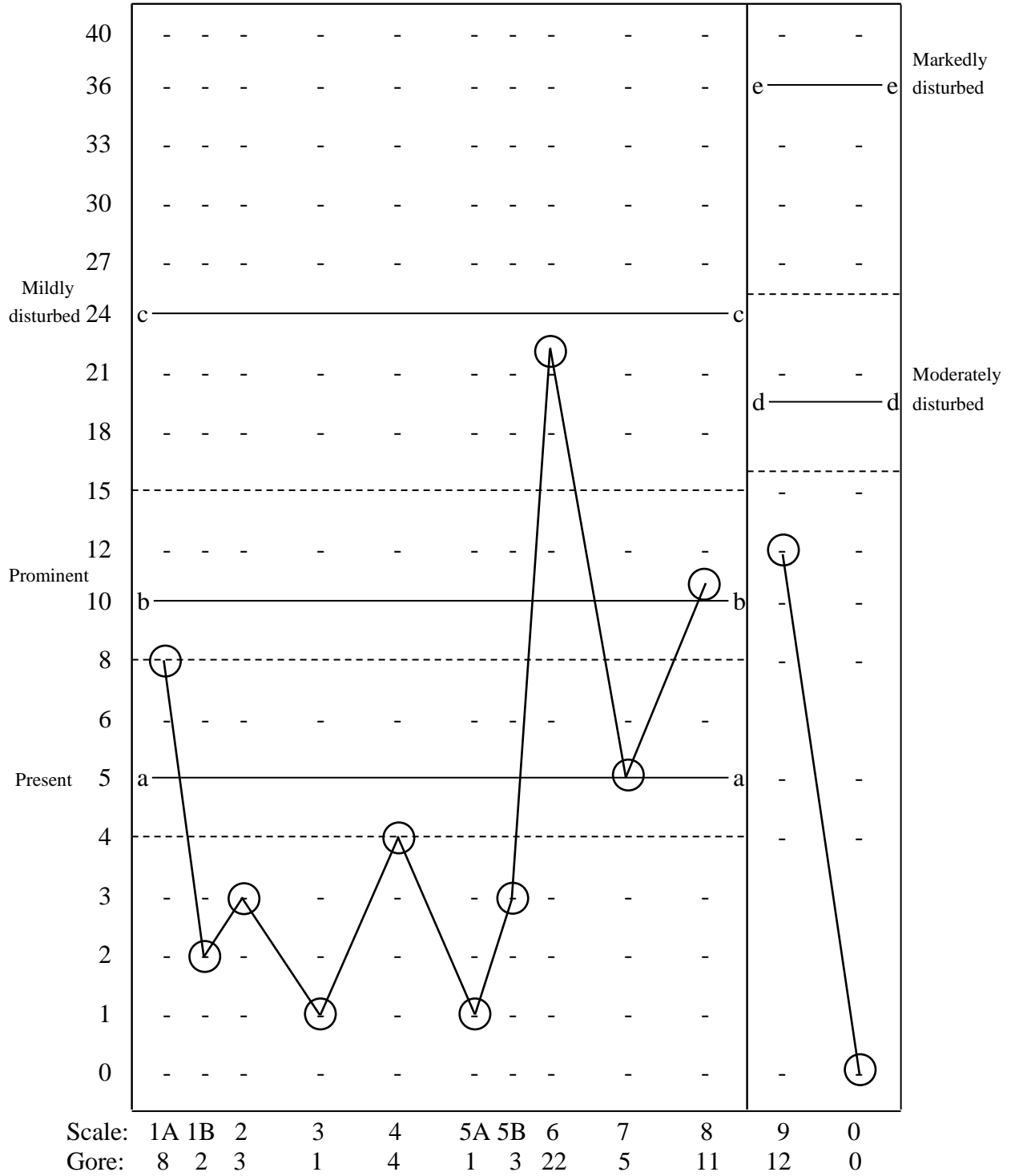
**Table 4**
*MIDC Scale Scores for Al Gore*

| Scale | Personality pattern | Raw | RT% |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1A | Dominant (Controlling) | 8 | 13.3 |
| 1B | Dauntless (Dissenting) | 2 | 3.3 |
| 2 | Ambitious (Asserting) | 3 | 5.0 |
| 3 | Outgoing (Outgoing) | 1 | 1.7 |
| 4 | Accommodating (Agreeing) | 4 | 6.7 |
| 5A | Aggrieved (Yielding) | 1 | 1.7 |
| 5B | Contentious (Complaining) | 3 | 5.0 |
| 6 | Conscientious (Conforming) | 22 | 36.7 |
| 7 | Reticent (Hesitating) | 5 | 8.3 |
| 8 | Retiring (Retiring) | 11 | 18.3 |
|  | Subtotal for basic personality scales | 60 | 100.0 |
| 9 | Distrusting | 12 | 16.7 |
| 0 | Erratic | 0 | 0.0 |
|  | Full-scale total | 72 | 116.7 |

*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.[9] Gore's most elevated scale, with a score of 22, is Scale 6 (Conscientious), followed by Scale 8 (Retiring), with a score of 11. The primary Scale 6 elevation approaches the upper extreme of the *prominent* (10–23) range and the secondary elevation (Scale 8) is just within this range. Two additional scales are diagnostically significant: Scale 1A (Dominant), with a score of 8, and Scale 7 (Reticent), with a score of 5 — both in the *present* (5–9) range. Scale 4 (Accommodating) approaches diagnostic significance. (The score of 12 on Scale 9 is not diagnostically critical; the MIDC manual specifies a clinical significance threshold of 20 for Scales 9 and 0, versus 5 for Scales 1–8.)

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[9] 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 Al Gore*



| Scale: | 1A | 1B | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5A | 5B | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |
|--------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Gore:  | 8  | 2  | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1  | 3  | 22 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 0 |

In terms of MIDC scale gradation (see Table 2 and Figure 1) criteria, Al Gore was classified as an amalgam of the Conscientious/dutiful and Retiring/aloof personality patterns, with subsidiary features of the Dominant/asserting and Reticent/circumspect patterns.[10] Based on the cut-off score guidelines provided in the MIDC manual, Gore's scale elevations (see Figure 1) are within normal limits, though Scale 6 (Conscientious) and Scale 8 (Retiring) are moderately elevated, in the *prominent* range. The very prominent elevation of Scale 6 may be cause for concern in that it approaches the adaptively distorted, potentially self-defeating Conscientious/compulsive range of profile elevation.

## Discussion

The discussion of the results examines Al Gore'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 Al Gore's personality-based leadership orientation and generalized policy preferences.

With his elevated Scale 6, Al Gore emerged from the assessment as a predominantly dutiful type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Conscientious pattern. In interpreting Gore's profile, due consideration also must be given to his concurrent elevation on Scale 8 (Retiring), which modulates his Conscientious pattern. The identification of this personality composite with respect to Gore (Immelman, 1998b) is accurately reflected in the quote — attributed to "a long-serving former member" of Gore's staff — with which Gore biographer Bob Zelnick (1999) chose to end his book *Gore: A Political Life*: "[H]e is a private person. He is deadly serious. … He's in love with work" (p. 374).

### Scale 6: The Conscientious Pattern

The Conscientious pattern, as do all personality patterns, occurs on a continuum ranging from normal to maladaptive. At the well-adjusted pole are earnest, courteous, respectful personalities. Slightly exaggerated Conscientious features occur in dependable, dutiful, principled personalities such as President Woodrow Wilson. And in its most deeply ingrained, inflexible form, conscientiousness manifests itself in moralistic, self-righteous,[11] punctilious, compulsive behavior patterns that may be consistent with a clinical diagnosis of obsessive-compulsive personality disorder.

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[10] 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.

[11] Tony Snow (1998) provides a striking account of Al Gore's moralistic, self-righteous tendency. In the summer of 1998, when Florida was ravaged by forest fires, President Clinton dispatched Vice President Gore to commiserate with the victims. "After surveying the carnage, Gore stepped to a podium, and informed the throng that the tragedy served as a powerful reminder of what global warming could do to the planet. … His artless lecture on global warming wasn't an isolated incident. … [Gore] constantly instructs others on lifestyles, manners and habits. Indeed, fresh from his Florida trip, he showed up on the Mall in Washington, armed with a meat thermometer and a spatula. … 'Don't let avoidable foodborne illness endanger life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' he said."

Normal, adaptive variants of the Conscientious pattern (i.e., respectful and dutiful types) correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Conscientious* style, Millon's (1994a) *Conforming* pattern, Strack's (1997) *respectful* style, and Leary's (1957) *responsible–hypernormal* continuum. Millon's Conforming pattern is correlated with the "Big Five" *Conscientiousness* factor, has a modest positive correlation with its *Extraversion* factor, a modest negative correlation with its *Neuroticism* factor, and is uncorrelated with its *Agreeableness* and *Openness to Experience* factors (see Millon, 1994a, p. 82). Adaptive variants of the Conscientious pattern have "a well-disciplined and organized lifestyle that enables individuals to function efficiently and successfully in most of their endeavors," in contrast to "the driven, tense, and rigid adherence to external demands and to a perfectionism that typifies the disordered [compulsive] state." They "demonstrate an unusual degree of integrity, adhering as firmly as they can to society's ethics and morals" (Millon, 1996, pp. 518–519). As stated by Oldham and Morris (1995):

> Conscientious-style people … [have] strong moral principle[s] and absolute certainty, and they won't rest until the job is done and done right. They are loyal to their families, their causes, and their superiors. Hard work is a hallmark of this personality style; Conscientious types *achieve*. … The Conscientious personality style flourishes within cultures … in which the work ethic thrives. Conscientious traits … [include] hard work, prudence, [and] conventionality. (p. 62)

Being principled, scrupulous, and meticulous, Conscientious individuals "tend to follow standards from which they hesitate to deviate, attempt to act in an objective and rational manner, and decide matters in terms of what they believe is right." They are often religious, and maintaining their integrity "ranks high among their goals" while "exhibiting virtuous behaviors and voicing moral values gives them a deep sense of satisfaction." The major limitations of this personality style are (a) its "superrationality," leading to a "devaluation of emotion [which] tends to preclude relativistic judgments," and (b) a predilection for "seeing complex matters in black and white, good and bad, or right or wrong terms" (Millon, 1996, p. 519). Millon (1994a)[12] summarizes the Conscientious pattern (which he labels *Conforming*) as follows:

> [Conscientious individuals possess] traits not unlike Leary's [1957] responsible-hypernormal personality, with its ideal of proper, conventional, orderly, and perfectionistic behavior, as well as bearing a similarity to Factor III of the Big-Five, termed Conscientiousness. Conformers are notably respectful of tradition and authority, and act in a reasonable, proper, and conscientious way. They do their best to uphold conventional rules and standards, following given regulations closely, and tend to be judgmental of those who do not. Well-organized and reliable, prudent and restrained, they may appear to be overly self-controlled, formal and inflexible in their relationships, intolerant of deviance, and unbending in their adherence to social proprieties. Diligent about their responsibilities, they dislike having their work pile up, worry about finishing things, and come across to others as highly dependable and industrious. (p. 33)

Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal prototype of the Conscientious 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:

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[12] All Millon 1994a citations in this paper refer to the *Millon Index of Personality Styles* (MIPS). Copyright © 1994 by Dicandrien, Inc.  "MIPS" is a registered trademark of The Psychological Corporation.

Responsible, industrious, and respectful of authority, these individuals tend to be conforming and work hard to uphold rules and regulations. They have a need for order and are typically conventional in their interests. These individuals can be rule abiding to a fault, however, and may be perfectionistic, inflexible, and judgmental. A formal interpersonal style and notable constriction of affect can make some respectful [Conscientious] persons seem cold, aloof, and withholding. Underneath their social propriety there is often a fear of disapproval and rejection, or a sense of guilt over perceived shortcomings. Indecisiveness and an inability to take charge may be evident in some of these persons due to a fear of being wrong. However, among co-workers and friends, respectful [Conscientious] personalities are best known for being well organized, reliable, and diligent. They have a strong sense of duty and loyalty, are cooperative in group efforts, [and] show persistence even in difficult circumstances. (From Strack, 1997, p. 490, with minor modifications)

Oldham and Morris's (1995), Millon's (1994a), and Strack's (1997) descriptions of the conscientious, conforming, respectful personality style are consistent with media reports of Vice President Gore's personal style and public behavior as being *disciplined* (Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Turque, 1998); *principled* (Wells, 1996); *meticulous* (Breslau, 1998; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997); occasionally *fretful* or *fastidious* (Noah, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Tumulty, 1997); *serious-minded* (Pooley & Tumulty, 1997); *efficiency-oriented* (Wells, 1996); *cautious* (Borger, 1997; Breslau, 1998; Turque, 1998); *dutiful* (Wells, 1996); *loyal* (Breslau, 1998; Pooley, 1998; Shribman, 1996; Turque, 1998; Wells, 1996); *reliable* (Wells, 1996); *stiff* (Breslau, 1998; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Wells, 1996); *emotionally inexpressive* (Ferguson, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997); *morally beyond reproach* (Elvin, 1997; Pooley, 1998; Tumulty, 1997; Turque, 1998; Wells, 1996); *self-effacing*, *self-deprecating*, *ironic*, *deadpan*, or *dry* in his sense of humor (Borenstein, 1996; Ferguson, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Rauber, 1997; Wells, 1996); pointedly *reasonable*, and occasionally *pretentious*, ostensibly to mask a hidden self (Berke, 1997; Ferguson, 1997; Noah, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997); periodically *pedantic* or *condescending* (Breslau, 1998; Noah, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Rich, 1997; Snow, 1998; Turque, 1998); *stingy* (Breslau, 1998; Noah, 1998; Whitman, 1998); and sometimes *not sufficiently courageous or firm* in confronting powerful adversaries (Breslau, 1998; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997).

Given his substantial prior reputation for personal integrity, a somewhat puzzling trend in the course of Gore's vice presidency, and particularly the 2000 presidential campaign, is the persistence with which Al Gore has been stereotyped by political commentators as a "panderer" and the ferocity with which he has been impugned as a liar by more strident critics (see Zelnick, 1999, pp. 113–114, 306–308 for an account of this trend). Personality theory offers a more charitable rationale: Conscientious personalities typically perceive themselves as industrious, reliable, and efficient, yet are prone to self-doubt or guilt for failing to live up to an ideal. Being prudent, principled, and dutiful, conscientious people are particularly sensitive to charges of impropriety, which is devastating to their righteous sense of self. Similarly, they dread being viewed as irresponsible, slack in their efforts, or wrong, with a corresponding tendency to overvalue aspects of their self-image that signify perfectionism, prudence, and discipline. Al Gore's sometimes disingenuous overstatement of fact (the "Love Story" flap, the "no controlling legal authority" imbroglio, and his "initiative in inventing the Internet" snafu) may conceivably be viewed in this light — and not necessarily as an expression of fundamental mendacity or a fatal flaw of character.

This perspective is echoed in Strack's (1997) contention with reference to conscientious personalities, that "[u]nderneath their social propriety there is often a fear of disapproval and rejection, or a sense of guilt over perceived shortcomings" (p. 490). In similar vein, to the extent that assertions by Gore's critics that he lacks leadership ability are valid, the personality–leadership nexus may well be implicit in Strack's observation that "[i]ndecisiveness and an inability to take charge may be evident in some of these persons due to a fear of being wrong" (p. 490).

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 Conscientious pattern, the compulsive pole of the respectful–dutiful–compulsive continuum. The "normalized" (i.e., de-pathologized; cf. Millon & Davis, 2000, p. 175) diagnostic features of the Conscientious pattern are summarized below; nonetheless, some of the designated traits may be attenuated, less pronounced, and more adaptive in the case of Al Gore.

*Expressive behavior*.  The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Conscientious individuals is a sense of *duty*; they do their best to uphold convention, follow regulations closely, and are typically responsible, reliable, proper, prudent, punctual, self-disciplined, well organized, and restrained. They are meticulous in fulfilling obligations, their conduct is generally beyond reproach, and they typically demonstrate an uncommon degree of integrity. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern tend toward *rigidity*; they are typically overcontrolled, orderly, and perfectionistic. Though highly dependable and industrious, they have an air of austerity and serious-mindedness and may tend to be stubborn and stingy. They are typically scrupulous in matters of morality and ethics, and may strike others as moralistic and condescending. They exhibit a certain postural tightness; their movements may be deliberate and dignified and they display a tendency to speak precisely, with clear diction and well-phrased sentences. Emotions are constrained by a regulated, highly structured, and carefully organized lifestyle. Clothing is characteristically formal or proper, and restrained in color and style. Individuals who display the most pronounced variants of this pattern are pedantic, painfully fastidious or fussy, and excessively devoted to work and productivity. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 513–515)

*Interpersonal conduct*.  The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Conscientious individuals is *politeness*; they are courteous, proper, and dignified. They strongly adhere to social conventions and proprieties and show a preference for polite, formal, and "correct" personal relationships.[13] With their strong sense of duty, they feel that they must not let others down or engage in behaviors that might provoke others' displeasure. They are loyal to their families, their causes, and their superiors. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are *uncompromising*. They are exacting and demanding in dealing with subordinates,

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[13] Al Gore has attributed his public stiffness and formality to "a vestige of the style of upper Cumberland, Tenn., 'that emphasizes formalism in public presentation'" (Pooley & Tumulty, 1997, p. 46). A more reasonable explanation is that his dignified bearing is simply the function of a pervasive, central personality orientation — his Conscientious pattern with its proclivity for propriety, formality, and emotional restraint.

insisting that they adhere to personally established rules and methods. In marked contrast, they treat superiors with deference, are compliant, and may ingratiate themselves, striving to impress authorities with their loyalty, efficiency, and serious-mindedness. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 514–515, 516; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Cognitive style*.    The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Conscientious individuals is *circumspection*; they are prudent, risk avoidant, systematic, and attentive to detail. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are *unimaginative*; they are methodical, structured, pedestrian, uninspired, or routinized. Perfectionism may interfere with decision making and task completion. Thinking may be constrained by stubborn adherence to personally formulated schemas, and their equilibrium is easily upset by unfamiliar situations or new ideas. All variants of this pattern are concerned with matters of propriety and efficiency and tend to be rigid about regulations and procedures, though, ironically, all too often getting mired in minor or irrelevant details. They are inclined to disdain frivolity and public displays of emotion, which they view as irresponsible or immature. Though industrious, tidy, meticulous, practical, realistic, and diligent, their thinking may be deficient in flexibility, creativity, and imagination, and lacking in vision. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 515–516; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Mood/temperament*.    The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Conscientious individuals is *restraint*; they are serious, reasonable, and rarely display strong emotions. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern are characteristically *solemn*; they are emotionally controlled, tense, or unrelaxed. Although these individuals often come across as reserved, even stiff, "wooden," or "heavy," they may exhibit a dry, self-effacing sense of humor. Few, however, have a lively or ebullient manner; most are rigidly controlled and tight, and their failure to release pent-up energies may predispose them to psychophysiological disorders. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 518; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Self-image*.    The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Conscientious individuals is *reliability*; they view themselves as dependable, disciplined, responsible, industrious, efficient, and trustworthy. More exaggerated variants of the Conscientious pattern accurately perceive themselves as highly *conscientious*, even to a fault; they view themselves as scrupulous, meticulous in fulfilling obligations, and loyal, despite often being viewed by others as high minded, overperfectionistic, and fastidious. They tend to overvalue aspects of themselves that exhibit virtue, moral rectitude, discipline, perfection, prudence, and loyalty, and are fearful of error or misjudgment. All variants of the Conscientious pattern at times experience self-doubt or guilt for failing to live up to an ideal. Given their strong sense of duty and their view of themselves as reliable, conscientious, or righteous, these individuals are particularly sensitive to charges of impropriety, which may be devastating to their sense of self. Similarly, they dread being viewed as irresponsible, slack in their efforts, or in error, with a corresponding tendency to overvalue aspects of their self-image that signify productivity, perfectionism, prudence, and discipline. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 516)

*Regulatory mechanisms*.    The core diagnostic feature of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of Conscientious individuals is *reaction formation*; they typically display reasonableness when faced with circumstances that would ordinarily be expected to

evoke irritation, anger, or dismay and have a proclivity for engaging in public displays of socially commendable actions. In more extreme variants of the Conscientious pattern, perceived failure to live up to their own or others' expectations may give rise to ritualistic acts of *undoing* to annul the wrong they feel they have done and to seek atonement for their imagined transgressions. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 516–517)

*Object representations*.  The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of Conscientious individuals is *concealment*; there is a tendency for only those internalized representations that are socially acceptable, with their corresponding inner affects, memories, and attitudes, to be permitted into conscious awareness or to be expressed. Consequently, highly Conscientious people often lack insight into their motives and feelings. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 516)

*Morphologic organization*.  The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of highly Conscientious individuals is *compartmentalization*; to keep contrary feelings and impulses from affecting one another, and to restrain ambivalent and contradictory attitudes, the organization of their inner world is partitioned into numerous distinct and segregated constellations of drive, memory, and cognition, with few open channels to permit interplay among these components. Thus, a deliberate and well-poised surface quality may belie an inner turmoil. To prevent upsetting the balance they have so carefully wrought throughout their lives, highly Conscientious individuals strive to avoid risk and to operate with complete certainty. Because they usually have a history of exposure to demanding, perfectionistic parents, a potent force behind their tightly structured world is their fear of disapproval. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 517–518)

### Scale 8: The Retiring 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, Al Gore's secondary elevation on Scale 8 (Retiring) modulates his primary Conscientious pattern. Gore's loading on Scale 8 classifies him as an aloof type, an adaptive, slightly exaggerated variant of the Retiring pattern.

Normal, adaptive variants of the Retiring pattern (i.e., reserved and aloof types), characterized by low levels of sociability and companionability (Millon, 1994a, p. 31), correspond to Oldham and Morris's (1995) *Solitary* style, Strack's (1997) *introversive* style, and Millon's (1994a) *Retiring* pattern. Millon's Retiring pattern is negatively correlated with the "Big Five" *Extraversion* factor, positively correlated with its *Neuroticism* factor, has modest negative correlations with its *Openness to Experience* and *Agreeableness* factors, and is uncorrelated with its *Conscientiousness* factor (see Millon, 1994a, p. 82). In combination with low elevations on the Outgoing, Ambitious, and Dominant scales — particularly in the presence of a concurrently elevated Conscientious scale — an elevated Retiring pattern runs counter to Simonton's (1988) conceptualization of the *charismatic* presidential style. With the exception of a modestly elevated Dominant scale, Gore fits this particular construal of the uncharismatic leader.

According to Oldham and Morris (1995), Retiring, "solitary-style" individuals are self-contained people without a need for external guidance, admiration, or emotional sustenance. They feel no need to share their experiences and draw their greatest strength and comfort from within:

> Solitary men and women need no one but themselves. They are unmoved by the madding crowd, liberated from the drive to impress and to please. Solitary people are remarkably free of the emotions and involvements that distract so many others. What they may give up in terms of sentiment and intimacy, however, they may gain in clarity of vision. (p. 275)

Millon (1994a) summarizes the Retiring pattern as follows:

> [Retiring individuals] evince few social or group interests. … Their needs to give and receive affection and to show feelings tend to be minimal. They are inclined to have few relationships and interpersonal involvements, and do not develop strong ties to other people. They may be seen by others as calm, placid, untroubled, easygoing, and possibly indifferent. Rarely expressing their inner feelings or thoughts to others, they seem most comfortable when left alone. They tend to work in a slow, quiet, and methodical manner, almost always remaining in the background in an undemanding and unobtrusive way. Comfortable working by themselves, they are not easily distracted or bothered by what goes on around them. Being somewhat deficient in the ability to recognize the needs or feelings of others, they may be seen as socially awkward, if not insensitive, as well as lacking in spontaneity and vitality. (p. 31)

Finally, Strack (1997) provides the following portrait of the normal ("introversive") prototype of the Retiring pattern, aspects of which can be expected to modify Gore's primary Conscientious pattern:

> Aloof, introverted, and solitary, these persons usually prefer distant or limited involvement with others and have little interest in social activities, which they find unrewarding. Appearing to others as complacent and untroubled, they are often judged to be easy-going, mild-mannered, quiet, and retiring. They frequently remain in the background of social life and work quietly and unobtrusively at a job. … [I]n the workplace these people do well on their own, are typically dependable and reliable, are undemanding, and are seldom bothered by noise or commotion around them. They are often viewed as levelheaded and calm. However, these individuals may appear unaware of, or insensitive to, the feelings and thoughts of others. These characteristics are sometimes interpreted by others as signs of indifference or rejection, but reveal a sincere difficulty in being able to sense others' moods and needs. Introversive [Retiring] persons can be slow and methodical in demeanor, lack spontaneity and resonance, and be awkward or timid in social or group situations. (From Strack, 1997, p. 488, with minor modifications)

Oldham and Morris's (1995), Millon's (1994a), and Strack's (1997) descriptions of the solitary, retiring, introversive personality style are not fully consistent with the image of Gore's personal style and public behavior portrayed in the media. Although this is to be expected in view of the secondary status of the Retiring pattern in Gore's overall personality configuration, careful scrutiny does reveal references to public displays of qualities associated with the normal range of this pattern, including *blandness* (Borger, 1997), *remoteness* (Breslau, 1998); a *wooden* or *robotic* demeanor (Borenstein, 1996; Breslau, 1998; Ferguson, 1997; Henneberger, 1997); social or political *awkwardness*, *ineptitude*, or *maladroitness* (Borger, 1997; Breslau, 1998; Noah, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997; Rich, 1997; Tumulty, 1997); a *disjunction* between private and public selves (Ferguson, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997); *peculiarity* or *eccentricity* (Elvin, 1997; Noah, 1997); and a penchant for obfuscating messages through the use of *abstruse*

*words and ideas* or weighing simple ideas down with *pretentious language* [the latter being more closely associated with the Conscientious pattern] or *arcane allusions* (Borger, 1997; Breslau, 1998; Noah, 1997; Pooley & Tumulty, 1997).

Given the secondary status of the Retiring pattern in Gore's profile, the characteristic features of this pattern with respect to Millon's (1991, 1996) eight attribute domains are presented in condensed form. A more comprehensive account is provided elsewhere (Immelman, 2000).

*Expressive behavior*.  The core diagnostic feature of the expressive acts of Retiring individuals is their *reserved* nature; they are private, unsociable, introverted, and undemonstrative, and may be aloof and deficient in expressiveness and spontaneity. Their physical movement may be lacking in rhythm, and their speech slow, monotonous, and deficient in affective expressiveness. They rarely "perk up" or respond animatedly to the feelings of others, which may be erroneously perceived as a lack of kindness or compassion. Others may experience them as boring, unanimated, and wooden, if not robotic. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 230–231)

*Interpersonal conduct*.  The core diagnostic feature of the interpersonal conduct of Retiring individuals is *unobtrusiveness*; they are private, self-contained, and prefer solitary activities. Social communications are expressed in a perfunctory, formal, or impersonal manner. With reference to high-level politics, it is noteworthy that the social indifference and apparent lack of empathy of Retiring personalities tends to elicit a reciprocal reaction in others, which is likely to be reflected in relatively unenthusiastic public support. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 231; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Cognitive style*.  The core diagnostic feature of the cognitive style of Retiring individuals is *vagueness*; their thoughts are often fuzzy or unclear and communication with others tends to be digressive or unfocused. Information may be conveyed in a convoluted, complex, or rambling fashion, complicated by circuitous logic or loss of thought sequence.[14] All variants of the Retiring pattern have a diminished capacity to convey articulate or relevant ideas in the realm of interpersonal phenomena. They may grasp grammatical and mathematical symbols with infallible precision yet falter in their comprehension of nonverbal communication, including facial expressions, gestures, and voice timbre — those affect-laden metacommunicative qualities that suffuse the formal structure of communication. A related cognitive trait is their difficulty in attending to, selecting, and regulating perceptions of the socioemotional environment, which may at times result in inaccurate person perception and imbue their interactions with a socially "tone-deaf" quality. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 231–232; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

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[14] Zelnick (1999) offers a particularly fascinating account of this tendency in Gore: "Gore would offer a more elaborate if not convoluted explanation for his divinity school decision to the *Washington Post*: 'I think a lot of people who have faith in this day and age try to find ways to reconcile their faith with what initially appear to be challenges to that faith. … The best known are Galileo, which displaced the Earth as the center of the universe; Darwin, which places us in the animal kingdom; Freud, which displaced consciousness as the sole process of thought; Einstein, which destroyed the concept of solidity and matter.  And today the existence of massive starvation and the prospect of nuclear holocaust side by side with the whole idea of progress and civilization makes one question where we are going. But the answer is within ourselves'" (pp. 79-80).

*Mood/temperament*.    The core diagnostic feature of the characteristic mood and temperament of Retiring individuals is *unexcitability*; they are unemotional and dispassionate, disinclined to express strong feelings. All variants of the Retiring pattern display a deficit in the range and subtlety of emotionally relevant words. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, pp. 232–233; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Self-image*.    The core diagnostic feature of the self-perception of Retiring individuals is its *dispassionate* quality; they are placid and view themselves as uninvolved and unaffected. Their limited interest in the lives of others, in the interpersonal domain, is mirrored in the self-domain by low levels of self-awareness or introspection. Reluctant to engage in self-descriptions, they may be vague[15] or superficial. The apparent lack of candor in self-analysis displayed by most manifestations of the Retiring pattern is not indicative of elusiveness or protective denial, but merely reflects an inherent deficit in pondering social and emotional processes. When adequately formulated and accurately articulated, these personalities will perceive and report themselves as being socially reserved and emotionally distant, somewhat lacking in empathy. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 232; Millon & Everly, 1985, p. 33)

*Regulatory mechanisms*.    The core diagnostic feature of the unconscious regulatory (i.e., ego-defense) mechanisms of Retiring individuals is *intellectualization*. They describe the interpersonal and affective character of their social and emotional experiences and memories in a somewhat impersonal and mechanical manner.[16] They tend to be abstract and perfunctory about their emotional and social lives, and when they do formulate a characterization, they pay primary attention to the more objective and formal aspects of their experiences rather than to the personal and emotional significance of these events. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 232)

*Object representations*.    The core diagnostic feature of the internalized object representations of highly Retiring individuals is their *meagerness*; the internalized representations appear to be few in number and diffusely articulated. Low in arousal and emotional reactivity, their inner life remains largely homogeneous, undifferentiated, and unarticulated. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 232)

*Morphologic organization*.    The core diagnostic feature of the morphological organization of highly Retiring individuals is its *lack of differentiation*. The structural composition of their intrapsychic world is more diffuse and less dynamically active than that of most personality patterns. (Adapted from Millon, 1996, p. 232)

### Scale 1A: The Dominant Pattern

Al Gore's moderate elevation on Scale 1A (Dominant), with a diagnostically significant score of 8, warrants comment. Whereas Gore's primary elevation on Scale 6 (Conscientious) accounts for his mastery of policy detail and diligence as a debater, his subsidiary Scale 1A elevation helps to explain his toughness as a campaigner and his ferocity in debating his opponents. As Fallows (2000) wrote recently: "Over the 1990s, so gradually and methodically

[15] See Footnote 14.

[16] See Footnote 14.

that it was not fully appreciated, Gore emerged as America's most lethally effective practitioner of high-stakes political debate" (p. 33). Fallows points out that in political debate "the contest of ideas is subordinate to the struggle for dominance" (p. 33) and that "[v]ictory requires knowing all the details of the opposition's proposals. … [and] a taste for face-to-face confrontation" (p. 34). In this, Gore is also aided by at least two important character traits associated with his secondary Scale 8 (Retiring) elevation: emotional detachment and low affiliation needs (e.g., little need to be liked).

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 loadings on the Conscientious and Contentious patterns (as in the case of Gore), an elevated Dominant pattern points to Simonton's (1988) *deliberative* presidential style. According to Millon (1994a), Controlling (i.e., Dominant) individuals

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

Millon's description of the Controlling pattern should not be indiscriminately applied to Gore, given the subsidiary status of the Dominant pattern in his overall personality configuration. 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 ("forceful") prototype of the Dominant pattern, aspects of which can be expected to modify Gore's Conscientious and Retiring patterns:

> [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 provide the theoretical underpinnings for the quintessentially Conscientious Gore's willingness, as Fallows (2000) puts it, "to bend the rules and stretch the truth if necessary" (p. 34).

*Leadership and Policy Implications*

It is both possible and desirable 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 components of political leadership, Gore's introverted personality does not serve him well with respect to *mobilization*. In the sphere of *orchestration*, Gore's diligence and attention to detail, associated with his conscientiousness, will stand him in good stead with respect to crafting specific policies. Finally, in the arena of *consolidation*, Gore's introversion poses an obstacle to the kinds of coalition building and forging of supportive relationships necessary for institutionalizing the results of his policy judgments. Furthermore, the dogmatism and "stiff-necked condescension" (Zelnick, 1999, p. 358) associated with Gore's extreme conscientiousness may undermine his efforts to consummate his policy objectives.

From Simonton's perspective, Gore's elevated score on the MIDC Conscientious scale, in conjunction with his loadings on the Dominant and Contentious scales, suggests a "deliberative" leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Conscientiousness factor. According to Simonton (1988), the deliberative leader

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

To a lesser degree, the deliberative president is not inclined "to force decisions to be made prematurely," "knows his limitations," does not place "political success over effective policy," does not base "decisions on willfulness, nervousness, and egotism," "supports constitutional government" (suggesting low power orientation), is not "impatient, abrupt in conference," is a "skilled and self-confident negotiator," is "characterized by others as a world figure," and does not view "the presidency as a vehicle for self-expression" (pp. 930, 931).

Gore's relatively high score on the MIDC Retiring scale, in conjunction with low elevations on the Outgoing and Ambitious scales, hypothetically locates him at the low pole of Simonton's "charismatic" leadership style, which conceptually corresponds to the "Big Five" Extraversion factor (suggesting that Gore is an introvert). In Simonton's (1988) terms, a President Gore — not being a charismatic leader — will *not*

> typically find "dealing with the press challenging and enjoyable" …, enjoy "the ceremonial aspects of the office" …, be "charismatic" …, consciously refine "his own public image" …, have "a flair for the dramatic" …, convey a "clear-cut, highly visible personality" …, be a "skilled and self-confident negotiator" …, use "rhetoric effectively" …, be a "dynamo of energy and determination" … , be "characterized by others as a world figure" …, keep "in contact with the American public and its moods" …, have the "ability to maintain popularity" …, exhibit "artistry in manipulation" …, [or] view "the presidency as a vehicle for self-expression" …, [but will be] "shy, awkward in public." (p. 931)

In addition to the above executive leadership limitations Gore, as a *non*-charismatic leader, may permit himself "to be outflanked," tend to be "cautious, conservative in action," be less "innovative in his role as an executive," initiate less "new legislation and [fewer] programs," and be prone to "health problems that tend to parallel difficult and critical periods in office" (pp. 930, 931).

Turning to foreign policy, the profile for the distinctly introverted, moderately dominant, highly conscientious Gore positions him as a "high-dominance introvert" in Etheredge's (1978) four-fold typology of personality-based foreign policy role orientations. According to Etheredge, high-dominance introverts (e.g., Presidents Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover) are quite willing to use military force, tending

> 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 foreign policies are often characterized by the tenaciousness with which they advance one central idea. … [These leaders] 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)

Etheredge's high-dominance introvert appears to be most similar in character to Hermann's (1987) "expansionist" orientation to foreign affairs — leaders with a view of the world as being "divided into 'us' and 'them'," based on a belief system in which conflict is viewed as inherent in the international system.[17] This world view prompts a personal political style characterized by a "wariness of others' motives" and a "directive," controlling interpersonal orientation. The net effect of this world view and personal political style is a foreign policy "focused on issues of security and status," favoring "low-commitment actions" and espousing "short-term, immediate change in the international arena." Expansionist leaders "are not averse to using the 'enemy' as a scapegoat" and their rhetoric often may be "hostile in tone" (pp. 168–169).

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[17] In this regard, the following observation by Zelnick (1999) seems pertinent: "Gore [while serving in Congress] also had a mind that could run in stubborn ideological channels, sometimes impeding the results of his work. He was most motivated when he could play the 'white knight,' galloping to the rescue of those victimized by an evil industry or a disdainful bureaucrat, and his solutions were often punitive" (p. 109).

It should be noted that Hermann defines the expansionist orientation in terms of a motive to gain "control over more territory, resources, or people" (p. 168). However, her schema was originally formulated in the context of African leaders; in the U.S. context, it seems legitimate to frame this orientation in terms of *consolidation* — that is, preserving U.S. international dominance (including vital security and economic interests). Domestically, this orientation may well extend to the expansion of government programs, though this inference is more speculative.

A dimensional reconceptualization of the present findings from a five-factor point of view, informed by correlations among the 10 scales of the Millon Index of Personality Styles (MIPS; Millon, 1994a, pp. 81–82) and the five factors of the NEO Personality Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1985), suggests that Gore is considerably more conscientious than President Clinton, and much less extraverted and open to experience. It is highly unlikely that a Gore administration will be troubled by the same kinds of ethical questions and lapses of judgment that dogged the Clinton presidency.

Should controversy arise, it is improbable that personal misconduct will be at issue; more likely — by virtue of the very prominent *Conscientious* features in Gore's profile — political heat will be generated by Gore's inclination to relentlessly advance some central idea[18] in which he has an abiding interest (e.g., the environment, government efficiency, the high-tech and entertainment industries). Such single-minded, dogged determination incurs the risk of alienating some constituencies and diverting inordinate energy, attention, and resources from other important endeavors, tasks, and duties.

*Retiring* aspects of Gore's personality could further erode his support if a President Gore were to withdraw to the Oval Office, make himself inaccessible to the media, and neglect the important presidential tasks of coalition building and public relations. Regarding the risk of scandal, there will be none of consequence personally involving the president. Conscientious personalities are much too scrupulous in matters of morality and ethics; in fact, like a Woodrow Wilson, they run the risk of being overly moralistic. Furthermore, Al Gore's Retiring pattern, in stark contrast to the Outgoing–Ambitious pattern exemplified by Bill Clinton (see Immelman, 1998a), is associated with meager affective and erotic needs, which attenuates the risk of sexual misconduct — even without factoring in the potentiating effect of the restraining scruples rooted in his conscientiousness. Ultimately, the preponderance of Conscientious features in Gore's profile portends that he is unlikely to be a highly imaginative, visionary president or a transformational leader.

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[18] In Chapter 14 of Gore's *Earth in the Balance*, on the first twelve pages, there are repeated references to "central organizing principle" (10), "central principle" (2), "organizing principle" (5), and "all-out-effort" (4), with additional references to "single shared goal," "single overarching goal," and "overriding objective" (numbers in parentheses refer to the frequency of these references, for a total of at least 24 such instances).

## *Conclusion*

Al Gore's major personality-based leadership strengths are his conscientiousness, a detail-oriented ability to formulate and craft specific policies, and low susceptibility to ethical misconduct. His major personality-based limitations are his disdain for social interaction, his lack of spontaneity and personableness (with an associated deficit of important political skills crucial for mobilizing and retaining popular support), and his self-defeating potential for dogmatically pursuing personal policy preferences despite legislative or public disapproval.

The most striking difference between Al Gore and his Republican opponent in the 2000 presidential election, George W. Bush (see Immelman, in press), is on the extraversion–introversion dimension. In that regard, Etheredge's (1978) assessment of personality effects on American foreign policy between 1898 and 1968 bears note. According to Etheredge, his investigation revealed "a striking cleavage" in his study between introverts and extraverts in foreign policy orientation. Introverts "seem to be drawn to the ideal of a world system operating by *impersonal mechanisms*. … It is as though these people sought a world order that was less personally engaging, more impersonally and automatically controlled," whereas extraverts were "more interested in involvement and collaboration" (p. 450).

As a conscientious introvert, the closest matches among U.S. presidents of the past 100 years for Al Gore's personality-based leadership and policy orientation are Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover, both of whom James David Barber, in *The Presidential Character* (1992), categorized as "active–negative" leaders. Presidents with Gore's profile can be competent leaders, but may falter when changing circumstances require compromise or quick adaptation to situational flux or crisis. As highly task-oriented, relatively inflexible leaders, their characteristic response to rapidly arising circumstances is to overlook the human dimension while invoking moral principles and impersonal mechanisms to impose a solution, potentially with self-defeating consequences.

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