The Centrality of Political **Personality to Political** Suitability, a matter of Charisma?

La centralidad de la personalidad política en la idoneidad política: ¿Un asunto de Carisma?

Philippe De Vries

University of Antwerp philippe.devries@ua.ac.be

Christ'l De Landtsheer

University of Ghent

christl.delandtsheer@ua.ac.be

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the role of personality perception by voters in their impression of political suitability. What are the personality traits of political leaders whose perception contributes most to the electorate's impression of their political suitability? This study relies upon the central political psychology axiom that political structures are shaped and channeled by people's personalities (Winter, 2003). This axiom implies that personality factors both at the elite (leaders) and the mass level (the electorate) are believed to influence the arousal and weighting of the leaders' goals and preferences. It also follows from this axiom that the personality of the political candidate is considerably affecting how the candidate (at elite level) and how the citizens-electors (at mass level) respond or resist to cues, symbols and signs. Besides, studies on leadership from organizational research and management understated the role played by the personality in "charisma" ever since Weber (1922, 1968) launched the concept ("charismatic authority"). This "charisma" of the political leader would nevertheless only be activated in relation to the audience (e.g. Hoffman, 2009, p.232-233).

JEL Classification: M37, M38 Key words:

Political personality, political suitability, political leadership, political charisma This article focuses on the assumption that the voter- audience is considered to be influenced, even steered by central-so-called politically relevant- personality impressions about the candidate. The article firstly presents a theory review on the role of personality in political success. Secondly, a method is presented that allows assessing personality as a success factor, and which is entitled "the political personality index" (e.g. De Landtsheer, Thijssen & Immelman, 2004; De Vries, 2007). A third, empirical part of the article summarizes the results of the application of the "the political personality index" on a sample with 1171 individuals. From the results can be concluded that a substantial part of the impression of political suitability is based on the perception of the candidate's personal "charisma". The interpretation of the presumed politically relevant personality patterns as furthered by this political psychology approach further indicates that contextual factors deserve more attention.

RESUMEN

Este artículo investiga el papel de la percepción de la personalidad por parte de los votantes en su impresión acerca de la idoneidad política de los candidatos. ¿Cuáles son los puntos en la personalidad de los líderes políticos cuya percepción contribuye en mayor medida a la impresión del electorado sobre su idoneidad política? Este estudio se basa en el axioma de la psicología política central que defiende que las estructuras políticas toman forma y se canalizan por medio de la personalidad de cada individuo (Winter, 2003). Dicho axioma implica la creencia de que los factores de personalidad tanto en la élite (los líderes) como a nivel de la masa (el electorado) influencian la manera en la que surgen y toman importancia los objetivos y preferencias de los líderes. Además, partiendo de este axioma se deduce que la personalidad del candidato político afecta considerablemente a la manera en que el candidato (a nivel de élite) y los ciudadanos-electores (a nivel de masa) responden o se resisten a estímulos, símbolos y signos. Estudios en liderazgo realizados como parte de la investigación organizacional y de gestión subestiman también el papel que juega la personalidad en el "carisma" a partir del momento en que Weber (1922, 1968) lanzó el concepto ("autoridad carismática"). Este "carisma" del líder político sin embargo sería únicamente activado en relación con la audiencia (ej. Hoffman, 2009, p.232-233).

Clasificación JEL: M37, M38 Palabras clave:

Personalidad política, idoneidad política, liderazgo político, carisma político Este artículo se centra en la suposición de que se considera que el votante-la audiencia están influenciados, incluso dirigidos por impresiones acerca de la personalidad del candidato supuestamente centrales y
políticamente relevantes. El artículo presenta en primer lugar un resumen de la teoría sobre el papel de la
personalidad en el éxito político. En segundo lugar, se presenta un método que permite evaluar la personalidad como un factor de éxito y que se denomina "índice de personalidad política" (ej. De Landtsheer, Thijssen
& Immelman, 2004; De Vries, 2007). En tercer lugar, la parte empírica del artículo que resume los resultados
de la aplicación del "índice de personalidad política" en una muestra formada por 1171 individuos. De los
resultados podemos concluir que una parte sustancial de la impresión de idoneidad política se basa en la
percepción del "carisma" personal del candidato. La interpretación de los que se supone son patrones de personalidad políticamente relevantes, tal y como se promueve en este enfoque de la psicología política, añade
más información que indica que los factores contextuales merecen un estudio más detallado.s.

Introduction

Charisma may be the dream of political candidates, and the selling of it the ultimate goal of any political spin doctor, charisma nevertheless stays at all times a highly unpractical romantic scientific concept. Charismatic leadership constitutes a type of political domination whereby individuals are made to believe that their leader possesses special legitimizing, divine powers (e.g. Hoffmann, 2009). For the ordinary political candidate besides, charisma is out of reach because it resembles magic and it cannot be learned or achieved by hard labor. It is a mistake to assume that the consequences for society of charismatic leadership tend to be favorable. Charismatic leaders may, depending upon their personality, be able to inspire the masses to altruism, but they can as well push them in the direction of massacres. Charismatic personalities far too often become authoritarian politicians or the leaders of an authoritarian state. This article does not intend to unravel the impression components of the magic or divine leader (Castro, Martin Luther King, Hitler, Stalin, J.F.K., Chavez) but it contents it at examining voters' perception of personality characteristics that, in a democratic system, contribute to the perception of political suitability. While "personality" is seen as crucial to charismatic leadership (Hoffmann, 2009) it may be at least as important for the "usual" political candidates for public office. The modernization of the political media landscape has made personalization of politics the central issue in political campaigning. It is therefore more than time to test the central role of (particular) personality characteristics" in voters' perception of political suitability.

This article will firstly present a theory frame for the study of personality perception in politics ("the centrality of political personality"). After that, a second section will detail the research methodology to investigate personality in relation to political suitability ("the political personality index"). The third section ("the winning candidate personality") finally, will describe the results of the empirical study and will come to a conclusion.

The centrality of political personality

The prominent political psychologist Winter (2003, p. 110) wrote: "One of the central axioms of political psychology is that political structures are shaped and channeled by peoples' personalities, that is by their individually patterned integration of processes of perception, memory, judgment, goal-seeking, and emotional expressions and regulations." A clear and univocal definition of what political personality encompasses is nonetheless still missing. In their attempt to map the different scientific approaches Allport and Odbert (1936) listed no less than fifty different types of definitions. The definitions of personality differ considerably according to the scientific disciplines examined. Psychology and political science -for example- are endorsing divergent concepts of personality. Even though some personalities had enormous influences on world politics over the past decades, personality studies are -understandablyextremely difficult and limited seen the inaccessibility of the political leaders. It is impossible to imagine that the most powerful and influential political leaders in the world would let their personalities be unraveled by scientists. Therefore, some researchers have avoided this problem by designing objective methods to retrieve political personality. These methods enable researchers to retrieve the political personalities as perceived

by the electorate. Although aspects of private personality are contributing to the general and publicly perceived personality, the political personality that lives amongst the voter citizens is the most significant personality factor in voter decision-making (Winter, 2003).

Political personality has been studied in numerous studies by applying different methods. Nonetheless, personality research has been dominated by the Five Factor Model of personality structure since the early eighties (Costa & McCrae, 1992). This model is a political variant of the popular Big Five Structure (Goldenberg, 1983). Despite its popularity and simplicity, the five dimensional framework has been contested by various authors for various reasons (Caprara & Perugini, 1994; Caprara & Barbaranelli, 1999; Ashton & Lee, 2005). Based on American and Italian research it has established that voters tend to simplify personality judgments of political candidates in ongoing election campaigns by reducing the usual five factors to a combination of only two or maximum three factors. Caprara, Calo, and Barbaranelli (1997) argued that the five-dimensional structure of personality traits does not correspond to the actual voter appraisals, while Caprara, Barbaranelli, and Zimbardo (2002) demonstrated how the popular five-factor description is collapsing when it is used to evaluate and map political candidate personality.

According to the authors, these retrieved determining attributions –used to describe politicians' personality– may be explained as a direct consequence of the use of simplified heuristics and schematic information processing by the voting public. Such simplification may even be considered unique to the political arena. Individuals are faced with a great amount of complex information reaching them in the form of

party propaganda, advertisement, candidates' statements, endorsements, and especially media characterizations. According to Caprara et al. (2002) the underlying process may be that voters are holding different personality schemata for different coalitions or parties, thereby focusing on different attributes. The authors reasoned that these key trait markers could be used as activation terms in -for example- political ads. Moreover, these trait markers could be judiciously included in the candidates' speeches. Campaign managers and political consultants might therefore be selectively using particular trait markers in characterizing a political candidate versus the opposing candidate. In other words such simplified personality impressions of political candidates may follow from the socalled cognitively efficient strategy, adopted by voters in order to cope with the mass of complex information reaching them daily (Caprara et al. 2002).

As indicated above, the major part of political personality research has been conducted in the United States of America. Especially the personality of individual political leaders has kept numerous American scientists fascinated throughout the previous decades. Prominent political psychologists have set up, studied, and analyzed personality profiles of several American presidents. The importance of personality and performance assessments for evaluating political candidates has been most prominently described and studied by Kinder and his colleagues. In most general terms Kinder, Abelson, and Fiske (1979) assembled recent findings in social and cognitive psychology aiming to determine political candidate evaluation. The authors argued that citizens have meta-theories or prototypes about what good and effective lead-



ership should be. These prototypes should be considered as evaluative rulers against which political candidates are measured. Kinder and Abelson (1979) are proposing that these prototypes include traits (personality characteristics ascribed to leaders), affective reactions (patterns of emotional responses elicited by leaders), behavioral expectations (understandings of what actions leaders take), and ideal types (beliefs about what the president should be and do). These aspects of political personality can –nevertheless– be reduced to politically relevant personality impressions formed and stored by individual voters when confronted with political candidates.

Most research on specific candidate traits concludes that the electorate is considering leadership (dominance) and extraversion (charisma) to be the most important personality traits for political candidates, irrespective of the level of political sophistication (Pierce, 1993). Besides of leadership abilities, the perceived quality of "competence" or "intelligence" seems equally relevant (e.g. Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, and Sullivan, 1990; Caprara, Barbaranelli & Zimbardo, 2002). These two qualities were found to be of major importance in an "impression" index that positively correlated with the perception, for males and females, of political suitability (2004). Research by Immelman supports these findings by concluding that political candidates perceived as extravert and outgoing, and equally as dominant and ambitious, generally bring home the victory while the hardworking, conscientious introvert has to give in (Immelman, 1998, 1999, 2002, and 2003). These conclusions are - furthermore - in agreement with the distinction made by Newman (1999a) in political marketing between Teflonpersonalities to which nothing sticks, and *Velcropersonalities* to which almost everything sticks. Teflon-personalities are perceived as extravert and outgoing, characteristics that appeal to voters and are logically linked to leadership suitability. These perceived personality traits are believed to evoke certain emotional connections and reactions that attract voters (Aldrich *et al.*, 1999; Van Zoonen & Holz Bacha, 2000; Winter, 2003).

Conclusions from political psychology literature on the political relevance of (particular) personality characteristics generally spur with findings from organizational and management studies that focus upon "charisma". Kassimeris and Philaretou (2010) in their Cypriot case study describe the charismatic Archbishop Makarios III as a socialized charismatic leader, with a sensitive and empathic personality, which they put into contrast with the "personalized" charismatic leader, possessing a narcissistic personality disorder (Popper, 2000). Both this Cypriot case and a study of Castro by Hoffman (2009, p.232-233) understate the role played by both personality and contextual factors in the formation of charismatic leadership.

The paragraphs above compiled relevant approaches regarding the study of political personality. The method forming the backbone of this article is the Political Personality Index. This method by the authors that draws upon the political personality scaling theories designed by Immelman (1998, 1999, 2002, and 2004) will be detailed in the next section. In the following, empirical section the attribution of political personality and political suitability scores by respondents will allow us to distinguish politically relevant personality characteristics.

The Political Personality index

Deduced from the theoretical introduction, this research is advancing that impressions of political suitability are steered by a set of central and politically relevant personality impressions. The retrieved politically suitable personality patterns are anticipated to be corresponding to the conclusions by Immelman, meaning that more outgoing and extravert personalities will be most desirable within the political context (2004). Voters are believed to form an impression -a politically relevant impression- when perceiving a political candidate as outgoing, while the more retiring pattern is considered unfavorable (Immelman, 1999, 2004; Pancer, Brown, & Barr, 1999). Perceived introversion is often interpreted as indifference and as a lack of empathy. Politicians are presumed to be pursuing an extravert personality. Extraversion is expected to be translating into politically suitable personality patterns.

The personality research reported in this article is based on the MIDC method by Immelman that relies upon the Millon model. After having summarized the MICD method, this section introduces the "Political Personality Index" conceived by the authors as a method for assessing personality in relation to political suitability. In order to unravel the psychologically relevant personality patterns, influencing and steering the impression of politically suitability, respondents are confronted with potential political candidates and asked to rate the politicians based on the five personality scales briefly discussed below. The respondents were also asked to evaluate the presented potential political candidates on the impression of political suitability, resulting in a Political Suitability Score fluctuating between the values of one and five as well. These Political Suitability Scores will later be contrasted with the Political Personality Indexes in order to unravel the personality characteristics linked to the impression of political suitability. By statistically investigating the respondent's preferences and interferences the relationship between aspects of political personality and political suitability can be unveiled.

The MIDC method

Immelman converged Millons' personality research into a model enabling researchers to determine perceived political personality. His psycho-diagnostically founded method is enabling the scaling of political personality based on the Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria (Immelman & Steinberg, 1999). With the MIDC method the political personality can be determined and conceptualized in order to categorize political personality types while predicting political behavior. Millons' work is providing a solid foundation for conceptualizing political personality, classifying political personality types, and predicting political behavior (Millon, 1990, 1986a, 1986b, 1991, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 2003; Millon & Davis, 1998, 2000; Millon, Davis & Millon, 1996; Millon & Everly, 1985). The integrative capacity of Millons' model is rendering it sufficiently comprehensive to accommodate the major principles of psychodynamic, behavioral, humanistic, interpersonal, cognitive, biogenic, and trait approaches to the study of personality (Immelman, 2003).

In essence, the MIDC model is interpreting personality disorders as essentially exaggerated and pathologically distorted deviations emanating from a normal and healthy distribution of traits (Millon & Everly, 1985). Millon (1994b) regards pathology as resulting from the same forces involved in the development of

normal functioning: the character, timing, and intensity of these factors. Criteria for normality are including: "The capacity to function autonomously and competently, a tendency to adjust to one's environment effectively and efficiently, a subjective sense of contentment and satisfaction, and the ability to actualize or to fulfill one's potentials." (Immelman, 2003: p. 2) Moreover, the presence of psychopathology is established by the degree to which a person is deficient, imbalanced, or conflicted in these areas (Millon, 2003). An accurate personality profile is permitting to infer the likely nature and direction of personality under conditions of crisis or catastrophic personality breakdown. (Immelman, 2003). According to Immelman, "No present conceptual system in the field of political personality rivals Millons' model in compatibility with conventional psychodiagnostic methods and standard clinical practice in personality assessment. Moreover, no current system matches the elegance with which Millons' evolutionary model synthesizes normality and psychopathology. In short, Millon offers a theoretically coherent alternative to existing conceptual frameworks and assessment methodologies for the psychological examination of political leaders or historical figures" (Immelman, 2003, p. 2).

In order to apply the Immelman political personality scaling method the original scaling model is converted into five scales including ten opposing personality patterns (e.g. De Landtsheer, Thijssen, and Immelman, 2004). The following sections will be introducing the "Political Personality Index" as a research instrument for assessing political suitability of political candidates, as well as the employed incentive material, and the respondents.

Research Instrument: The political personality index

The ten most important scales of Immelmans' model for political personality research can be reduced to five scales with opposing personality characteristics (De Landtsheer, Thijssen & Immelman, 2004). At the ends of each ten point scale the equivalent of two personality patterns are placed, which must be considered opposites. The first scale is including the outgoing and retiring personality pattern. The second scale is containing the aggrieved and the dominant pattern, while the third scale is including the reticent pattern and the ambitious pattern. In the fourth scale the accommodating pattern is opposing the contentious pattern. Finally the fifth scale is consisting of the conscientious and the dauntless personality pattern. These five scales will be emanating into a Political Personality Index calculated for each potential political candidate introduced in this research.

The more a candidates' score is situated near the midpoint of the polarity scale, the less outspoken the perceived political personality of that particular political candidate must be considered. When the score is moving towards one of the tail ends of the scale more outspokenly, the more pronounced one of the contrasting personality types can be assumed present. In the following section, the specifics of the Political Personality Index will be calculated. (Ver tabla 1, pág. 73).

In order to make the findings more comprehensive and comparable, the ten point scales are reduced into five broader categories. As depicted in the table above, each evaluation is translating into a score ranging from one to five. Each Political Personality Index is thereby consisting of the average value of the five scales and it ranges

Table 1. The Political Personality Index

Opposing Political Personality Patterns							
Politically Suitable Patterns		Versus	Politically Unsuitable Patterns				
Definitely (5-6)	Rather (1-2)	Neither (3-4)	Rather (7-8)	Definitely (9-10)			
Score: 3	Score:5	Score: 4	Score: 2	Score: 1			
Outgoing				Retiring			
Dominant				Aggrieved			
Ambitious		Reticent					
Accommodating		Contentious					
Dauntless		Conscientious					

from one to five. Once the index is dropping below the 2,5 the portrayed candidate is distributing a rather negative political personality image, while scores higher than 2,5 are indicating a favorable political personality. A Political Personality Index of 5 must be considered a most preferable political personality.

More specifically, the two ends of the scale -'definitely x' and 'definitely y'-can be regarded as politically unsuitable. According to Immelman (2007), a rather outgoing, dominant, ambitious, accommodating, and dauntless personality pattern is most politically suitable, thereby relying on the reasoning established over the following paragraphs. Regarding the first scale, the outgoing personality pattern is enabling political candidates to connect with the audience. Nonetheless, a too elevated level of the outgoing personality pattern is leading towards impressions of impulsiveness and histrionic behavior. The dominant personality pattern -included in the second scale- is driving voter and citizen impressions on strong and efficient leadership, an indispensable characteristic for distributing the image of political suitability. Noteworthy however, is the fact that if the dominant pattern is too

elevated, the candidate may come across as being overly aggressive, a characteristic that generally doesn't play well with voters. The third scale which places the ambitious personality pattern on the positive side is providing the impression of self-confidence, once again if not too elevated. Immelman continues by arguing that a combination of the outgoing and the ambitious pattern ensures a candidates' charismatic quality. The tendency towards a rather accommodating personality pattern -referred to in the fourth scale -must be considered as an asset in the political arena. This accommodating characteristic is driving the impressions of friendliness and diplomacy. Nevertheless, once again a highly elevated level of the accommodating pattern is leading towards impressions of weakness and submissiveness. And finally, the fifth scale is including the dauntless personality pattern indicating -when present in a modest amountthe adventurousness, and the willingness to take risks; characteristics believed highly attractive to potential voters. An extreme elevated level of the dauntless personality pattern- on the other hand -is feeding the politically negative impressions of sensation seeking, rule braking, bully behavior.

On the other side of the personality spectrum the politically unsuitable patterns arise. The outspoken retiring personality pattern is indicating the tendencies towards solitary and aloof personality impressions, while the aggrieved personality pattern is reinforcing self-denying and self-defeating impressions. The reticent personality pattern on the other hand is indicating withdrawn and inhibited personality characteristics. The contentious personality pattern is translating into a negativistic and oppositional image, while the conscientious personality pattern is enhancing impressions of compulsiveness and obsessive dutifulness. The outspoken personality patterns of the retiring, aggrieved, reticent, contentious, and conscientious personality pattern can therefore be labeled as politically unsuitable personality traits.

Nonetheless, the mildly variant of these negatively perceived political personality patterns can have a positive influence on the impression of political suitability. The mildly retiring personality pattern is pointing at a reserved and respectful aspect of the political personality, while the lowest aggrieved pattern denotes the unpresuming personality characteristics. A mildly reticent personality pattern is indicating the characteristic of circumspect or precaution. A mild indication of the contentious personality pattern can be translated into the impression of a resolute and determined personality. While the moderate presence of the last personality pattern -the conscientious personality pattern- is feeding impressions of respect and passion. Nonetheless, it is important to state that even though the described variants of these personality patterns may have a positive influence on the impression of the politically suitable personality they should under no circumstances be equated

with the politically suitable patterns placed on the left side of the political personality spectrum as presented above.

As can be deduced from the reasoning above, the Political Personality Index is encompassing the discussed positive and negative consequences inherent to the attribution of the personality patterns included in Immelmans' model. The attribution of outspoken, yet positively assumed political personality patterns is thereby granted three points, while the politically most preferable personality patterns are awarded five points. These ideal patterns are represented in the second column. Stable and balanced personalities are attributed four points. The mildly presence of the less politically preferable personality patterns accounts for two points, and finally the outspoken manifestation of the negative personality pattern is awarded only one point. When the five scales are brought together and reduced to one mean value, the Political Personality Index arises.

Incentive Material

Each respondent is confronted with a set of printed pictures presenting ten possible male or female political candidates and asked to place the portrayed political candidate on each of the five scales, based on the opposing personality patterns. As can be deduced from the above table, each scale is consisting of ten gradations, from 'definitely x' over 'rather x' and 'rather y' to 'definitely y' (x and y are thereby representing the opposing personality patterns). Afterwards, the respondent was asked to scale the displayed political candidate on a scale from one to ten for the characteristic of political suitability. More precisely the respondent answered the following

question: "Do you consider this candidate suitable to represent you in the House of Parliament?"

Overall sixty photographs of potential political candidates are employed in this research, thirty male and thirty female politicians. These candidates are representing as many different physical characteristics as possible, meaning that male and female political candidates from different age categories were included in the incentive material. Furthermore, both candidates coming across as casual and formal were admitted. By introducing these different types of individuals the connectedness between the personality patterns assumed to be politically relevant and the political suitability of the political candidate could be unveiled.

A wide variety of different physical characteristics was included in the different sets of photographs applied as incentive material. The portrayed candidates were - furthermore - unknown individuals to the respondents. The pictures originated from foreign European internet sites (German, Spanish, French, and Portuguese).

Respondents

Overall, 590 male and 581 female respondents took part in the study, resulting into 1171 individuals. Respondents were interviewed from door to door, on the street, and in the train. The respondents were selected based on gender, age, level of education, and political affiliation.

Identical to the studies discussed above it was aspired to include an equal amount of male and female respondents. Moreover, an equal division of the respondents across three age categories was strived for: young adults (between the age of 18 and 35), adults (between the age of 35 and 65), and elderly (older than 65). The participating respondents can be divided across the three

broader age categories, more precisely: 396 individuals belonged to the first age category, ranging from the eighteen to thirty five. The second age category - ranging from thirty six to sixty five - consisted of an equal number of respondents, while the third category consisted of 379 respondents. These three age categories represented young adults (18-35), adults (36-65), and elderly (60+).

A third demographic variable is the level of education. Four levels of education were noted: university degree, degree of higher education, high school degree, no high school degree. Based on this division, higher and lower educated respondents could be separated. Overall, 114 respondents merely finished elementary school, 475 respondents held a high school degree, 385 respondents possessed a higher educational degree, and finally 197 individuals attained an academic degree.

A fourth and final variable which included in the analyses is monitoring the respondents' political affiliation. Respondents were divided over seven categories. Overall 201 respondents affiliated themselves with the liberal democrat party VLD and 253 considered themselves members of the Christian democrat party. Furthermore, 92 respondents described themselves as members of the green party Groen!, 180 respondents were affiliated with the social democrat party and finally 115 individuals noted their extreme right (Vlaams Belang) affiliation.

The winning candidate personality

Over the following sections the results retrieved from the respondents' judgment on the perceived political personality will be discussed. The first section will be presenting the highest and lowest Political Suitability Scores deduced from the respondent evaluations. Afterwards, the interactions between the Political Personality Index and the demographic characteristics of the participating respondents will be investigated. Moreover —and more importantly—the relationship between the Political Personality Index, the components compounding the index, and the Political Suitability Scores will be intensively examined.

Political Suitability Scores

The average Political Suitability Score attained by the male political candidates is 2,45. At first sight this score is relatively low, meaning that the majority of the attributed evaluations on the impression of politically suitability are negative. An ANOVA calculation is demonstrating that the differences between the means are significant with an F value of 17,042 (the significance of F is .000). A genuinely significant overall difference between the presented Political Suitability Scores can be concluded. The Political Suitability Scores obtained by the five highest scoring male political candidates are thereby significantly differing from the five lowest scoring male candidates.

In analogy to the conclusions based on the evaluations of the potential male political candidates, the average Political Suitability Score seems to be significantly low as well. The average Political Suitability Score achieved by the female politicians is 2,48 and slightly higher than the average male Political Suitability Score. The differences between the means are significant with an F value of 19,437 (the significance of F is .000). Similar to the male findings, significant overall difference between the Political Suitability Scores can be concluded.

The Political Personality Index

In this section, the calculated Personality Indexes will be scrutinized. Overall, the average Political Personality Index attributed by the respondents is 2,99. The average Political Personality Index for the female political candidates is 2,98. In analogy to the results presented above the explanatory power of the Political Personality Index should be demonstrating the fitness or unsuitableness of the political psychology emphasis on certain aspects of political personality. The following sections will be uncovering the statistically significant interplay and interaction of the different demographic variables -explained in the operationalization and applied in the above discussed studies- included in this research. Subsequently, the relationship between the Political Personality Index and the Political Suitability Score will be discussed.

Interactions with Demographic Variables

In this section the gender, age, level of education, and political affiliation of the respondents are included into the analyses. Each demographic variable will be discussed separately over the following paragraphs. The interactions are calculated in SPSS. Chi-square tests and spearman coefficients are calculated to determine the significance and the impact of the retrieved interactions.

The first demographic variable included in the analyses is the gender variable. No significant interactions can be unveiled between the gender of the respondent and the Political Personality Index (Chi²=33,643; p=0,786). When the demographic variable representing the three age categories is taken into consideration some significant and interesting interactions surface (rho=-0,046; df=8; p<.000). Respondents belonging to the adult age category are accounting

for 64,3% of the highest Political Personality Indexes with an average Political Personality Index of 2,42. Merely 7,1% of these highest evaluations can be brought back to the young adult age category (18-35) with an average Political Personality Index of 2,3 and 28,6% to the category elderly (65+) with an average Political Personality Index of 2,56. It can therefore be concluded that in general, the adults and the elderly are accountable for the highest Political Personality Indexes attributed, especially in contrast to the youngest respondents.

When the gender of the respondent is taken into consideration, similar conclusions can be drawn. The respondents in the highest age category are responsible for the highest Indexes regardless their own gender and the gender of the portrayed politician. A third demographic variable is representing the respondents' level of education. The cross tabulation operation did not reveal any significant interactions between the Political Personality Index and the respondents' level of education (rho=0,003; p=0,762).

A final variable brought in relation with the Personality Index is the respondents' political affiliation. Even though the relationship between the respondents' political affiliation and the Political Personality Index is significant (Chi²=44,117; df=24, p<.05) no remarkable conclusions can be recovered. The respondents affili-

ated with the Christian democratic party or the liberal democratic party seem to be accountable for the more elevated indexes than could be expected. The green party and the social democratic party affiliates on the other hand seem to be less willing to attribute high indexes.

Personality Index versus Political Suitability Score

In order to determine the fitness and explanatory power of the Political Personality Index, the interplay between the index and the Political Suitability Score (PS Score) must be investigated. In a first paragraph the overall correlations between the specific components of the Personality Index and the PS Score will be discussed. Afterwards, a multiple regression analyses will be revealing the overall explanatory power of the Personality Index and its distinct components.

Overall, the spearman correlation between the Political Suitability Score and the Political Personality Index is indicating a positive and significant relationship (rho=0,154; df=410; p<.001). Nonetheless the connection between these two variables must be designated as weak. The table below is containing the correlations calculated between the opposing personality scales and the impression of political suitability, in other words the Political Suitability Score.

Spearman Correlations with PS Score (N=1171)					
	Political Suitability Score				
Outgoing - Retiring Personality Scale	0,363(*)				
Dominant - Aggrieved Personality Scale	- 0,122(*)				
Ambitious - Reticent Personality Scale	- 0,214(*)				
Accommodating - Contentious Personality Scale	0,204(*)				
Dauntless - Conscientious Personality Scale	0,05(*)				
* n< 0.001					

Based on the table presented above some interesting conclusions can be drawn regarding the interaction between the opposing personality scales and the impression of political suitability. Firstly, the direction of the correlations is demonstrating that only three out of the five personality scales are positively correlating with the index calculation. The dominant-aggrieved scale and the ambitious-reticent scale have a negative effect on the Political Personality Index, meaning that the aggrieved and the reticent personality pattern must be considered as more politically suitable than the dominant and the ambitious personality pattern. The other three personality patterns are - nonetheless - significantly correlating with the impression of political suitability.

Secondly, the retrieved spearman correlations enable this research to interpret the strength of the relationships. As can be deduced from the correlations presented above, the outgoing-retiring scale is accounting for the strongest correlation (rho=0,363; p<.001), followed by the accommodating-contentious personality scales (rho=0,204; p<.001). The ambitious-reticent personality scale (rho=-0,214; p<.001) and the dominant-aggrieved personality scale (rho=-0,122; p<.001) are accounting for a significant yet negative impact. Finally, the dauntless-con-

scientious scale is accounting for the weakest and almost negligible correlation (rho=0,05, p<.001). The calculated spearman correlations are indicating that not all the opposing personality scales are contributing positively and/or strongly to the Political Suitability Score.

A multiple regression analysis is executed in order to determine the influences of the five opposing personality scales on the impression of political suitability more profoundly. The table—presented below— is clarifying the impact, direction, and power of the five personality scales composing the Personality Index.

The adjusted R Square is indicating that overall 17,4% of the variance —or the Political Suitability Score—is explained by the model introducing the five scales from the Personality Index. Furthermore, the contribution of the dauntless-conscientious personality scale is not significant, meaning that the dauntless-conscientious scale is not contributing to the variance all.

The highest standardized beta coefficient –indicating the contribution of each variable to the explanatory model– is demonstrating the significant effect of the outgoing-retiring personality scale on the Political Suitability Score. The outgoing-retiring personality scale is explaining the Political Suitability Score best (Standardized

Multiple Regression Analysis Explaining the Political Suitability Score (R=,418; R²=,174; Adjusted R²=,174)						
Variable	Stand. Beta	Sig	t	Tolerance		
Outgoing-Retiring	0,338	,000	38,990	0,958		
Ambitious-Reticent	-0,186	,002	-16,026	0,532		
Accommodating-Contentious	0,035	,000	3,163	0,579		
Dominant-Aggrieved	0,072	,000	6,650	0,605		
Dauntless-Conscientious	-0,007	,433	-0,785	0,837		

Beta=0,338). The ambitious-reticent personality scale must be considered the second best predictor (Standardized Beta=-0,183) even though the effect of the scale is running in the opposite direction. The accommodating-contentious scale is resulting into the third highest beta coefficient (Standardized Beta=0,072). And finally the dominant-aggrieved personality scale is accounting for the lowest standardized beta coefficient (Standardized Beta=0,035).

Conclusions

The introduction of five scales with opposing personality patterns —resulting into the Political Personality Index —aimed to confirm the explanatory power of the presumed politically suitable personality patterns deduced from the MIDC model designed by Immelman. In conclusion of this research one may state that these aspirations are not completely fulfilled. Although the Political Personality Index was found to be positively linked to the Political Suitability Score — meaning that high Indexes translated into high PS Scores and vice versa — some of the designed opposing personality patterns turned out to have a reverse effect. In other words, voters did not confirm all preconceived hypotheses.

First of all, the dauntless-conscientious personality scale did not contribute to the explanation of the impression of political suitability. Furthermore, the ambitious-reticent personality pattern had an opposite effect on the Political Suitability Score, meaning that a high score re-

sulted into a low Political Suitability Score and vice versa. More specifically, the potential voters did not support the assumption deduced from political psychology theory arguing that political candidates should disseminate a more ambitious personality instead of a more reticent personality. In addition to that, the dauntless-conscientious personality pattern - although it was found irrelevant to the Political Suitability Score - correlated negatively with the impression of political suitability as well, indicating that a political candidate should rather be displaying a conscientious personality pattern instead of a dauntless one.

Despite the shortcomings discussed above, the most powerful personality predictor resulting into a politician being perceived as politically suitable was the outgoing-retiring personality pattern. The more outgoing a politician is perceived, the more politically suitable he or she comes across. Overall, the components of the Political Personality Index accounted for 17% of the Political Suitability Score. These conclusions might be indicating that the interpretation of the presumed politically relevant personality patterns as furthered by this political psychology interpretation should be reconsidered. Nonetheless, the Political Personality Index is accounting for a significant part of the impression of political suitability. Especially the personality pattern of outgoingness (personal charisma) seems to be translating into impressions of political suitability.

Bibliography

Aldrich, J., Gronke, P., & Grynaviski, J. (1999). Policy, personality and Presidential Performance. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 15-18, 1999.

Allport, G., & Odbert, H.S. (1936). Trait-names: A Psycho-Lexical Study, *Psychological Monographs*, 47, 211.

Caprara, G., & Perugini, M. (1994). Personality Described by Adjectives: Generalizability of the Big Five the Italian Lexical context, European Journal of Personality, 8, 357-369.

Caprara, G., Calo, G., & Barbaranelli, C. (1997). Le Determinanti dell'intenzione di votto : Un contributo empirico [The Determiants of voter intentions : An empirical Contribution], *Micro e Macro Marketing*, 6, 273-301.

Caprara, G., Barbaranelli, C., & Zimbardo, P. (1999). Personality Profiles and Political Parties, *Political Psychology*, 20, 175-196.

Caprara, G., Barbaranelli, C., & Zimbardo, P. (2002). When Parsimony Subdues Distinctiveness: Simplified Public Perceptions of Politician's Personalities, *Political Psychology*, 23/1, 77-95.

Costa, P.T., & McCrae, R.R. (1985). *The Neo Personality Inventory Manual*. Psychological Assessment Resources: Odessa, FL.

De Landtsheer, C. (2004). Politiek impressiemanagement in Vlaanderen en Nederland [Political Impression Management in Flanders and the Netherlands]. Leuven: Acco.

De Landtsheer, C., Thijssen, P., & Immelman, A. (2004). De Persoonlijkheid van de politieke overwinnaar [The personality of the winning politician]. In C. De Landtsheer (Ed.), Politiek impressiemanagement in Vlaanderen en Nederland [Political Impression Management in Flanders and the Netherlands]. Leuven: Acco, 151-167.

De Vries, P. (2007). Candidate Image in Belgian Politics. Doctoral Thesis, University of Antwerp.

Hoffman, B. (2009). Charismatic Authority and Leadership Change: Lessons from Cuba's Post Fidel Succession. *International Political Science Review*, 30/3, 229-248.

Immelman, A. (1998). The political personalities of 1996 U.S. presidential candidates Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, *Leadership Quarterly*, 9, 335-366.

Immelman, A. (1999). *Millon Inventory of Diagnostic Criteria manual* (2nd ed.). Collegeville, MN: St. John's University.

Immelman, A. (2002). The political personality of U.S. presidential candidate George W. Bush. In O. Feldman & L. O. Valenty (Eds.), *Political leadership for the new century: Personality and behavior among American leaders*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Immelman, A. (2003). Personality in Political Psychology. In T. Millon & M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of Psychology*, New York: Wiley, 599-625.

Immelman, A. & Beatty, A. (2004). *The political personality of U.S. presidential candidate John Kerry.* Paper presented at the 28th Annual Scientific Meeting of The International Society of Political Psychology, Toronto Canada.

Kassimeris, Christos & Philaretou (2010). Andreas G. Playing Politics with Charisma: Archbishop Makarios III and the Cyprus Issue. *Politics, Culture and Socialization*, 1/4: 41-62.

Kinder, D.R., Abelson, R, & Fiske, S.T. (1979). *Developmental Research on Candidate Instrumentation. Results and Recommendations.* Report submitted to the NES board of overseers. Ann Arbor: NI, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan.

Millon, T. (1969). Modern psychopathology: A biosocial approach to maladaptive learning and functioning. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders.

Millon, T., & Everly, G.S. (1985). Personality and its Disorders: A biosocial learning approach. New York: Wiley.

Millon, T. (1986). Personality Prototypes and their Diagnostic Criteria. In T. Millon, & G.L. Klerman (Eds.), *Contemporary directions in psychopathology: Towards the DSM-IV*, New York: Guilford, 671-712.

Millon, T. (1990). Toward a new Personlogy: An Evolutionary Model. New York: Wiley.

Millon, T., Weiss, L.G., Millon, C.M., & Davis, R.D. (1994). Millon Index of Personality Styles Manual. San Antonio, TX: Psychological Corporation.

Millon, T., & Davis, R.D. (1996). Disorders of Personality: DSM-IV and beyond. New York: Wiley.

Millon, T., & Davis, R.D. (2000). Personality Disorders in Modern life. New York: Wiley.

Newman, L.S., & Uleman, J.S. (1989). Spontaneous trait inference. In J.S. Umleman & J.A. Bargh (Eds.), *Unintended thought*, New York: Guilford, 155-188.

Newman, B (1994). The Marketing of the President: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Popper, M. (2002). Narcissism and Attachment Patterns of Personalized and Socialized Charismatic Leaders. In Journal of Social & Personal Relationships, 19, pp. 797-809.

Pierce, P.A. (1993). Political sophistication and the use of candidate traits in candidate evaluation, *Political Psychology*, 14, 21-35.

Rahn, W.M., Aldrich, J.H., Borgida, E., & Sullivan, J.L. (1990). A social cognitive model of candidate appraisal. In

J.A. Ferejohn & J.H. Kuklinski (Eds.), *Information and democratic processes*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 136-159.

Van Zoonen, L., & Holz-Bacha (2000). Personalisation in Dutch and German Politics: The Case of Talk Show, *The Public*, 7/2, 45-56.

Winter, D.G. (2003). Assessing Leaders' Personalities: A Historical Survey of Academic Research Studies. In J. Post (Ed.), *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 11-38.

Winter, D.G. (2004). Personality And Political Behavior. In D. Sears, L. Huddy, & R. Jervis (Eds.), Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 110-145.