INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films

the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and

dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of

computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the

copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations

and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper

alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript

and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized

copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by

sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing

from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced

xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white

photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing

in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

ProQuest Information and Learning 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA

800-521-0600

UMI°

Relationship Among Servant-Leadership, Altruism and Social Performance: A Study of American Presidents

Louise Tourigny

A Thesis

in

The John Molson School

of

Business

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada

December 7, 2001

© Louise Tourigny, 2001



National Library of Canada

Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street Ottawa ON K1A 0N4 Canada Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Acquisitions et services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington Ottawa ON K1A 0N4 Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our lie Notre référence

The author has granted a nonexclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-68208-0



ABSTRACT

Relationship Among Servant-Leadership, Altruism and Social Performance: A Study of

American Presidents

Louise Tourigny, Ph.D.

Concordia University, 2001

This dissertation addresses the moral issues surrounding the phenomenon of

leadership. It is about the servant-leadership role of American presidents in solving

problems, making decisions, responding to constituents' needs, and handling domestic

and foreign policy. It examines the relationships among American presidential servant-

leadership behaviors, personality characteristics, and performance. It concentrates on the

ethical dimensions of leadership such as principle-guided actions, and vision

inclusiveness. The American Presidential Management Inventory and American

Presidential Performance Effectiveness were developed to measure servant-leadership

managerial practices of American presidents and social performance. Statistical tests

reveal that servant-leadership is a multidimensional concept that reflects ethical

leadership practices. It was found that servant-leadership has a positive effect on

presidential social performance. Results indicate that servant-leadership is determined by

the personality characteristics of presidents. Furthermore, statistical results indicate that

presidential personality characteristics interact in predicting performance effectiveness.

The implications of the current study for leadership research and managerial practices are

discussed. Avenues for future research are offered.

iii

DEDICATION

To my husband Claude Poulin

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank a number of people for their support. First, I express my thanks to my dissertation committee members. Dr. Gary Johns, my supervisor, stimulated my ideas and enhanced the quality of my work. Dr. Johns always provided clear guidance. He provided valuable assistance and suggestions for the design of the research, and statistical analyses. Dr. Johns fostered my critical thinking. I will always remember his advice.

Dr. Rabindra Kanungo played the inspirational leadership role during the conceptualization of my research. Dr. Kanungo always supported my ideas. He provided sources of information, and suggested ways to refine my conceptual development. Dr. Kanungo has been a source of motivation. He believes in a new trend in leadership studies and opened the field to young researchers. I will always be grateful for his consideration.

Dr. V.V. Baba gave me emotional support and helped me cope with the stress that I experienced during this project. Dr. Baba provided rigorous training in research. He made me work on several projects, and involved me at all developmental stages. I thank Dr. Baba for being a source of support.

Dr. M. Jamal provided constructive advice on the conceptualization of my research, and sources of information. I thank him for his generous help.

I want to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the financial support provided for my doctoral studies.

I express my thanks to Dr. Dean Keith Simonton and Dr. Ronald Deluga who gave me permission to use the profiles of American presidents, and for their useful comments. I also want to thank Dr. Bernard M. Bass for his comments and suggestions.

I want to express my sincere recognition to all scholars in American history and political science who participated in this research. The names of all scholars who agreed to be listed are presented in Appendix 12.

I also wish to thank all my colleagues, Bella Galperin, Helena Addae, Susan Reid, Theodora Welch, Maria Kalamas, Luc Bourgie, Edward Aronson, and Marcia Pulich for their encouragement and support.

Finally, I want to thank my husband for his patience, flexibility, help, understanding, and love.

Table of Contents

		Page
Chapter 1	Conceptual and theoretical overview	1
	Introduction	1
	Organization of the dissertation	4
	 Theoretical and conceptual foundations of servant- 	5
	leadership	,
	 Typology of philosophical assumptions of leadership approaches 	5
	Charismatic leadership approaches	9
	The psychoanalytical approach	9
	❖ The attributional approach	10
	The motivational approach	13
	 Philosophical and political assumptions underlying servant-leadership 	16
Chapter 2	Servant-leadership conceptual development	20
-	The servant-leadership visionary process	20
	Stage 1: Assessing the environment	20
	Stage 2: Formulating and articulating the vision	22
	Stage 3: Operationalizing the vision	24
	Servant-leadership dimensions and components	28
	❖ Vision inclusiveness	28
	Principle-guided action	29
	 Moral empowerment 	29
	Antecedents of servant-leadership	32
	 Definition of concepts and hypotheses 	35
	Need for power	36
	❖ Need for altruism	37
	Protective governance	41
	 Need for achievement 	42
	♦ Need for affiliation	43 44
	Political beliefs	44 47
	Responsibility values	50
	Personality traits	50 51
	Charisma and impression management	54
	♦ Narcissism	58
	♦ Machiavellianism	62
	Situational constraints	69
	 Consequences 	07

Chapter 3	Methodology	72
	Sample selection	72
	Historiometric methods	74
	❖ Data	74
	Historical source documents	75
	❖ Biographies	75
	Personality profiles	77
	Inaugural addresses	78
	Measurement and procedures	80
	Need for altruism and protective governance	80
	Empathy	86
	Responsibility values	87
	❖ Political beliefs	89
	Servant-leadership	91
	Social performance	101
	Secondary data	108
	Need for power, achievement and affiliation	108 109
	Personality traits	110
	◆ Narcissism	111
	Situational constraints	112
	Composition of Congress	112
	Crises	112
	❖ Year	113
	Statistical procedures	113
	Relationship among variables	113
	❖ Statistical power	114
	 Hierarchical linear regression analyses 	
Chapter 4	Results	116
•	Servant-leadership and personality characteristics	119
	❖ Presidential needs	119
	Political beliefs and responsibility values	125
	Personality traits	128
	Servant-leadership and presidential performance	132
	Presidential policy effectiveness	133
	 Presidential greatness 	134
	Social performance	135
	Presidential performance and personality traits	137
	Situational constraints	138
	Hierarchical regression analyses	140
	Predictors of servant-leadership	141
	Predictive effects of servant-leadership scales	146
	Predictors of policy effectiveness	146
	Predictors of social performance	151
	Predictors of presidential greatness	153
	 Moderating effects of personality characteristics 	158

	Moderating effects of situational constraints	164
	 Composition of Congress 	164
	Crisis	166
	Summary of the results	168
	• Conclusion	170
Chapter 5	Discussion	172
-	Servant-leadership: A multidimensional construct	172
	Servant-leadership: Its antecedents and predictors	173
	Servant-leadership and presidential performance	178
	Charismatic leadership: Conceptual and	
	methodological issues	180
	Antecedents of leadership	184
	Antecedents of domestic and foreign policy	185
	Avenues of research in leadership	187
	Managerial implications	188
	Strengths and limitations	190 190
	◆ Major strengths	191
	❖ Some limitations	191
	Concluding notes	196
Tables		.,,
Table 1	Fleiss's coefficients of inter-rater reliability	198
Table 2	Kappa's coefficients of inter-rater reliability	199
Table 3	Raw scores for need for altruism and protective	200
	governance	
Table 4	Indicators of servant-leadership dimensions and components	201
Table 5	Classification of critical incidents	202
Table 6	Factor structure of the selection of Cabinet members and	202
14010	appointments section of the APMI	204
Table 7	Factor structure of the managing subordinates section of	
	the APMI	205
Table 8	Factor structure of the decision-making process section of	
	the APMI	206
Table 9	Factor structure of the dealing with cultural entities and	
	diversity section of the APMI	207
Table 10	Factor structure of the relations with Congress section of	
	the APMI	208
Table 11	Factor structure of the foreign policy and international	200
	relations section of the APMI	209
Table 12	Factor structure of the domestic policy and issues section	310
m 11 45	of the APMI	210
Table 13	Factor structure of the conflict and crisis management of	211
T-L1- 14	the APMI Objective relection scale	211
Table 14	Objective selection scale	212

Table 15	Impartial selection scale	212
Table 16	Constituent balance scale	212
Table 17	Empowerment scale	213
Table 18	Control scale	213
Table 19	Deceptive style scale	213
Table 20	Consultative and participative style scale	213
Table 21	Constituent inclusiveness scale	214
Table 22	Directive style scale	214
Table 23	Laissez-faire scale	214
Table 24	Minority inclusiveness	214
Table 25	Civil rights	215
Table 26	Congress (Principled action in relation with Congress)	215
Table 27	Individualized consideration to Congress members	215
Table 28	Moving Congress forward	215
Table 29	Vision consistency	215
Table 30	Fostering teamwork	216
Table 31	Foreign policy assessment	216
Table 32	Ethical actions with other nations	216
Table 33	Openness to different ideologies	216
Table 34	Constituent responsiveness scale	217
Table 35	Domestic policy vision scale	217
Table 36	Domestic policy values scale	217
Table 37	Constituent protection scale	217
Table 38	Wisdom scale	218
Table 39	Judgment scale	218
Table 40	Tactical scale	218
Table 41	Cooperative style scale	218
Table 42	Reliability coefficients and descriptive statistics for APMI	
	section scales	219
Table 43	Higher-order factor structure of the scales of the American	
	Presidential Management Inventory	220
Table 44	Scores for American presidents on servant-leadership	
	dimensions	221
Table 45	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 1	222
Table 46	Presidential scores on the scales of sections 2 and 3 of the	
	APMI	223
Table 47	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 4	224
Table 48	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 5	225
Table 49	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 6	226
Table 50	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 7	227
Table 51	Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 8	228
Table 52	Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix	229
Table 53	Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and	
	motives	235
Table 54	Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales,	.
	political beliefs and responsibility values	236

Table 55	Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and	
	personality traits	237
Table 56	Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and	
	indicators of presidential performance	238
Table 57	Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and	
	situational constraints	241
Table 58	Effects of narcissism on servant-leadership dimensions and	
	scales	242
Table 59	Effects of Machiavellianism on servant-leadership scales	244
Table 60	Effects of charisma and impression management on	
	servant-leadership scales	245
Table 61	Effects of responsibility values and political beliefs on	
	servant-leadership scales and foreign policy effectiveness	246
Table 62	Predictors of empowerment	247
Table 63	Servant-leadership effect on domestic policy	248
Table 64	Servant-leadership effect on domestic policy effectiveness	249
Table 65	Servant-leadership effect on foreign policy effectiveness	251
Table 66	Servant-leadership effect on presidential performance	253
Table 67	Servant-leadership effect on international relations	254
Table 68	Servant-leadership effect on domestic social issues	255
Table 69	Servant-leadership effect on domestic and international	
	economy	256
Table 70	Servant-leadership effect on presidential greateness	
	(Murray & Blessing)	257
Table 71	Servant-leadership effect on presidential greateness	
	(Maranell)	258
Table 72	Moderating effect of personality characteristics on foreign	
	policies	260
Table 73	Moderating effects of personality characteristics on	
	domestic policies	261
Table 74	Moderating effects of personality characteristics on	
	presidential social performance (APPE)	262
Table 75	Moderating effect of personality characteristics on	
1	international relations	263
Table 76	Moderating effect of need for altruism on the relationship	
14515	between charisma and domestic and international economy	264
Table 77	Moderating effect of composition of Congress on the	
14510 / /	relationship between servant-leadership and performance	265
Table 78	Moderating effect of composition of Congress on the	
	relationship between charisma and performance	266
Table 79	Moderating effect of need for altruism on the impact of	_0
100.0,	crises on presidential performance	267
Table 80	Hierarchical regressions: Effects of charisma and servant-	20
1 40.9 00	leadership on presidential performance	268

Figures

Figure 1	Typology of leadership influence	270
Figure 2	Moderating effect of need for altruism	271
Figure 3	Moderating effect of protective governance: Need for	
J	power and foreign policies	272
Figure 4	Moderating effect of protective governance: Need for	
J	power and social performance	273
Figure 5	Moderating effect of Machiavellianism: Charisma and	
J	domestic policies	274
Figure 6	Moderating effect of Machiavellianism: Charisma and	
J	social performance	275
Figure 7	Moderating effect of narcissism: Charisma and domestic	
J	policy	276
Figure 8	Moderating effect of narcissism on the relationship	
J	between charisma and international relations	277
Figure 9	Moderating effect of narcissism: Protective governance	
	and foreign policies	278
Figure 10	Moderating effect of narcissism on the relationship	
	between protective governance and international relations	279
Figure 11	Moderating effect of need for altruism on the relationship	
	between charisma and domestic and international economy	280
Figure 12	Moderating effect of belief in service	281
Figure 13	Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Principle-	
	guided action and foreign policies	282
Figure 14	Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Wisdom	
	and foreign policies	283
Figure 15	Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Impartial	
1 15010 10	selection and social performance	284
Figure 16	Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Charisma	
1.64.0	and domestic policies	285
Figure 17	Moderating effect of the composition of Congress on the	
riguio i	relationship between charisma and domestic social issues	286
Figure 18	Moderating effect of need for altruism: Crises and social	200
r iguio ro	performance	287
	portormano	20.
Exhibits		
Exinons		
Exhibit 1	Measurement of servant-leadership behaviors and	
Eximon 1	presidential performance	288
Exhibit 2	Measurement of personality characteristics and situational	200
Exmore 2	constraints	289
Exhibit 3	Psychometric properties of variables developed and/or	207
LAIHOR 3	measured in this research	290
	monated in and resement	270
References		291
140101011002		

Appendices		304
Appendix 1	Manual for coding the altruistic motive and consent form	304
Appendix 2	Presentation of a cognitive schema for coding	313
Appendix 3	Glossary	314
Appendix 4	Practice material	315
Appendix 5	Quiz	316
Appendix 6	Questionnaire on empathy	317
Appendix 7	Responsibility values: Scoring sheet	318
Appendix 8	Questionnaire on presidential core political beliefs	319
Appendix 9	Presidential personality profiles: Examples	321
Appendix 10	Biographies	327
Appendix 11	American Presidential Management Inventory	330
Appendix 12	List of participants	339
Appendix 13	American Presidential Performance Effectiveness	341
Appendix 14	Sample letters to participants	343

Chapter One

Conceptual and Theoretical Overview

Introduction

Studies in leadership in the eighties and nineties focused on leaders' transforming effects on organizations and societies (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991). Researchers concentrated on leaders' effectiveness in achieving results, and increasing followers' motivation to work toward organizational goals. The study of charismatic or transformational leadership was seen by researchers as a means to understand how leaders change the status quo, and provoke major changes in their environment.

In the nineties, some scholars started to raise important concerns with respect to the nature of charismatic or transformational leadership practices. For example, Keeley (1995) raised ethical concerns pertaining to the treatment of non-followers by charismatic leaders and their followers, and the dangers of charismatic leaders' decisions for democratic societies. Researchers identified ethical dimensions of leadership (e.g., Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996), and focused on how the personality of leaders determines their tendency to act in an ethical manner (e.g., House & Howell, 1992). However, researchers who studied the leadership styles of American presidents mainly focused on charismatic leadership and presidential effectiveness (e.g., Deluga, 1997; House et al., 1991). The nature of charismatic leadership was not investigated, and the moral issues pertaining to presidential decisions and actions were not addressed.

American presidents are at the head of one of the most complex administrations in the world. Their decisions and actions have widespread consequences for American citizens and foreign countries. The manner in which presidents handle crises, make decisions and respond to others' needs yields important consequences for constituents.

On September 11, 2001 the World Trade Center and Pentagon were attacked by groups of terrorists. President Bush had to make decisions under high pressure on the basis of incomplete information. The manner in which he will handle the current crisis in the next months will have important consequences for many constituents. This crisis raises important ethical issues pertaining to the means that will be utilized to respond to the terrorists. As illustrated by the current situation, presidential decision-making in a situation of crisis is complex, and cannot be analyzed regardless of moral issues. Studies of presidential leadership styles should incorporate ethical dimensions of leadership that are aimed at understanding how presidents serve the nation and make decisions that yield positive consequences for constituents.

This dissertation addresses the moral issues surrounding the phenomenon of leadership. It is about the servant-leadership role of American presidents in solving problems, making decisions, responding to constituents' needs and interests, and handling domestic and foreign policy. It views this servant-leadership role primarily in terms of managerial practices that are used by presidents to carry out their duties. Drawing on management, social psychology, philosophy and political science, the concept of servant-leadership is developed, and studied in relation to its antecedents and consequences. The present research examines the relationships among American presidential servant-leadership behaviors, personality characteristics, and performance. It concentrates on the development of leadership related concepts that incorporate ethical dimensions of leadership.

Servant-leadership refers to the extent to which leaders integrate various

constituents' needs, interests and ideologies in the visionary process, articulate a vision based on absolute values, and follow democratic principles of governance in carrying out their duties.

The concept of servant-leadership extends the scope of leadership actions and outcomes in that it includes various constituents rather than followers only, and moves from an attributional approach, which is based on followers' perceptions, to an external observer approach in assessing presidential behaviors. As for transformational or charismatic leadership, servant-leadership concentrates on presidents' visions and transforming effects on societies. However, it takes a deontological perspective in analyzing presidential decisions and actions. Critics (e.g., Keeley, 1995) perceive the concept of transformational or charismatic leadership as antidemocratic (Bass, 1998). Among the criticisms often cited were the fact that leaders make followers depend on them for solutions to solve their problems, and are extremely directive in the manner in which they make a decision (e.g., Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996; Keeley, 1995). Furthermore, transformational or charismatic leaders might implement decisions that are aimed at destroying democratic systems of governance. The concept of servant-leadership is developed in an attempt to address the limitations of transformational or charismatic leadership. It is grounded in the democratic principles of governance. Consequently, its applicability is restricted to democratic societies.

This study will assess whether servant-leadership is an effective leadership style. In the current research, leadership effectiveness refers to the consequences of presidential decisions and actions for constituents. The performance of American presidents will be assessed based on measures of social performance that reflect the extent to which presidential decisions and actions yield positive consequences for constituents. Social

performance should also be reflected in the effectiveness of presidential domestic and foreign policy.

In brief, this research focuses on two major objectives: (1) identifying presidential servant-leadership behaviors that reflect ethical leadership practices, and (2) analyzing servant-leadership outcomes for constituents. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to identify presidential personality characteristics that are related to presidential servant-leadership behaviors and performance. Finally, structural constraints will be studied to assess the extent to which they have an effect on servant-leadership behaviors.

Given the population investigated in this dissertation, the masculine is used in the text. However, the concept of servant-leadership is applicable to both men and women.

Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized in six parts. First, it presents a typology of philosophical assumptions that guide research in leadership. It reviews major approaches for studying charismatic leadership, and addresses the limitations of these approaches from a Moralist ethics' point of view. Third, it presents the explicit assumptions sustaining the conceptualization of servant-leadership. It explains the differences between charismatic leadership and servant-leadership, and presents the ethical dimensions of servant-leadership. This leadership theory is developed with reference to the role of public servant and is applied to American presidents. Fourth, it presents personality characteristics that are associated with servant-leadership behaviors. Fifth, it introduces specific working hypotheses among servant-leadership related concepts and situational constraints. It presents the consequences of servant-leadership for constituents. Finally, it explains how variables are measured and

statistical tests conducted, in order to verify the hypotheses. It includes detailed statistical results and provides interpretations that are aimed at refining future theoretical development.

Theoretical and conceptual foundations of servant-leadership

The conceptualization of servant-leadership is compared with charismatic or transformational leadership. It is an attempt to incorporate ethical dimensions of leadership into the definition of leadership-related concepts that reflect democratic principles of governance. The approach used to conceptualize servant-leadership differs from the attributional, motivational, and psychoanalytic approaches that currently orient research on charismatic leadership. These approaches are based on philosophical assumptions that circumscribe the study of charismatic leadership. A two-dimensional typology is suggested to present the philosophical assumptions researchers make in analyzing leadership influence. This typology serves as an organizing tool for positioning servant-leadership and charismatic leadership along explanatory dimensions that reflect assumptions concerning the nature of leadership influence.

Typology of philosophical assumptions of leadership approaches

There are two dimensions yielding four quadrants, each of which explains a different basis for analyzing leaders. The first axis pertains to the premise that a leader's action is purposeful and oriented toward the accomplishment of some objectives that might impact on others. Depending on a leader's intention, the purpose of his actions might be constructive or destructive. O'Connor, Mumford, Clifton, Gessner and Connelly (1995) propose a distinction between destructiveness and constructiveness, which reflects a disjunction in researchers

focus in studying leadership outcomes. Most researchers (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977) focus on constructive outcomes, such as organizational effectiveness, in analyzing leader behaviors.

The second dimension is based on researchers' assumptions concerning the inner motives of a leader (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). This second axis presents two poles: self-interest and disinterest. Self-interest refers to a leader's satisfaction of his own personal needs and interests.

Servant-leadership reflects a leader's concern with the welfare of others. Servant-leaders are moral agents whose vision articulation and choices reflect a moral concern for others. Disinterest might reflect selflessness because a leader works toward the realization of others' ends, in which case he seeks benefits for others regardless of the consequences for himself. However, a leader might act in an irrational manner, and engage in self-destruction and in the destruction of others. Such a leader is not concerned with uplifting others but, rather, acts in an irrational manner which can be confused with selflessness. The two-dimensional typology presented in figure 1 presents four quadrants.

The first quadrant corresponds to destructiveness and self-interest. The influence style that would best describe this orientation is the authoritarian dominator style. The ultimate goal of the authoritarian dominator leader is to keep power and use all means that are necessary for doing so. This perspective is grounded in Machiavelli's *realpolitik*. This "realist view argues that leaders cannot afford ethics in a world of serious responsibilities, powerful institutions, and committed adversaries" (Dobel, 1998: 75).

The second quadrant corresponds to destructiveness and irrational motives with regard to one's self. Researchers focus on the study of leader irrational behavior. Their studies are based on Freud's psychoanalytical approach (e.g., Kets de Vries, 1988; 1989; Kets de Vries and Miller, 1985; Lindholm, 1990). The study of leader irrational behavior and destructive orientation is grounded in Nietzsche's "acclamation of the great leader as a revelation of primal irrational vitality" (Lindholm, 1990: 20). The study of destructiveness is based on the assumptions that (1) leaders manifest their emotional intensity, (2) the force of passions is truly all that matters, and (3) the great men represent "individualism's final attempt to escape from its own consequences" (MacIntyre, 1981: 241). Thus, the Nietzschean notion of great men is opposed to "interest" and "utility function" (Lindholm, 1990: 21). Researchers' objectives are to interpret leaders' self-destructive actions and give retrospective accounts of leaders' irrational behavior using case studies.

The third quadrant corresponds to constructiveness and self-interest. It includes both the attributional and motivational approaches. The influence style that is representative of this quadrant is the charismatic or transformational leadership concept. The philosophical basis underlying this perspective is Utilitarianism (Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith). This theory of ethics states that happiness forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in one's conduct. Thus, the satisfaction of one's personal interests becomes one's moral obligation. The common good is attained through the satisfaction of people's mutual interests. The motivation underlying a leader's behavior is to satisfy followers' needs in order to obtain personal benefits. Although the philosophical foundations of Utilitarianism were associated with transactional leadership (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999), I would like to stress that research on charismatic and transformational leadership was subordinated to Utilitarianism in the analysis of the consequences of a leader's actions.

The last quadrant corresponds to constructiveness and moral altruism. That is where I

classify servant-leadership. The philosophical basis for studying this concept is Moralist ethics (Kant, Aristotle). The concept of servant-leadership highlights the split between Utilitarianism and Moralist ethics. Although the conceptualization of servant-leadership concentrates on rational actions, it is opposed to the utility function underlying research on charismatic leadership (e.g., Avolio, Waldman, & Einstein, 1988; Bass, 1985; Waldman, Bass & Einstein, 1987).

From a practical point of view, a leader may play the servant-leadership role under certain circumstances. He may act according to clear principles of governance and follow a deontological approach to make a decision, which refers to the means a leader uses to achieve his ends. However, he may also practically revert to manipulative tactics to exercise control over a situation. The proposed typology is aimed at establishing a distinction among the philosophical assumptions that guide research in leadership, and positioning this dissertation within a particular school of thought. It should not be perceived as a means to classify leaders. In this dissertation, the Moralist perspective constitutes the pillar of the theoretical development of servant-leadership. In order to understand the specificities of the conceptual development of servant-leadership, a review of the three major approaches that guide research on charismatic leadership is presented.

I will first present the essential strengths and weaknesses of the psychoanalytical, attributional, and motivational approaches. I will discuss how their limitations constrain research on charismatic leadership. Then, I will explain how the moral approach, proposed for conceptualizing servant-leadership, addresses these limitations.

8

Charismatic leadership approaches

The psychoanalytical approach

The psychoanalytical approach focuses on a leader's self-destructive view and irrational behaviors. It emphasizes the immoral destructive aspect of charismatic leadership effects on followers and societies. It provides interpretations of specific cases such as Hitler and Jim Jones (Lindholm, 1990).

Lindholm (1990) interprets a leader's self-destruction as a means to destroy the negative image of his own socially constructed self. A leader's ideology is rooted in that destructive view. Followers might believe in a leader's vision, which might appear good. However, through the study of deeds, words, symbols, and tactics, Lindholm (1990) identifies important signals of a leader's destructive view. When an ideology is vindictive and linked with the ultimate goal of eliminating a conspiracy or some enemies, it signals its destructive potential. However, a leader might turn his destructive view inward and use tactics aimed at isolating himself and his followers. In some extreme cases, that might lead to collective suicides as a means to escape the negative and hostile social milieu. When leaders turn their destructive view outward, they use strategies of influence aimed at eliminating others. Lindholm's perspective explains the processes through which the self-destructive view is operationalized. The strength of his analysis is that it provides an in-depth understanding of the psychological processes underlying irrational behavior.

Kets de Vries (1989) takes a different perspective in studying leaders' self-destruction. Focusing on causes rather than processes, he bases his explanations of leaders' irrational behavior on narcissism, dependency needs, fear and anxiety. Kets de Vries (1989) concentrates on transference to explain how followers might be influenced by the leader, but

does not explain how that occurs. Finally, his interpretation does not provide the means by which to analyze how a leader operationalizes his vision.

The psychoanalytical approach provides a posteriori interpretations of specific cases. Researchers do not make predictions of outcomes related to specific rational goals. Furthermore, this approach is not aligned with the principles of scientific research because it does not suggest independent means for testing the proposed explanations. As a last comment, this approach cannot be used for analyzing leaders who dedicated their lives to others (e.g., Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Dalai Lama, and Mother Teresa), because the assumptions underlying this approach restrict the analytical framework by concentrating on irrationality and self-destruction.

The attributional approach

The attributional approach focuses on leader-follower relationships. Researchers using this approach essentially measure followers' attribution of charisma, and analyze charismatic leadership effects on individual or group performance (e.g., Bass, 1985; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Morrman, & Fetter, 1990). It provides information on the psychological processes that lead to followers' conversion to the leader's vision (Conger & Kanungo, 1987). It concentrates on strategies of influence that provoke changes in the performance of followers (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977). The most important strength of the attributional approach is that it provides strong predictive effects of charisma on followers and organizational performance outcomes.

However, the limited focus of the attributional approach restricts researchers' analyses to the influence leaders exercise on followers. Researchers do not study leadership

effects on various constituents. In this paper, constituents include all groups who have a stake in a leader's decisions, including non-followers and opponents. Researchers do not assess the nature of structural and cultural changes provoked by charismatic leaders. Furthermore, the attributional approach has restricted the conceptualization of leadership effectiveness, defining it in terms of the achievement of a leader's objectives and utilitarian outcomes.

A major concern with the attributional approach is the fact that charisma is considered value-neutral (Bass, 1985; House, 1977; House & Howell, 1992). Thus, researchers do not distinguish between good or moral and evil or immoral leadership. Bass (1985) takes great care in specifying that the construct of charisma, which constitutes the most important dimension of transformational leadership, does not refer to the moral rectitude of leaders. Indeed, he mentions that he is opposed to Burns's (1978) conceptualization of charisma as intrinsically moral. As a consequence, even if researchers recognize that charismatic leadership can yield either positive or negative consequences, they do not attempt to identify the ethical dimensions of leadership. Therefore, charismatic leadership is assumed to be "good" if the organization receives benefits. This assumption does not address the means used by leaders to achieve their ends.

Normative theories that attempt to identify the ethical dimensions of charismatic leadership focus on leaders' effects on followers (e.g., Burns, 1978; Kanungo & Mendonça, 1996). The leadership process is considered ethical if followers enter freely and fairly in a relationship with the leader (Rost, 1993). Interpreted this way, the relation between Jim Jones and his followers might be considered perfectly ethical. Furthermore, charismatic leadership is conceived as ethical as long as the leader and his followers "raise one another to

higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978: 20). However, this conception of ethics does not speak "to organizations and societies being raised to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Rost, 1993: 164). This approach is centered on the process of leadership and does not address the content of leadership. The implicit ethical content of leadership is concerned with leaders and followers proposing specific changes to status quo, so as to raise their own level of motivation and morality and undertake changes they believe might increase the level of well-being of others. In other words, the judgment as to whether changes are morally acceptable rests on the leader's personal interpretation. There are no specific objective criteria aimed at assessing the morality of leaders' visions and the ethical aspect of their actions and followers' behaviors. Finally, there are no empirical tests of these normative theories demonstrating that charismatic leadership influence is intrinsically moral in leader-follower relationships.

Therefore, theories used by researchers working with the attributional approach are amoral (e.g., Bass, 1985; House, 1977). Based on these theories, the term charismatic leader has been applied to very diverse leaders in political arenas (e.g., Hitler, Mao Tsê-Tung), in religious movements or organizations (e.g., Jim Jones, Mother Teresa), in social movements (e.g., Gandhi, Martin Luther King), and in business organizations (e.g., Lee Iacocca, Max DePree) without distinction.

This highlights that the interpretation of Utilitarianism is reduced to the achievement of organizational outcomes with the ultimate objective of providing benefits to leaders and followers. Utilitarianism does not put aside the moral evaluation of the ends, and does not suggest that consequences for constituents be ignored. This restricted view of Utilitarianism limits the way researchers conceive performance. Indeed, performance is not defined in

ethical terms.

The motivational approach

In reaction to the lack of distinction among charismatic leadership effects, House and Howell (1992) propose a conceptual distinction between socialized (collectively oriented, egalitarian, and non-exploitive) and personalized (self-aggrandizing, non-egalitarian, and exploitive) charismatic leaders who is aligned with the conceptual development of servant-leadership. They review leader personality characteristics (traits, motives, Machiavellianism, authoritarianism, narcissism, self-esteem and locus of control) that are likely to differentiate socialized from personalized charismatic leaders. After McClelland's (1975) description of socialized and personalized power, House and Howell (1992) try to explain the bifurcation in outcomes associated with charismatic leadership. They hypothesize that leaders who react to organizational problems in terms of their personal needs rather than those of the organization engage in actions that have potential disastrous consequences for the organization (House & Howell, 1992; O'Connor et al., 1995; Post, 1993).

House and Howell (1992) describe the psychological foundations of the personality profiles' stream of research, which focuses mostly on the study of leader motives. The goal pursued by researchers is to identify the personality profiles of effective leaders. Apart from O'Connor et al. (1995), researchers are concerned with the identification of leader motives that are associated with utilitarian performance outcomes. They do not provide evidence for clear distinctions between socialized and personalized charismatic leadership effects on others (e.g., House et al., 1991; Spangler & House, 1991).

In this stream of research, leadership effectiveness is defined in terms of maximizing

gains for the organization (O'Connor et al., 1995). Therefore, it restricts the conceptualization of leadership effectiveness and concentrates on the identification of convenient indicators of economic and/or socioeconomic utilitarian outcomes. Furthermore, this stream of research does not provide an objective evaluation of the consequences of a leader's actions on constituents. Indeed, according to House and Howell (1992), the objective that researchers should pursue is to distinguish between different types of charismatic leaders using personality characteristics and criteria that are free of moral evaluation. Their approach is opposed to the deontological perspective advocated in this dissertation.

The major criticism of the motivational approach is that it associates socialized charismatic leadership with utilitarian organizational outcomes, meaning that the moral evaluation of leadership behavior is not a concern in determining the socialized or personalized orientation of leaders. The motivational approach does not say whether there should be positive consequences for constituents. For example, it does not provide reasons for the bifurcation in charismatic leadership outcomes exemplified by the extreme differences between Gandhi and Hitler. Such differences cannot be explained by a theory that is subordinated to Utilitarianism because this ethical theory does not set standards of actions (Cavanagh, Moberg & Velasquez, 1981).

The study of motives and other personality factors is not sufficient for assessing the constructive or destructive orientation of charismatic leaders. It has to be linked with moral evaluations of pursued ends, means to achieve those ends, and effects on constituents. This dissertation addresses this important limitation. Indeed, it will attempt to link some personality characteristics with servant-leadership behavior, which is based on deontology. It

explores whether personality characteristics are related to ethical leadership behaviors that are associated with clear standards of actions.

O'Connor et al. (1995) base their study on the motivational approach but assess the negative aspect of personalized leadership outcomes using moral criteria for measuring social consequences for others. They provide a model that illustrates the links among personality characteristics of world figures considered as personalized charismatic leaders. They demonstrate how the exercise of personalized power influences the social system. O'Connor et al. (1995) illustrate how House and Howell's (1992) theoretical foundations should be utilized for exploring charismatic leadership effects on societies. They extend beyond the amoral assessment of leadership effectiveness advocated by House and Howell (1992). This avenue of research is promising in that it allows for the identification of personality factors that are associated with clear evidence of harm or benefit to constituents, and to the society or the organization of which a leader is a member (Popper, 2000). O'Connor et al. (1995) establish direct links between personality variables and moral criteria related to social performance. However, the extent to which these personality characteristics are related to ethical leadership behavior still needs to be investigated.

The theoretical model constructed in this dissertation includes hypotheses concerning the effects of personality variables on servant-leadership. Pursuing O'Connor et al.'s (1995) avenue of research, the central approach driving this research involves the development of moral criteria for evaluating leaders' conduct and performance. Such an approach is based on specific underlying philosophical and political assumptions that are presented in the following section.

Philosophical and political assumptions underlying servant-leadership

In this research, servant-leadership is grounded in Kant's Doctrines of Rights and Virtues and Aristotle's Nicomachean ethics. The conceptualization of servant-leadership involves the creation of explicit moral criteria against which leaders' actions are evaluated so as to assess the extent to which they respect clear boundaries of actions. Therefore, this research is based on the explicit assumptions that there must be established standards of social behavior that are independent of leadership outcomes, and minimal levels of satisfaction for all constituents (Cavanagh et al., 1981). These assumptions respectively relate to the Doctrine of Virtues and Doctrine of Rights presented by Kant. These first assumptions are complemented by two other assumptions, which are rooted in Aristotle's Theory of Justice: (1) There must be fair allocations of resources, and (2) the interests of those who are underrepresented or constitute minorities must be protected by some specific mechanisms. These philosophical assumptions constitute the underlying foundations that orient the theoretical development of servant-leadership. Furthermore, drawing on political science, the conceptual development of servant-leadership involves the delineation of boundaries of actions based on principles of governance.

Graham (1991) proposes an inclusive conception of servant-leadership in which leaders provide benefits or at least create no harm to all organizational stakeholder groups or constituents. Graham (1991: 111) makes an important assumption in describing servant-leadership, which is the recognition that there is an "inherent fallibility of humankind, both individually and corporately" (e.g., even well-intentioned leaders, or groups with high morale can make dangerous mistakes). Keeley (1995) also specifies that there are dangers associated with transformational or charismatic leadership influence due to the fact that some

groups might be negatively affected by leaders' actions. Keeley (1995) bases his critique of charismatic leadership on Madison's preventive mechanisms, presented at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, designed to thwart potentially damaging unilateral decisions on the part of charismatic leaders. Keeley (1995) is concerned with the fact that charismatic leaders, who unite social systems and a majority of people around common purposes, might hurt minorities or constituents who do not share these purposes. To prevent such effects, the American system of government is based on laws and shared power. This notion of shared power is incorporated in Graham's conception of servant-leadership, which is based on relational power. After Loomer (1976), Graham describes relational power as mutual influence and criticism. This type of influence can be exercised through formal mechanisms allowing all constituents to be represented. Thus, Graham's assumption concerning human nature is central in the conception of servant-leadership and in democratic systems of government. Her assumption speaks for making delineation of boundaries of actions based on principles of governance and using a deontological perspective in assessing how leaders carry out their duties.

The first conceptualization of servant-leadership focuses on the evaluation of the conduct of leaders in carrying out their duties, and addresses the means that are used to achieve their ends (Nair, 1994). It reconciles the exercise of power with values-based service, and suggests how leaders should behave in relation to established principles of governance.

Nair (1994) develops the concept of servant-leadership on the basis of Gandhi's life that he takes as a model. Although he does not present his philosophical assumptions, Nair implicitly relies on theories of rights and justice, and takes a deontological perspective in analyzing Gandhi's conduct. Although Gandhi did not hold a formal position of power, the actualization of his vision had an impact on several constituencies. As for constituted power holders, Gandhi's actions could be analyzed in terms of the differential effects his actions had on constituencies. Therefore, the concept of servant-leadership appears relevant for analyzing constituted and non-constituted power holders.

The concept of servant-leadership refers not only to the study of the consequences for constituents, but also to the moral assessment of the actions of leaders. Because actions should be bounded by guiding principles and values, the concept has to be developed in relation to universal principles and values.

In this research, the conceptual development of servant-leadership refers to the democratic systems of government, and the concept of servant-leadership is applied to American presidents. The conceptualization of servant-leadership draws from Keeley's federalist ethic, and from ethical theories of rights, virtues and justice relevant for judging political discretionary behavior.

The conceptual development of servant-leadership addresses the limitations of the approaches discussed above. First, it extends the scope for studying leadership influence to the interactions between leaders and all constituents. Second, it provides ground for developing a new conceptualization of leadership performance. Finally, the concept of servant-leadership concentrates on the delineation of standards of actions essential for evaluating actions of leaders. This research is not aimed at assessing differences between destructive and constructive leaders. Its objective is to provide dimensions that can be used to assess the extent to which leaders display ethical servant-leadership behaviors. It focuses on the study of constructive rational behavior aimed at improving constituents' well-being.

The following chapter presents the conceptual development of servant-leadership, and based on the assumptions presented above, it compares servant-leadership with charismatic leadership. As mentioned previously, the conceptual development of servant-leadership focuses on a leader's vision and transforming effects on societies. For this reason, the model proposed by Conger and Kanungo (1987) is relevant for explaining how servant-leadership and charismatic leadership differ. In order to facilitate this comparison process, the following section is organized in three parts that are associated with Conger and Kanungo's (1987) three stages of charismatic leadership: assessing the environment, formulating and articulating the vision, and operationalizing the vision. However, these three stages are not hypothesized to represent chronological dimensions of the visionary leadership process. The comparison will focus on the content of the visionary process in order to derive the ethical dimensions of servant-leadership.

Chapter Two

Servant-leadership Conceptual Development

The servant-leadership visionary process

Stage 1: Assessing the environment

When leaders perform the servant-leadership role, their environmental assessment involves the identification of constituents' conditions and essential unfulfilled needs. Servant-leaders evaluate the prevailing conditions and, based on fundamental principles of rights, state reasons why these conditions violate constituents' rights. In the case of American presidents, these rights are defined in the constitution, laws protecting citizens, and international treaties.

Charismatic leaders might be opportunistic in making an environmental assessment. The vision of charismatic leaders is aimed at satisfying leaders' interests through the achievement of organizational goals. Charismatic leaders address followers' needs because it is necessary to motivate them, and make them work toward the achievement of organizational goals. Charismatic leaders propose a plan of action that explains how followers' interests will be satisfied so as to mobilize followers. In brief, charismatic leaders seek benefits for followers and the organization to which they belong in order to satisfy their personal interests.

In the environmental assessment, servant-leaders react to environmental conditions that essentially preclude the moral happiness of others. According to Kant, moral happiness consists of satisfaction with one's person and own moral conduct, and so with what one does. Moral happiness is an end by virtue of the impulses of human nature. Servant-leaders

consider other individuals as ends in themselves rather than means to achieve their personal objectives. Promoting the moral happiness of others becomes their duty. Therefore, servant-leaders' duties consist of addressing all conditions that violate fundamental principles of rights and preclude constituents' moral happiness. As a consequence, servant-leaders realize their personal ends through the accomplishment of their duty, which consists of helping others to realize their ends.

In practice, servant-leaders' environmental assessment is aimed at removing obstacles precluding the moral development of others (e.g., poverty, lack of education, alienating work conditions). Servant-leaders are concerned with the implementation of programs that give access to resources that foster constituents' personal development. They provide the means that are necessary for constituents to commit to the vision.

Servant-leaders are sensitive to environmental conditions that can be linked to constituents' unfulfilled needs. They concentrate on needs fulfillment because that is essential for one's moral happiness. Burns (1978: 64) states that the need "implies a more socialized, collective, objective phenomenon, in the sense of persons requiring something needful in the view of others as well as of themselves." Needs are educated, whereas wants are subjective and reflect one's desires. Servant-leaders educate followers in the sense that they transform their wants into needs (Burns, 1978). Servant-leaders act as moral agents who are concerned with the needs of others, even if they do not personally get benefits from their actions.

In brief, the environmental assessment is based upon fundamental principles of rights. Servant-leaders do not adopt maxims of actions on empirical grounds because, as stated by Kant, such grounds would yield no duty. This means that their environmental

assessment cannot be opportunistic. It cannot be used as a means to justify some predetermined instrumental goals. Environmental conditions justify servant-leaders' attempts at political action. They do not develop ideological justifications for some *a priori* opportunistic objectives, but rather propose rational solutions on the basis of their moral commitment to all constituents.

Stage 2: Formulating and articulating the vision

Servant-leaders formulate inclusive visions that consider different constituents' needs, interests, and values. They provide conceptions of ideologies that encompass all constituents' rights and obligations. Formulating an inclusive vision involves: "(1) exploring similarities and differences among constituents' interests, values, and ideologies; (2) formulating analyses that build common understanding of problems and possible solutions; and (3) articulating visions that integrate incompatible interests and provide shared goals and plans' (Brown, 1986: 303-304).

Servant-leaders articulate their vision on the basis of absolute values underlying principles of governance that delineate boundaries of actions. Therefore, intended changes to the actual order are subordinated to specific moral constraints. Absolute values can come from a religious perspective or directly from codes of conduct (Nair, 1994). For example, Gandhi formulated two absolute values that are related to the principle that states that one should treat others as ends to be served: truth and nonviolence. In the case of American presidents, universal values recognized by democratic societies and constitutional values should serve as the foundations upon which servant-leaders articulate their vision.

Absolute values yield moral imperatives that direct servant-leaders to work toward

meeting constituents' needs and protecting their rights. Nair (1994: 23) mentions that one "should be on guard against ideology, tradition, and organizational goals masquerading as absolute values." These are termed pseudo-absolute values and include, among others, communism, capitalism, patriotism, nationalism, competitiveness, free markets, and profitability. As mentioned by Nair (1994), if these pseudo-absolute values are not subordinated to the standard of absolute values, they might be used to justify violence and repressive acts.

Charismatic leaders tend to formulate an exclusive vision in the sense that it does not address all constituents' needs. The vision usually focuses on the interests of leaders and followers. Charismatic leaders might articulate a vision that is based on pseudo-absolute values in order to mobilize followers. When followers decide to owe allegiance to these pseudo-absolute values, some constituents might be sacrificed to satisfy the interests of the leader and his followers. For example, in the case of short-term setbacks, like a decline in profits, the pseudo-absolute value of organizational survival might be used to justify expedient actions directed against the interests of some constituents. Therefore, these expedient actions become more important than working against all forms of exploitation. The absolute value of nonviolence would be subordinated to organizational survival. Although such an end might be considered "good" under Utilitarianism, the means are unethical from Kant's perspective.

Although the allegiance to pseudo-absolute values contributes to the short-term success of charismatic leaders, these values cannot serve to delineate boundaries of actions within a democratic system of government. This means that public servants, who ought to behave as servant-leaders, cannot justify their actions on the basis of pseudo-absolute values.

In brief, servant-leaders cannot formulate their visions on the basis of pseudo-absolute values because that would lead to the development of exclusive visions, and would not acknowledge the fundamental ends of all constituents. Servant-leaders' visions acknowledge the ends of all others. This is achieved by building a vision on the basis of absolute values such as individuality, charity, nonviolence, and truth that are translated into rules of conduct that must be followed while facing different events, situations, or constituents.

Stage 3: Operationalizing the vision

As mentioned previously, servant-leaders are moral agents who help others achieve their ends. They help them commit to absolute values in order to realize their ends. Although removing environmental factors that preclude constituents' moral happiness is an important component of empowerment, it is not enough to sustain constituents' moral commitment to absolute values. Servant-leaders uplift constituents helping them remove their inner obstacles or natural inclinations, which come in conflict with their moral resolutions to behave in a way that is consistent with absolute values (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). This is achieved through moral empowerment.

Charismatic leaders also increase their followers' feeling of empowerment, but their strategies of empowerment are centered on the motivational purpose of increasing followers' perceived self-efficacy. Charismatic leaders' strategies of empowerment are instrumental in the sense that they are exclusively concerned with the achievement of utilitarian goals. Such strategies of empowerment are ethical only if followers are fully aware of leaders' objectives, and if they can realize themselves in achieving these objectives (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). These strategies would be unethical when followers are treated as means to achieve

leaders' ends.

The fundamental objective of servant-leaders is to help all constituents develop their inner strengths and freedoms in order to make them internalize absolute values. The most important inner obstacle constituents experience relates to the quest for their identity. Internalizing absolute values and sharing common understanding with other constituents require that constituents develop a shared identity. Servant-leaders minimize differences among constituents and emphasize constituents' common ends. They refer to what is shared by all human beings. They do not refer to the specific characteristics of an exclusive group of followers. However, servant-leaders must develop their spiritual self-identity and inner strengths to be able to empower constituents.

Servant-leaders develop their own spiritual self-identity through the practice of virtues. They develop their inner strengths by training themselves to exercise their judgment in difficult situations in which they have to make reference to moral principles. They refer to their inner strengths for determining the appropriate course of actions when they face crises. The practice of virtues gives life to absolute values. Servant-leaders set an example by adhering to consistent modes of conduct that demonstrate to constituents how they intend to operationalize absolute values. Among these modes of conduct, respect of all constituents, self-constrained behavior, selflessness, single standard of conduct, and minimized secrecy illustrate a leader's commitment to service (Nair, 1994).

The operationalization of servant-leaders' vision requires that constituents fulfill their responsibilities toward others. These modes of conduct illustrate how constituents should carry out their responsibilities.

It is difficult to assess intentions. Therefore, abandoning or postponing personal

interests or privileges might not be necessarily done with moral intent or conviction. Self-sacrifice might reflect for example the need for self-actualization (Choi & Mai-Dalton, 1998), but it is not possible to establish a direct relationship between that need and moral intent. That is why it is essential to know whether a leader conforms to the standard of absolute values.

Charismatic leaders "build enthusiasm for their vision through symbols, rhetoric and other forms of impression management". They "set examples by performing heroic deeds involving self-sacrifice and personal risk" (Keeley, 1995: 70). One could speculate that these impression management techniques might be used to astound followers and make them believe that leaders are extraordinary. Despite their self-sacrificial appearance, these techniques might even be used to contribute to leaders' self-aggrandizement. Charismatic leaders adapt their conduct in terms of opportunities (Conger & Kanungo, 1987). Charismatic leaders keep control over circulating information. They disclose information to followers they trust, and do not give information equally to all constituents. They give special treatment to followers and exclude non-followers. This strategy of exclusion establishes a clear distinction between the quick and the dead. Disclosure of information is one of the strategies charismatic leaders use to make people aware of their status. This is more likely to occur when charisma cannot be transferred from one organizational setting to another. As illustrated by Roberts and Bradley (1988), when a leader is transferred to a new organizational setting, charisma might not always transfer as well. The leader might have a tendency to interact with selected members of a close team and exclude other constituents. However, the exclusive reliance on these members might hide the difficulties experienced by the leader in establishing bonds of power (Roberts & Bradley, 1988), and keeping control over the situation. It is likely to occur when presidents take office, build their cabinet, and try to establish new bonds of power. Some historians (e.g., Latner, 1979) observed that several presidents had a tendency to rely on a kitchen cabinet to make decisions, which reflects a leader-member exchange approach (Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Dienesch & Linden, 1986; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Schriesheim, 1998). Indeed, Latner (1979) mentioned that Andrew Jackson had a tendency to rely on a group of aides, generally outside his cabinet, who specialized in political manipulation, wire pulling, and patronage. The manner in which this kitchen cabinet worked was obscure. Membership was subject to change and the names of members were "known only to a few" (Latner, 1979: 53-54). Jackson's presidency was marked by frequent changes in his formal cabinet, which embarrassed his administration and endangered its success. This dyadic differential dynamic is not expected to occur when presidents play a servant-leadership role.

In brief, servant-leaders use moral empowerment, practice virtues and provide a model to constituents. They present modes of conduct which are guided by principles of ethics. These principles are derived from absolute values.

This section has compared servant-leadership with charismatic leadership. The conceptual development of servant-leadership yields two important dimensions: vision inclusiveness and principle-guided action. The following section presents the conceptual definitions of servant-leadership dimensions and components.

Servant-leadership dimensions and components

Vision inclusiveness

Servant-leaders base their vision on absolute values and integrate all constituents' needs, rights, obligations and incompatible interests. They explore the similarities and differences in values and ideologies among constituents in order to build common understanding.

Vision inclusiveness has two main components: absolute values and constituents. First, the absolute values are divided in three categories: universal, constitutional, and humanitarian values. Universal values are generally acknowledged and considered as essential in all democratic societies (Burns, 1978). They have been recognized prior to the constitutional values and, in that sense, they precede constitutional values. The constitution is a "body of values and principles that are inherent in the nation's political culture, social ethos, and history" (Rosenbloom & Goldman, 1993: 477). The courts declare what these values and principles are when the appropriate occasions arise (Rosenbloom & Goldman, 1993).

Both universal and constitutional values are concerned with conditions aimed at protecting citizens. These values indicate desirable or preferred end-states or explicit purposes. Thus, they can serve as standards in terms of which some criteria may be used to select among alternatives (Burns, 1978). Humanitarian values differ from universal and constitutional values. Humanitarian values are modal values that define modes of conduct or means through which political activities should be conducted. Universal values and constitutional values refer to the structural conditions of a society; humanitarian values refer to the conduct of political activities and exercise of discretionary power.

The second component of vision inclusiveness is constituents, which represent groups or categories of individuals having an interest or being affected by the decisions of a president and his administration. Servant-leaders integrate all constituents within their vision, and address constituents' needs, interests and divergent ideologies.

Principle-guided action

The second dimension of servant-leadership, principle-guided action, presents three components: minimized secrecy, role model and moral empowerment. Minimized secrecy refers to a leader's willingness to hold scrutiny and to provide public information. Role model consists of displaying behaviors that serve as examples to follow. There are three modes of conduct pertaining to role model: respect of others, selflessness, and single standard of conduct in relation to absolute values. Respect of others refers to the way a leader treats people through his words and actions. Selflessness refers to the propensity a leader has to harm himself, incur personal risks, and sacrifice his personal interests. Single standard of conduct constitutes a commitment to absolute values, which refers to a leader's respect of his general principles of service to the nation. In other words, a leader acts in conformity with absolute values. Moral empowerment is a more complex component of principle-guided action, which incorporates the practice of virtues and the development of a leader's identity. It is presented below.

Moral empowerment

Moral empowerment does not refer to instrumental empowerment aimed at increasing people's perceived efficacy in working toward the achievement of a leader's

objectives (Bandura & Cervone, 2000), but rather to the means and guidance provided to individuals in their progression toward the achievement of their own ends. Furthermore, moral empowerment is not directed exclusively toward followers, but toward all constituents.

Moral empowerment has two components: spiritual self-identity and moral happiness. Spiritual self-identity refers to presidential idealized self which consists of a leader's capability to define his self with reference to all constituents. Spiritual self-identity involves the development of a leader's character or set of moral dispositions through the practice of virtues (Greenleaf, 1977). "A virtue embodies a pattern of habitual perception and behavior" (Dobel, 1998: 76). These patterns are developed through education, training and personal self-development. Developing and cultivating virtues involve training emotions and controlling one's perceptions so that an individual can identify the morally salient aspects of a situation and frame his or her judgment around these aspects (Dobel, 1998; Sherman, 1989). Virtues are not enough to act in a morally good way, but they give life to moral imperatives. That is, virtues are not enough to sustain political ethics. Virtues need to be oriented toward the attainment of some objectives. Servant-leadership requires that virtues be informed by moral principles and conceptions of the good society. In other words, leaders who are practicing virtues for an evil cause are not servant-leaders. In the servant-leadership model, the content of the vision gives direction to the leader's virtuous dispositions. The spiritual self-identity of an individual is revealed to an observer by the morally good acts displayed by that individual. These acts depend on the acquisition of habitual strength or practice of virtue (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). There are four cardinal virtues that serve as indicators: prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). These virtues should be salient in conflict and crisis management. The practice of virtues refers to the principles that leaders respect.

Prudence is considered as the central virtue because it provides concrete shape to the moral aspirations, responsibilities, and obligations of an individual (Dobel, 1998). The prudent leader should present two important capacities in relation with his visionary process:

(1) disciplined reason and (2) foresight and attention to the long term (Dobel, 1998). The prudent leader will operationalize his vision through means that are in proper relation to the ends to be achieved; have a sense of momentum allowing him to take action when the situation permits the action to be consonant with goals; and deploy his power to achieve valued goals (Dobel, 1998). Finally prudent leaders should attend durability and legitimacy of outcomes and seek for positive consequences for constituents (Dobel, 1998).

The virtue of justice means a sense of responsibility that balances, in a fair manner, the rights of all constituents. It includes giving others what they might need to fulfill their duties and exercise their rights as persons (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996).

Fortitude is the courage to take risks for an ideal, to show perseverance and endurance against great odds. It is the disposition to act positively, even if that might be costly to someone in order to do what is morally good (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996).

Temperance means the exercise of self-control. That is, one would not be tempted "to overindulge in hedonistic behaviors" (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996: 91).

The second component, moral happiness, relates to the conditions that are required to sustain the moral empowerment of constituents. Servant-leaders should help constituents by providing good living conditions. These conditions are aimed at increasing individuals' potential development and helping them to fulfill their duties.

This section introduced the dimensions and components of the concept of servant-leadership. The next section concentrates on the antecedents, situational constraints, and consequences of servant-leadership.

Antecedents of servant-leadership

An internal antecedent is a predisposition of a leader that reflects in his personality. It determines how a leader will tend to behave in certain situations. The personality characteristics of leaders might constitute important antecedents of servant-leadership: presidential needs, political beliefs, responsibility values and personality traits.

Moral needs, core political beliefs, responsibility values, and personality traits such as charisma, impression management, narcissism and Machiavellianism constitute important behavioral predispositions. In this section, an attempt is made to determine the effect of personality characteristics on presidential servant-leadership behaviors. As mentioned in the previous section, servant-leadership refers to the moral character of a president. Therefore, I selected moral needs, political beliefs and responsibility values that should foster presidential servant-leadership behaviors. Furthermore, some personality traits might hinder servant-leadership behaviors. Based on the philosophical assumptions stressed in the present research, I selected personality traits that should preclude servant-leadership behaviors. The goal pursued is to identify a constellation of personality characteristics that are related to the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors.

The literature on presidential leadership demonstrates that need for power, need for achievement, and need for affiliation are relevant for understanding presidential greatness

and performance outcomes (e.g., House et al., 1991; Spangler & House, 1991; Winter, 1987). Motive patterns are related to the long-term performance of leaders rather than specific behavior (McClelland and Boyatzis, 1982; Winter, 1987). Furthermore, O'Connor et al. (1995) establish a clear empirical relationship between world leaders' need for power and destructive consequences for societies. Thus, it is inferred that different motive patterns may yield substantial differences in long-term presidential policy effectiveness and impact on constituents.

Servant-leadership refers to a leader's socialized influence and social power. As mentioned by McClelland (1976), individuals who are high in social power should aspire to office and want to serve others. This view contrasts with the charismatic leadership perspective. Indeed, charismatic leadership might be related to personalized influence, which refers to a leader utilization of power for his self-aggrandizement.

Presidential need for power should be related to consequences for constituents. The manner in which this need is fulfilled determines whether there are positive or negative consequences for constituents. If need for power reflects a socialized orientation, it should act in conjunction with presidential needs to provide benefits to others or protect constituents. Thus, two additional needs are relevant to the study of presidential servant-leadership: need for altruism and protective governance.

The concept of servant-leadership addresses leaders' actions in terms of their consequences for constituents, and morality of the ends and the means used to achieve the ends. Need for altruism and protective governance refer to a leader's concerns for others. They are moral needs that refer to the moral rectitude of leaders.

An important issue in ethical leadership concerns the development of leaders' moral

conscience, intentions and effective freedom (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). As Palmer (1994:25) put it, a "leader must take...responsibility for what's going on inside his or her self, inside his or her consciousness..." Servant-leadership does not refer to the manipulation of the external world but to the inner self (Greenleaf, 1977). Moral values that reflect altruism or concerns for protecting constituents should be associated with high moral development of leaders and positive intentions.

Political beliefs and responsibility values determine a leader's attitude toward an object. Political belief system, faith, and ideology determine policy attitudes and decision-making (Ottati, Steenbergen, & Riggle, 1992; Roseman, 1994; Sulfaro, 1997). A president has a set of stable beliefs that pertain to his role in the world and conception of others. These beliefs should appeal to the nation's super-ordinate shared belief system, which is referred to as Zeitgeist. In this dissertation, I am concerned with stable beliefs that characterize the personality of a president. I focus on beliefs that are inferred from presidents' dispositions in their relations with others and attitudes toward various objects (Clark, 2000; D'Agostino, 1995; Feldman, 1988; George, 1969; Larson, 1994; Read, Jones, & Miller, 1990; Rockeach, 1968). Furthermore, I concentrate on beliefs that should be related to positive outcomes for constituents.

O'Connor et al. (1995) found that object beliefs (viewing others as instruments in achieving one's own goals), and negative life themes (having a destructive image of the world and one's role in the world) have a positive relationship with harm to the social system. Thus, beliefs concerning one's role in the world and how one should treat others directly impact on destructive or constructive outcomes for constituents. Servant-leaders should hold a constructive image of the world and of one's role in their relations with others.

These beliefs should influence a leader's orientation.

Responsibility values relate to the ethical aspect of one's behavior because these constitute the basis upon which modes of conduct can be prescribed. They constitute moral standards against which one's behaviors are evaluated. They refer to the acknowledgment of one's obligation to do what is right, exercise judgment upon one's self, and take responsibility for others (Winter, 1992). Responsibility values are instrumental in realizing terminal values pertaining to constituents' well-being. Leaders who are high in responsibility values should analyze how their actions will affect constituents, and behave according to ethical principles.

The next section introduces the definitions of concepts that pertain to presidential moral needs, political beliefs and responsibility values, and presents hypotheses that link servant-leadership related concepts.

Definition of concepts and hypotheses

Personality traits and needs are conceptually different (McClelland, 1958). Needs are derived from "current concerns or tasks, are accessible to consciousness, and can be measured through self-report" (Winter, Stewart, John, Klohnen, & Duncan, 1998: 231). Needs refer to individuals' conception of desired states of affairs that they would like to bring about or prevent, as in the case of avoidance needs (Winter et al., 1998). Needs are goal directed (Batson, 1991) and are associated with performance outcomes. They explain behaviors by the ends or goals toward which they tend (Read et al., 1990). They "consist of learned networks of associations between behavioral, physiological, affective, and cognitive responses to stimuli" (House & Howell, 1992: 91). According to McClelland (1976), needs

reflect stable personality characteristics that are developed early in life through one's social interactions and exposure to the society. In developing his theory, McClelland (1951) was concerned with the behavioral consequences of needs. He defined need as a construct that can provide an encompassing meaning to a variety of dissimilar responses to stimuli. In other words, needs determine one's motivation to behave in a certain manner under certain circumstances. They are associated with one's tendency to act in a consistent way over time (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). In brief, needs are "dispositionally stable and situationally contingent" (Winter et al., 1998:233). Needs are either implicit or explicit. They may reflect a person's idealized self-conception which is unconscious (Winter et al., 1998). Needs can be difficult to infer from one's behaviors, especially when one is acting under constrained conditions. That is why an indirect systematic way of measuring needs, the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) was devised by Morgan and Murray (1935), and used by Atkinson (1958) in his analysis of fantasy and verbal content. This method was adapted by Winter (1987) in his study of presidential motives. Winter's method will be used in this research as well. According to Winter (1987; 1996), there are three fundamental dimensions underlying Murray's list of needs. These dimensions correspond to the concepts of power, achievement, and affiliation needs.

Need for power

Need for power is defined as "a concern for impact and prestige" (Winter et al., 1998: 237). It refers to a strong desire to influence others. Need for power is conceived as a strong determinant of effective leadership. As mentioned by House et al. (1991), political positions and management offer many opportunities to influence others. Thus, individuals who have a

high need for power should be more likely than individuals with a low need for power to seek these positions and be successful over time in them (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). This need is associated with formal social power, but it can also contribute to the development of impulsive actions such as taking extreme risks and becoming aggressive (McClelland, Davis, Kalin, & Wanner, 1972; Winter et al., 1998). The purpose of the current research is to shed light on the consequences of need for power for others. Need for power may yield positive or negative consequences for others (O'Connor et al., 1995). The interaction between need for power and moral needs that reflect a socialized orientation is analyzed in predicting presidential outcomes. As demonstrated by Winter et al. (1998), needs and traits might interact in predicting outcomes in life. "Traits channel the ways in which needs are expressed in behavior and life outcomes" (Winter et al., 1998: 243). Traits are directly related to individual behavior, but needs are associated with performance outcomes (Winter et al., 1998). In this dissertation, it is hypothesized that needs can interact in predicting presidential servant-leadership performance outcomes. That is, different patterns of needs may yield substantial differences in performance outcomes. It is expected that needs that reflect a concern for the welfare of others should moderate the relationship between need for power and presidential servant-leadership performance outcomes.

Need for altruism

Moral needs are associated with policy orientation, and explain the consequences of political behaviors (Teske, 1997). Moral needs are part of the identity-construction of an individual, which refers to one's sense of self in politics. Indeed, Teske (1997) mentions that the affirmation of one's self in politics is a moral project. Moral motivation refers to two

aspects: consideration for the welfare of others, and some internalization of guidelines that require an individual to transcend his attentiveness to his own personal desires (Teske, 1997). Moral needs in politics imply that the meaning of one's self is connected to the needs of others. Therefore, moral needs are expected to determine how one will use his power to affirm one's self in politics. These needs should be associated with a socialized influence in policy orientation, and moderate the relationship between need for power and policy effectiveness. In this dissertation, it is hypothesized that need for power acts in conjunction with two moral needs, need for altruism and protective governance, in predicting presidential servant-leadership performance outcomes and policy effectiveness.

Need for altruism is a need underlying helping behavior. The altruistic need has been studied as one of the most important correlates of helping behavior along with other intrapsychic constructs (Pearce, Amato, & Smithson, 1983) such as empathy (e.g., Aronfreed, 1970; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Toi & Batson, 1982), values (e.g., Staub, 1978), belief in a just world (Lerner, 1975), political orientation (Gaertner, 1973), and personal norms (Schwartz & Howard, 1984).

Need for altruism is defined as the expression of an implied, hypothetical, or potential action reflecting a positive concern for others (Batson, 1991). The need to benefit others is learned. Individuals develop this need through the acquisition of social values and norms that are reinforced by encouraging behavior that reflect these values and norms (Batson, 1991; Hoffman, 1975). These acquired values and norms play an important role in evaluating others' conditions. Need for altruism will be activated when one perceives a distance between others' conditions and what one could do to help others. The activation of the altruistic need depends on the feeling of empathy, which is a spontaneous reaction to

others' conditions. Empathy is defined as "a person's ability to vicariously experience the emotions felt by others. The basic notion here is that individuals who share the distress of others will be motivated to help them" (Pearce et al., 1983: 14). Empathy also refers to the ability to apprehend the affective or cognitive status of others (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). It involves a higher stage of moral development, and refers to the "notion of taking the role of the generalized other" (Hogan, 1969).

Vicarious cues activate empathic emotions and internalized values and norms that are used to evaluate others' conditions (Rushton, 1980). Values and norms serve to identify conditions and evaluate whether they are "good or bad". Norms of social responsibility, equity, and reciprocity help in determining one's potential action. One's intended behavior is justified by the moral values underlying one's internalized norms. The individual expresses these values by showing a positive concern for others. Concern for others' values reflect the cognitively transformed need for altruism (Rokeach, 1973). The operational definition of the altruistic need encompasses the notion of values that relate to important psychological characteristics such as the ability to respond to others' needs and manage effectively (Raven, 1988). Although altruism might be situational and encompasses cognitive and affective components, this research focuses on its cognitive aspect in assessing its effect on performance outcomes. Indeed, TAT measures are exclusively cognitive.

In Kohlberg's (1964) theory of moral development, altruism is an aspect of morality, which at a higher stage of moral development refers to abstract concepts such as common good and fairness. The conceptualization of what constitutes altruistic behavior is part of the structures of moral reasoning that give rise to moral points of view (Hoffman, 1975; Krebs, 1975). Therefore, moral values underlie the need to help others.

The altruistic need is conceived as independent from egoistic and self-serving motives (Batson, 1991; Hoffman, 1975). These motives can be activated separately or simultaneously by external cues. However, they belong to distinct motive systems (Hoffman, 1975). Karylowski (1982) proposed a distinction between endocentric altruism (doing something good to maintain a positive self-image) and exocentric altruism (doing something good to make someone else feel good). The former is self-serving; the latter is not. This distinction highlights the fact that genuine moral altruism involves a higher stage of moral development. The exocentric need for altruism refers to the improvement of the conditions of others as the source of gratification, which is independent from one's self-image. It is not associated with deficiency motivation, which implies that one is motivated to increase one's self-esteem (Maslow, 1973). The present research concentrates on the expression of moral altruistic concerns that are aimed at improving the conditions of others regardless of the consequences for one's self. It reflects one's affirmation of a "self" that is connected to others' needs and transcends one's personal desires (Teske, 1997).

Given the fact that American presidents should take constructive actions aimed at improving others' conditions, it is expected that high need for altruism and empathy would have a positive influence on presidential servant-leadership performance. However, the actualization of the altruistic need is more likely to occur when presidents have high need for power. That is, presidents who have high need for altruism and low need for power might not be able to assert their position and take action in presence of environmental constraints. Need for altruism determines the nature of the influence that presidential need for power will have on performance outcomes. In other words, it determines whether a leader's need for power reflects a socialized orientation.

Therefore, it is hypothesized based on the discussion above:

Hypothesis 1: Empathy has a positive relationship with need for altruism.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between need for power and presidential

performance is positive when presidents have high need for altruism, and

negative when presidents have low need for altruism.

Protective governance

Protective governance is a need to avoid negative stimuli from the environment in order to protect one's self and others against the negative consequences of some others' actions. It is aimed at protecting constituents against the wrongful actions of opposed others. The goal is to avoid negative consequences for constituents by hindering opposed others' actions. Opposed others are associated with enemies or adversaries. Protective governance reflects a negative concern for opposed others, which is associated with the objective to protect some constituents or the nation. This need is more likely to be primed when there are crises which involve external threats to certain constituents or the nation. Protective governance is a need aimed at "avoiding externally produced aversive stimuli" (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987: 92).

As for need for altruism, protective governance should moderate the relationship between need for power and presidential performance. Protective governance should interact with need for power in predicting presidential servant-leadership performance. When presidents are high in protective governance, they should use their power to avoid aversive stimuli, and protect constituents against external threats.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 3: When presidents are high in protective governance, there is a positive relationship between need for power and performance. When presidents are low in protective governance, there is a negative relationship between need for power and performance.

Two additional needs pertain to the leadership motive profile of presidents: need for achievement and need for affiliation.

Need for achievement

Need for achievement (n Ach) is defined as concern for competition against standard of excellence and accomplishment (McClelland, 1985). It relates to one's selfaccomplishment through personal efforts. Individuals who are high in n Ach should seek to improve their performance. When leaders are high in n Ach, they may tend to do things that are intrinsically satisfying rather than work on top priority problems. Furthermore, the things they focus on may not be aimed at improving others' conditions (Johns & Saks, 2001). When presidents are high in n Ach, they may not concentrate on the global aspects of their functions but, rather, focus on activities in which they have a sense of self-actualization. Furthermore, presidents might have a tendency to concentrate on their personal efforts and individual performance in solving problems rather than on others' efforts. In technical positions and lower levels of organizational hierarchy, it might be effective to concentrate on one's competencies. It is less likely to be effective in higher organizational levels because of the complexity and variety of competencies that are required to perform well (Spangler & House, 1991). If a president wants to do everything by himself, he may not achieve his objectives because he may underutilize the competencies of his Cabinet members. Instead of adopting a consultative and participative style, presidents who are high in n Ach may attempt to exercise close supervision in order to achieve their objectives. The American democratic system of government involves checks and balances, and requires that presidents and their Cabinet go beyond their own interests. By fostering consultation and participation in decision-making, presidents can better tap others' interests and promote the common good (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Keeley, 1995). Given the complexity of the Administration, it might be more advisable to use subordinates' competencies as well. Therefore, presidents who are high in n Ach may not respond to constituents' needs and adopt a consultative and participative style. As a consequence, need for achievement will be negatively related to presidential servant-leadership performance.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 4: There is a negative relationship between need for achievement and presidential performance.

Need for affiliation

Need for affiliation (n Aff) relates to one's concern with establishing, maintaining and restoring close personal and emotional relationships with others (McClelland, 1985). Individuals who are high in n Aff tend to avoid conflict and competition with others. They present a strong conformity with the desires of their friends, and want to please them even if it involves non-ethical actions. In politics, need for affiliation is associated with scandals and decisions that are not optimal. For example, Richard Nixon had a high need for affiliation and was introverted (Winter et al., 1998). He wanted affection and friendship in his close interpersonal relationships, but was also ill at ease in many interpersonal situations. This

contributed to his mishandling of key issues in his administration, which hindered its continuity. Leaders who are high in n Aff may not make objective and optimal decisions on the basis of priorities, but rather try to conform to the wishes of their relatives and friends. In conflict and crisis management, putting the emphasis on friendship might lead to misjudgment and negative consequences for constituents. Therefore, presidents who have a high need for affiliation might not be able to act in an ethical manner and consider all constituents' needs. McClelland (1975) hypothesized that need for affiliation interacts with need for power in predicting leadership outcomes. This hypothesis was not empirically tested. Therefore, it will be verified in this research. Furthermore, statistical tests will be conducted to investigate whether need for affiliation has a positive or negative moderating effect.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 5: There is a negative relationship between need for affiliation and presidential performance.

Hypothesis 6: When presidents are high in n Aff, there is a negative relationship between need for power and performance. When presidents are low in n Aff, there is a positive relationship between need for power and performance.

Political beliefs

Rockeach (1968: 123-124) defines a belief system as "the total universe of a person's beliefs about the physical world, the social world, and the self." Political beliefs refer to the political world, including instrumental beliefs about the best way to achieve one's goals

(George, 1969; Larson, 1994). The term belief system refers to both cognitive schemas and preferences. Schemas enable an individual to classify and treat incoming information using his past experience. Political preferences guide one's behavior (Taber, 1992). According to Power (1973), there are general beliefs and specific beliefs pertaining to policy preferences. Specific beliefs refer to the perception of specific policies; general beliefs refer to the perception of the society and human nature. Specific beliefs are tied to specific objects; general beliefs are tied to guiding principles that are reflected in one's actions. These beliefs are associated with one's self-system. An individual has a conception of his "self", which encompasses beliefs about his role in the world. General beliefs concerning one's self, others, and the society are associated with stable dispositions in one's relationships with others (Clark, 2000). In this research, the focus is on preferences rather than schemas. Furthermore, I concentrate on general beliefs that can be inferred from one's behaviors (Read et al., 1990). I am interested in how typical a behavior is of a general belief. For example, beliefs concerning others' intention may be associated with one's tendency to manifest hostility. Beliefs concerning human nature and the society may reflect in one's disposition to tolerate differences, and take responsibility toward the global community (Clark, 2000; Kuzma, 1996). Null and Smead (1971) found that the beliefs in the nature of man and society were positively related to leaders' tolerance of uncertainty, tolerance of freedom, and consideration as measured by the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire. General beliefs are not directly related to the structure of policy attitudes, which are shaped by ideological considerations (Sulfaro, 1997). However, general beliefs underlie guiding principles, and foster one's dispositions in his relations with others (Clark, 2000). Virtuous dispositions should be associated with one's general beliefs. Virtuous dispositions enable leaders to exercise clear judgment, and develop the strengths that are essential to carry out their duties. Servant-leaders should have a set of general beliefs pertaining to their role in the world, and conception of the world. These beliefs should be associated with presidential perception of political issues and consistency of actions. By extension, it is inferred that general beliefs have an influence on presidential servant-leadership behavior and performance. A lack of consistent beliefs about the world is associated with the narcissistic personality (Post, 1993). When leaders are high in narcissism their beliefs tend to shift and should be viewed as "calculated for effect" (Post, 1993: 110). A lack of consistent beliefs about the world is also associated with opportunism, instrumentality, self-interest, sophistry, and pretense (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999; Post, 1993). It is assumed in this dissertation that leaders' general beliefs reflect stable personality characteristics. Servant-leaders should have a positive conception of their role in the world and others' intentions. They should have a positive view of the world, and hold an ideal that reflects the nation's Zeitgeist.

In brief, the beliefs that are investigated in this dissertation are general core political beliefs and trait beliefs, rather than situational beliefs. They are part of the stable characteristics of presidential personality attributes. Five sets of political beliefs are studied: beliefs concerning one's role in the world, beliefs concerning peace, beliefs concerning others' intentions and behaviors, beliefs in service to others, and idealism versus self-interest.

Positive beliefs concerning one's contribution to the world should be reflected in one's concerns for others' needs, and interests in determining objectives, and selecting means to achieve the ends. Presidents should have a constructive vision of their role and positive conception of the world. Their view should extend beyond pragmatic considerations, and reflect an idealistic perspective for constituents. The idealistic perspective refers to a vision

that goes beyond self-interested concerns as driving forces. Servant-leaders should believe that their aims are to serve others. Beliefs in service to others should impact on constituents' well-being.

Beliefs in negative intentions of others should hinder proper cooperation in solving problems. These beliefs might indicate that the president is paranoid or suspicious. Beliefs in others' positive intentions would rather reflect in one's confidence and cooperation with others. Beliefs in others' positive intentions should not be confused with lack of discernment or naivety. One can be prudent and acute, and still hold positive beliefs concerning others' intentions and behaviors. Beliefs in peaceful resolution of conflict are opposed to seeking war. Peaceful dispositions should reflect in presidential cooperation with other nations and entities. When presidents seek mutual security and cooperative relationships, there should be positive consequences for other nations and the United States.

Therefore, it is hypothesized from the discussion above:

Hypothesis 7: When presidents hold positive political beliefs, they are more likely to act as servant-leaders. Therefore, there should be a positive relationship between presidential core political beliefs and servant-leadership behaviors.

Responsibility values

Servant-leadership involves the pursuit of value in the world, which extends beyond the development of codes of ethics or standards (Srivastva, 1988). It requires leader integrity, which depends on moral values. Servant-leaders should refer to values in determining a course of actions, transcend sheer pragmatism, and articulate a vision that is aimed at

increasing the collective good (Frost & Egri, 1990). These end values should reflect the prosocial orientation of leaders. As described previously, these end values are at the core of the servant-leadership visionary process.

Servant-leaders should also have a set of instrumental values that serve to operationalize the vision. Moral imperatives should guide leaders' actions in realizing the valued end-state. Responsibility values refer to people's mental programs, modes of conduct, and conceptions of the desirable (Hofstede, 1980; Winter & Barenbaum, 1985). Responsibility values are instrumental values in the sense that they are instrumental in realizing one's desirable end-state. Responsibility values precede leaders' behaviors aimed at realizing end-state valued goals.

Responsibility values refer to the ethical aspect of one's behavior. They are associated with self-control, awareness of the consequences of one's actions, inner obligation to do what is right, and accountability (Winter, 1992). Responsibility values reflect in prosocial behavior which involves "taking the responsibility of others" (Winter, 1992: 500). They are cognitive in the sense that there is a rational component involved in evaluating and determining one's obligations.

Winter and Barenbaum (1985) identified five dimensions pertaining to the construct of responsibility values by content analyzing thematic apperceptive stories of college students. First, moral standard refers to an abstract standard of morality or legality. Second, obligation refers to one's obligation to act either out of inner obligation or impersonal imperatives. Third, self-judgment refers to one's critical evaluation of one's own character. Fourth, concern for others is associated with concern for helping or showing sympathetic concern for another. It refers to "an altruism that is oriented toward the consequences of the future"

(Winter, 1992: 502). Finally, concern about the consequences of one's actions refers to one's self-evaluation.

Winter (1992) performed several factor analyses with large samples and obtained two separate clusters that correspond to a rational moral imperative dimension, and a motivational dimension. The first cluster is composed of moral standard, obligation, and self-judgment. These components refer to the responsibility of one's actions with reference to social standards, impersonal imperatives, and critical judgment about one's behavior. The second cluster encompasses an altruistic component. Winter's (1992) scoring procedures include a measure of the cognitively transformed need for altruism. However, his work was inductive and exploratory. As a consequence, he did not anticipate a motivational component in his measurement. In this dissertation, I created a specific procedure for measuring the altruistic need, which is based on deductive reasoning. For the analysis of responsibility values, I am concerned with the first cluster of values which refer to the morality of one's actions. obligation, and self-judgment. These values are associated with the selection of the means that are used to achieve the valued end-state. Moral standard, obligation, and self-judgment should precede servant-leadership behavior in that they determine the manner in which leaders behave in carrying out their responsibilities.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 8: When presidents are high in responsibility values, they should be more likely to exhibit servant-leadership behaviors. Therefore, there should be a positive relationship between presidential responsibility values and servant-leadership behaviors.

Personality traits

McCrae and Costa (1996) see traits as basic tendencies. Traits are also defined as "habitual patterns of cognition, affect, and behavior" (Emmons, 1989: 32). For example, extraversion refers to a pattern of elements that are interrelated: behaviors (e.g., talking to people newly met), feelings (e.g., joy), and cognitions (e.g., optimistic expectations) (Winter et al., 1998). At a surface, it is a stylistic manifestation of the personality of an individual (McClelland, 1951). *Traits are inferred by the observation of consistency in behaviors* (Winter et al., 1998). They refer to individual differences in adverbial quality. They explain a behavior by linking a particular occurrence of it to a general behavioral pattern. Traits differ from needs that explain a behavior by the ends toward which they tend (Winter et al., 1998). Traits refer to the personality style. General patterns of leadership behavior may be associated with various leadership styles. Personality differences give rise to different patterns of leadership (Kuhnert & Lewis, 1987; Popper, 2000).

In this section, I am interested in personality traits that are inferred from consistency in behaviors. Traits, that can establish the discriminant validity of servant-leadership and its related concepts, are selected for the purpose of investigating how servant-leadership differs from charismatic leadership.

As mentioned in the conceptual development, charismatic leadership may reflect a socialized or personalized orientation. The personalized charismatic orientation is associated with the narcissistic personality (Popper, 2000). Narcissistic leaders may engage in impression management to self-aggrandize. They are more concerned with "appearance than substance" (Post, 1993: 103). They are self-absorbed and fail to empathize with others. Therefore, leaders who have a personalized orientation would tend to be less altruistic than

leaders who have a socialized orientation. As a consequence, they would use their charisma to astound followers, who are ideal-hungry and admire idealized others (Deluga, 1997) rather than serve constituents. Narcissism might predispose leaders to use Machiavellian strategies of influence. Machiavellianism is characterized by a lack of affect in interpersonal relationships, low concern with morality, and low ideological commitment (McHoskey, Worzel, & Szyarto, 1998). Machiavellian leaders have a grandiose sense of self-worth and can be impressive and charming in short-term encounters (McHoskey et al., 1998). Servant-leaders should have high altruistic concerns and use ethical means to achieve their ends. They would be unlikely to use Machiavellian techniques to achieve their ends. The conception of their self in politics is connected to the needs of others. Therefore, servant-leaders would not concentrate on their egotistic needs, but on what they can do to uplift constituents. Servant-leadership should be negatively related with charisma, impression management, narcissism, and Machiavellianism. Therefore, these concepts are investigated to assess the discriminant validity of servant-leadership related concepts.

Charisma and impression management

Charisma constitutes an important personality trait in the study of leadership performance (e.g., Deluga, 1997; House et al., 1991). The concept of charisma refers to the rhetorical skills, public appearance, and visions of leaders. In this research, an attempt is made to analyze the nature of charismatic leadership effect on performance outcomes. Philosophical assumptions underlying the concept of servant-leadership orient the development of hypotheses concerning the nature of charismatic leadership effects on presidential performance. In this research, it is hypothesized that charismatic leadership has a negative

relationship with servant-leadership, because these concepts were developed on the basis of opposed philosophical assumptions. It is assumed that charismatic leadership does not have a positive relationship with moral needs, which determine the socialized orientation of leaders. Leaders who are high in charisma are hypothesized to be more self-interested, which means that they would take actions aimed at satisfying their personal interests through the achievement of organizational goals. Charismatic leaders care about others' needs and interests as long as it is necessary for the achievement of their personal objectives. On occasion, charismatic leaders might utilize others as means to achieve their ends, use manipulative techniques to influence others, and engage in impression management to self-aggrandize. They act as pseudo-transformational idealized leaders (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999).

Presidential charisma is related to greatness (House et al., 1991). However, the nature of the charismatic leadership influence has not been studied. The ethicality of the means and morality of the ends were not considered in analyzing leadership performance. It is assumed in this research that the relationship between charisma and presidential performance might reflect a social construction of presidents who is shared by a cultural entity. Furthermore, measures of presidential charisma tap adverbial descriptions of leaders, which might be linked to the social construction of presidents.

Measures of charisma mostly concentrate on the spectacular aspects of the presidential role. For example, Simonton's (1988) measure of charisma includes items such as: "keeps in contact with the American public and its moods", "uses rhetoric effectively", "is a dynamo of energy and determination", "enjoys the ceremonial aspects of the office" (Deluga, 1997: 54). These measures reflect personality traits pertaining to the external appearance of leaders.

House et al. (1991) found a strong positive relationship between need for power and charisma. Presidents who have high need for power might feel more comfortable with the ceremonial aspects of their role. Thus, they might use impression management techniques more effectively. Consequently, presidents who are high in need for power and charisma might be perceived as great (Murray & Blessing, 1983). This perceptual measure of greatness says nothing about the socialized or personalized orientation of presidents. It does not provide indicators of the extent to which presidents respond to constituents' needs and interests, and understand different ideologies. Thus, it can be assumed that it reflects an external image, which is diffused in the literature.

Charismatic leaders engage in impression management to bolster their charismatic and idealized image. When impression management is used in an unethical manner, it takes the form of pretense. It is hard to draw the line between ethical and unethical impression management techniques. Leaders can engage in impression management to provide identity images of credibility and moral worth (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). On the surface, these identity images might appear authentic. However, leaders might also self-aggrandize by exaggerating their exploits. They might use convenient proverbs to justify their actions, and appear consistent and credible. However, they might change their positions and commitments as circumstances change (Post, 1993). This lack of consistency reflects a lack of moral character. The moral character and virtues of leaders are "displayed in actions not mere words" (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999: 197). Servant-leaders are not likely to engage in impression management as a strategy to self-aggrandize. They are not likely to polish their appearance but, rather, concentrate on truth telling regardless of its impact on their public image.

The measure used for impression management is poise and polish (Simonton, 1986), which reflects the extent to which presidents are poised, polished, sophisticated, formal, mannerly, and tactful as opposed to simple, informal, unassuming, coarse, and loyal. Servant-leaders concentrate on others' needs. They show a lack of concern for their "self", and provide service to others. They are not likely to engage in impression management to polish their appearance like charismatic leaders would do.

Therefore, it is hypothesized from the discussion above:

Hypothesis 9: Impression management and charisma will be negatively related to servant-leadership behaviors and moral needs.

Narcissism

The essential features of the narcissistic personality are a "grandiose sense of self importance or uniqueness and preoccupation with fantasies of unlimited success and power; hypersensitivity to criticism; and a lack of empathy" (Post, 1993: 100). The narcissistic individual is self-centered and fails to empathize with others. Leaders who are narcissistic have a mirror-hungry personality (Deluga, 1997; Post, 1993). They require a "continuous stream of admiration" to uplift their grandiose "self" (Post, 1993:115). The narcissistic leader has an overt inflated self and fantasies of power and brilliance. The narcissistic leader shows entitlement and invulnerability. However, his external "self" hides a covert aspect of his personality. The narcissistic leader is hypersensitive and has a feeling of inferiority and worthlessness, which makes him strive constantly for strength and glory (Post, 1993). The extreme self-confidence that is displayed by the narcissistic leader is a mask. In fact, narcissistic leaders suffer from inner doubt. The projected image of strength and grandiosity

of narcissistic leaders will be attractive to followers who are ideal-hungry and have a weak ego (Kohut, 1972).

Narcissistic leaders might become "destructive charismatic" (Volkan, 1980). In such a case, they will project the covert devalued part of themselves onto an external target, such as an enemy or outsider (Lindholm, 1990). They will express a need to attack others. In the case of malignant narcissism, leaders might attack their target of aggression. Narcissistic rage can occur especially when leaders are obsessed with revenge and suffer from paranoia. The need for revenge, attack for righting a wrong will be linked with a specific target of aggression (Kohut, 1972). This need for revenge is associated with a flaw in the ego of the narcissistic leader. When a leader has charisma and is high in malignant narcissism, he might proclaim that he wants to protect some constituents or the nation, act according to moral principles, and attack the target of aggression. For example, Saddam Hussein was found to have a malignant narcissistic personality by Post (1991). Saddam Hussein showed misjudgment in his analysis of the enemy and exaggerated his degree of influence on other nations. Ideal-hungry followers acquired an extended "self" that was merged with his identity as a leader in a self-object relationship. From an external point of view, Saddam projected an image of strength and invincibility that provided an idealized object to idealhungry followers. Saddam used his followers and claims of moral imperatives to execute his plans during the Gulf crisis. His attacks were the materialization of his narcissistic rage.

It is important to notice that narcissism might be positively related to protective governance as in the case of Saddam. However, this relationship should not be interpreted as an indicator that narcissistic leaders display moral motives. Their discourse is calculated for effect. Although they may overtly show enthusiasm for moral matters, they are not

committed to any moral standards. As mentioned previously, they do not have a set of stable political beliefs. Consequently, on the surface, they might express a need to protect others or the nation, but this should be interpreted as an indicator of narcissistic rage or projection of an idealized self.

According to Holland (1985), there are two types of narcissism: adaptive and maladaptive. Most politicians would manifest high levels of adaptive narcissism (Emmons, 1984). Emmons (1987) found that some dimensions of narcissism are adaptive (e.g., leadership/authority, superiority/arrogance, and self-absorption/self-admiration) while another dimension is clearly maladaptive (exploitativeness/entitlement). Adaptive narcissism is positively related to optimism (Hickman, Watson, & Morris, 1996) and need for power (Carroll, 1987). Adaptive narcissism might be advantageous to individuals in occupational situations that require leadership (Hill & Yousey, 1999).

Deluga (1997) found that charisma was positively related to narcissism, as measured by the Narcissistic Personality Inventory. Narcissism has seven dimensions:

"authority (seeking leadership positions), exhibitionism (enjoying being the center of attention), superiority (viewing oneself as a special person), entitlement (possessing a strong need for power), exploitativeness (persuading others to reach goals, often for selfish gains), self-sufficiency (displaying a high need for achievement), and vanity (judging oneself as physically attractive)" (Deluga, 1997: 50).

Presidents who are high in charisma might be narcissistic mirror-hungry leaders who

try to increase their self-esteem (Deluga, 1997 after Kohut, 1971; 1976). Thus, leaders who are high in narcissism might be motivated to protect and augment their "self". These leaders would be likely to use impression management in order to satisfy their egotistic needs. Therefore, there should be a positive relationship between narcissism, charisma, and impression management. When leaders are high in narcissism, charisma, and impression management, they are not likely to play the servant-leadership role in their relations with constituents. They will tend to focus on their personal interests and objectives. Their ultimate goal is to augment their "self".

Narcissism is positively related to measures of greatness (Deluga, 1997). Perceived greatness might be influenced by leaders' exhibitionism and vanity, because these traits would affect how people perceive the personality of leaders. The overt and covert aspects of the narcissistic personality of leaders reflect the split between the good and the bad into the "me" and "not me" (Post, 1986). Narcissistic leaders integrate in their overt self what they consider "good" or "perfect". They develop an ideal or grandiose self which is unrealistic (Post, 1986). This ideal reflects in the social construction of leaders who is shared by a cultural entity. This social construction might influence people's perception of leaders' greatness.

In practice, narcissistic leaders might deny the usefulness of constituents' input in decision-making, have difficulties considering others' needs and interests, lack empathy, and be subject to groupthink (Janis, 1972). In periods of crisis, the decision-making process might be hampered by the sense of "omnipotence and invulnerability" of narcissistic leaders, which might contribute to the development of over optimism that characterizes groupthink (Post, 1993). Servant-leadership requires that leaders consider constituents' input in

decision-making, analyze others' needs and interests, and exercise clear judgment in assessing external threats. Servant-leaders should not devalue others' ideas and capabilities but, rather, take into consideration their concerns and solutions. They should foster participation in decision-making and encourage exchange of ideas. Servant-leaders should empathize with others, have positive concerns for others, and demonstrate openness to foreign ideologies. These dispositions contrast with the excessive dogmatism of narcissistic leaders (e.g., Post, 1993), lack of empathic reasoning, and concerns for others' needs.

Therefore, it is hypothesized in this research:

Hypothesis 10: Narcissism is positively related to charisma and impression management.

Hypothesis 11: Narcissism is negatively related to servant-leadership, empathy and need for altruism.

Machiavellianism

Machiavellianism is defined as a "strategy of social conduct that involves manipulating others for personal gain, often against (others') interest" (Wilson, Near, & Miller, 1996: 285). Narcissism might predispose a leader to use manipulative techniques in interpersonal relationships, which reflect a propensity to act in a Machiavellian manner (McHoskey, 1995). Machiavellianism and narcissism have some features in common. A lack of empathic concern, dominance, arrogance, and a lack of interpersonal warmth characterize the interpersonal relationships of individuals who are high in Machiavellianism and narcissism (McHoskey, 1995 after Bradlee & Emmons, 1992; and Gurtman, 1991,1992). Indeed, McHoskey (1995) found a positive relationship between Machiavellianism and the

maladaptive dimension of narcissism. Leaders who are high in Machiavellianism (high-Mach) and narcissism do not respond to constituents' needs and interests. They have a tendency to concentrate on their personal interests and show a lack of consideration for others. Therefore, it is expected that high-Mach leaders will not adopt a consultative and participative style, empower others, cooperate with other entities, behave in an ethical manner (Hegarty and Sims, 1978, 1979), and act according to clear principles of governance. Furthermore, high-Mach leaders will not hold political beliefs and values that are consistent with servant-leadership. High-Mach leaders will be genuinely cooperative only when it is advantageous to them. One "should regard Machiavellianism as a kind of master strategy that includes both cooperative and defecting sub-strategies, plus a system of rules for when to use them" (Wilson et al., 1996: 287). High-Mach leaders are concerned with acting the right way in the right situation, rather than doing what is morally good. Therefore, one should expect high-Mach leaders to follow a double standard (Nair, 1994; Wilson et al., 1996). For example, they might display loyalty to members of their group, while manipulating members of out-groups (Wilson et al., 1996).

Situational constraints might hinder or facilitate high-Mach leaders' strategies. It was found that high-Mach sales agents are more effective in loosely structured organizations than in tightly structured organizations (Shultz, 1993). Gleason, Seaman, and Hollander (1978) proposed that in a situation of high task structure, where there is little ambiguity and opportunity for manipulation, low-Machs would outperform high-Machs. Furthermore, high-Mach leaders will be more effective than low-Mach leaders when situations are emotionally charged. In brief, high-Mach leaders will be more effective when: (1) there are face-to-face interactions, (2) there is ambiguity, (3) situations are emotionally charged, (4) there are

opportunities for manipulation, and (5) organizations are loosely structured.

Congress is an "intricate, complex institution" (Starling, 1996). The House and the Senate have their own set of formal rules, and procedures. Congress is highly decentralized, and power is widely dispersed (Starling, 1996). Thus, it can be conceived as a tightly structured organization that involves coordination among various autonomous units. The political process is complex and provides latitude to high-Mach presidents. Given the structure of Congress, it is logical to expect that high-Mach presidents would have difficulties in coping with Congress, which might preclude the adoption of their legislative program and hinder their performance. High-Mach presidents might counterbalance this difficulty by taking advantage of their latitude and exercising direct influence on specific Congress members in order to capitalize on Congress member influence on various committees. Therefore, it is inferred that high-Mach presidents will tend to meet Congress members on an individual basis. They might give individualized consideration to Congress members who are likely to promote their views.

Machiavellianism is associated with superficial charm and a grandiose sense of self-worth. Leaders who are impressive and charming in short-term encounters and display grandiosity are more likely to be appealing to people than leaders who are less grandiose (McHoskey, Worzel & Szyarto, 1998). Therefore, it is expected that leaders, who are high in charisma and Machiavellianism, would tend to be more appealing to people. High-Mach leaders combine this ability to manage their appearance with the ability to maintain a "cool and aloof posture toward others" (McHoskey et al., 1998: 197). This ability allows them to create doubts in the mind of others who have difficulty knowing where they stand vis-à-vis the leaders. When leaders are high in Machiavellianism and have high latitude for social

improvisation, they manipulate others in a successful manner (McHoskey et al., 1998). These leaders are high self-monitors who use impression management strategies in social interactions. Their focus is on the self during social interactions rather than on the interaction partner as would normally be the case of high self-monitoring individuals (Fehr, Samsom, & Paulhus, 1992). Leaders who are high in Machiavellianism and self-monitoring project an image of their self that is calculated for effect. They use impression management techniques as means to augment their self. These techniques include conscious manipulation of one's facial expressions, manipulation of others' emotions, hinting when convincing others, and deceit (Fehr et al., 1992). By extension, it is assumed that high-Mach leaders would have enough empathy to grasp and play with others' feelings. According to Geis and Christie (1970: 307), high Machs "are adept at getting what they want from others without overt hostility". That is, high-Machs know how to use others' emotions in social interactions, and provide convincing arguments. Followers might attribute charisma to leaders who use these strategies. Indeed, the ability to make an emotional appeal and convince others is part of the charismatic leadership role. This ability can be used in an ethical or unethical manner.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 12: Machiavellianism has a positive relationship with narcissism, charisma, and impression management.

Hypothesis 13: Machiavellianism has a negative relationship with servantleadership, empathy, and need for altruism.

The previous section dealt with personality characteristics of leaders, and presented hypotheses aimed at understanding and discriminating among servant-leadership related concepts. Before introducing the consequences of servant-leadership for constituents, I will

present briefly some situational constraints that might encourage or hinder servant-leadership behavior and moderate its impact on leaders' performance. The next section is exploratory, and focuses on structural and situational constraints that are specific to the Administration of American presidents. Two frameworks are used to understand the role of constraints. An adaptive-reactive framework is proposed to analyze the impact of situational and structural constraints on servant-leadership related concepts. A contingency framework is used to determine whether some situational constraints interact with servant-leadership related concepts in predicting presidential performance (Osborn & Hunt, 1975).

Situational constraints

Research in organizational behavior "has been shaped and dominated by individuals with psychological training" (Johns, 1991:99). Individual differences pertaining to personality characteristics and cognitive and behavioral styles have been emphasized in the study of leadership. Situational and structural constraints have been downplayed (Johns, 1991). A universal approach to leadership, which states that leaders can influence organizational results regardless of situational constraints has been widely used in leadership research (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977). The contingency approach (e.g., Hersey & Blanchard, 1988; Vroom & Jago, 1988) focused on the interventions of leaders. For example, Hersey and Blanchard (1988) presented a situational leadership theory that provides guidance to leaders who must adapt their strategies to subordinates' commitment, competence, and performance. Vroom and Jago (1988) concentrated on leaders' goals and suggested decision-making strategies aimed at achieving these goals. Decision-making strategies depend on the structure of problems and contextual

factors. Kerr and Jermier (1978) took a different perspective, and studied organizational and structural factors that might substitute for or neutralize leadership practices. Apart from a few exceptions (e.g., Bass & Valenzi, 1974), theories on constraints in the field of leadership have overlooked macro variables such as conflict among organizational units and environmental complexity. Given the scope of this dissertation, macro constraints are investigated.

The current research is exploratory. Two different alternative frameworks are proposed for analyzing the effects of macro situational or structural constraints. First, an adaptive-reactive framework (Osborn & Hunt, 1975) is proposed for understanding how presidential leadership might differ according to various circumstances. That is, the focus is on the effects of macro variables on servant-leadership related concepts and performance. Under this framework, situational or structural constraints would have a direct impact on the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. Given the external circumstances, presidents would be more or less likely to perform the servant-leadership role.

As mentioned in the theoretical development, needs are primed by external cues that might reflect situational constraints. As a consequence, the extent to which situational constraints have an impact on the expression of presidential needs is investigated to understand whether presidential needs refer essentially to individual differences or reflect responses to situational constraints.

A second framework, based on the contingency approach, is suggested to assess whether situational or structural constraints might interact with servant-leadership related concepts in predicting presidential performance. From a contingency approach perspective, it is expected that there will be significant interaction terms. That is, the impact of servant-

leadership on presidential performance is moderated by some situational variables.

There are several situational constraints that presidents must cope with during their mandate. Some are known at the beginning of their mandate when they take office. Others will occur during their mandate. For example, the composition of Congress is known before presidents take office. Depending on their position vis-à-vis Congress, presidents might adapt their leadership style to fit the requirements of the time. Presidents can be evaluated by examining whether they run with or counter to the grain of history (Crockett, 2000, after Neustadt, 1990). According to Skowronek (1993), there are different leadership styles appropriate for different times. A specific time period is characterized by the power situation of a president, his party, and political context. When presidents are opposed to the reigning governing political philosophy of their time, they act as opposition leaders (Crockett, 2000). This situation is more likely to occur when presidents are aligned with a minority party. When a party has control over the White House and Congress, it is a majority party. If it does not have control over Congress, it is a minority party, and the power structure is not favorable. Presidents will have a hard time getting their governing philosophy through the legislative branch. In such situation, they may represent both parties' philosophies or attempt to redefine politics in their favor. Presidents might focus on incremental changes that reflect both parties' concerns. They might focus on policy that reflects the popular will, protection of liberty and civil rights, and security of the nation. Such policy is embedded in the prime objective of the presidency (Tulis, 1987). As a strategy, presidents would not engage in open warfare with the majority party, but rather seek a more tempered political agenda by pursuing greater efficiency and moderating a strong legislature (Crockett, 2000). However, presidents might provoke a major change in political era. For example, Ronald Reagan was in a minority position, and managed to redefine the political era using his "Reaganomics" to intend to beat inflation.

Using an adaptive-reactive framework, it is expected that a minority position will have a negative impact on presidential effectiveness. Presidents who perform the servant-leadership role integrate various constituents' interests and ideologies in their vision. When presidents decide to represent both parties' concerns as an adaptive strategy, they should integrate various constituents' points of view in their policy. However, presidents who are servant-leaders would not compromise their principles but, rather, implement a policy that reflects absolute values that are inherent to the constitution. This lack of compromise might yield performance results that are not optimal. It is proposed that when presidents play the servant-leadership role and are in a minority position, they might be judged as less effective from an external observer's perspective.

Composition of Congress is known at the inauguration of a president. Therefore, it is expected that presidential expression of needs in an inaugural address will be influenced by the composition of Congress. If presidents use an adaptive-reactive strategy, they might express more concerns for others' needs as a means to signal their intention to integrate both parties' concerns in their agenda. When facing a majority position, presidents might express more need for power. The relationship between composition of Congress and presidential needs is investigated in order to determine whether presidential needs generally reflect individual differences in personality profiles or situational constraints.

In brief, two different frameworks are proposed as alternative means to analyze the effects of situational or structural constraints on servant-leadership related concepts. An important constraint identified in this section pertains to the Composition of Congress:

minority or majority party. From an adaptive-reactive framework, in which presidents are expected to adapt their practices in terms of the situation, the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors should be directly affected by the composition of Congress. From a contingency framework, situational or structural constraints would interact with servant-leadership related concepts in predicting presidential performance.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 14: Composition of Congress will be related to servant-leadership behavior and presidential performance.

Hypothesis 15: Composition of Congress will be related to the expression of presidential needs.

Hypothesis 16: Composition of Congress will have a moderating effect on the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance.

Composition of Congress constitutes an important structural constraint that presidents have to cope with during their mandate. However, other situational constraints represent opportunities for presidential exercise of discretionary power. One example is crises that occur during the administration of a president. Crises constitute good opportunities to exercise power in a socialized or personalized manner. Moreover, constituted power holders can provoke crises. For example, in the case of the Cuban missile crisis, Allison (1969) demonstrated that actions were the outcomes of the interactions among players who had various parochial priorities, perceptions, and issues in mind. Given the divergent interests of various players, actions do not necessarily reflect what anyone would have selected in terms of actions to be taken (Allison, 1969). Crises are difficult to handle due to the fact that

various constituents have different stakes, interests, and power. In the case of the Cuban missile crisis, if Kennedy had focused on the point of view of a group of players that advocated an air strike, the crisis could have evolved into war.

Presidential needs refer to the general tendency to react in a certain manner to various stimuli. Contrary to intentions that are related to specific situations, needs are goal-oriented. Presidents who are usually concerned with others' needs and interests should cope better with crises. Presidents who are high in need for altruism should display empathy and grasp others' concerns and limitations. Need for altruism should be associated with presidential judgment in assessing the potential consequences of their decisions. Similarly, when presidents play the servant-leadership role they should integrate various constituents' needs and interests in their decisions and actions. Presidents who play the servant-leadership role should exercise clear judgment and remain open to constituents' ideologies while facing crises. As a consequence, servant-leadership should prevent crises.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 17: Under crises, presidents who are high in need for altruism should be more effective.

Hypothesis 18: Servant-leadership should prevent crisis. There should be a negative relationship between servant-leadership and crisis.

It is possible that presidents act in an autocratic manner in periods of crisis. That is, they might be less consultative and participative, and impose their decisions on constituents because of their increased decision latitude. Presidents might capitalize on their charismatic leadership influence to impose their visions, and might not act in an ethical manner with all

constituents who have a stake in their decisions. Indeed, Bass (1985) argued that crises are prerequisite to the emergence of charismatic leadership. Furthermore, House et al. (1991) found a positive relationship between crisis, behavioral charisma, and presidential performance. Even if charisma is positively related to presidential performance, charismatic leadership might not necessarily reflect a socialized orientation. For example, when presidents use Machiavellian strategies of influence, it can be detrimental to the well being of certain constituents.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 19: When presidents are high in Machiavellianism, crises will present a negative relationship with presidential performance.

The American presidency has become more complex over the years. Presidential relations with Congress are more difficult in the modern era. Television has contributed to the independence of individual politicians who can build their "personal mass appeal" (Starling, 1996: 236). When these politicians become candidates and arrive in Congress, they "tend to be less responsive to party leaders" (Starling, 1996: 236). According to Starling (1996: 235), presidents have two main strategies of influence: "going Washington" or "going public". Given the nature of Congress, presidents increasingly go public to influence Washington indirectly by influencing the public.

Presidents who decide to go public might use their charismatic leadership influence to persuade Washington. Indeed, House et al. (1991) found a positive relationship between charismatic leadership and the age of the Administration.

According to House et al. (1991), the ideal of the self-restrained statesman who

awaited a "call to service from the people" has weakened. Thus, the "value system surrounding the presidency facilitated the emergence" of charismatic leadership (House et al., 1991: 370). Would servant-leadership be a romance? Would that concept reflect the role of the earliest presidents? It can be hypothesized that presidents of the modern era tend to be less "servant" compared to presidents of previous eras. Perhaps modern presidents use more Machiavellian strategies of influence and display less principle-guided actions to achieve their objectives. However, one has witnessed major positive changes in the living conditions of minorities and civil rights over the years. In this dissertation, the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors over the years is studied to assess whether servant-leadership is bounded by the historical context of the Administration. If servant-leadership refers to a universal concept, which is not bounded by historical context, there should be no specific tendency in the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. If the ideal self-restrained statesman refers to the older eras, there should be a negative relationship between servant-leadership behaviors such as principle-guided actions and the years of the Administration.

Therefore, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 20: There is a negative relationship between servant-leadership behaviors and the historical context reflected by the years of the Administration.

Consequences

Presidential servant-leadership can be associated with several performance outcomes.

One of the most important features of servant-leadership is that leaders should be more responsive to constituents' needs and involve them in the decision-making process. As a

consequence, there should be more institutionalized channels of participation, and servant-leaders should align their policy with the needs of constituents. Thus, servant-leadership should be positively related with effective policy. As mentioned previously, the term effectiveness refers to the impact of leaders' decisions and actions on constituents. Consequences for constituents are defined in terms of benefits to constituents, cultural communities, minorities, foreign countries and the nation. It refers to presidential effectiveness in meeting high-priority collective needs and finding solutions to top-priority problems. As mentioned by Starling (1996: 235), the "effectiveness of the presidency and the capacity of any president to lead depends on focusing the nation's political attention and its energies on two or three top priorities."

Moral empowerment is aimed at helping constituents share absolute values and develop their inner strengths and freedom. This should translate into higher commitment to the leader's vision and cooperation among constituents. Furthermore, through moral empowerment, leaders provide means to constituents so that they can achieve their objectives and realize the vision. Servant-leaders should give constituents help, and act as facilitators when required, in order to get information from constituents and make them communicate their needs, in order to develop an effective policy. Therefore, presidential servant-leadership should be related to effective domestic and foreign policy.

In this research, analyses will concentrate on servant-leadership influence on domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, and presidential servant-leadership effects on constituents' welfare.

Therefore, it is hypothesized from the general discussion above:

Hypothesis 21: Servant-leadership has a positive relationship with

presidential domestic and foreign policy effectiveness.

Hypothesis 22: Servant-leadership has a positive relationship with presidential performance outcomes for constituents.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Sample selection

The sample selected for this research meets three important criteria. First, it allows for the identification of servant-leadership behaviors, responsibility values, political beliefs, and moral needs. Second, it provides secondary data on related concepts in the field of leadership that were validated in previous research, and that can be used to assess the discriminant validity of servant-leadership related concepts. Third, American presidents studied in the current research had a significant impact on various constituents.

The study of the American presidency is relevant for understanding servant-leadership practices. Presidential behaviors are delineated by boundaries of actions and clear principles of governance. Given the complexity of the Administration and widespread consequences of presidential decisions and actions, it is possible to analyze the effects of several servant-leadership practices on various outcomes. The role of presidents includes several responsibilities such as policy-making and conflict and crisis management. Presidential decisions are crucial for the well-being of various constituents. Therefore, the study of American presidents provides a unique perspective on the analysis of servant-leadership practices and impacts on constituents.

Deluga (1997), House et al. (1991), O'Connor et al. (1995), Simonton (1986; 1988), Spangler & House (1991), and Winter (1987) used historical sources to obtain real-world samples. Their research has ranged from studying leaders' motives and leadership style among American presidents (e.g., Winter, 1987) to the measurement of beliefs, motives, and

self-system constructs of world historical figures in a diverse range of occupational domains, including political, religious, business, and military (O'Connor et al., 1995). These researchers have demonstrated that it is possible to identify concrete leadership behavior and test leadership models using historical sources of data.

The use of secondary data is important for two reasons. First, data have been collected by several independent researchers who have created and followed their specific procedures, used several data sources and measuring instruments. If I had collected all data, strong relationships among variables might be due to the use of procedures that are carried within the same context. Second, using secondary data helps to avoid potential confounding effects related to common-method response bias which may inflate true relationships among leadership variables hypothesized to be related to the concept of servant-leadership, and its antecedents or consequences. Because these data have been generated by different groups of researchers using several sources of data and different methods, using their data in this research while controlling for potential biases helps to avoid confounding effects.

The servant-leadership model implies that leaders' needs and behaviors are related to their performance outcomes. Therefore, leaders selected for this research must hold a formal position of power and exercise influence over decisions of prime importance for constituents.

The American presidents are subjects for this research. Presidents who were not elected (John Tyler, Millard Fillmore, Andrew Johnson, Chester A. Arthur, and Gerald R. Ford) are not included in the sample because their moral needs could not be assessed due to the fact that they did not present an inaugural address. The 35 elected presidents from Washington to Bush (1789-1989) are included in the sample. President Clinton is not included because he was still holding office at the beginning of this investigation.

Historiometric methods

Historiometric methods are used to evaluate the hypothesized relationships among the variables. This methodology involves content analysis and the use of adapted psychological instruments with biographical material, personality profiles, and inaugural addresses. Secondary data are used when available to test the hypothesized relationships among concepts. Questionnaires are developed to measure presidential servant-leadership behaviors, domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, and impact on constituents.

This study constitutes a nomothetic account of presidential needs, beliefs, values, behavioral leadership, and performance that ties historiometry to the use of psychometry to test the hypotheses. As defined by Simonton (1990: 3), "Historiometrics is a scientific discipline in which nomothetic hypotheses about human behavior are tested by applying quantitative analyses to data concerning historical individuals." Therefore, this research is aimed at identifying specific relationships among variables and does not involve idiographic accounts focusing on the intensive examination of each president over time.

Data

In the current research, the measurement of variables involves the transformation of qualitative sources of information into quantitative data. Nominal scales are used to code source material in the case of altruism and responsibility values. Likert-type scales are used to rate presidents on empathy, beliefs, servant-leadership behavior, and social performance.

Data collection involves several control procedures in order to avoid confounding effects due to variables that might be related to servant-leadership behavior, and its

antecedents and/or consequences such as composition of Congress, crises, and time. Time has been related to needs and performance (House et al., 1991). Therefore, the period used to assess presidential performance is restricted to the first term of office. Crises are also related to presidential performance (House et al., 1991). Thus, measures of crises that take into account their respective weight in the course of history are used to provide information on the historical context. Composition of Congress refers to the structure of power of an Administration vis-à-vis the legislative branch. Thus, it might be related to several concepts and create confounding effects.

Data collection procedures are controlled in order to avoid common-method variance. The common-method may be a single questionnaire or document used to derive independent and dependent variables, a single rater or set of raters who assess all variables that need to be scored, or a single context in which all data are generated or coded (House et al., 1991).

Data are derived from several material sources. Scoring procedures are applied by different coders working separately. Presidents are rated using separate instruments measuring independent concepts. Independent groups of raters provide presidential scores on these concepts. Secondary data were produced in different contexts and assessed by different groups of coders or raters working under the supervision of different groups of researchers.

Historical source documents

Biographies

Biographies on American presidents are utilized to identify critical incidents reflecting the servant-leadership concept. A selection of scholarly biographies was made using a three-stage process. In the first step, the most recent fact book that contains dates,

events, policies, and major accomplishments of each president (DeGregorio, 1997) was used to build a comprehensive chronology of events and accomplishments for each president (Simonton, 1990). Second, biographies were surveyed to assess the extent to which their scope is comprehensive by comparing them with their respective chronology. Comprehensiveness of scope was also determined by coverage of multiple events, accomplishments, decisions, and performance outcomes reflecting the servant-leadership concept.

Presidential biographies were used to generate critical incidents based on a priori selected indicators of servant-leadership dimensions. These indicators and critical incidents were synthesized in order to build the American Presidential Management Inventory (APMI). The scope of biographies does not have to be inclusive of all events but, rather, be representative of the universe of potential inferences about the concept under study (Krippendorff, 1980). In other words, construct validity, which refers to the construction of a valid analytical operationalization of the concept of servant-leadership, is of a higher concern here than sampling validity, which refers to the potential number of events or behaviors in the selected biographies. The connection between some significant indicators pertaining to the concept and the data determines the relevance of the biographical material (Andrén, 1981).

Third, authors' perspectives are assessed (e.g., admiring, critical, calculatedly balanced) to determine the extent to which information is presented in terms that reflect biased interpretations rather than objective assessments of historical events (Simonton, 1988). Although historical events can only be recaptured from various subjective sources of information that are bounded by the context in which they have been constructed (Simonton,

1990), it is possible to control for biases by excluding biographies of authors such as executives, spouses, or close relatives that would present potentially idiosyncratic perspectives of presidents. Finally, biographers have to present strong credentials relevant to historical or political scholarship. In total, one or two biographies for each president were used to identify relevant critical incidents relative to the servant-leadership construct.

Personality profiles

Simonton's (1986; 1988) personality profiles are employed to assess presidential political beliefs. These beliefs constitute stable characteristics of the personality of an individual, hence, they can be assessed like other personality factors using the profiles.

Simonton built the profiles by abstracting personality descriptions verbatim from seven biographical reference works (Armbruster, 1982; Bailey, 1980; 1981; Boller, 1981; Current Biography, 1940-1983; Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974; Whitney, 1982). He removed all identifying material and transcribed the raw data on large index cards. The cards were resorted in a random order to further diminish the possibility to identify presidents being rated. His preliminary tests indicated that the raters did not identify which entries belonged to which president. In this research, the same process is used to avoid biased assessments of presidential beliefs.

These profiles have been used to assess various personality factors among presidents such as narcissism, Machiavellianism, neurotism, charisma, and creativity using instruments such as the Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) and the Gough Adjectives Checklist (Deluga, 1997; Simonton, 1986; 1988). Therefore, personality profiles contain enough information on presidential characteristics to rate the above-mentioned beliefs.

Inaugural addresses

Presidents' first-term inaugural addresses are used to score need for altruism and responsibility values, using specific scoring procedures. Inaugural addresses also serve to rate empathy using Likert-type scales. A collection of inaugural addresses of presidents from George Washington 1789 to George Bush 1989, published by the Congress of the United States is used in these analyses.

Inaugural addresses were selected for scoring needs, empathy, and values because of their similarities in form, purpose, and style (Winter, 1992). Empathy is considered an essential but not sufficient condition for altruism (Aronfreed, 1970). It refers to sensitivity to feelings and apprehension of others' conditions expressed by the leader. Because empathy refers to the expression of one's sensitivity, it is measured using verbal expression of leaders' sensitivity to others' feelings and conditions. Inaugural addresses present such expressions and constitute adequate source materials for rating empathy as expressed by American presidents.

There are two important concerns that must be addressed before coding inaugural addresses for motive imagery and values. First, do these speeches reflect valid motive imagery? Second, do they reflect motive imagery or values of presidents or speechwriters?

Presidential inaugural addresses do not contain strictly factual material. They refer to intended or projected actions of the Administration or of other people. They present records of presidential concerns, hopes, fears, and aspirations (Donley & Winter, 1970). The projected actions are embedded in the nation's political culture and are planned to appeal "to popular sentiment and social constraints" (Donley & Winter, 1970: 229). These speeches are

carefully worded to express cultural features of American politics rather than specific factual elements of presidential policy agenda (Ericson, 1997). Furthermore, inaugural addresses are pronounced in similar circumstances and constructed in order to present presidents' general objectives and principles, and express their desire to serve the nation. Indeed, Ericson (1997) identified eleven common recurrent themes in inaugural addresses pertaining to presidential role and status. However, presidents differ in how they express their motives related to their role (Ericson, 1997). Therefore, it is argued in this research that inaugural addresses provide relevant motive imagery.

Content analysis of motive imagery requires that the content of historical materials reflect the personality of the president, rather than the interests of the speechwriter or particular issues of importance at the time. While it can be argued that inaugural addresses are written in part by speechwriters, Winter (1992) specifies that speechwriters are selected for their abilities to express what the leader wants to say, especially in the case of important speeches.

There is evidence that some presidents wrote their speeches (Pringle, 1939; Schlesinger, 1957; Israel, 1965; cited by Donley & Winter, 1970). Furthermore, various preserved drafts of inaugural addresses show numerous corrections in the handwriting of presidents (Spangler & House, 1991). Donley and Winter (1970: 229) specify that presidents exercise control over the content of their speeches, give ideas to speechwriters, "approve or disapprove wording; and (...) add the final touches, phrasing, and imagery".

The procedure used to prepare inaugural addresses involved editing to insure blind coding. Presidents' name were replaced with code numbers; inaugural addresses mixed together randomly; and all identifying information (e.g., dates, specific places and events)

removed from the text before coding in order to avoid potential biased interpretations of content. However, no further editing was done because specific well-known sentences could not be removed from the text without directly affecting the potential number of occurrences of the moral motives and responsibility values.

Measurement and procedures

Need for altruism and protective governance

Need for altruism and protective governance were scored using a manual for identifying the altruistic need, created for the purpose of this dissertation, with presidents' first-term inaugural addresses. Need for altruism was conceptualized based on Batson (1991), Hoffman (1975), Kanungo and Conger (1993), Kanungo and Mendonça (1996), Korsgaard, Meglino and Lester (1997), McClelland (1985), Rockeach (1973), Rushton (1980), and Staub's (1978) theoretical development, and measured using specific detailed procedures, grounded in John W. Atkinson's (1958) methodology, that are described in the manual for coding the altruistic motive presented in Appendix 1.

The manual presents a clear conceptual definition of the need for altruism and clarifies how individuals develop this need and express it in terms of concern for other values. The coding system describes how the conceptual definition of altruism is operationalized in terms that relate to the manifestation of positive concerns for others. Each important aspect of the definition is defined and clarified. The manual also contains a definition of the avoidance need defined in terms of negative concerns for others such as outsiders, enemies, and opponents.

Two operational definitions are presented. Positive concern for others reflects the

altruistic motive. Negative concern for others reflects the avoidance motive. The description of negative imagery is opposed to the description of positive imagery to distinguish between a need to avoid negative stimuli, and protect certain constituents and genuine moral altruism.

The unit of analysis is the sentence, as specified in the manual. Each sentence is assigned a number and serves as a case in the inter-rater reliability assessment.

A cognitive schema was developed to illustrate the procedure described in the manual. This tool helps coders to consistently follow a systematic procedure. Furthermore, definitions of political terminology have been prepared for coders to insure that the same meaning would be given to the words used by presidents. The cognitive schema presents questions that can be answered by yes or no. The first question that is asked is whether the coder can identify a target (explicit or implicit others). The answer must be yes for a motive to be present in the sentence. If there is no target, the sentence is coded as 0, which means that there is no positive or negative concern for others. If there is a target, the action is analyzed in order to determine whether it reflects a positive concern for the target. If the answer is ves, the sentence is coded as +1, which means that there is a positive concern for others within the sentence. If there is no positive concern, the action is analyzed to assess whether there is a negative concern for others in which case the sentence is coded as -1. If there is no negative concern for others, the sentence is coded as 0. The last step of the cognitive schema involved an assessment as to whether positive concerns for others reflect mutuality or genuine moral altruism. That step was not kept in the current analysis because it was aimed at helping coders understand the specificities of each concept.

The glossary presents definitions of specific words, present in many inaugural addresses, which convey a specific meaning that might not be grasped by all coders. Words

defined were: government, populace, popular, union, country, nation, market, public, legislature, and business. A list of words, reflecting either positive or negative concerns, was given to the coders so they could identify actions that should be analyzed in coding motives. A list of words, likely to be linked with a target, was also provided to help coders in determining whether the action is goal directed, as defined in the manual. The manual for coding the altruistic motive, the cognitive schema, and the short glossary are presented in Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

Undergraduate students in commerce and administration, registered in a research methodology course at Concordia University, coded the inaugural addresses as part of a term assignment. Consent forms stating that the data could be used in this research were distributed along with the coding material. A sample standard consent form used in this research is included in Appendix 1. All students signed the consent form. There was no obligation on their part to participate in this research, and they could withdraw from the research at any time. The coding was considered an integral part of the learning experience for the course.

Students were trained in class using the manual for coding the altruistic motive, the cognitive schema, the glossary of political terminology, and excerpts from inaugural addresses. A test was given to verify the extent to which students understood the process. The training material and the test are included in Appendices 4 and 5. Only two students failed the test and were excluded from the research.

Students were given a set of four to six inaugural addresses in a random order and told to work individually in order to provide independent assessments. In total, 22 students coded 117 speeches. There were 35 inaugural addresses. Each inaugural address was coded

by at least three independent coders. Ten inaugural addresses were coded by four coders, and one by five coders. Each coder was responsible for coding all sentences within each inaugural address that was assigned to him or her.

Blind coding was insured in the preparation of the source material. Coders were asked to write the name of the president when they identified him. Three coders identified John F. Kennedy. Furthermore, George H. Bush, Dwight D. Eisenhower, William McKinley, James A. Garfield, and Franklin D. Roosevelt were respectively identified by one coder. Coders who identified presidents mentioned that their knowledge of the presidents' performance did not affect their work because they had to concentrate on each sentence separately and follow a prescribed systematic procedure to assess the motive.

Two reliability coefficients were computed to verify the inter-rater agreement for each inaugural address. Fleiss's (1971) reliability coefficient is a normalized measure of overall agreement among coders that is corrected for the agreement that is expected by chance. It takes into account all possible categories (+1, 0, -1) and all sentences in assessing the agreement among all coders for each inaugural address. It is based on the probability that an object, selected at random and classified into a category by a randomly selected coder, will be classified in the same category by a second randomly selected coder. When obtained agreement equals chance agreement, the coefficient equals zero. The upper limit value is one, indicating perfect agreement. Negative values reflect less than chance agreement.

Cohen's (1960) kappa reliability coefficients were computed for all pairs of coders for each inaugural address. Cohen's kappa coefficients provide information on the most and least reliable pairs of coders. For example, for an inaugural address, if only two coders are in agreement, Cohen's kappa coefficient allows for proper identification of these two coders

who provided reliable data. Cohen's kappa coefficient is used to measure the proportion of agreement after chance agreement is removed from consideration. As for Fleiss's coefficient, Cohen's kappa coefficient must present a positive value that is significant at the .05 level to conclude that there is agreement beyond chance.

Fleiss's reliability coefficients ranged between .14 (p< .05) and .73 (p< .05) for 27 inaugural addresses. The average of all coefficients was .31. Only eight inaugural addresses did not present significant Fleiss's coefficients. Table 1 presents Fleiss's reliability coefficients for each inaugural address.

Table 2 presents Cohen's kappa coefficients for all pairs of coders for each inaugural address. Results indicate that there is at least one reliable pair of coders for each inaugural address. For the eight inaugural addresses that did not present significant Fleiss's coefficients, the most reliable pair of coders was identified. Cohen's kappa coefficients ranged from .22 (p<.05) to 1.00 (p<.05) for all best pairs of reliable coders for these eight speeches.

Total scores for each concept were derived from all coders when Fleiss's coefficients were significant, and from the best pair of coders for the eight inaugural addresses that did not have significant Fleiss's coefficients. Scores were computed after the reliability estimates because total raw scores are based on the nominal scales, which refer to the occurrences of the motives in each sentence. Thus, it is essential to know if there is enough agreement among coders on the occurrences of motives before adding these occurrences.

Scores were computed by adding all positive occurrences on one hand, and all negative occurrences on the other hand, for each discourse that was coded. For example, when there were three coders for an inaugural address, total scores were computed for each

of them. Then, these total scores were averaged to provide the total raw score for the inaugural address. To compare inaugural addresses, it was necessary to calculate a ratio score based on 1000 words. Therefore, each total raw score was converted to its equivalent score for 1000 words. The same procedure was followed for both positive and negative occurrences. Table 3 presents the scores for need for altruism and protective governance for each president.

Occurrences of motives in inaugural addresses are not very high. The occurrences of negative concerns for others were particularly low compared to other motives. It raises a concern with respect to the assessment pertaining to presidential expression of motives. How many occurrences are necessary to conclude that there has been a valid assessment? This is a difficult question to answer. However, the content of sentences scored can be analyzed to verify the extent to which they reflect the concept. This task was undertaken with sentences scored for negative concerns for others because of the lower occurrences.

In order to verify if sentences scored for negative concerns for others reflect the essence of the concept of protective governance, content analysis of sentences that were scored for negative concerns for others was done. It was found that negative concerns for others were associated with correcting a "target" (entity) that is wrong for protecting weak people or the nation against dangers or threats, and making justice. A sample sentence is "Before this generation of Americans is finished, this enemy will not only retreat-it will be conquered" (Lyndon B. Johnson, Inaugural address, January 20, 1965). In this sentence, an action is oriented toward a target (the enemy) in order to rectify a wrong (implicit meaning). Another example of sentences is: "So let us reject any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and to rekindle old hatreds" (Lyndon B. Johnson). The action is aimed at rejecting

others (negative concern oriented toward a target) in order to avoid troubles (avoidance motive). It was concluded that sentences that were scored for negative concern for others reflected the avoidance motive that was described previously. Furthermore, actions seemed to be associated with a need to protect some constituents or the nation as in the following example: "They wasted no portion of their energies, ...but with a firm and fearless step advanced beyond the governmental landmarks...and planted their standard, where it has stood against dangers which have threatened from abroad, and internal agitation, which has at times fearfully menaced at home" (Franklin Pierce, Inaugural address, March 4, 1853). The action is aimed at protecting people against threats (implicit targets). In conclusion, even if the occurrences of negative concerns for others were low, sentences that were scored reflect protective governance, as defined in the conceptual development.

Empathy

Inaugural addresses are used to rate presidential empathy with a scale ranging from 1 (extremely atypical) to 7 (extremely typical). Empathy is defined as sensitivity to feelings, and apprehension of another's condition and state of mind, without practically experiencing that person's feelings (Aronfreed, 1970; Davis, 1980; Hogan, 1969; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974). Items measuring empathy have been generated and adapted from Davis's (1980) interpersonal reactivity index; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp's (1984) F scale; and Hogan's (1969) empathy scale. The questionnaire for measuring empathy is comprised of nine items. A sample item is "This leader is devoting himself to others." The questionnaire is presented in Appendix 6.

For each president, one to four raters assessed presidential empathy. Two groups of

undergraduate students, registered in a research methodology course at Concordia University, rated empathy. In total, 114 speeches were rated by 66 students. The rating process was performed in class as an exercise that counted for 5% of the final grade. Students were told that the goal of the exercise was to validate a new measure of empathy, and that the data would be used in this dissertation and subsequent publications. Because some of these students also coded need for altruism and protective governance, they received speeches that they did not previously code to avoid common-method variance.

A factor analysis yielded only one factor explaining 64,8% of the variance, which confirms that the scale for measuring empathy reflects only one concept.

Internal consistency of the scale is high with an alpha coefficient of .93. Inter-rater reliability among raters was measured with eta coefficient, which is a measure of the extent to which variance among presidents exceeds variance within groups of raters for each president (Bass, Avolio, and Goodheim, 1987; Deluga, 1997). Eta coefficient was .68, and the ANOVA test was significant at the .01 level. There is enough agreement within groups and enough variance among groups. Therefore, scores for each president were calculated by taking the average of the scales for each group.

Responsibility values

Winter's (1992) scoring system for responsibility is used for coding inaugural addresses. Winter (1992: 500) does not present one specific definition of responsibility but, rather, specifies the different meanings that can be attributed to this word. The first definition refers to the ethical aspect of one's behavior: "Responsible people feel an inner obligation to do what is right. They are dependable and can be counted upon." Furthermore, responsibility

is associated with self-control and awareness of the consequences of one's actions. Winter mentions that responsibility is also seen in pro-social behavior, which involves "taking the responsibility of others" (p.500). It can be observed that the definitions of responsibility imply a cognitive aspect in the sense that there is a rational component involved in evaluating one's actions and determining one's obligations. Responsibility is measured in terms of its rational cognitive component.

Winter's scoring system for responsibility is adapted for the current research. Three responsibility values (moral-legal standard, obligation, and self-judgment) are coded using a scoring sheet. The coding unit is the sentence, which is assigned a number that is used in calculating inter-rater reliability coefficients.

Coders had to identify each sentence by a number on the scoring sheet, and indicate for each of them the occurrence of each responsibility value using +1 if it was present and 0 if not. A sample sheet that was completed by a coder is presented in Appendix 7.

Two groups of undergraduate students, registered in courses in organizational behavior and research methodology at Concordia University, were asked to participate in this research, and code the construct of responsibility as part of a term assignment. In total, 58 students coded 99 speeches. Three inaugural addresses were scored by four coders, 23 of them were scored by three coders, and nine of them by two coders. Two students did not want to participate in the research and were removed from the study. Furthermore, four students did not understand the assignment and failed to complete it properly. Therefore, they were removed from the study as well. Finally, one student selected another assignment due to a language barrier. Some students understood the purpose of the exercise but had difficulties grasping the full meaning of the concepts and sentences. Most students in the

organizational behavior course were from China or Europe. Care was taken to identify these students and assess the extent to which their scores should be kept in the study. For that reason, I decided to use Cohen's kappa coefficients to identify the best pairs of coders for each inaugural address.

The computation was done for both moral-legal standard and obligation. Cohen's kappa coefficients for the best pairs of coders ranged from .11 (p< .10) to 1.00 (p< .05) for 31 inaugural addresses for moral-legal standard. The average is .37. For obligation, Cohen's kappa coefficients ranged from .15 (p< .05) to 1.00 (p<.05) with an average of .52 for all best pairs of coders for 29 inaugural addresses. Although some of these coefficients might appear low, it should be noted that a difference of one or two occurrences might bring down the value of a coefficient by .20. Given that these concepts refer to low base occurrences, small differences in scoring might yield large differences in Cohen's kappa coefficients.

Self-judgment did not present any occurrence in many addresses and was eliminated from the study due to a lack of variance among presidents. This might be due to the fact that the nature and substance of inaugural addresses are not conducive to the expression of self-judgment, which would make presidents look weak and/or uncertain.

Scores were computed by taking the average of the best pair of coders for each inaugural address. In order to compare among speeches, all scores were converted to ratio scores using 1000 words.

Political beliefs

Presidential political beliefs were measured with a questionnaire, presented in Appendix 8, which contains 18 items that I generated for the purpose of the current research.

The questionnaire focuses on five sets of political beliefs: (1) belief concerning presidential role in the world, (2) belief concerning security and peace, (3) belief concerning presidential service to others, (4) belief in others' intentions and behaviors, and (5) belief in ideology versus self-interest.

Belief concerning presidential role in the world is measured with six items (items 1, 8, 10, 14, 16, and 18). A sample item is: "This president has a constructive image of the world". Belief concerning security and peace is measured with five items (items 2, 4, 6, 11, and 12). A sample item is: "This president is looking for war" (reverse scored). Belief concerning presidential service to others is measured with 3 items (items 5, 9, and 15). A sample item is: "This president believes that he must serve constituents". Belief concerning others' intentions and behaviors is measured with 2 items (items 3 and 7). A sample item is: "This president tends to attribute hostility to others' behavior or intention" (reverse scored). Finally, belief in ideology versus self-interest is measured with 2 items (items 13 and 17). A sample item is: "This president emphasizes self-interest" (reverse scored).

A 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (extremely typical) to 7 (extremely atypical), with 4 (neither typical nor atypical), is used to rate each item. A low score on the scale indicates that the belief is typical of a president's personality. An undergraduate student in research methodology at Concordia University and I rated each item using Simonton's presidential personality profiles. Examples of presidential personality profiles are presented in Appendix 9.

I compared my ratings with the student's ratings. We investigated our disagreements and found that most of them were due to halo effect, which is defined in terms of personality characteristics that are associated with one specific aspect of the personality of a president.

The personality profiles provide adverbial descriptions of presidents who might foster rating biases. We evaluated each profile together to control for this bias. We decided that there was disagreement when our ratings were on opposite ends of the scales. Each disagreement was solved prior to the computation of average scores and analyses of psychometric properties.

Principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation yielded a 4-factor solution that explained 78% of the variance. Factor 1, belief in peace, was composed of items 4, 6, and 11. Factor 2, idealism versus self-interest, was composed of items 13, 15, and 17. Factor 3, belief in service, was composed of items 1, 5, and 9. Finally, factor 4, belief in others' intention or behavior, pacifism, was composed of items 3 and 7. Belief concerning presidential role in the world did not constitute an independent factor. This might be due to the fact that the variance of the items composing this belief was low.

Reliability coefficients were computed for each factor scale. Alpha coefficients were .83, .80, and .76 for belief in peace, idealism, and pacifism, respectively. Alpha coefficient for belief in service was .72. However, when item 1 was removed from the scale, alpha coefficient increased to .89. Therefore, only two items were kept to construct the scale for belief in service.

Servant-leadership

The definitions of servant-leadership dimensions and components were used to develop a list of indicators for the purpose of identifying critical incidents that reflect the concept of servant-leadership in biographies of American presidents. Table 4 presents the indicators of the dimensions and components of servant-leadership.

The process of identifying critical incidents involved two steps. First, factual

observations of leaders' actions were identified in biographies. Categories of factual observations include, but are not limited to, actions pertaining to policies, laws, amendments to the constitution, and decisions. Second, these factual observations were matched with listed indicators to derive critical incidents reflecting the concept of servant-leadership. This means that once the content of a factual observation had been related to at least one indicator, incidents pertaining to that indicator were listed.

It should be specified here that this method is not equivalent to Flanagan's (1954) critical incident methodology in that the effectiveness of the behavior is not taken into consideration. Flanagan's method is aimed at identifying behaviors that are associated with high levels of performance. In the identification of critical incidents pertaining to the servant-leadership concept, effectiveness is not assessed. The goal is to develop items that illustrate the concept. The effectiveness of presidents is assessed separately using independent measures of performance.

Critical incidents were listed until the point of saturation was reached, meaning that at least three incidents were of a similar nature. Then, categories of incidents were created using induction. Categories include principle-guided action, empowerment, virtues, constituents, human rights, conflicts, minorities, identity, constitutional values, secrecy, vision inclusiveness, and exclusiveness. Incidents were grouped under these categories. However, many incidents pertained to more than one category. Furthermore, some incidents that pertained to the same category reflected very different managerial responsibilities of presidents. Therefore, incidents were analyzed to classify them into managerial categories that reflect various responsibilities of presidents. Eight managerial categories were derived as follows: (1) selection of Cabinet members and making appointments, (2) managing

subordinates, (3) decision-making process, (4) dealing with cultural entities and diversity, (5) relations with Congress, (6) foreign policy and international relations, (7) domestic policy and issues, and (8) conflict and crisis management. Some managerial categories were entirely based on the analysis of the incidents. However, relations with Congress, and conflict and crisis management were developed using the literature in political science as well (e.g., Allison, 1969).

Generic questionnaire items were developed based on the incidents for each managerial category. The American Presidential Management Inventory (APMI) was developed based on incidents that had significant frequencies of occurrence. For example, if an incident was unique, it was removed from the analysis because it would not yield variance among presidents.

Each managerial category contains critical incidents that pertain to at least two categories of servant-leadership behaviors. For example, principle-guided action is found in some incidents under each managerial category. Table 5 presents a list of critical incidents that pertain to each managerial category, and provides indicators of servant-leadership that match the incidents. Appendix 10 presents the list of biographies used to identify critical incidents.

Generic items were developed in order to use criteria that allow for comparison among presidents. The number of items for each managerial category depended on the number of critical incidents grouped under each category. Furthermore, some incidents could be translated into reverse scored items that were also included to verify the consistency in respondents' ratings. The APMI is presented in Appendix 11.

A total of 261 experts in the field of history and political science were contacted to

participate in this research. In total, 90 scholars volunteered to complete the survey, which yielded a response rate of 34,5%. Two scholars evaluated four presidents (Dr. Crowther and Dr. Smith). In all, 102 questionnaires were received, and 100 of them were completed and usable. Some of the scholars who participated in this survey are important authors in the field of history and American presidency (e.g., Robert H. Ferrell). They all have expertise in the field of American history and/or political science, and possess extensive knowledge on one or more presidents. A list of all expert participants who agreed to be listed is presented in Appendix 12.

The sample of scholars is composed mostly of men. Only three women participated in this research. In total, 28 scholars were 65 years old or older. There were only two scholars under 34 years old. Other scholars were between 35 and 64 years old. Four participants did not provide demographic information. Among scholars who completed the information, 50 had already participated in previous polls. When asked to indicate their country of birth, only four scholars indicated a country other than the United States: Netherlands, Germany, Canada, and Great Britain. Three respondents respectively speak Dutch, German and French as their first language.

Each participant received a questionnaire, and a list of elected presidents who had a mandate of more than a year. They were asked to select a president and rate him on each item, according to their expertise and knowledge, using a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (certainly) with 3 (neither likely nor unlikely) as the midpoint. Experts had to determine the extent to which the president they selected could be expected to behave as described in each item. They were also asked to indicate if they volunteered to rate more than one president. Even if the questionnaire was lengthy, some respondents were very pleased to

complete it, and rated up to four presidents.

In order to assess whether the dimensions and components of the concept of servant-leadership could be seen in each managerial category, a principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation was done for each section of the APMI. In total, eight factor analyses were conducted to identify the number of emerging factors that could be found in each managerial category. Items that did not present loadings of .40 and over on at least one factor, or loaded equally on two factors were eliminated. Factor analyses were re-conducted to get solutions that yielded clear factor structures. Tables 6 to 13 present the factor structure for each section of the APMI.

Factor analysis of section 1, selection of Cabinet members and making appointments, yielded a structure that is composed of the following three factors: objective selection, impartial selection, and constituent balance. These factors explained 38,8%, 11,2%, and 10,3% of the variance respectively.

Factor analysis of section 2, managing subordinates, yielded a structure that is composed of the following three factors: empowerment, control, and deceptive style, explaining 33,1%, 20,7%, and 14,9% of the variance respectively.

Factor structure of section 3, decision-making process, is composed of the following factors: consultative and participative style, constituent inclusiveness, directive style, and laissez-faire, explaining 42,3%, 14,2%, 9,3%, and 6,7% of the variance respectively.

Two factors were obtained for section 4, dealing with cultural entities and diversity, which is composed of minority inclusiveness and civil rights, explaining 59,7% and 8,1% of the variance respectively.

Factor analysis of section 5, relations with Congress, yielded a factor structure that is

composed of the following factors: Congress (presidential principle-guided action in relation with Congress), individualized consideration, moving Congress forward, vision consistency, and fostering teamwork. Each factor explained 36,2%, 11,4%, 7,6%, 6,5%, and 5,2 % of the variance respectively.

Three factors were obtained for section 6, foreign policy and international relations, which is composed of: foreign policy assessment, ethical actions with other nations, and openness to foreign ideologies explaining 47,2%, 13,4%, and 7,2% of the variance respectively.

Factor analysis of section 7, domestic policy and issues, yielded a structure that is composed of the following four factors: constituent responsiveness, domestic policy vision, domestic policy values, and constituent protection. Each factor explains 43,5%, 9,9%, 6,6%, and 5,5% of the variance respectively. It should be noted that because some raters did not attempt to provide ratings for this section, a listwise deletion was used to account for missing values in conducting the factor analysis. For all other analyses, missing values were replaced by the mean.

Finally, factor analysis of section 8, conflict and crisis management, yielded a structure of four factors: wisdom, judgment, tactical, and cooperative style. Each factor explained 45,6%, 12,6%, 7,3%, and 6,2% of the variance.

In total, 28 scales compose the APMI. Items pertaining to each scale and descriptive statistics are presented in tables 14 to 41. Scales labels were based on the items that loaded under each factor, and were kept in the scale after computation of the reliability coefficients.

Internal consistency of each factor scale was assessed using the Cronbach alpha coefficient. If an item could be deleted to increase the reliability of a factor scale, it was

eliminated from the computation of the average for the scale. The laissez-faire factor scale had no reliability and was excluded from the analysis. Inter-rater agreement for each factor scale was computed with the eta coefficient. Table 42 presents the inter-rater reliability, internal consistency, and descriptive statistics for each of the 27 scales of the APMI. As can be observed in the above-mentioned tables, scales reflect some indicators of servant-leadership and managerial responsibilities.

A higher-order factor analysis was conducted with all scales of the APMI that were composed of more than three items and had both internal consistency and eta coefficients of .70 and over. Scales of two or three items are not essential to understand the concept of servant-leadership. Therefore, scales that allow for useful interpretations were kept in the analysis. In total, 18 scales were entered in a principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation, which yielded a structure of three factors. Table 43 presents the higher-order factor structure for the APMI.

The first factor explaining 54,3% of the variance corresponds to principle-guided action. It is composed of nine scales: presidential relations with Congress, empowerment, ethical actions with other nations, wisdom in conflict and crisis management, consultative and participative style in decision-making, judgment in conflict and crisis management, impartial selection of Cabinet members, objective selection of Cabinet members, and cooperative style in solving conflicts and crises. Factor loadings ranged from .56 to .82. Principle-guided action refers to presidential ethical actions, respect of principles of selection and empowerment, cooperation with others in periods of crisis, practice of virtues, and respect of checks and balances in including constituents in the decision-making process. The internal consistency of this higher-order factor scale is .93.

The second factor, explaining 10% of the variance, is labeled constituent responsiveness. It is composed of the five following scales: constituent inclusiveness, constituent responsiveness, individualized consideration, constituent balance, and civil rights. Factor loadings ranged from .56 to .84. Constituent responsiveness refers to presidential consideration and respect of various constituents' needs, interests, and rights. The internal consistency of this higher-order factor scale is .85.

The third factor, explaining 5,9% of the variance, is vision inclusiveness, which is composed of four scales: openness to different ideologies, minority inclusiveness, foreign policy assessment, and domestic policy vision. Factor loadings ranged from .57 to .88. The visionary process involves clear environmental assessment and the articulation of a vision that is inclusive of minorities and takes into account different ideologies. The internal consistency of this higher-order factor scale is .76.

Principle-guided action and vision inclusiveness were conceived as dimensions of the concept of servant-leadership. The factor structure obtained in the higher-order factor analysis confirms these dimensions, and reveals that an additional dimension, constituent responsiveness, should be included in the servant-leadership concept. Results suggest that vision inclusiveness and constituent responsiveness are two different dimensions of the construct of servant-leadership. Scores for each higher-order factor scores were computed for each president by taking the average of ratings.

In brief, 18 factor scales were derived from the eight factor analyses, and entered in a higher-order factor analysis that yielded three higher-order factor scales. All first-order and second-order factor scales are used to perform statistical tests that are reported in the results section.

The APMI also contains a section on presidential domestic and foreign policy effectiveness. Experts were asked to rate the president on each item using a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (not effective) to 4 (extremely effective). This measure of presidential policy effectiveness is taken within the context of servant-leadership, and should differ from other measures of presidential effectiveness that might reflect a generalized social construction of presidential image (e.g., Murray & Blessing, 1983). It is aimed at providing an indicator of the extent to which experts establish a connection between servant-leadership behavior and policy effectiveness. However, as specified earlier, common-method variance might be present in this measure because respondents evaluate the effectiveness along with servant-leadership behavior. The purpose is to compare these measures of policy effectiveness that reflect servant-leadership with other measures of performance to assess their convergent validity.

Items that measure domestic and foreign policy effectiveness were also entered in a principal component factor analysis with oblimin rotation which converged in four iterations. Oblimin rotation was preferred to varimax because there is a positive correlation between domestic and foreign policy effectiveness as measured with Neal's scores. It can be argued that foreign policy is instrumental to domestic policy, which suggests a relationship between these two measures. Factor analysis yielded a 2-factor solution: domestic policy effectiveness and foreign policy effectiveness. Domestic policy effectiveness is composed of four items pertaining to domestic issues, economy and effectiveness of presidential policy. Factor loadings ranged from .76 to.96. Internal consistency of the scale is high with Cronbach alpha of .91. Foreign policy is composed of two items pertaining to foreign policy issues and effectiveness. Factor loadings are .95 and .97. Cronbach alpha coefficient is .93.

Inter-rater reliability was high with eta coefficients of .81 (F=3.89, p<.01) and .75 (F=3.89, p<.01) for domestic and foreign policy effectiveness. Factor scales were computed by taking the average of all ratings for each president.

The convergent validity of these two measures was assessed by comparing them with measures of foreign and domestic policies provided in Neal's survey (1995). Neal's survey has been published in the Chicago Sun-Times Poll (McCoy, 1996). Neal asked a group of historians and political scientists to rate all of the presidents (except Clinton, Harrison, and Garfield) using five criteria: political leadership, foreign policies, domestic policies, character, and impact on history. Participants had to use a five-point scale to assess the extent to which presidents were good on each of these criteria. McCoy (1996) presents the scores obtained by Neal in his survey, and classified presidents on the basis of their respective total score from best to worst. The domestic policies and foreign policies scores were correlated with the scores obtained in this research. It was found that domestic policy effectiveness had a correlation of .68 (p< .01) with Neal's measures of domestic policies, which demonstrate that there is convergent validity. Foreign policy effectiveness presented a significant correlation with Neal's measure of foreign policies .46 (p< .01), which also indicates that there is convergent validity.

Domestic policy effectiveness had a correlation of .70 with Murray and Blessing's measure of greatness. However, foreign policy effectiveness did not have a significant correlation with presidential greatness. Therefore, when foreign policy effectiveness is measured within the context of servant-leadership, it is not related to the socially constructed image of greatness of a president. It can be concluded that domestic policy effectiveness might influence the attributions of greatness, but that foreign policy will not contribute to it.

This means that the extent to which presidents are effective in providing benefits to foreign countries might not influence the socially constructed image that is shared by the American historians. In this section, it has been demonstrated that domestic and foreign policy effectiveness have convergent validity with Neal's measures of domestic and foreign policies.

I will now turn to other measures of performance and address their respective strengths and limitations. In order to evaluate many aspects of presidential performance, several measures will be used. Measures of presidential effectiveness pertaining to domestic social issues, economic performance, international relations and social performance in dealing with both domestic and foreign issues will be used to assess presidential performance.

Social performance

There is a dearth of indicators of social performance. The indicators provided by the Bureau of the Census pertain to the state level of analysis, and are aimed at providing means of comparisons among countries. These indicators reflect state variables, rather than the performance of presidential administration. It is not adequate to use a state variable to assess the performance of an administration for several reasons. First, the indicators provided are not directly linked to the performance of each administration. Second, the variables do not have the same meaning over time because changes occur in the economy and social life. Third, they have not been measured for each year since the beginning of the constitution. Thus, they do not allow for comparisons among administrations. Fourth, there is no clear distinction between economic, socioeconomic, and social indicators. As Ward (1980: 27-28)

puts it:

"There is no such precise or clearly defined identities with additive properties linking various socioeconomic components of development. For this reason, socioeconomic indicators have been collected somewhat randomly in the past, their selection often being based more on their easy availability rather than because of the existence of a well-formulated and defined relationship".

Therefore, the selection of indicators has not been based on a theoretical model. This lack of grounded composite measures of social performance has hindered the development of relevant social policies (Ward, 1980). Furthermore, it has restricted researchers in the selection of criteria in modeling presidential performance.

Researchers (e.g., Maranell, 1970; Murray & Blessing, 1983) avoided these measurement problems by creating subjective measures aimed at rating presidential performance. These subjective measures reflect American historians' attributions of presidential greatness based on their perception, which is biased by several factors. Indeed, Murray and Blessing (1983) discovered that historians who responded to their survey revealed differences in their attributions based on gender, age, regions of birth, and Ph.D.-granting institutions. The specialty (e.g., constitutional, diplomatic, cultural and social, immigration, women's history) did not seem to affect the attributions.

Female historians are generally harsher in their assessment of presidential performance than are male historians. However, female historians provide higher ratings for Jimmy Carter, Lyndon B. Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, and John F. Kennedy than male historians. When historians are older, they tend to be more lenient in assessing presidential performance. There are significant differences in ratings by historians from the South, Midwest, and West. This means that the ratings of presidents are directly affected by the

perception of the respondents. In spite of these differences, there is consensus among surveys on presidential rankings (e.g., Maranell, 1970; Murray & Blessing, 1983). This might suggest that presidential greatness refers to a social construction of presidential image which is based on general attributions that are conveyed in the literature.

The validity of presidential rankings and ratings is open to question. First, researchers asked all historians participating in their research to rate or rank all presidents. However, it might be possible that some of them did not possess expertise on all presidents. It is also possible that some historians confuse a president's merit in office with his overall historical greatness or lack thereof (McCoy, 1996).

Validity might also be threatened by attributional shortcomings of political consequences of presidential actions. Historians, who are assessing presidential greatness, might focus too much on presidents' qualities or dispositions, and too little on situational features (Kinder & Fiske, 1986; after Jones & Nisbett, 1971). As Kinder and Fiske (1986: 197) put it:

"Instead of interpreting the activities of the Watergate underlings as due at least in part to monstrous social pressure (external cause), ... most of us gravitate naturally to explanations that stress ambition, weakness, obsequiousness, or other dispositional failings (internal cause)".

This bias toward actor-based attributions might help us to reconcile contradictory results on Richard Nixon's ranking and rating positions in Neal's survey. Neal's participants ranked Nixon among the nine worst presidents. However, they rated him very high on foreign policies, giving him the rank seven from best to worst. When looking at the ratings on foreign policies, Nixon comes right after Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, George Washington, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. This calls

one's attention to the fact that measures of performance should assess specific domains of activities in order to control for potential biases. Finally, validity might be affected by the fact that a president's "ranking may ... be skewed by the length of time he served in office as possibly in the cases of the longest serving president, Franklin Roosevelt, and short-termers Gerald Ford and Zachary Taylor" (McCoy, 1996: 282).

An additional problem concerns the dimensions used to rate presidential greatness: prestige, strength, active-passive, idealism-practicality, flexibility-inflexibility, and accomplishments. Although these dimensions constitute indicators of greatness, they are not linked to specific areas of presidential activities. Therefore, presidential greatness represents a general assessment of presidential personality and accomplishments. This creates an additional difficulty because some dimensions of greatness overlap with measures of charismatic leadership and personality factors (e.g., flexibility, strength). This overlap might explain in part the correlations among these variables. Finally, these indicators might be subject to halo effects due to salient characteristics or events such as popularity and assassination attempts.

Despite the limitations discussed above, presidential greatness is a good indicator of presidential impact on history. It is an indicator of presidential accomplishments. Therefore, it is used as an indicator of performance in the current research. However, the limitations of this measure are taken into consideration in the interpretation of the results.

A survey on presidential greatness has been conducted by Maranell (1970). In total, 571 historians of the United States rated presidents on the following dimensions: general prestige, strength of action, presidential activeness, and accomplishments of the administration. Winter constructed a measure of perceived performance based on these four

scales that he labeled "consensus of greatness". He then calculated a measure of performance based on decisions having historical impact on the country and the world. This measure was derived from Morris's (1967) compilation of such decisions. Winter labeled this measure "great decisions cited".

A second set of data on presidential greatness was published by Murray and Blessing (1983) and consisted of subjective assessments of presidential greatness. In total, 846 Ph.D.-holding American historians rated the presidents on a five-item scale that ranged from great to failure. Mean greatness scores are used in this research.

House et al. (1991) created objective measures of presidential performance using secondary sources of information in order to rely on measures of performance that provide more specific assessments based on coding rather than rating. House et al. (1991) created three measures of performance that make reference to different spheres of activities: international relations, domestic and international economy, and domestic social issues. Within each sphere, seven types of activities were assessed: military action, peace initiatives, other negotiations, appointments, legislation, mass appeals, and other actions. Each action was defined twice in terms of an action being taken or refused. Finally, each action was assessed as being successful or unsuccessful. In total, there were 84 options to be coded: three spheres X seven types of activities X two options X two possible outcomes. Seven coders were randomly assigned to score each option using biographies provided in Colliers Encyclopedia (1983) and Encyclopedia Britannica (1985). For each president, there were four different assessments provided by two independent coders using two different sources of data. Total scores have been calculated for each type of performance by subtracting unsuccessful performance scores from successful performance scores. A total of four scores

(two coders and two sources) are presented for each sphere of activities for all presidents from Washington to Reagan.

Scores for the three spheres of activities are used in this research. House et al. (1991) did not present the components of the difference scores, and did not analyze how unsuccessful and successful performance relates to leadership style. However, the internal consistency reliability of the four measures for each sphere varied between .75 and .82. Given the strong psychometric properties and objectivity of these measures, they will be used in assessing presidential performance.

House et al. (1991) did not conceive conceptual links among the indicators used to measure presidential performance in each of these areas. Instead, they used types of activities illustrating actions performed by presidents. There is a need for the development of a measure that gauges presidential impact on constituents, based on indicators that pertain to presidential performance outcomes for others.

In the current research, social performance is defined as the social well-being of all constituents, that is, categories or groups of individuals concerned with the Administration of a president. These include all American citizens, residents, and foreign countries that have a stake in American policies.

I developed the American Presidential Performance Effectiveness (APPE), which is a questionnaire composed of eight items that are aimed at assessing presidential social performance outcomes for constituents. Four items measure the extent to which presidents give benefits to others: "providing benefits to various constituents," "providing benefits to foreign countries," "providing long-term benefits to the nation," and "bringing positive consequences for minorities and/or various cultural communities." Two items pertain to the

effectiveness of presidents in meeting the needs of constituents: "meeting high-priority collective needs", and "finding solutions to top-priority problems". Finally, two items measure the extent to which presidents achieve satisfactory solutions in meeting constituents' needs: "achieving equity in the distribution of collective goods", and "achieving satisfactory solutions to global problems that respect opponents and non-followers". The APPE is presented in Appendix 13. Sample letters sent to participants are presented in Appendix 14.

These measures of performance should reflect servant-leadership social performance outcomes. It is expected that they should present strong relationships with presidential servant-leadership behavior as measured by the factor scales.

Experts in history and political science, who participated in the first survey, were contacted to provide ratings on as many presidents as they could, on the eight specific items provided above. In total, 48 experts responded to this questionnaire, and provided 666 completed ratings on presidents. Each president was rated by a minimum of 12 experts. Experts were asked to rate presidents on each item using a scale that ranges from 0 (not effective) to 4 (extremely effective).

Principal component factor analysis was conducted with all items. Only one factor explaining 67,7% of the variance was obtained, indicating that all measures constitute indicators of the same concept. The reliability of the factor scale is high with Cronbach alpha coefficient of .93.

Inter-rater agreement was high with an eta coefficient of .77 (F=28.56, p<.01). The variance within each group of raters who evaluated a president, was smaller than the variance between groups of raters, which means that there is enough agreement among raters and

variance among presidents.

Secondary measures of presidential performance

Two additional secondary measures of presidential performance are used in this dissertation. Winter (1987) provided measures of war entry and war avoidance that were published in House et al. (1991). War entry was defined in terms of the list developed by Richardson (1960). War is associated only with interstate war. Because not every crisis necessarily results in war (e.g., the Cuban Missile Crisis), Small (1980) listed 19 crises that did not result in war even though they could have potentially escalated into war. Winter labeled these crises "war avoidance".

Secondary data

Need for power, achievement and affiliation

Secondary measures of presidential affiliation, power, and achievement motives were taken from Winter (1987). Winter derived these measures for 34 presidents from Washington to Reagan using content analyses of presidents' first-term inaugural addresses. Presidential inaugural addresses were scored by two trained and reliable coders. They discussed and resolved any disagreements that occurred in coding the inaugural addresses. Although this method has the advantage of providing a single score for each sentence, it does not provide independent assessments that could highlight differences in meaningful attributions. These differences should be controlled by statistical procedures to increase the objectivity of the process. However, given the extensive training received by coders, scores should reflect presidential differences in the expression of motives.

Winter used copies of inaugural addresses from a single-volume compilation that had

identical format. He replaced each president's name with a code number, and mixed the speeches together randomly before coding.

These measures have strong predictive validity. Winter and Stewart (1977) reported correlations between motive scores in the range of .60 to .80 with variables such as cabinet-member turnover, presidential assassination attempts, scandals in presidential administrations, arms limitation agreements, war entry, and type of individuals selected for cabinet membership. Therefore, it has been demonstrated that these concepts are useful in predicting presidential behavior and performance.

Personality traits

Simonton (1986) used the presidents' personality profiles to measure their personality attributes. The Gough ACL, consisting of 300 descriptions, was applied to the presidential personality profiles. Two groups of judges rated the presidents, using two different approaches. In the first group, three research assistants performed the judgmental task simply indicating whether each description was present or absent in the personality profile. Four other research assistants used a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (definitely not applicable) to 7 (definitely applicable) with 4 (not distinctive on this trait) to rate the 300 descriptions. Furthermore, Simonton performed the ratings using both approaches separately. Thus, in total, there were nine ACL ratings, four discrete and five continuous completed by eight raters, seven of whom did not know the identity of the president being rated.

Simonton verified the strength of the correlation between his ratings and his assistants' ratings for both discrete and continuous responses. If Pearson product-moment correlation between the two was less than .31 (p<.05), the adjective was omitted from further consideration. Of the 300 adjectives, 110 could be used in his research. The final step was

aimed at deriving the scores. The average of the five continuous ratings was regressed against the sum of the four discrete ratings. The predicted continuous rating was then averaged with the composite of continuous ratings to yield a single overall score for each president.

Simonton performed a factor analysis with the 110 personality attributes. He obtained 14 factors in the following order: moderation, friendliness, intellectual brilliance, Machiavellianism, poise and polish (indicator of impression management), achievement drive, forcefulness, wit, physical attractiveness, pettiness, tidiness, conservatism, inflexibility, and pacifism. Measures of Machiavellianism and impression management are used in this dissertation.

Simonton (1988) assessed presidential leadership style using 82 items of the Gough ACL. Seven undergraduate students in psychology read the personality profiles and independently rated each president on the 82 items using a scale ranging from 1 (extremely atypical) to 7 (extremely typical) where 4 marked the mid-point (neither typical nor atypical). Simonton retained 49 items. He computed alpha coefficients for each factor. These coefficients were greater than or equal to .60. Principal-component factor analysis yielded five factors: interpersonal, charismatic, deliberative, creative, and neurotic. Only items presenting loadings of .30 and over were kept to derive the factor scores. The factor scores for charisma are used in this dissertation.

Narcissism

Deluga (1997) assessed presidential narcissism using Simonton's personality profiles and the personality section of DeGregorio's (1991) presidential reference work. All identifying information was removed from the profiles. The average length of each profile

was approximately 600 words.

The 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin & Terry, 1988) was used to evaluate presidential narcissism. The instrument assessed seven components of narcissism: authority, exhibitionism, superiority, entitlement, exploitativeness, self-sufficiency, and vanity.

For each NPI item, three raters had to select one of two alternatives assessed as more closely applied to the profile of a president. Deluga followed the procedure that is recommended by Raskin and Terry (1988) to derive the scores for each component. Scores were calculated by matching the rater's choice with the NPI scoring template. Each match was scored one point, with the sum of the matches yielding an overall NPI score. Higher scores indicated stronger narcissism. Each president's overall narcissism score was determined by averaging the composite assessments from the three raters. Inter-rater agreement was high, with an eta coefficient of .80. Undergraduate students in behavioral sciences rated the presidents. They were unaware that the profiles described American presidents. In total, 117 raters rated 39 presidents. Composite average scores for 34 presidents from Washington to Reagan are used in this dissertation.

Situational constraints

It is important to control for potentially confounding effects. Without control variables, the relationship between two variables might appear stronger than it really is because another variable might explain part of the variance of one of the two variables. In some cases, control variables might be related to the independent and the dependent variables. Some variables might constrain presidential actions or moderate the relationship

between presidential needs and/or actions and performance. Three variables are used in this research: composition of Congress, crisis, and year. A brief description of these measures follows in the next section.

Composition of Congress

DeGregorio (1997) presented a detailed table of the political composition of Congress (1789-1999). He provides the name of a president and its party along with the political structure of the Senate and the House for each year of his presidency. A dummy variable was used to code the composition of Congress. When presidents were in a minority position, meaning that they did not have the majority in both the Senate and the House, it was coded with number 2. In the case of a majority position, the code number was 1.

Crises

House et al. (1991) listed 13 types of international relations crises, 11 categories of domestic and international economic crises, and 23 categories of domestic unrest. In total, they assigned eight coders to code these three types of crises using one of two chronological histories (Morris, 1982; Schlesinger, 1983). Each crisis was weighted 1, except the war with Mexico, Spanish-American War, and Korean War (weighted 2); the War of 1812 and the Vietnam War (weighted 4); World Wars I and II (weighted 6); and the Civil War (weighted 10). House et al. (1991) aggregated all the scores. In total, there were four overall crises scores (two coders x two sources). The internal consistency reliability of these four measures of crises was high with a composite scale reliability of .91. These four aggregated scores are used in this research to test the hypotheses.

Year

The year corresponds to the president's first year in office for the first term of office.

Presidents pronounce their inaugural addresses in the first year of their mandate. Inaugural addresses are used to assess presidential needs. It has been shown that presidential needs are associated with time (House et al., 1991). The effect of the year on independent and dependent variables has to be controlled in testing hypotheses in which needs are entered as independent variables. The year in which presidents take office is also entered as control variable in all regressions to control for its potential effects on both independent and dependent variables.

In the methodology section, I presented the measures and procedures, and assessed the validity and reliability of measures. Exhibits 1, 2 and 3 present a summary of the methodology discussed in this section. In the next section, I introduce the statistical procedures that will be used to test the proposed hypotheses, and analyze the data.

Statistical procedures

Relationship among variables

Correlations among variables will be investigated in order to determine whether hypotheses pertaining to the concepts used in this research are sustained. Hypotheses stating that there is a positive or a negative relationship between two variables will be tested using correlations. One-tailed tests will be used because the direction of the expected relationships is clear. Correlations are also analyzed for exploratory purpose to highlight unexpected relationships among variables.

Statistical power

The level of significance that is usually adopted in the statistical analyses is .05. However, it should be mentioned that it gives little power given the number of cases (35) presidents). Researchers (e.g., Deluga, 1997; Simonton, 1988) have used .05 to assess the significance of statistical tests because the effect size of the variables they studied was expected to be large enough to find significant results with a small sample. However, when there is low power, there is a risk to accept the null hypothesis when in fact it should be rejected, meaning that the hypothesis tested should be confirmed. Given the fact that this research is aimed at making interpretations rather than strong predictions, the level of significance is increased in order to increase the power of the tests.

Relevant literature in leadership (e.g., Deluga, 1997; Winter, 1987) revealed that correlations among leadership related variables ranged from .28 to .56 (p< .05). With a sample size of 35 subjects, the statistical power approximates .67 (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Convention suggests a minimum statistical power of .80. However, only correlations of .50 and over can meet this requirement. Therefore, interpretations of the results will be provided for correlations that have level of significance of .10 or less.

Hierarchical linear regression analyses

When a hypothesis states an interaction between two variables in predicting a criterion variable, a hierarchical linear regression will be conducted. In that test, the control variables (composition of Congress, crisis, and time) are entered in the first step in order to control for their potential influence on the independent and/or the dependent variables. In the second step, the independent variables are entered in order to assess their respective effect on the dependent variable. In the third step, the two-way interaction term is entered in order to analyze the moderating effect. None of the hypotheses stated a three-way interaction because the sample is not large enough to conduct such test. Therefore, the hierarchical regression would require three steps only.

At each step, the change in R^2 is investigated to determine whether there is a significant change, and partial beta weights are examined to identify the independent variables that have significant influence. When the interaction term is entered, there must be a significant change in R^2 to conclude that there is a moderating effect.

If there is a moderating effect, the next step involves an assessment of the direction of the effect. For example, need for power might interact with responsibility values in predicting foreign policy effectiveness. However, it does not say whether the interaction has a positive or a negative effect. Therefore, a scatter graph will be drawn in order to illustrate the direction of the effect. In order to conduct that test, the first and third quartiles will be utilized to classify presidents in two categories (low or high) using the variable that acts as moderator.

Chapter Four

Results

The presentation of the results is organized in three sections. First, descriptive statistics and correlations among all study variables are presented. Tables 44 to 51 provide presidential scores on the APMI scales and descriptive statistics. Table 52 presents descriptive statistics and correlations among all study variables. Furthermore, correlations between the APMI first-order and second-order scales, and servant-leadership antecedents and consequences are presented in tables 53 to 57.

Second, hierarchical regression analyses are conducted to assess the effect of personality characteristics on servant-leadership after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. As specified in the conceptual development of servant-leadership, there are several antecedents that might explain the occurrence of servant-leadership practices. In order to assess the respective effect of these antecedents, each first-order and second-order scale was regressed against each of the following personality characteristics: charisma, impression management, narcissism, Machiavellianism, need for altruism, protective governance, need for power, need for affiliation, need for achievement, belief in idealism, belief in peace, pacifism (belief in positive intentions of others), belief in service, obligation, and moral/legal standard. Significant results are reported in tables 58 to 62. As specified in the conceptual development, servant-leadership should have an impact on presidential performance. In order to evaluate the impact of servant-leadership on presidential performance with respect to various aspects of the presidency, each indicator of presidential performance, (1) domestic policies, (2) foreign policies, (3) domestic policy

effectiveness, (4) foreign policy effectiveness, (5) presidential social performance, (6) international relations, (7) domestic social issues, (8) domestic and international economy, (9) presidential greatness as measured by Murray & Blessing, and (10) presidential greatness as measured by Maranell, was regressed against servant-leadership first-order and second-order scales. Servant-leadership first-order scales were divided in eight groups following the sections of the APMI to evaluate the impact of each set of managerial practices on presidential performance. In total, 80 multiple hierarchical regressions were conducted with the first-order scales. The three higher-order scales of servant-leadership were entered together in ten regressions to assess their respective impact on each performance criterion. For each regression involving APMI scales, the following three control variables were entered in the first step in order to assess the effect of servant-leadership on presidential performance: year, crisis, and composition of Congress. Significant results are reported in tables 63 to 71.

Third, moderating effects are analyzed using multiple hierarchical regression analyses. As specified in the conceptual development, some personality characteristics might interact in predicting servant-leadership performance. The moderating effects of personality characteristics are investigated for each of the ten following indicators of presidential performance: domestic policies, foreign policies, domestic policy effectiveness, foreign policy effectiveness, presidential social performance, international relations, domestic social issues, domestic and international economy, and presidential greatness (Murray & Blessing, Maranell). The following interaction terms were investigated: need for power X need for affiliation, need for power X protective governance, need for power X need for affiliation, need for power X need for achievement, protective governance X narcissism, charisma X

narcissism, charisma X Machiavellianism, charisma X impression management, charisma X need for altruism, charisma X protective governance, charisma X belief in service, charisma X belief in positive intentions of others, charisma X idealism, charisma X belief in peace, charisma X obligation, and charisma X moral/legal standards. In total, 160 multiple hierarchical regressions were processed. Significant results are reported in tables 72 to 76.

Situational constraints might moderate the effect of personality characteristics or servant-leadership practices on presidential performance. The moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationship between personality characteristics, servant-leadership, and presidential performance was investigated using multiple hierarchical regressions. In total, 210 regressions were processed to analyze the moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationships between each APMI first-order and second-order scale, and each indicator of presidential performance. Significant results are reported in table 77. The moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationship between charisma and presidential performance was analyzed using the ten criteria listed above. Significant results are reported in table 78. Finally, the moderating effect of crisis on the relationship between personality characteristics or servant-leadership practices on presidential performance was investigated using the same ten criteria. Significant results are reported in table 79.

The next section focuses on the correlations among the study variables. It should be noted that these correlations are used to provide exploratory analyses pertaining to the concepts presented in the conceptual development. Presidential scores are discussed to highlight why these results were obtained.

The section is organized in three parts. First, the correlations between servant-

leadership scales and presidential personality characteristics are analyzed to assess how personality influences servant-leadership practices. Second, the correlations between servant-leadership and presidential performance are analyzed to determine the extent to which servant-leadership impacts performance. This second part also includes analyses pertaining to the relationships between personality characteristics and presidential performance. Third, situational constraints are correlated with servant-leadership scales to determine the extent to which they might have an impact on the occurrence of servant-leadership practices.

Servant-leadership and personality characteristics

Presidential needs

As presented in table 52, the correlations among presidential needs reveal that protective governance is positively correlated with need for altruism ($\underline{r} = .55$, $\underline{p} < .01$), but not with needs for power, achievement, and affiliation. Need for altruism is positively correlated with need for power ($\underline{r} = .36$, $\underline{p} < .01$), need for achievement ($\underline{r} = .39$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and need for affiliation ($\underline{r} = .29$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Need for power is positively correlated with need for achievement ($\underline{r} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and need for affiliation ($\underline{r} = .48$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Finally, need for affiliation is positively correlated with need for achievement ($\underline{r} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). These results indicate that protective governance is not associated with presidential need to exercise power but, rather, seems to reflect presidential concerns for standards of morality that serve to evaluate the need to refrain others' actions.

The study of the correlations among presidential needs and servant-leadership scales, presented in table 53, reveals that need for power, a determinant of presidential leadership performance, according to House et al. (1991), does not have much effect on servant-

leadership. Indeed, need for power is not significantly correlated with any of the higher-order scales. Need for power is negatively correlated with presidential principled actions in dealing with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$), which suggests that when presidents have high need for power they may not follow principles and strict rules of conduct in dealing with Congress. Need for power is positively correlated with openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .34$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which might indicate that presidents who have high need for power consider others' views to achieve their objectives.

Need for achievement is also positively correlated with openness to different ideologies (r = .36, p < .05), which means that when presidents are high in n Ach they are receptive to various points of view. Need for achievement seems to be one of the most important antecedents of servant-leadership behaviors. It is positively correlated with vision inclusiveness (r = .23, p < .10) and cooperative style (r = .33, p < .05). Presidents who are high in n Ach consider others' interests, and cooperate with others in solving conflicts to achieve their objectives. However, as stated in the conceptual development, need for achievement is negatively correlated with consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and individualized consideration to Congress members (r = -.24, p < .10). Presidents who have high need for achievement are more concerned about their own performance than others' performance. They may focus on their competencies and neglect others' competencies. Indeed, need for achievement is negatively correlated with relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.34$, p<.05), which suggests that presidents may try to break the rules when they are strong achievers. Finally, it was suggested in the literature that high need for achievement is not an indicator of the extent to which one will do something aimed at improving others' conditions (Johns & Saks, 2001). The correlation between need for achievement and minority inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .05$) indicates that presidential need for achievement is positively related to servant-leadership behaviors aimed at integrating various cultural communities and minorities. Need for achievement might be related with one's affirmation of one's political "self" that is connected to others.

Hypothesis 4 stated that there is a negative relationship between need for achievement and presidential performance. As presented in table 52, results indicate that there is no significant correlation between need for achievement and indicators of performance. Therefore, hypothesis 4 is not supported.

As expected, need for affiliation is negatively correlated with impartial selection of Cabinet members ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.36$, $\underline{p} < .05$), judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and principled actions in presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.34$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Presidents who are high in n Aff might have a tendency to conform to the wishes of their relatives and friends, rather than act in an ethical manner by making decisions that respond to the requirements of specific situations. However, need for affiliation is positively correlated with minority inclusiveness, which indicates that presidents who are high in n Aff might identify with others.

Hypothesis 5 stated that there is a negative relationship between need for affiliation and presidential performance. However, a correlation of .23 (p< .10) was found between need for affiliation and social performance (APPE) as presented in table 52. There was no other significant correlation between indicators of presidential performance and need for affiliation. Therefore, hypothesis 5 is rejected.

Need for affiliation might play a positive role in presidential social performance in that it creates a sense of "self" that is connected to others only if it does not reflect deficiency need for affiliation (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996).

As presented in table 53, need for altruism is positively correlated with constituent inclusiveness (r = .25, p< .10), minority inclusiveness (r = .37, p< .05), civil rights (r = .30, p<.05), individualized consideration to Congress members (r = .24, p<.10), and the higherorder APMI scale of constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$). As expected, need for altruism is an important antecedent of servant-leadership behaviors. It relates to presidential consideration of others' needs and interests, and service to constituents. As indicated in tables 3 and 44 to 51, Lyndon B. Johnson has high scores on need for altruism, constituent responsiveness, vision inclusiveness, minority and cultural diversity, civil rights, openness to foreign ideologies, and domestic policy vision. In the course of American history, Lyndon B. Johnson contributed significantly to the promotion of civil rights and integration of various cultural communities within the American society. Given these results, it can be inferred that his high need for altruism determined his dedication to the implementation of equal rights to all American citizens. Similarly, Jimmy Carter received high ratings from experts, in American history, who participated in the current survey on vision inclusiveness, minority and cultural diversity, civil rights, foreign policy assessment, openness to foreign ideologies, ethical actions with other nations, wisdom, and cooperative style in conflict and crisis management. Carter was attributed a high score on need for altruism. Indeed, the theme of Carter's 1976 Presidential campaign focused on competence and compassion. His domestic policy was opposed to special interests. Carter was also against the "realpolitik" of the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford era with respect to foreign policy. His goal was to support human rights throughout the world. Carter wanted to "avoid any retreat into isolationism, and build a post-liberal foreign policy, rooted in morality, recognition of limits and "true" interests"

(Dumbrell, 1993: 17).

However, as presented in table 53, need for altruism is also negatively correlated with impartial selection ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$) and ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Presidents who have high need for altruism might be persuaded that they know what is the best way to serve constituents. They may select Cabinet members on the basis of their allegiance to presidential values. They may try to impose their views on foreign countries. Jimmy Carter wanted to avoid imposing his views on other countries. However, even if Ronald Reagan received a high score on need for altruism, he did not follow a similar view. Reagan got low scores on all servant-leadership scales even if he received the fourth highest score on need for altruism. Reagan's relationships with Congress with respect to foreign policy were not conducive to ethical actions in international relations. In the Iran-Contra affairs, Reagan "used funds obtained from foreign and private parties, thereby circumventing Congress and the appropriation process" and the Boland Amendment (Fisher, 1990: 111). Reagan had extraordinary public communication skills and could connect to his audience, which might explain why he received a high score on need for altruism. However, he lost the faith of the public because of his lack of accountability, which might explain the low ratings he obtained the on APMI scales.

As presented in table 53, protective governance is negatively correlated with presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and the higher-order scale of principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Too much emphasis on hindering others in order to protect some constituents might not be conducive to the respect of principles of governance. Presidents might adapt their conduct to circumstances and favor

some constituents. Indeed, protective governance is positively correlated with Machiavellianism (r = .46, p < .01). Reagan received an above average score on protective governance. He applied a "realpolitik" view on the Soviet Union and expressed his refusal to meet Soviet leaders in his first term of office. Unlike some other presidents who obtained high scores on protective governance (e.g., Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, and Harry Truman), Ronald Reagan did not face a major crisis that justified such a focus on hindering others' actions. His emphasis on protective governance might shed light on his defence policy, which was criticized for its lack of "coherent strategic design" (Williams, 1990: 227).

Finally, protective governance is positively correlated with individualized consideration to Congress members ($\underline{r} = .33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that presidents try to circumvent Congress by approaching Congress members who support their views. Indeed, as expected, Machiavellianism is negatively correlated with presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and positively correlated with individualized consideration to Congress members ($\underline{r} = .35$, $\underline{p} < .05$).

Empathy is negatively correlated with principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), first-order scales of empowerment ($\underline{r} = -.32$, $\underline{p} < .05$), consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$), civil rights ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.41$, $\underline{p} < .01$), ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.40$, $\underline{p} < .01$), wisdom ($\underline{r} = -.26$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Interestingly, empathy is not an antecedent of servant-leadership behaviors. Empathy, as presented in table 52, is not an essential determinant of the altruistic motive ($\underline{r} = .17$, n.s.). Therefore, hypothesis 1, which states that empathy has a positive relationship with need for altruism, is not confirmed.

Furthermore, as shown in table 52, empathy is positively correlated with

Machiavellianism ($\mathbf{r} = .28$, $\mathbf{p} < .10$), impression management ($\mathbf{r} = .25$, $\mathbf{p} < .10$), and charisma ($\mathbf{r} = .26$, $\mathbf{p} < .10$). Machiavellian techniques might be effective only if a leader knows how to manipulate others' feelings and emotions, which means that a leader who is high in Machiavellianism must have enough empathy to be effective. In this context, presidents who display empathic feelings and concerns are using their abilities to vicariously experience the emotions of others to manipulate their feelings. They seem to combine their empathic concerns with Machiavellian techniques, charismatic appeal, and impression management strategies to influence others.

Need for altruism was measured with a cognitive perspective and referred to moral values. Results indicate that the expression of moral values, which is rational and cognitive, is related to the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. Empathy, which refers to the experience of others' feelings and emotions, is related to presidential capability to manipulate others' feelings and emotions.

Political beliefs and responsibility values

As presented in table 52, idealism is positively correlated with belief in peace (\underline{r} = .42, \underline{p} < .01) and belief in service (\underline{r} = .28, \underline{p} < .05). Pacifism is positively correlated with belief in service (\underline{r} = .34, \underline{p} < .05). Belief in peace is positively correlated with belief in service (\underline{r} = .33, \underline{p} < .05). These results indicate that there are four distinct sets of political beliefs. Obligation and moral/legal standard are positively correlated (\underline{r} = .26, \underline{p} < .10). These moderate correlations indicate that the concepts referred to in this part are independent of each other.

Analyses of the correlations among political beliefs, responsibility values, and

servant-leadership behaviors, presented in table 54, indicate that idealism plays a significant role in the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. For the interpretation of the results pertaining to the relationships between political beliefs and other variables, it should be noted that high numerical values on the scales of presidential beliefs indicate low scores. Negative correlations reflect positive relationships between variables, and positive correlations indicate negative relationships. Idealism versus self-interest is positively related to impartial selection ($\underline{r} = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .10$), empowerment ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$), consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), principled relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.28$, $\underline{p} < .10$), ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.43$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$). It is also positively related to the higher-order scale of principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = -.34$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Presidents who are high in idealism and low in self-interest tend to respect principles of governance. They respect the rules of the legislative branch, and do not try to circumvent Congress by influencing its members on an individual basis. Indeed, the correlation between individualized consideration and idealism is .31 ($\underline{p} < .05$).

Pacifism, seeing good intentions in others' minds, is positively related to empowerment ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and civil rights ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). As expected, when presidents attribute good intentions to others, they are more likely to empower constituents and protect civil rights. If presidents attribute negative intentions to others' behaviors, they may tend to develop a feeling of insecurity, and try to exercise control over a situation by exercising close supervision. They may not help others and uplift constituents by protecting their fundamental rights.

Belief in peace is positively related to ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.42$, $\underline{p} < .01$). As expected, presidents who have high belief in peace tend to seek benefits for other

nations.

Finally, belief in service is positively related to objective selection ($\underline{r} = -.27$, $\underline{p} < .10$), constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and domestic policy vision ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Belief in service is associated with presidential vision and constituent inclusiveness, which reflects presidential belief in the social orientation of their role. Therefore, results give support to hypothesis 7, which states that presidential political beliefs are positively related to servant-leadership behaviors.

Obligation is positively correlated with constituent balance ($\underline{r} = .28$, $\underline{p} < .10$), which means that presidents balance constituents' interests, and secure geographic balance in the selection of Cabinet members and making appointments when they have a strong sense of obligation to serve constituents.

Moral/legal standard is positively correlated with minority inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .36$, $\underline{p} < .05$), civil rights ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .23$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and the higher-order scale of vision inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .23$, $\underline{p} < .10$). As expected, the responsibility value of moral/legal standard is instrumental in achieving terminal values that are inherent to presidential servant-leadership vision. Presidents are more likely to protect minorities and civil rights if they have high moral/legal standards of actions. Finally, moral/legal standard is negatively correlated with individualized consideration ($\underline{r} = -.34$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that presidents who have high moral standards would not try to circumvent the rules of Congress. Therefore, results indicate that hypothesis 8, which states that responsibility values have a positive relationship with servant-leadership, is supported.

Personality traits

Analyses of the correlations among charisma, impression management, and servant-leadership behaviors, presented in table 55, demonstrate that charisma is opposed to the servant-leadership dimension of principle-guided action, and impression management to constituent responsiveness. Charisma and impression management are not strongly correlated ($\underline{r} = .19$, n.s.). These two concepts differ in that charisma refers to the public appeal of presidents, and impression management to the projection of presidents' images. However, both personality characteristics can have a simultaneous effect on how presidents play their roles.

Charisma is negatively related to the higher-order scale of principle-guided action ($\mathbf{r} = -.33$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). Charisma is negatively correlated with impartial selection of Cabinet members ($\mathbf{r} = -.26$, $\mathbf{p} < .10$), consultative and participative style ($\mathbf{r} = -.30$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$), principled actions in presidential relations with Congress ($\mathbf{r} = -.40$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$), and positively correlated with individualized consideration to members of Congress ($\mathbf{r} = .35$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). It can be inferred that presidents who are high in charisma prefer to select people who fully support their views, provide resources to their supporters, and try to circumvent Congress by influencing supporters who can have an impact on various committees. Presidents, who are high in charisma, might not adopt a consultative and participative style but, rather, act in a directive manner. They are not likely to collaborate with constituents who do not share their views. Charisma is also negatively correlated with ethical relations with other nations ($\mathbf{r} = -.41$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$), and judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\mathbf{r} = -.32$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). Presidents who are high in charisma might be prone to misjudgment, due to the fact that they consider their views as the most accurate. Finally, charisma is not significantly correlated with the moral

needs and belief in service, and negatively correlated with idealism ($\underline{r} = .32$, $\underline{p} < .05$), pacifism ($\underline{r} = .22$, n.s.), and belief in peace ($\underline{r} = .24$, $\underline{p} < .10$).

In conclusion, charisma is negatively related to sound servant-leadership managerial practices. It can lead to misjudgment, lack of ethicality, less consultation and participation, and more authoritarianism. It does not reflect moral needs and core political beliefs.

A study by Bass, Avolio, and Goodheim (1987) provided scores for some American presidents on the dimensions of transformational leadership. It was indicated that Abraham Lincoln, Harry S. Truman, and Jimmy Carter obtained scores that were clearly below average on charismatic leadership. The current study reveals that these presidents obtained scores in the higher quartiles on at least one higher-order scale of servant-leadership. For example, as indicated in table 44, Abraham Lincoln obtained very high scores on principleguided action and constituent responsiveness, and a score that is above average on vision inclusiveness. Harry S. Truman and Jimmy Carter obtained high scores on vision inclusiveness. Ronald Reagan was evaluated as charismatic with a score above average in Bass et al.'s study (1987). However, he was rated low on all scales of the APMI in this current survey. Furthermore, some other presidents received high scores on charismatic leadership and some APMI scales. For example, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson were evaluated as charismatic and received high scores on vision inclusiveness. It can be inferred from these results that the extent to which a president displays charismatic leadership appeal does not provide information on whether or not his vision is inclusive. Furthermore, it does not indicate whether a president follows principles of action and incorporates various constituents' views in the decision-making process. Therefore, it can be concluded that a high score on charismatic leadership is an indicator of good rhetorical skills, public appeal, and sense of vision. However, it does not provide information on the essence and content of presidential vision.

As indicated in table 55, impression management is negatively correlated with the higher-order scale of constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = -.29$, $\underline{p} < .10$), constituent balance ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), minority inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and civil rights ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Presidents who are high in impression management might focus on their "self" and personal interest rather than concentrate on others' needs. Impression management techniques might be used to astound followers and give the appearance that the leader works for the best interest of others. However, images that are projected might not fit reality. Impression management reflects a deceptive style. Indeed, as shown in table 52, it is negatively correlated with need for altruism ($\underline{r} = -.49$, $\underline{p} < .01$) and protective governance ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and positively correlated with narcissism ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$).

Hypothesis 9 states that impression management and charisma are negatively related to servant-leadership behavior and moral needs. Results reported above give partial support to this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 13 states that Machiavellianism has a negative relationship with servant-leadership, empathy, and need for altruism. As presented in table 55, Machiavellianism is negatively correlated with the higher-order factor of principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$). High Mach presidents are not impartial in the selection of Cabinet members ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$). They do not empower constituents ($\underline{r} = -.34$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and adopt a consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$). In terms of their relations with Congress, high Mach presidents will circumvent the system by approaching Congress members on an individual

basis ($\underline{r} = .35$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and experience difficulties in their relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). They do not act in an ethical manner in dealing with foreign nations ($\underline{r} = -.44$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and exercise judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.41$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Finally, Machiavellianism is negatively correlated with cooperative style in solving conflicts ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$). As presented in table 52, Machiavellianism is not significantly correlated with need for altruism. However, it is positively correlated with empathy ($\underline{r} = .28$, $\underline{p} < .10$). This result illustrates that when presidents are high Mach they manipulate others' feelings and emotions in interpersonal relationships using their empathic concerns. Machiavellianism is not associated with sound servant-leadership managerial practices. Therefore, hypothesis 13 is partially supported.

Hypothesis 12 states that Machiavellianism has a positive relationship with narcissism, charisma, and impression management. Results, reported in table 52, indicate that Machiavellianism is positively correlated with narcissism ($\underline{r} = .34$, $\underline{p} < .05$), charisma ($\underline{r} = .37$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and impression management ($\underline{r} = .22$, n.s.). Hypothesis 12 is partially supported.

As presented in table 55, narcissism is negatively correlated with the higher-order scales of constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = -.32$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Presidents who are high in narcissism are partial in the selection of Cabinet members ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and do not balance constituents' interests in making a selection ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Presidents who are high in narcissism do not empower constituents ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), adopt a consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and include constituents in the decision-making process ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Furthermore, they are not concerned with civil rights ($\underline{r} = -.39$, $\underline{p} < .01$). There is also a negative correlation between narcissism and ethical relations with foreign nations ($\underline{r} = -.28$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Narcissism is negatively correlated with

wisdom ($\underline{r} = -.23$, $\underline{p} < .10$), judgment ($\underline{r} = -.35$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and cooperative style in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that presidents who are narcissistic tend to have difficulties in solving conflicts and dealing with crises. Finally, narcissism is negatively correlated with presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.30$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which means that presidents who are high in narcissism have difficulties in dealing with Congress, and do not behave according to principles in their relations with Congress. As expected, narcissism is detrimental to presidential relationships with constituents, and hinders sound servant-leadership managerial practices. It is particularly detrimental to sound judgment in conflict and crisis management.

Hypothesis 11 states that narcissism is negatively related to servant-leadership, empathy, and need for altruism. As shown in table 52, narcissism is not significantly correlated with need for altruism, but is positively correlated with empathy ($\underline{r} = .21$, n.s.). This might indicate that when presidents are high in narcissism, they may use their empathic feelings to project images that are calculated for effects. Hypothesis 11 is partially supported.

Hypothesis 10, which states that narcissism is positively related to charisma and impression management, is supported. Narcissism is positively correlated with charisma ($\underline{r} = .57$, $\underline{p} < .01$) and impression management ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$). These results indicate that narcissism precludes good managerial practices, but allows leaders to project images that are misleading.

Servant-leadership and presidential performance

In this second part, I focus on the relationships between servant-leadership scales and indicators of presidential performance: domestic policies, foreign policies, domestic policy

effectiveness, foreign policy effectiveness, social performance, international relations, domestic social issues, domestic and international economy, and presidential greatness.

Presidential policy effectiveness

As shown in table 56, correlations among servant-leadership scales and domestic policies (Neal's survey) highlight that vision inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .33$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .37$, $\underline{p} < .05$) are related to effective policies. The performance indicator of domestic policies is correlated with impartial selection of Cabinet members ($\underline{r} = .34$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and constituent balance ($\underline{r} = .29$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that proper selection of Cabinet members fosters constructive policies. Positive correlations were obtained between domestic policies and constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .42$, $\underline{p} < .01$), openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .32$, $\underline{p} < .05$), constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .42$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and domestic policy vision ($\underline{r} = .40$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Effective domestic policies require channels of participation that foster constituents' input in decision-making. Finally, there is a positive correlation between individualized consideration to Congress members and domestic policies ($\underline{r} = .33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that when presidents circumvent Congress by providing resources to their supporters, they might be able to get their legislative program through the legislative branch. However, even if that strategy is effective, it might not always be ethical.

The indicator of foreign policies (Neal's survey) is not related to the higher-order scales of the APMI. It is positively correlated with impartial selection ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .23$, $\underline{p} < .10$), foreign policy assessment ($\underline{r} = .24$, $\underline{p} < .10$), openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .27$, $\underline{p} < .10$), domestic policy vision ($\underline{r} = .26$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and wisdom in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = .26$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and wisdom in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = .26$, $\underline{p} < .10$).

.28, p<.10). These results indicate that servant-leadership practices that are aimed at making an assessment of the conditions of others and developing a vision that is inclusive of others' needs, interests and different ideologies enhance effective foreign policies.

Correlation coefficients among servant-leadership factor scales and domestic policy effectiveness as measured with the APMI were all positive and significant. However, due to common-method variance, which is caused by the fact that the data for both servant-leadership and policy effectiveness were collected simultaneously using the same questionnaire, these results have to be interpreted carefully. Interestingly, the correlation between the higher-order factor of constituent responsiveness and foreign policy effectiveness (APMI) is not significant ($\underline{r} = .21$). Constituent responsiveness seems to play a more significant role in domestic policy than foreign policy, which depends on principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = .55$, $\underline{p} < .01$) and vision inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .43$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Experts in history and political science make a clear distinction between domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, and use different criteria to assess how effective a president is in carrying out managerial responsibilities in each domain. Hypothesis 21, which states that servant-leadership has a positive relationship with presidential domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, is partially supported.

Presidential greatness

As shown in table 56, all servant-leadership higher-order factors are positively and significantly correlated with presidential greatness (Murray & Blessing), which indicates that servant-leadership has a direct effect on how presidents are perceived by experts in American history. Presidents who are high in servant-leadership are likely to be classified as great or

near great. Furthermore, constituent inclusiveness and vision inclusiveness are positively correlated with war entry, which means that presidents who respond to constituents' needs and include minorities, might have to declare war if necessary, to act according to their principles. However, judgment is negatively correlated with war entry ($\underline{r} = -.26$, $\underline{p} < .10$), which means that sound judgment prevents war entry. Finally, vision inclusiveness is positively correlated with war avoidance ($\underline{r} = .33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that presidents, who have an inclusive vision and consider others' ideologies, needs, and interests, are likely to prevent escalation of violent conflicts.

Social performance

An important finding pertains to the relationship between servant-leadership and the social performance of presidents. First, the indicator of domestic social issues provided by House et al. (1991) is positively correlated with constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .40$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and principle-guided action ($\underline{r} = .34$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Results indicate that the selection of Cabinet members is associated with presidential performance with respect to domestic and social issues. Indeed, this indicator of presidential performance has a positive correlation with objective selection ($\underline{r} = .35$, $\underline{p} < .05$), impartial selection ($\underline{r} = .52$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and constituent balance ($\underline{r} = .61$, $\underline{p} < .01$). The choice of Cabinet members determines whether presidents can empower their subordinates and respond to constituents' needs and interests. It is a crucial element in presidential effectiveness in dealing with social issues. Furthermore, positive correlations were obtained between domestic social issues and empowerment ($\underline{r} = .30$, $\underline{p} < .05$), constituent inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .36$, $\underline{p} < .05$), constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .38$, $\underline{p} < .01$), domestic policy vision ($\underline{r} = .37$, $\underline{p} < .05$), wisdom in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = .41$,

p<.01), and cooperative style ($\underline{r}=.37$, p<.05). These results indicate that servant-leadership is related to presidential performance with respect to domestic social issues.

Social performance (APPE) is positively correlated with the higher-order scales of constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .33$, $\underline{p} < .05$) and vision inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .42$, $\underline{p} < .01$). It is positively correlated with minority inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .32$, $\underline{p} < .05$), openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .49$, $\underline{p} < .01$), constituent responsiveness ($\underline{r} = .43$, $\underline{p} < .01$), domestic policy vision ($\underline{r} = .37$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and cooperative style ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$). The measure of social performance in the American Presidential Performance Effectiveness is aimed at assessing the extent to which presidents are effective in dealing with social issues, both in the domestic and foreign areas of intervention. Therefore, these results indicate that servant-leadership is associated with both domestic and foreign issues.

Servant-leadership higher-order scales are not related to international relations. There is a negative correlation between principle-guided action, and domestic and international economy ($\underline{r} = -.26$, $\underline{p} < .10$). This result might suggest that when presidents do not compromise their principles, they are not perceived as effective by external observers. Interestingly, domestic and international economy is negatively correlated with consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.37$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which might suggest that when presidents exercise sound judgment and request others' participation in solving problems, they might have to commit resources and seek solutions that are satisfactory, rather than optimal. Therefore, presidents might not be considered effective by external observers. For example, diplomatic manipulation might be preferred over alliances with foreign countries that can constrain the administrative processes of the U.S. government. These results indicate that hypothesis 22, which states that servant-

leadership has a positive relationship with presidential performance outcomes for constituents, is partially supported.

Presidential performance and personality traits

As expected, measures of domestic and foreign policy effectiveness (APMI) are not significantly correlated with Machiavellianism, narcissism, impression management, and charisma. Therefore, charisma does not have an impact on presidential policy effectiveness. Results are reported in table 52.

However, social performance (APPE) is positively correlated with Machiavellianism ($\mathbf{r} = .24$, $\mathbf{p} < .10$) and charisma ($\mathbf{r} = .50$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$). There is no correlation between domestic social issues and Machiavellianism, narcissism, impression management, and charisma. A possible explanation for these results might be that the APPE is a perceptual measure which can be subject to halo effect. Although this measure is aimed at controlling for potential biases by providing specific assessment criteria, experts might still rely on a global picture rather than specific details in making their evaluation. As noted in the methodology, the sample of scholars who participated in the APMI survey is homogeneous and composed of experts who contributed to the development of the literature in history and political science. Therefore, they might refer to a social construction of presidents, which is based on their perception of presidential leadership style.

The performance indicator of domestic social issues (House et al., 1991) is not perceptual. Therefore, it provides a means to control for potential biases. Servant-leadership behaviors were related to both measures of social performance, whereas charisma is not related to domestic social issues. Therefore, it can be inferred that the relationship between

charisma and social performance (APPE) might be due to strong halo effect. Indeed, charisma is strongly correlated to Maranell's measure of greatness ($\underline{r} = .55$, $\underline{p} < .01$) and Murray and Blessing's measure of greatness ($\underline{r} = .49$, $\underline{p} < .01$).

Situational constraints

Hypothesis 14 states that composition of Congress is related to servant-leadership behavior and presidential performance. As shown in table 57, analyses of the correlations between servant-leadership scales and composition of Congress highlight the fact that composition of Congress does not have an effect on servant-leadership behaviors. Indeed, all correlations were non-significant. Furthermore, as indicated in table 52, composition of Congress is not correlated with measures of domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, social performance, and greatness. Composition of Congress is not correlated with domestic and social issues, and domestic and international economy. However, it is negatively correlated with international relations ($\underline{r} = -.31$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which might suggest that when presidents are in a minority position they are more constrained, and enjoy less latitude in the international domain. These results indicate that hypothesis 14 is not supported. Servant-leadership is not directly affected by composition of Congress, which means that presidents are likely to display servant-leadership behaviors, regardless of the political context or dominant ideology.

Hypothesis 15, which states that composition of Congress is related to the expression of presidential needs, receives partial support. Composition of Congress is positively correlated with need for power ($\underline{r} = .25$, $\underline{p} < .10$), need for altruism ($\underline{r} = .43$, $\underline{p} < .01$), and empathy ($\underline{r} = .31$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Composition of Congress is known before a president writes his

inaugural address. A president might express more positive concerns for others' needs and interests, as an adaptive strategy, when he is in a minority position. Situational constraints might also prime presidential need for power, which reflects presidential socialized orientation.

Analyses of the correlations among servant-leadership behaviors and crisis indicate that the presence of a crisis does not have a direct impact on the higher-order factors of servant-leadership. However, there is a negative correlation between crisis, and consultative and participative style ($\mathbf{r} = -.34$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$), which suggests that presidents might become more directive and authoritarian rather than consultative, and use their power and decision latitude to impose their decisions in periods of crisis. Negative correlations were obtained between crisis and presidential relations with Congress ($\mathbf{r} = -.39$, $\mathbf{p} < .01$), ethical actions with other nations ($\mathbf{r} = -.31$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$), and judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\mathbf{r} = -.37$, $\mathbf{p} < .05$). These results, reported in table 57, might indicate that sound judgment, good presidential relations with Congress, and ethical actions in dealing with other nations attenuate crises. Hypothesis 18, which states that there is a negative relationship between servant-leadership and crisis, is partially supported.

As presented in table 57, the higher-order factor of principle-guided action is negatively correlated with the year ($\underline{r} = -.24$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Negative correlations were obtained between the year and impartial selection ($\underline{r} = -.30$, $\underline{p} < .05$), consultative and participative style ($\underline{r} = -.30$, $\underline{p} < .05$), presidential relations with Congress ($\underline{r} = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .05$), and ethical actions with other nations ($\underline{r} = -.34$, $\underline{p} < .05$). These results might suggest that the Administration became more complex over the years, and that presidents might now experience more difficulties in dealing with Washington. Furthermore, year is positively

correlated with Machiavellianism ($\underline{r} = .28$, $\underline{p} < .10$) and charisma ($\underline{r} = .24$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Presidents who decide to "go public" to get their legislative program through Congress have to use their charismatic appeal, and might utilize Machiavellian techniques to influence individual members of Congress, in order to circumvent the heavy bureaucratic processes. Therefore, servant-leadership managerial practices are affected by the complexity of the systems. Leaders might experience more difficulties to behave according to principles of governance when the organizational structure is complex, bureaucratic, and overburdened by rigid processes. However, year is positively correlated with minority inclusiveness ($\underline{r} = .38$, $\underline{p} < .01$), civil rights ($\underline{r} = .27$, $\underline{p} < .10$), and openness to different ideologies ($\underline{r} = .35$, $\underline{p} < .05$).

These results indicate that modern presidents encounter more difficulties in the accomplishment of their tasks, and develop strategies to circumvent the system. However, presidential vision is not affected by the complexity of the system. Year is positively related to presidential actions aimed at considering others' ideologies and including various constituents within the vision. Therefore, it can be concluded that situational constraints affect presidential principle-guided action, but not presidential vision. Hypothesis 20, which states that there is a negative relationship between servant-leadership behaviors and the years of the Administration, is partially supported. The next section focuses on the predictive value of the antecedents of servant-leadership, and the predictive effects of servant-leadership scales on presidential performance.

Hierarchical regression analyses

This section is divided into two parts. In the first part, each APMI scale is regressed against each personality characteristic: charisma, impression management, narcissism,

Machiavellianism, belief in service, belief in peace, idealism, belief in positive intentions of others, moral/legal standard, obligation, needs for altruism, power, affiliation and achievement, and protective governance. The following control variables are entered in the first step of each regression: year, crises, and composition of Congress. Significant results are reported in tables 58 to 62.

In the second part, each indicator of presidential performance, domestic policies, foreign policies, domestic policy effectiveness, foreign policy effectiveness, social performance, domestic social issues, domestic and foreign economy, international relations, greatness (Murray & Blessing), and greatness (Maranell), is regressed against the APMI scales. The first-order scales are divided in eight categories following the sections of the APMI. The second-order scales are entered together in each regression. The control variables listed above are also entered in the first step of each regression. Significant results are reported in tables 63 to 71.

Predictors of servant-leadership

The aim of this part is to identify variables that predict the occurrence of specific servant-leadership managerial practices. Results, presented in table 58, indicate that narcissism has a negative impact on several APMI scales after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. Narcissism had a negative effect on the following scales: constituent inclusiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .09$, $\beta = -.31$, p < .10), civil rights and non-violence ($\Delta R^2 = .14$, $\beta = -.35$, p < .05), cooperative style in conflict and crisis management ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $\beta = -.35$, p < .10), judgment in conflict and crisis management ($\Delta R^2 = .09$, $\beta = -.32$, p < .10), ethical actions with foreign nations ($\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\beta = -.31$, p < .10), principled relations with Congress

 $(\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .10, \ \beta = -.32, \ \underline{p} < .10)$, and the higher-order scales of presidential constituent responsiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .12, \ \beta = -.34, \ \underline{p} < .10$) and principle-guided action ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .13, \ \beta = -.36, \ \underline{p} < .05$).

Crisis has a negative effect on judgment in conflict and crisis management (β = -.36, p<.10) and principled relations with Congress ($\beta=-.33$, p<.10). The other control variables did not have an impact on the criteria listed above. The result indicates that in periods of crisis, presidents might have more difficulties in exercising judgment due to a lack of information and increased uncertainty. For example, in the case of the attacks of the World Trade Center and Pentagon that occurred on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush had to make decisions on the basis of incomplete information, and take a course of action under high uncertainty. The impact of a crisis that is unexpected might yield important consequences for several constituents if decisions made by the president are inaccurate. In the case of the current crisis, foreign policy assessment plays a significant role in problem solving. Furthermore, the current crisis is detrimental to the domestic economy of the U.S. and directly affects citizens. Therefore, domestic policy vision is paramount to the adoption of proper solutions that will address the needs of all constituents that are concerned with the current crisis. The extent to which the visionary process is inclusive should determine whether constituents' needs are properly addressed. Presidential judgment will have an impact on the long-term consequences of the current crisis on both American citizens and foreign countries.

A narcissistic personality would certainly be detrimental to presidential judgment in periods of crisis. In the current research, narcissism has an impact primarily on the extent to which presidents respond to constituents' needs and interests, and act according to principles

of governance. Narcissism precludes sound judgment and ethical actions. Presidents who are high in narcissism will tend to be less concerned about the needs of others, and obtain lower scores on civil rights and non-violence. Even if narcissism is associated with creativity and charisma (Deluga, 1997), it might be detrimental to sound managerial practices. Presidents might have imagination and creativity to solve problems, but not the competencies required to implement proper solutions, due to a lack of disposition to care about others' needs. Therefore, narcissism is an important predictor of servant-leadership. It provides an indicator of the manner in which presidents will perform their duties and carry out their responsibilities.

As reported in table 59, Machiavellianism has a negative impact on cooperative style $(\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .10, \beta = -.38, p < .10)$, judgment in conflict and crisis management $(\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .09, \beta = -.36, p < .10)$, and ethical actions with foreign nations $(\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .08, \beta = -.34, p < .10)$, and a positive impact on individualized consideration to Congress members $(\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .17, \beta = .52, p < .05)$ after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress.

It can be concluded that Machiavellianism is a strong predictor of individualized consideration to Congress members. The current result obtained indicates that presidents who are high in Machiavellianism tend to use strategies aimed at circumventing the rules of Congress by directly contacting Congress members who support their views, and exercise influence on various committees. As for narcissism, Machiavellianism is detrimental to sound servant-leadership managerial practices in that it hinders presidential judgment and precludes ethical actions. Therefore, Machiavellianism is an important predictor of servant-leadership.

Charisma and impression management are entered together in hierarchical regressions

in order to assess their simultaneous effects on servant-leadership. As shown in table 60, charisma has a negative effect on ethical actions with foreign nations ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .11$, $\beta = ..33$, p< .10) after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. It can be concluded that when presidents are high in narcissism, Machiavellianism, and charisma, they are likely to bypass rules of conduct in order to achieve their objectives. Presidential charismatic appeal might be used as a strategy to gain national support to impose presidents' views on other nations. Results also indicate that impression management has a negative effect on constituent inclusiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .16$, $\beta = -.39$, p< .05). The result obtained might indicate that presidents project images that are misleading in order to serve their own purposes. In the preceding regressions, control variables did not have an impact on the criteria. It can be concluded that personality traits predict servant-leadership behaviors.

As reported in table 61, moral/legal standard has a negative influence on individualized consideration to Congress members ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .12$, $\beta = -.36$, $\underline{p} < .10$) after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. As mentioned previously, presidents who have high moral standards will not have a tendency to circumvent Congress in order to achieve their objectives.

Results indicate that belief in peace has a positive influence on ethical actions with foreign nations ($\Delta R^2 = .13$, $\beta = -.37$, p < .05) after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. It should be noted that a negative partial standardized beta of -.37 (p < .05) indicates a positive relationship given the scale used to measure political beliefs. This result suggests that when presidents have high belief in peace, they will tend to seek solutions to problems that yield positive consequences for foreign nations. To verify whether presidential political beliefs and values have an impact on presidential performance with respect to

foreign policy, additional tests were conducted with foreign policy effectiveness as a criterion. Results indicate that obligation has a positive influence on foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .18$, $\beta = .44$, p < .05). This result might suggest that when presidents have a strong sense of obligation, they will foster a constructive foreign policy. These results suggest that political beliefs and moral values might have an impact on the ethicality of the means used to achieve presidential objectives with respect to foreign policy.

As reported in table 62, empowerment, an important component of principle-guided action, is predicted by two presidential political beliefs: pacifism (belief in positive intentions of others) and idealism versus self-interest. As indicated in the results, belief in positive intentions of others has a positive effect on empowerment ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $\beta = -.34$, p< .10). The partial standardized beta of -.34 (p< .10) indicates a positive relationship given the scales used to measure political beliefs. Belief in idealism versus self-interest also has a positive impact on empowerment ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $\beta = -.38$, p< .10). These results suggest that when presidents attribute positive intentions to others they might trust their subordinates, and tend to delegate more responsibilities, and fully empower subordinates to make decisions. Presidents might also communicate principles of governance to subordinates in order to fully empower them. Furthermore, the less presidents are concerned with their self-interests, the more likely they will empower others to achieve presidential objectives, which indicates that presidents must be able to communicate principles of conduct and objectives pertaining to their visions. As expected, narcissism ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .11$, $\beta = -.33$, $\underline{p} < .10$) and Machiavellianism $(\Delta R^2 = .11, \beta = -.39, p < .10)$ have a negative impact on empowerment. When presidents are high in narcissism and Machiavellianism, they might prefer to keep control over subordinates and focus on their personal objectives with respect to policies. As a result, they are less likely to empower subordinates, and consider constituents' needs and interests in policy-making.

The previous results indicate that the personality traits, beliefs, and values of presidents are important predictors of servant-leadership managerial practices. Although presidential needs are associated with servant-leadership, they are not predictors of servant-leadership behaviors. Results for the regressions that were conducted to test the respective effect of each need on each APMI scale were not significant. Therefore, it can be concluded that servant-leadership is predicted by the distinctive personality traits, political beliefs, and responsibility values of presidents. As mentioned in the conceptual development, presidential needs might better predict long-term performance outcomes in that they are associated with a leader's general tendency to aim at certain objectives.

Predictive effects of servant-leadership scales

This part focuses on the predictive value of servant-leadership. It concentrates on the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance. First, it focuses on the servant-leadership managerial practices that predict presidential policy effectiveness. Second, it presents the APMI scales that can predict presidential social performance. Third, it analyzes the predictive effect of servant-leadership on presidential greatness.

Predictors of policy effectiveness

In this part, the servant-leadership scales are divided into eight sections following the APMI, in order to assess the respective effect of each set of managerial responsibilities on policy effectiveness. Therefore, for each indicator of performance, eight multiple hierarchical regressions are conducted to assess the best predictors of policy effectiveness. Furthermore,

the three higher-order scales are entered in separate regressions to assess whether a servantleadership dimension in particular determines presidential policy effectiveness.

As shown in table 63, the performance indicator of domestic policies (Neal) is predicted by three servant-leadership practices. First, it should be noted that crisis has a positive effect on domestic policies, which indicates that crisis has an impact on how experts in American history evaluate the performance of a president with respect to domestic policy. After controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress, it was found that impartial selection of Cabinet members (APMI section 1) predicts domestic policies ($\Delta R^2 = .17$, $\beta = .42$, p< .05). Furthermore, constituent inclusiveness (APMI section 3) is a strong predictor of domestic policies ($\Delta R^2 = .17$, $\beta = .44$, p< .01). It can be inferred from these results that when presidents make an impartial selection of Cabinet members, they are likely to capitalize on the strengths of their subordinates to solve domestic problems. Presidents who include constituents' views, needs, and interests in the decision-making process, are more likely to develop accurate solutions to domestic problems.

Finally, individualized consideration to Congress members (APMI section 5) has a positive effect on domestic policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .08$, $\beta = .33$, $\underline{p} < .10$). The extent to which presidents provide help to their supporters and address the needs of Congress members, predicts how effective they will be in achieving their objectives with respect to domestic policy.

As presented in table 64, impartial selection of Cabinet members (APMI section 1) predicts domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .51$, $\beta = .50$, $\underline{p} < .01$) after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. The control variables do not have an impact on the criterion. Empowerment ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .40$, $\beta = .64$, $\underline{p} < .01$) is also a strong predictor of domestic

policy effectiveness. These results might indicate that the extent to which presidents make an impartial selection of Cabinet members, determines whether they can empower members to make key decisions pertaining to domestic policy, which might in turn predict their effectiveness in responding to the challenges of their administration.

Analyses of the effect of the scales that pertain to the decision-making process (APMI section 3) reveal that consultative and participative style ($\Delta R^2 = .38$, $\beta = .38$, p < .05) and constituent inclusiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .38$, $\beta = .44$, p < .01) are both strong predictors of domestic policy effectiveness. This result might suggest that when presidents incorporate different views in the decision-making process, they are more likely to effectively address the needs of constituents, and develop a domestic policy that is suitable to those needs.

Interestingly, the indicator of principled relations with Congress (APMI section 5) is a predictor of domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .31$, $\beta = .58$, p < .01). It was found that individualized consideration to Congress members predicts domestic policies (Neal). However, it is not a predictor of domestic policy effectiveness. Experts who participated in the current survey and simultaneously evaluated the performance of presidents with respect to domestic policy and servant-leadership managerial practices, may have focused on the ethicality of the means and the ends in making their evaluations of presidential performance.

Foreign policy assessment (APMI section 6) is a predictor of domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .32$, $\beta = .50$, p < .01). It might be inferred that foreign policy assessment might be instrumental to effective domestic policy. Indeed, some foreign and domestic issues might be interrelated. Therefore, a lack of understanding of foreign issues may be reflected in the domestic policy.

As expected, domestic policy vision (APMI section 7) is a strong predictor of

domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .43$, $\beta = .40$, $\underline{p} < .05$). It should be noted that domestic policy vision encompasses inclusive views on domestic issues.

Wisdom in conflict and crisis management (APMI section 8) is a very strong predictor of domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .47$, $\beta = .88$, p < .01). Finally, experts who participated in this survey indicated that principle-guided action is the servant-leadership dimension that predicts domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .47$, $\beta = .48$, p < .10). These results indicate that the extent to which presidents show wisdom in solving conflicts, and follow principles of governance in solving domestic problems, determines domestic policy effectiveness.

Analyses pertaining to the predictive effect of servant-leadership on foreign policies (Neal) did not yield any significant result. However, as shown in table 65, several servant-leadership scales predict foreign policy effectiveness.

Empowerment (APMI section 2) is a predictor of foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .18$, $\beta = .43$, p < .05) after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. Consultative and participative style (APMI section 3) has a positive effect on foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .15$, $\beta = .39$, p < .10). It should be noted that minority and cultural diversity (APMI section 4) has a positive effect on foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $\beta = .51$, p < .10), but that civil rights and non-violence has a negative relationship with foreign policy effectiveness ($\beta = -.32$, n.s.). This result might indicate that when presidents protect civil rights and advocate non-violence, they may face important conflicts that impact how they are perceived by experts in American history. For example, Lyndon B. Johnson suspended all aid to India and Pakistan after a three-week war between the two countries

over Kashmir. The suspension of food shipments was particularly difficult for India which relied on grain reserves located in Kansas, and faced bad weather conditions and grain shortages (Hammond, 1992). Making foreign aid a habit, and using suspension of deliveries as a means to solve conflicts, can provoke major crises in foreign countries.

Principled relations with Congress (APMI section 5) predict foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .21$, $\beta = .55$, p < .05). Foreign policy assessment (APMI section 6) is the strongest predictor of foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .47$, $\beta = .90$, p < .01), followed by wisdom in conflict and crisis management (APMI section 8) with a change in R^2 of .47 and a standardized partial beta of .80 (p < .01).

These results indicate that presidential foreign policy assessment and wisdom in conflict and crisis management are crucial in dealing with foreign countries. The extent to which presidents empower subordinates, and use a consultative and participative style in decision-making, determines foreign policy effectiveness. Results also indicate that principle-guided action has a strong positive effect on foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = 40$, $\beta = 78$, p < .01). This suggests that principles of governance are extremely important with respect to foreign policy. Finally, results also indicate that constituent responsiveness is negatively related to foreign policy effectiveness ($\beta = -.42$, p < .10), which might suggest that presidents may have to achieve a balance between local constituents' interests and the needs of foreign countries to be effective. If presidents put more emphasis on the interests of local constituents, they might hinder effective foreign policy.

Predictors of social performance

As presented in table 66, three APMI scales predict presidential social performance. First, it should be noticed that crisis has a positive effect on social performance ($\underline{R}^2 = .19$, $\beta = .39$, $\underline{p} < .05$), which indicates that experts in American history take into account the impact of crises on an administration, when they evaluate the performance of a president.

Constituent inclusiveness (APMI section 3) has a positive impact on social performance ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .14$, $\beta = .39$, p < .05). Minority and cultural diversity (APMI section 4) also has a positive effect on social performance ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .10$, $\beta = .46$, p < .10), which suggests that the extent to which presidents consider the needs of various cultural communities and minorities enhances their social performance. Furthermore, results reveal that openness to foreign ideologies (APMI section 6) is also an important predictor of social performance ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .14$, $\beta = .44$, p < .10), which indicates that presidents who consider various points of view and integrate different ideologies into their visions will be more effective.

With respect to international relations, results that are presented in table 67, indicate that foreign policy assessment (APMI section 6) is a predictor of presidential effectiveness in the international domain. Interestingly, wisdom in conflict and crisis management (APMI section 8) predicts international relations ($\Delta R^2 = .17$, $\beta = .82$, p < .05), but judgment in conflict and crisis management has a negative impact on international relations ($\beta = -.55$, p < .10). This result suggests that even good judgment might be misleading. Presidents might not have access to all information needed. Furthermore, information received might not be accurate. Therefore, their judgment might reflect the quality of information available. Wisdom, on the other hand, depends on the unique experience of presidents. It might be used to develop new insights. It reflects presidential human skills in dealing with foreign issues.

Therefore, it might be more appropriate for presidents to use wisdom in order to evaluate their positions and likelihood of successful actions in international relations.

Results, presented in table 68, reveal that impartial selection, constituent balance, empowerment, and constituent inclusiveness are important predictors of domestic social issues. Impartial selection (APMI section1) has a positive effect ($\Delta R^2 = .45$, $\beta = .38$, p < .10) on domestic social issues. Constituent balance in the selection of Cabinet members and making appointments is also an important determinant of presidential performance with respect to domestic social issues ($\Delta R^2 = .45$, $\beta = .55$, p < .01). Constituent inclusiveness (APMI section 3) has a positive effect on domestic social issues ($\Delta R^2 = .12$, $\beta = .36$, p < .10). Furthermore, empowerment (APMI section 2) has a positive impact on domestic social issues ($\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\beta = .33$, p < .10), which indicates that when presidents make an impartial selection of Cabinet members, take into consideration the needs of constituents in making appointments and selecting a course of actions, and empower subordinates to achieve presidential objectives, they are more likely to find effective solutions to domestic problems.

Servant-leadership effects on domestic and international economy might appear counterintuitive. Results, presented in table 69, indicate that objective selection of Cabinet members, consultative and participative style, and principled relations with Congress have a negative effect on domestic and international economy.

Objective selection (APMI section 1) is an important predictor of domestic and international economy ($\Delta R^2 = .16$, $\beta = -.48$, p < .10), which suggests that when presidents select Cabinet members on the basis of specific criteria pertaining to member performance and competencies, they might not achieve high performance with respect to the economy. However, it was found that constituent balance in the selection of Cabinet members and

appointments has a positive effect on the criterion ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .16$, $\beta = .42$, $\underline{p} < .10$), which might suggest that balancing constituents' interests is a more important issue in dealing with domestic and international economy. These results suggest that in order to achieve balance, presidents might have to select members on the basis of other criteria such as their acquaintances with business leaders and other interpersonal relationships.

Consultative and participative style (APMI section 3) has a negative effect on domestic and international economy ($\Delta R^2 = .14$, $\beta = .42$, p < .05), which might suggest that the consultative and participative decision-making process yields solutions that are not optimal to economic growth. When presidents must satisfy several constituents, they may have to adopt solutions that are satisfactory, rather than optimal. As a consequence, the economy might not be paramount in the cognitive schemes of some decision-makers.

Finally, results indicate that principled relation with Congress (APMI section 5) has a negative effect on domestic and international economy ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .13$, $\beta = -.44$, $\underline{p} < .05$). This result suggests that presidents who are effective might circumvent or bypass Congress in order to achieve their objectives.

Predictors of presidential greatness

As presented in table 70, presidential greatness (Murray & Blessing) is affected by servant-leadership. It should be noted that historians tend to provide more conservative evaluations of contemporary presidents, which might indicate that they are more lenient toward older presidents. The year of the presidency has a negative impact on presidential greatness (β = -.34, p< .10).

Presidents who are impartial in the selection of Cabinet members (APMI section 1)

are more likely to be judged as great or near great by American historians ($\Delta R^2 = .22$, $\beta = .47$, p< .05). Empowerment (APMI section 2) has a positive impact on presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .13$, $\beta = .37$, p< .05). Constituent inclusiveness (APMI section 3) also has a positive effect on presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .22$, $\beta = .50$, p< .01). Finally, domestic policy vision (APMI section 7) plays a significant role in assessing presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .29$, $\beta = .40$, p< .05). It can be inferred from these results that domestic policy is affecting the evaluation of experts in American history with respect to presidential greatness. The extent to which presidents are impartial in their selection of Cabinet members, empower subordinates to make decisions, include various constituents' views in decision-making, and articulate an inclusive domestic policy vision, has an impact on how great they are in the course of American history. These results also reveal that foreign policy does not play a significant role in the assessment of presidential greatness. It seems that domestic issues will be more important and salient in experts' minds.

In Maranell's study, it was found that the year does not have an impact on the evaluation of experts in American history with respect to presidential greatness. However, as shown in table 71, the occurrence of a crisis has a positive effect on the perception of presidential greatness (β = .49, p< .05).

It was found that impartial selection ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .13$, $\beta = .45$, p < .10), constituent inclusiveness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .11$, $\beta = .37$, p < .10), openness to foreign ideologies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .16$, $\beta = .45$, p < .10), domestic policy vision ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .18$, $\beta = .36$, p < .10), and wisdom in conflict and crisis management ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .15$, $\beta = .62$, p < .10) have a positive effect on the experts' perception of presidential greatness. Presidential open-mindedness and wisdom seem to be important

determinants of greatness. The extent to which presidents integrate divergent ideologies in their foreign policy visions seems to affect the judgment of experts in American history with respect to presidential greatness.

Wisdom in conflict and crisis management is not impaired by external factors that might affect presidential decisions. However, results indicate that judgment in conflict and crisis management has a negative effect on presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .15$, $\beta = -.66$, p< .10). This result suggests that historians might not agree with presidential judgment. Presidents might not receive enough accurate information, and make decisions using information that might have been distorted. When historians exercise their judgment in order to rank or rate presidents, more information is available to them with respect to the various decisions presidents had to make during their presidency. Therefore, experts' judgment might be influenced by the availability of information.

Finally, as reported in table 71, results indicate that vision inclusiveness is the most important predictor of presidential greatness ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .15$, $\beta = .51$, $\underline{p} < .10$). Presidential ideology and position, with respect to various domestic and foreign issues, will determine the extent to which they will be perceived as great or near great in the course of American history. It can be concluded that servant-leadership managerial practices are important predictors of presidential performance with respect to several aspects of the presidency.

Hierarchical regressions were conducted to determine whether servant-leadership explains variance over and beyond charisma in predicting presidential performance. For each indicator of presidential performance, control variables were entered in the first step followed by charisma in the second step. Finally, servant-leadership, an index composed of the three higher-order factor scales, was entered in step three. Results are presented in table 80.

Results indicate that servant-leadership predicts presidential social performance $(\Delta R^2 = .11, p < .05; \beta = .34, p < .05)$ after controlling for the respective effects of crisis, composition of Congress, year, and charisma. As can be noticed, charisma has a positive effect on social performance $(\Delta R^2 = .13, p < .05)$. Therefore, it seems that charisma and servant-leadership have a positive effect on social performance although these different roles might be used in different contexts.

Results also indicate that servant-leadership has a positive effect on foreign policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .21$, p< .01) and domestic policy effectiveness ($\Delta R^2 = .46$, p< .01). However, it should be noted that the measurement of foreign and domestic policy effectiveness were taken from the APMI. Charisma did not have an effect on domestic and foreign policy effectiveness (APMI).

A significant result pertains to the effect of servant-leadership on presidential greatness. As expected, charisma has a positive effect on presidential greatness. However, servant-leadership has a positive effect on Maranell's indicator of presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .07$, p< .10) and Murray & Blessing's indicator of presidential greatness ($\Delta R^2 = .17$, p< .01) after controlling for the effect of charisma. Therefore, results indicate that servant-leadership determines the extent to which experts attribute greatness to a president.

An interesting finding pertains to the effect of servant-leadership on domestic policy, as measured by Neal. As expected, charisma has a positive effect on domestic policy (ΔR^2 = .18, p< .01). However, servant-leadership also has a positive effect on domestic policy (ΔR^2 = .10, p< .05) after controlling for charisma. This result indicates that presidents who are high in servant-leadership foster effective domestic policy.

Results indicate that servant-leadership has a positive effect on domestic social issues

 $(\Delta R^2 = .13, p < .05)$. However, charisma does not have a significant effect on domestic social issues. This result reveals that servant-leadership is a more effective style in dealing with domestic social issues.

With respect to international relations, findings were not significant. This might be due to the fact that many environmental factors might play a significant role in explaining results. Similarly, charisma and servant-leadership were not significantly related to foreign policy (Neal).

Finally, charisma has a positive effect on domestic and international economy (ΔR^2 = .11, p< .10). However, servant-leadership does not have an effect on domestic and international economy. This might be due to the fact that charisma is more instrumental and used as a means to achieve utilitarian ends. Servant-leadership focuses on the ethically of the means used to achieve presidential ends. Therefore, it might be more difficult to observe a relationship between servant-leadership and domestic and international economy.

In conclusion, servant-leadership explains presidential performance. Its effect goes beyond the effect of charisma. Servant-leadership and charismatic leadership are different leadership styles that can be effective under different circumstances and contexts.

The next section focuses on the analyses of moderating effects of personality characteristics and situational constraints on presidential performance. It is divided into three parts. First, it presents interactions between personality characteristics in predicting presidential performance. Second, it analyzes the moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance. Finally, it presents the moderating effect of crisis on the relationship between personality characteristics and presidential performance.

Moderating effects of personality characteristics

In this part, I concentrate first on hypotheses 2, 3, and 6. Then, I analyze the interaction effects of other personality characteristics on the following indicators of presidential performance: foreign policies, domestic policies, social performance, international relations, and domestic and international economy. Analyses of the interaction effects of personality characteristics on other indicators of performance did not yield significant results: foreign policy effectiveness, domestic policy effectiveness, domestic social issues, and greatness.

Hypotheses 2, 3, and 6 pertain to the need profiles of presidents. An attempt was made to analyze how different patterns of needs influence presidential performance. The focus is on the study of presidential moral needs, and their moderating effects on the relationships between need for power and presidential performance.

For each hypothesis, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted using the following variables as criteria: presidential social performance (APPE), domestic policies (Neal), foreign policies (Neal), domestic policy effectiveness (APMI), foreign policy effectiveness (APMI), domestic social issues, international relations, domestic and international economy, and greatness (Murray & Blessing, and Maranell).

Hypothesis 2 states that the relationship between need for power and presidential performance is positive when presidents have high need for altruism, and negative when presidents have low need for altruism. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to analyze the moderating effect of need for altruism on the relationship between need for power and indicators of presidential performance. As reported in table 72, results indicate

that need for altruism moderates the relationship between need for power and foreign policies (Neal). A significant change in \underline{R}^2 ($\Delta\underline{R}^2$ = .17, \underline{p} < .05) was obtained when the interaction term was entered in the regression. Figure 2 illustrates the interaction effect. When presidents have high need for altruism, there is a positive relationship between need for power and foreign policies. However, there is no relationship between need for power and foreign policies when presidents have low need for altruism. Other hierarchical regressions did not yield significant results. Therefore, hypothesis 2 is partially supported.

Hypothesis 3 states that the relationship between need for power and presidential performance is positive when presidents are high in protective governance, and negative when presidents are low in protective governance. As reported in table 72, protective governance interacts with need for power in predicting foreign policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .19$, $\underline{p} < .01$). Figure 3 illustrates the interaction effect. When presidents are high in protective governance, there is a positive relationship between need for power and foreign policies. There is no relationship between need for power and foreign policies when presidents are low in protective governance. As shown in table 74, the interaction term was also significant when presidential social performance was entered as the criterion variable ($\Delta R^2 = .08$, p< .10). The illustration of the interaction effect, presented in figure 4, reveals that when presidents are high in protective governance there is a positive relationship between need for power and social performance. When presidents are low on protective governance, the curve approximates a horizontal line. Hierarchical regression analyses that investigated the interaction effect on other indicators of performance did not yield significant statistical results. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is partially supported.

Hypothesis 6 was also tested to investigate the moderating effect of need for

affiliation. It states that there is a negative relationship between need for power and performance when presidents are high in n Aff, and a positive relationship when presidents are low in n Aff. Statistical results indicate no significant change in R² when the interaction term was entered in each hierarchical regression. Therefore, hypothesis 6 is rejected.

In conclusion, it can be inferred that moral needs play a significant role when presidents deal with foreign policy issues. However, moral needs do not seem to have an effect on domestic policy issues. Additional tests were conducted to investigate whether some personality characteristics interact in predicting presidential performance.

First, charismatic leadership and Machiavellianism were considered as competing explanations of presidential effectiveness. It has been demonstrated in the literature that charisma has a positive effect on performance. It was hypothesized in this dissertation that Machiavellianism is used as a means to influence constituents in interpersonal relationships in order to achieve presidential objectives. Therefore, the interaction between charismatic leadership and Machiavellianism was tested using all criteria listed above. As shown in tables 73 and 74, Machiavellianism and charisma interact in predicting domestic policies $(\Delta R^2 = .10, p < .05)$ and social performance $(\Delta R^2 = .15, p < .01)$. As illustrated in figures 5 and 6, when presidents are high in Machiavellianism, there is a positive relationship between charisma and the performance criteria of domestic policies and social performance. These results suggest that when presidents are high in charisma and use Machiavellian techniques to influence constituents in interpersonal relationships, they are more effective in achieving their objectives. However, it might be inferred that it is used primarily in dealing with domestic policy issues because presidents have less decision latitude and are more constrained by the complexity of the systems. Domestic policy can be conceived as a transactional universe in which presidents must cope with adversaries. Therefore, charisma and Machiavellianism might be effective means to achieve presidential objectives in a transactional context. Indeed, they might be means by which to overcome transactional political context. There was no significant interaction term when the variable of foreign policies (Neal) was entered as the criterion. Results indicate that the interaction effect did not yield significant results with the other performance criteria.

The interaction of charisma and narcissism was analyzed to determine if narcissism could also moderate the relationship between presidential charisma and performance. As shown in tables 73 and 75, narcissism has a positive moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and domestic policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2$ =.07, \underline{p} <.10), and a negative moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and international relations ($\Delta \underline{R}^2$ =.16, \underline{p} <.01). As illustrated in figure 7, when presidents are high in narcissism, there is a positive relationship between charisma and domestic policies. This result might indicate that presidents are effective in using charismatic leadership influence when they concentrate on their personal concerns. Figure 8 illustrates that when presidents are low in narcissism, charisma has a positive effect on international relations. When presidents are high in narcissism, charisma has a negative effect on international relations.

Narcissistic leaders who show a sense of entitlement might be more assertive and use strategies to uplift themselves. This may have a positive impact on constituents' perceptions of leaders. Adaptive narcissism might be effective when leaders present requests to constituents. They may appear more decisive and goal-oriented. However, maladaptive narcissism might not be effective. Although, data used in this research are not sufficient to test this hypothesis, it might be possible that maladaptive narcissism reflects in the

expression of negative concerns for others. Therefore, the interaction between narcissism and protective governance was tested to verify if it plays a role in predicting presidential performance.

As shown in tables 72 and 75, narcissism has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between protective governance and foreign policies (ΔR^2 = .34, p< .01), and international relations (ΔR^2 = .17, p< .01). As illustrated in figure 9, when presidents are high in narcissism there is a negative relationship between protective governance and foreign policies. Figure 10 illustrates that when presidents are low in narcissism there is a positive relationship between protective governance and international relations. When presidents are high in narcissism, there is a negative relationship between protective governance and international relations. It can be inferred that protective governance reflects maladaptive narcissism, which is ineffective in dealing with foreign countries. When presidents are low in narcissism, there is a positive relationship between protective governance and international relations, which indicates that when protective governance reflects good moral intentions, it has a positive influence on foreign policies.

As shown in table 76, results indicate that need for altruism has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between charisma, and domestic and international economy. As presented in figure 11, when presidents have low need for altruism, they are more effective using their charismatic appeal in order to deal with domestic and international economy. A negative relationship is observed between charisma, and domestic and international economy when presidents have high need for altruism.

Finally, an attempt was made to analyze whether the influence of charisma is moderated by a president's belief in service to others, which would indicate that presidents use charismatic appeals to better serve constituents. The interaction between charisma and belief in service to others was analyzed to determine if presidential service orientation has a negative or positive moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and presidential performance. As shown in table 72, belief in service has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between presidential charisma and foreign policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .09$, p< .10). Figure 12 illustrates the moderating effect, which indicates that charisma is effective when it does not reflect presidential belief in service to others. It can be inferred that presidents use their charismatic appeals to achieve their personal objectives.

In conclusion, moral needs play a significant role in determining presidential performance in dealing with foreign policy issues. Protective governance is effective in dealing with foreign policies only if it does not reflect narcissistic concerns. Charismatic leadership is effective in dealing with both domestic and foreign policies. It reflects presidents' concerns with their personal interests and objectives. Machiavellianism and narcissism have a positive moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and domestic policies, which indicate that charisma is effective when presidents use Machiavellian techniques to influence others to achieve their personal ends. When presidential expression of protective governance reflects narcissism, there is a negative effect on presidential performance with respect to foreign policies. Narcissism is particularly detrimental to international relations and presidential effectiveness in foreign policy-making. Finally, when presidents are low in belief in service to others, charisma has a positive relationship with foreign policies, which indicates that presidents who are concerned with their personal objectives and interests are more effective in using their charismatic appeals in dealing with foreign policy issues. Presidential charismatic appeals might be used as

strategies to gain support to implement solutions to foreign issues by imposing their views on foreign nations. Such strategies would reflect presidential concerns for their objectives and focus on supporters' needs rather than the needs of foreign countries.

Moderating effects of situational constraints

Composition of Congress

A contingency framework is used to understand the impact of the composition of Congress on the relationship between servant-leadership managerial practices and presidential performance. Previous results indicate that there is no relationship between composition of Congress and servant-leadership. However, composition of Congress might moderate the effect of servant-leadership managerial practices on presidential performance.

Hypothesis 16 states that composition of Congress has a moderating effect on the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance. To test this hypothesis, the ten performance criteria were regressed against each factor scale of the APMI. As shown in table 77, composition of Congress has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between three servant-leadership managerial practices and performance.

First, the higher order factor of principle-guided action has a negative relationship with foreign policies (Neal) when presidents are in a minority position. When presidents are in a majority position there is a positive relationship between principle-guided action and foreign policies ($\Delta R^2 = .16$, p< .05). Figure 13 illustrates the moderating effect.

Composition of Congress has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between wisdom in conflict, and crisis management and foreign policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2 = .15$, p< .05). As illustrated in figure 14, there is a positive relationship between wisdom and foreign

policies when presidents are in a majority position, and a negative relationship when presidents are in a minority position.

Composition of Congress moderates the relationship between impartial selection of Cabinet members and social performance ($\Delta \underline{R}^2$ = .08, p< .10). As illustrated in figure 15, composition of Congress has a negative moderating effect. Impartial selection is positively related to social performance when there is a majority in Congress. There is a negative relationship between impartial selection and social performance when there is a minority in Congress. It might be more difficult to make an impartial selection when presidents are in a minority position. They may try to select people who entirely support their views, and get support to redefine the dominant political ideology. An impartial selection might hinder this strategy. Therefore, it might appear less effective in the eyes of external observers when presidents hold a minority.

In conclusion, it seems that presidents have more difficulties in acting according to principles, and show wisdom when they are in a minority position in Congress. However, only one higher-order factor of servant-leadership, principle-guided action, is moderated by composition of Congress. It can be inferred that vision inclusiveness and constituent responsiveness are not moderated by structural constraints. Therefore, hypothesis 16 is partially supported.

Principle-guided action is negatively related to charisma (\underline{r} =-.33, p<.05). It is not an effective means in dealing with foreign policy issues and providing benefits to constituents when presidents are in minority position. Would charisma be more effective in achieving presidential objectives? To test this alternative explanation, regressions were conducted with the ten indicators of performance. As reported in table 78, results indicate that composition

of Congress has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and domestic policies ($\Delta \underline{R}^2$ = .07, \underline{p} < .10). Other regression analyses did not yield significant results. As illustrated in figure 16, charisma has a positive relationship with domestic policies when presidents are in a majority position. There is a negative relationship between charisma and domestic policies when presidents are in a minority position. Therefore, charisma is an effective means when presidents hold the majority in Congress. It is not an effective adaptive strategy when presidents are in a minority position. Composition of Congress has a negative moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and domestic social issues, which suggests that presidents might be more effective in using their charismatic appeals to solve domestic issues when they are in a majority position. Figure 17, illustrates that charisma has a positive influence on domestic social issues when presidents have the majority in Congress, and a negative influence when presidents are in a minority position. In conclusion, charisma is not an alternative means that can enhance presidential performance when presidents face strong opposition in Congress.

Crisis

Crises have a direct effect on presidential performance. The manner in which crises are handled might have an impact on how presidential performance is evaluated by external observers. Hypothesis 17 states that under crisis, presidents who are high in need for altruism should be more effective. To test this hypothesis ten regressions were conducted using altruism and crisis as the interaction term and the ten indicators of performance. The obtained significant result is reported in table 79. Need for altruism has a positive moderating effect on the relationship between crisis and social performance ($\Delta R^2 = .19$, p< .01). As illustrated

in figure 18, when presidents have high need for altruism, there is a positive relationship between crisis and social performance (APPE). However, there is also a positive relationship between crisis and social performance when need for altruism is low. The illustration suggests that when crises are not among the most intense, presidents who have low need for altruism would cope better with the situation, and solve problems in an effective manner. However, when crises are among the most intense, presidents who have high need for altruism would be more effective in serving constituents. Therefore, hypothesis 17 is partially supported.

In conclusion, when presidents have high need for altruism they may be more effective in dealing with major crises. When presidents are low on need for altruism, they may be more effective in dealing with crises that are less intense. Presidents who are high in altruism may invest more resources than necessary in solving conflicts when crises are not intense. Presidents who are less altruistic might be less concerned with others' needs and solve conflicts more expeditiously.

Hypothesis 19 stated that when presidents are high in Machiavellianism, the manner in which a president handles crises might not be effective. Therefore, the occurrence of crisis has a negative effect on presidential performance. Ten regressions were conducted to test this hypothesis using the ten indicators of performance. I did not obtain significant statistical results. Therefore, Machiavellian techniques do not seem to be effective in periods of crisis. However, results fail to demonstrate that Machiavellianism is not effective in periods of crisis. Therefore, hypothesis 19 is not supported.

Summary of the results

Three groups of hypotheses were tested. First, specific relationships between personality characteristics, servant-leadership behaviors and presidential performance were investigated. Second, the effects of situational constraints on servant-leadership behaviors and presidential performance were assessed. Finally, the relationships between servant-leadership behaviors and presidential performance were analyzed. A brief summary of the findings is presented below. Each hypothesis is stated. Results indicate whether each hypothesis is supported or not.

- Hypothesis 1: Empathy has a positive relationship with need for altruism. (Not supported)
- Hypothesis 2: The relationship between need for power and presidential performance is positive when presidents have high need for altruism, and negative when presidents have low need for altruism. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 3: The relationship between need for power and presidential performance is positive when presidents are high in protective governance, and negative when presidents are low in protective governance. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 4: There is a negative relationship between need for achievement and presidential performance. (Not supported)
- Hypothesis 5: There is a negative relationship between need for affiliation and presidential performance. (Not supported)
- Hypothesis 6: When presidents are high in n Aff, there is a negative relationship between need for power and presidential performance. When presidents are low in n Aff, there is a positive relationship between need for power and presidential performance.

 (Not supported)

- Hypothesis 7: When presidents hold positive political beliefs, they are more likely to act as servant-leaders. Therefore, there should be a positive relationship between presidential core political beliefs and servant-leadership behaviors.

 (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 8: When presidents are high in responsibility values, they should be more likely to exhibit servant-leadership behaviors. Therefore, there should be a positive relationship between presidential responsibility values and servant-leadership behaviors. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 9: Impression management and charisma will be negatively related to servantleadership behaviors and moral needs. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 10: Narcissism is positively related to charisma and impression management.

 (Supported)
- Hypothesis 11: Narcissism is negatively related to servant-leadership, empathy and need for altruism. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 12: Machiavellianism has a positive relationship with narcissism, charisma, and impression management. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 13: Machiavellianism has a negative relationship with servant-leadership, empathy, and need for altruism. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 14: Composition of Congress will be related to servant-leadership behavior and presidential performance. (Not supported)
- Hypothesis 15: Composition of Congress will be related to the expression of presidential needs. (Partially supported)

- Hypothesis 16: Composition of Congress will have a moderating effect on the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 17: Under crises, presidents who are high in need for altruism should be more effective. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 18: Servant-leadership should prevent crisis. Therefore, there should be a negative relationship between servant-leadership and crisis. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 19: When presidents are high in Machiavellianism, crises will present a negative relationship with presidential performance. (Not supported)
- Hypothesis 20: There is a negative relationship between servant-leadership behaviors and the historical context reflected by the years of the Administration. (Partially supported)
- Hypothesis 21: Servant-leadership has a positive relationship with presidential performance outcomes for constituents. (Supported)

Conclusion

In conclusion, servant-leadership and charismatic leadership are two different concepts. Charismatic leadership is negatively related to sound servant-leadership managerial practices. It is used as a means to circumvent the rules and procedures of Congress by getting public support through leaders' charismatic appeals. Charismatic leadership is used in conjunction with Machiavellian techniques to influence constituents. It reflects leaders' concerns for their personal interests and objectives. Indeed, it is positively related to narcissism. It is not associated with consultative and participative leadership style but, rather, reflects authoritarian and directive leadership. It does not refer to the actualization of moral needs. Charismatic leadership is effective in a transactional context. It is utilized to break the

rules and bring about changes to achieve presidential objectives. Machiavellianism, narcissism, and impression management hinder sound servant-leadership managerial practices.

Servant-leadership refers to ethical leadership practices, vision inclusiveness, and constituent responsiveness. It is associated with presidential social performance and effectiveness in dealing with foreign policy issues. It reflects leaders' moral needs, core political beliefs, and values. Although servant-leadership might not be associated with optimal performance, it is related to satisfactory solutions to priority problems. Over the years, the complexity of the system made it more difficult for presidents to act according to principles of governance. Furthermore, presidential minority position in Congress moderates the effect of principle-guided action on presidential performance. This moderating effect does not apply to vision inclusiveness, and constituent responsiveness. In conclusion, charismatic and servant-leadership refer to different leadership concepts that reflect different philosophical foundations and managerial practices.

The discussion will concentrate on the conceptual distinction between charismatic and servant-leadership. It will recapture important findings, and present implications for the study of leadership and managerial practices. It will explore the differential dynamics of domestic and foreign policy, and discuss issues pertaining to presidential performance.

Chapter Five

Discussion

The discussion focuses on key findings. It concentrates on the conceptual distinction between charismatic and servant-leadership, and raises methodological issues pertaining to the measurement of concepts and research design in the field of leadership. Based on the results, I propose a configuration of antecedents for both charismatic and servant-leadership. I suggest explanations of effective domestic and foreign policy. Finally, I suggest avenues for research in the field of leadership, and provide a summary of the strengths and limitations of the present research.

Servant-leadership: A multi-dimensional construct

The purpose of the current research was to identify the dimensions of servant-leadership. A deontological perspective was taken to analyze servant-leadership behaviors which contributes to the uniqueness of this study. The conceptualization of servant-leadership extended the scope of leadership actions and outcomes by focusing on leaders' interactions with various constituents rather than followers. It addressed the limitations of charismatic or transformational leadership by concentrating on ethical leadership behaviors that reflect democratic principles of governance. Furthermore, it focused on an external observer perspective, rather than a leader-follower approach, to assess the extent to which leaders display servant-leadership behaviors.

The American Presidential Management Inventory (APMI) was developed based on critical incidents that reflect managerial practices relevant to presidential administrative

responsibilities. The development of the APMI was centered on two major dimensions of servant-leadership: principle-guided action and vision inclusiveness. Factor analyses were conducted for each of the eight managerial responsibility sections of the APMI. Scales that were composed of a minimum of four items and demonstrated strong reliability were entered in a higher-order factor analysis to assess the higher-order factors of the APMI. In total, 18 scales were entered in the higher-order factor analysis, which yielded three factors: principle-guided action, constituent responsiveness, and vision inclusiveness. Results indicate that servant-leadership is a multidimensional construct. Principle-guided action refers to leaders' ethical leadership behavior in dealing with various constituents and fulfilling their duties. Constituent responsiveness refers to a leader's propensity to analyze and respond to constituents' needs and interests. Vision inclusiveness refers to a president's vision that takes into consideration different ideologies, cultural communities, minorities, and environmental assessment pertaining to domestic and foreign policy issues.

Servant-leadership: Its antecedents and predictors

This research suggests that servant-leadership and charismatic leadership were based on different philosophical assumptions. Charismatic leadership and servant-leadership should refer to different leaders' roles. Charismatic leadership refers to the rhetorical skills, and public appeals of presidents. Servant-leadership refers to the managerial practices that reflect presidential inclusive vision, consideration for others' needs and interests, and ethicality. An attempt was made to identify the personality characteristics or predispositions that are likely to exercise an effect on the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. Predictors of servant-leadership were analyzed and compared to the antecedents of charismatic leadership.

Empirical evidence demonstrates that servant-leadership and charismatic leadership are distinct concepts. A unique contribution of this research consists of an attempt to link personality characteristics with servant-leadership behaviors that are based on deontology. Correlations between personality characteristics and servant-leadership factor scales were analyzed to derive a configuration of personality characteristics that constitute antecedents of servant-leadership. Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to assess the predictive value of personality characteristics.

Correlations between presidential needs and servant-leadership factor scales reveal that need for altruism is associated with sound servant-leadership practices. Results highlight that need for altruism is positively related to constituent inclusiveness, minority inclusiveness, civil rights, and individualized consideration. Altruistic concerns reflect in presidential actions in dealing with diversity and civil rights. When leaders are high in need for altruism they are more likely to consider constituents' needs and interests, and include various cultural entities in the visionary process.

An important finding of this research pertains to the relationship between need for achievement and servant-leadership. Need for achievement is negatively related to consultative and participative leadership style, which means that presidents who are high in n Ach tend to concentrate on activities that contribute to their self-actualization, rather than dedicate time and energy to grasp others' ideas and concerns. However, need for achievement is positively related to cooperative style in conflict and crisis management. Therefore, presidents who are high in n Ach collaborate with others to achieve their objectives and solve problems that go beyond their range of action.

A meaningful finding consists of a negative relationship between need for affiliation

and ethical actions with other nations. As expected, when leaders are high in n Aff they might not behave in an ethical manner. Need for affiliation was also negatively related to impartial selection of Cabinet members, and principled-action with Congress. Therefore, presidential need for affiliation precludes sound servant-leadership managerial practices.

Protective governance, which reflects a need for avoidance, was negatively related to ethical actions with other nations, presidential relations with Congress, judgment in conflict and crisis management, and principle-guided action. When presidents try to protect some constituents or the nation by avoiding negative stimuli, it might hinder servant-leadership practices that reflect principles of governance. Protective governance was conceived as a moral need. Results indicate that even if there is a moral component in this need, it still reflects a negative concern for some constituents. Presidents who are high in protective governance might use Machiavellian strategies to avoid negative stimuli and hinder others' actions. Therefore, protective governance is not necessarily conducive to servant-leadership behavior.

The current research highlights that need for altruism is associated with sound presidential servant-leadership managerial practices. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the cognitive and rational aspects of the altruistic need play a significant role. Empathy, which pertains to one's capability to experience others' feelings and emotions, does not have a positive effect on servant-leadership, and is not positively related to altruism. Furthermore, it was found that empathy is an essential antecedent of Machiavellianism. High Mach leaders must have enough empathy to effectively manipulate others' feelings and emotions in interpersonal relationships.

Results indicate that even if presidential needs are related to servant-leadership, they

are not predictors of specific servant-leadership managerial practices after controlling for year, crisis, and composition of Congress. A possible explanation might be that needs better predict the performance outcomes. Indeed, as mentioned in the theoretical development, needs are associated with a tendency to aim at some specific goals.

Political beliefs of presidents were found to play a significant role in the occurrence of servant-leadership behaviors. Idealism versus self-interest was positively related to impartial selection, empowerment, consultative and participative style, principle-guided actions in presidential relations with Congress, ethical actions with other nations, and judgment in conflict and crisis management. Pacifism was positively related to empowerment and civil rights. Belief in service was positively related to objective selection, constituent inclusiveness, and domestic policy vision. Finally, belief in peace was positively related to ethical actions with other nations.

Results indicate that political beliefs such as pacifism and idealism predict empowerment, which is an important component of principle-guided action. Belief in peace is a predictor of ethical presidential actions in relation with foreign nations. These results demonstrate that presidential core political beliefs that reflect the nation's Zeitgeist constitute important antecedents and predictors of specific servant-leadership managerial practices.

Moral and/or legal standard of action was conceived as an instrumental value in the realization of end-state valued goals. Results confirm that moral and/or legal standard is an antecedent of vision inclusiveness which focuses on absolute values. Therefore, modal values contribute to the actualization of servant-leadership vision. Furthermore, moral and/or legal standard is a predictor of individualized consideration for Congress members. It predicts whether presidents will use moral means to achieve their ends.

The present study highlights that servant-leadership has a set of antecedents which is composed of needs, political beliefs, and responsibility values that contribute to sound managerial practices. Personality traits, political beliefs, and responsibility values predict servant-leadership behaviors.

Study of the personality traits that were selected for the purpose of assessing the discriminant validity of servant-leadership, reveals that charisma and Machiavellianism are negatively related to principle-guided action, and impression management to constituent responsiveness. Finally, narcissism was negatively related to both constituent responsiveness and principle-guided action. Results indicate that narcissism is an important predictor of servant-leadership. It has a negative effect on several servant-leadership managerial practices: constituent inclusiveness, civil rights and non-violence, cooperative style, judgment in conflict and crisis management, ethical actions with foreign nations, and principled relations with Congress. Machiavellianism is also an important predictor of servant-leadership managerial practices. It has a negative effect on several APMI scales: cooperative style, judgment in conflict and crisis management, and ethical actions with foreign nations. Charisma also has a negative effect on ethical actions with foreign nations. Machiavellianism, narcissism, and charisma are detrimental to sound servant-leadership managerial practices, particularly with respect to the ethicality of the means used to achieve presidential ends.

Charisma is associated with Machiavellianism and narcissism. It is used as a means to circumvent the systems and break the rules. By extension, it might also reflect presidential desire to change the dominant ideology in order to redefine the political era. Antecedents of charisma, narcissism and Machiavellianism, are negative predictors of servant-leadership

behaviors. It can be concluded that servant-leadership and charismatic leadership are based on different theoretical and philosophical assumptions, and refer to different sets of leaders' behaviors.

Servant-leadership and presidential performance

The current research focused on the social performance of presidents. A meaningful finding of this research pertains to the relationship between servant-leadership and presidential performance with respect to domestic social issues. The present study highlights that constituent responsiveness and principle-guided action are positively related to domestic social issues. Selection of Cabinet members and appointments are key determinants of presidential performance with respect to domestic social issues. Cabinet members contribute to the realization of presidential vision, and utilize their respective competencies and expertise. A strong selection determines whether presidents can empower Cabinet members and get support from qualified members. Finally, presidential wisdom and cooperative style were positively related to domestic social issues, which indicates that presidential virtuous dispositions, sound knowledge, and willingness to collaborate with others in solving conflicts, are important antecedents of performance with regard to domestic social issues.

Presidential social performance effectiveness (APPE) was also positively related to constituent responsiveness and vision inclusiveness. Openness to different ideologies and minority inclusiveness were strongly related to effective presidential social performance. These results highlight that effective social performance is sustained by presidential servant-leadership behavior. It should be noted that charisma is not significantly related to domestic social issues, and does not constitute an alternative means to achieve presidential objectives

with respect to domestic social issues. Charisma was positively related to social performance which is a subjective measure. Furthermore, an attribution of charisma might be made when presidents succeed in providing benefits to constituents. Whether this relationship is due to halo effect in the measurement of social performance remains an open question. However, the attribution of charisma is based on a general impression that is derived from presidential accomplishments. Therefore, the relationship between social performance and charisma might be due to a strong interface in the perceptions of raters. The APMI is *exclusively behavioral* and captures specific managerial responsibilities of presidents, which means that correlations between APMI scales and objective indicators of performance are not due to perceptual effects.

Another meaningful result of this research pertains to presidential action in domestic and international economy. When presidents perform the servant-leadership role, they might commit resources and seek solutions that are satisfactory rather than optimal. As a consequence, they are not evaluated as effective by external observers. Charisma is positively related to domestic and international economy, which indicates that raters are more likely to attribute charisma to presidents who bring about spectacular or major changes. However, effective changes might not necessarily respond to constituents' needs. For example, "Reaganomics" yielded major changes, but did not address salient needs of constituents.

In conclusion, servant-leadership behavior contributes to effective social performance. Presidents who perform the servant-leadership role are more likely to seek satisfactory solutions that respond to the needs of constituents. Charismatic leadership is not an alternative means to achieve presidential objectives pertaining to domestic social issues.

Results indicate that principle-guided action is a predictor of domestic and foreign policy effectiveness. It has a positive effect on policy effectiveness. Vision inclusiveness predicts presidential greatness. When presidents have an inclusive vision that incorporates various constituents' needs and interests, and considers the views of different cultural communities, minorities, and foreign nations, they are more likely to be ranked as great or near great. However, constituent responsiveness has a negative effect on foreign policy effectiveness, which might indicate that when presidents focus on the needs of local constituents in foreign policy assessment and select a course of actions based on these needs, they might be less responsive to the needs of foreign nations. The needs of local constituents might interfere with foreign policy.

In conclusion, servant-leadership practices predict domestic and foreign policy effectiveness, and have an effect on the perceptions of experts in American history who evaluates presidential greatness.

Charismatic leadership: Conceptual and methodological issues

A substantive contribution of this research consists of demystifying charisma. Researchers have studied charisma as a leadership style that contributes to effective organizational performance (e.g., Bass, 1985; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; House, 1977). However, research in the field of transformational or charismatic leadership does not attempt to test alternative leadership style effects on various indicators of leaders' performance. In this research, charisma was found to be an effective means to circumvent situational constraints such as heavy bureaucratic processes. Presidents utilize their charismatic appeal to get public support for their programs. It is used as a means to circumvent Congress. It

might be used in conjunction with Machiavellian techniques to influence Congress members in order to capitalize on their respective influence on various committees. Charisma was not the most important antecedent of presidential social performance. It was not related to servant-leadership managerial practices, moral needs, and responsibility values. Furthermore, it was negatively related to core political beliefs. Therefore, charisma is not a means that is aimed at actualizing presidential commitment to absolute values. It can be inferred that it reflects presidential adaptation to situational constraints. This raises an important theoretical issue: Does one really know what charisma is? Is it really a key determinant of effective organizational performance? When do leaders make a charismatic appeal? What are their goals? Does charisma reflect a leader's attempt to achieve his personal objectives?

Charisma was positively related to Machiavellianism and narcissism. It seemed to reflect a leader's personalized orientation in achieving his objectives. Charisma was not positively related to the dimensions of servant-leadership and did not refer to a leader's concerns for others' needs. The nature of charisma did not seem to reflect a socialized orientation. Servant-leadership offered more insight into the socialized orientation of leaders.

Other questions still need to be answered. Should researchers take a universal perspective in analyzing charismatic leaders? Should researchers use a contingency or adaptive-reactive framework?

In the current research charisma was conceived as a "public" attribution, which depends on presidential ability to cope with public role. It was conceived as a personality trait that reflects behavioral consistency. A leader-follower analytical framework might have led to other observations because it would concentrate on how followers perceive a leader. However, as mentioned in the conceptual development, charismatic leaders will tend to keep

followers around them and eliminate non-followers. As a consequence, positive assessments are naturally expected. This raises an important issue pertaining to the conceptualization and measurement of charismatic leadership. In this research, an external observer approach was used to measure all personality variables. Furthermore, the concept of servant-leadership was measured with items that reflect *presidential managerial behaviors*. There is no existing behavioral measure of charismatic or transformational leadership that can be used by *external observers*. The Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (Bass, 1985) is to be completed by subordinates who work in an organizational context and enter a formal leader-follower relationship. Furthermore, the measure gauges subordinates' feelings, which represent outcomes of transformational leadership. There is a need for more objective measures of charismatic or transformational leadership that can be utilized by external observers and various stakeholders. Leaders exercise their power to influence not only followers but various stakeholders as well. Moving from a leader-follower perspective to a stakeholder approach allows researchers to better gauge effective leaders' behaviors.

Researchers should investigate the circumstances under which charismatic leadership is effective. An attempt to assess whether charismatic leadership represents an adaptive-reactive strategy to rigid structural constraints should be made. Research needs to be done to assess the nature, scope, and consequences of actions of charismatic leaders.

Research designs in the study of leadership can be improved by testing competing explanations of leader performance. It should incorporate structural constraints that might directly impact or moderate the relationship between leadership variables and various indicators of performance. The study of leaders' transforming effects on societies or organizations should incorporate ethical dimensions of leadership and measures of social

performance that are not exclusively utilitarian.

Research in the field of leadership should also be ethical in itself. If researchers test models that are restricted to the study of personality variables and charismatic leadership effects on utilitarian indicators of performance, they might conclude that charisma and Machiavellianism are the most effective means to achieve organizational objectives. If researchers study leaders' creativity, narcissism, and charismatic leadership, they might again conclude that narcissism reflects leaders' creativity, which contributes to the realization of leaders' objectives (e.g., Deluga, 1997). However, competing explanations might reveal that ethical leadership practices are the most important determinants of a leader's performance.

Research in the field of leadership involves a danger where researchers' findings are used to select and develop future leaders. If studies focus on leaders' unethical behaviors and utilitarian standards of performance, it might be detrimental to the democratic systems of governance and industrial democracy. The choice of researchers might contribute to the future conditions of societies and organizations. Therefore, it is paramount to incorporate ethical standards of actions in leadership research. This study has demonstrated that sound servant-leadership managerial practices are related to leader performance. More research should attempt to operationalize the ethical dimensions of leadership within various organizational contexts. Furthermore, the short and long-term effects of charismatic leadership and servant-leadership practices should be assessed. Perhaps charismatic leaders implement changes that yield benefits on a short-term basis, but servant-leaders adopt measures that are beneficial to societies on the long-term basis. Longitudinal research, aimed at investigating the long-term positive consequences of leadership, needs to be conducted in various organizational settings and political institutions.

Antecedents of leadership

Personal, situational, and structural antecedents should be incorporated into research design to determine the extent to which personality characteristics predict leaders' performance compared to other contextual factors. Research needs to be conducted to further test how personality characteristics and situational or structural constraints interact in predicting leader performance. In this research, it was found that personality characteristics interact in predicting presidential performance. Moral needs had a positive moderating effect on the relationship between need for power and foreign policy effectiveness. Machiavellianism and narcissism had a positive moderating effect on the relationship between charisma and domestic policy effectiveness, which indicates that charisma is effective when used in conjunction with Machiavellian techniques to achieve presidential goals in a transactional political context. Research is needed to understand whether the goals, pursued by leaders who utilize their charismatic appeal and Machiavellian strategies of influence, correspond to moral ends or leaders' personal ends. However, even if the ends would be moral, the means would remain unethical. Narcissism negatively moderated the relationship between protective governance and foreign policy effectiveness, which suggests that when protective governance reflects narcissistic concerns, it is not likely to be effective when presidents deal with foreign nations. In conclusion, findings indicate that personality profiles play a significant role in predicting leaders' performance.

Study of situational and structural constraints highlighted that the composition of Congress had a negative moderating effect on the relationship between principle-guided action, wisdom, and foreign policy effectiveness. Composition of Congress also had a

negative moderating effect on the relationship between impartial selection and social performance. When presidents are in a minority position, they are constrained by the fact that they do not necessarily convey ideas that reflect the dominant ideology. Therefore, servant-leadership is less effective when presidents are in a minority position vis-à-vis Congress. However, it was also found that charisma is less effective in dealing with domestic policies when presidents are in a minority position. Thus, it does not constitute an alternative means to enhance presidential performance when presidents are in a minority position. Leaders' charismatic appeal might not be an effective means to re-define a current dominant ideology.

This research demonstrates that the situational context plays a significant role in determining how effective a president is in serving constituents. This research augments current knowledge on transforming leadership effects in that it highlights the fact that leadership should not be studied with a universal approach. A contingency framework is necessary to understand when leadership practices are more or less likely to be effective in achieving moral ends.

Antecedents of domestic and foreign policy

This research provides insight to the differential dynamics of domestic and foreign policy. Moral needs seemed to play a dominant role in presidential foreign policy effectiveness. Narcissism had a negative moderating effect on the relationship between protective governance and foreign policy. These results suggest that presidents must reveal clear positive concerns for others in order to be effective in dealing with foreign policy issues. When moral needs are associated with narcissistic concerns, which might reflect maladaptive narcissism or narcissistic rage, it shows a lack of sincere dedication to others'

needs. When presidents deal with foreign policy issues, which extend beyond their scope of action, they must work with partners who have decisional power as well. Therefore, false pretense and lack of commitment to others' needs and interests will be detrimental to successful foreign policy-making.

Charisma, Machiavellianism, and narcissism were determinants of domestic policy effectiveness. A possible explanation pertains to the context in which presidents must lead. When presidents deal with domestic issues they might revert to Machiavellian strategies of influence to advance their ideas and circumvent structural constraints. These strategies might be used to eliminate adversaries and provide support to their followers. A transactional context might be conducive to unethical presidential leadership practices. When presidents have more decision latitude, servant-leadership practices might be more effective. It was suggested that Congress is a tightly structured organization that involves coordination among various autonomous units. Presidents who are high in Machiavellianism might not be effective in dealing directly with Congress. However, they can use their charismatic appeal to counterbalance this difficulty, and exercise direct influence on individual Congress members. This strategy does not reflect the principles of the democratic system of government, but it seems effective to bring about changes in domestic policy.

However, it should be noted that the current research highlights the fact that servant-leadership is the most effective leadership style in dealing with domestic policy, more specifically with social issues. Therefore, the "charismatic Machiavellian technique" might be effective under certain specific circumstances. Furthermore, as specified above, it might be effective on a short-term basis. More research is needed to identify the personality characteristics, leadership practices, and structural constraints that are relevant for

understanding the specific dynamics of domestic and foreign policy.

Avenues of research in leadership

Research needs to be done to understand the moral character of leaders. Research in organizations should be aimed at identifying leadership practices that are aligned with the principles of industrial democracy. Leaders must be able to align individual, organizational, and various stakeholders' interests; respect different ideologies; and promote a vision that is based on absolute values. Researchers should investigate leadership practices that fit the transactional controls that are requested to prevent charismatic leaders' attempts at implementing policies that might preclude the rights of some stakeholders. Therefore, precise behavioral measures of ethical leadership practices need to be developed with reference to specific theories of ethics. Furthermore, a stakeholder perspective should be adopted in creating research designs to analyze leaders' influence on all relevant stakeholders.

Study of the core values that are inherent to ethical leadership practices in organizations also need to be done. Cultural relativism (Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999) should be used in studying leadership practices in different cultural contexts. Perceptions of moral actions vary according to the cultural context in which studies are conducted. Absolute values might be shared by different cultural communities in democratic societies, but the actualization of these values might not be achieved through similar practices. For example, directive leadership might be effective and ethical in countries like India. Therefore, researchers cannot conduct leadership studies using a universal perspective. In brief, ethical leadership practices should be defined based on theories of ethics and cultural contexts.

Servant-leadership is a meaningful construct that offers promising avenues of

research. Measures of servant-leadership practices should be elaborated in various organizational settings and cultural contexts. The specificities of the roles of leaders should be taken into consideration when designing measurement instruments. Generic questionnaires might not be appropriate in various contexts and organizational hierarchical levels. Servant-leadership practices should be defined in terms of the specific responsibilities leaders must fulfill. The development of measures should be based on the relationships that leaders have with various stakeholders. Stakeholders' needs and interests should be identified, and leader behaviors analyzed in terms of their responsiveness to stakeholders.

Managerial implications

Servant-leadership has important managerial implications. First, it can be used to analyze sound managerial practices of leaders. It might be used as a means to identify leaders who will contribute to the well being of various stakeholders. Furthermore, it can serve as the foundation of training programs in organizations. Servant-leadership pertains to ethical leader behaviors that can be taught. Principles of ethics can be implemented in organizations. Leaders need to develop leadership practices that serve the needs of various stakeholders. This research reveals that servant-leadership is effective and desirable. Therefore, care should be taken to introduce it into leadership training programs.

Training can be provided to leaders to enhance their sensitivity to others' needs. Personality tests can be administered to help leaders understand their tendency to select certain means to achieve organizational objectives. As demonstrated in the current research, beliefs, values, personality traits, and needs are related to servant-leadership managerial practices. Research is needed to incorporate other personality traits such as locus of control

to analyze how the personality of leaders affects servant-leadership managerial practices. Leaders should be aware of their preferences, and understand how their beliefs, values, and needs reflect in their managerial practices.

The training of leaders should encompass various aspects of their role such as decision-making, dealing with diversity and minorities, and ethical leadership practices. Leaders' training should be grounded in the principles of governance of a company. The development of a bill of rights and responsibilities might be used as a means to communicate to leaders what is expected of them. The training should target specific objectives that pertain to the performance of leaders. Specific performance outcomes should be used as indicators of leader performance to determine how servant-leadership practices can enhance performance. Outcomes for stakeholders who are affected by leaders' actions should be incorporated in assessing changes produced by such training.

Leadership practices can be learned, but stable personality characteristics are inherent in an individual. One can increase leaders' awareness of their personality characteristics and help them understand how they tend to behave in certain situations. However, one cannot modify stable personality traits. One can provoke changes in beliefs and promote organizational values through training and emphasize ethical leadership practices. Organizations need to present in an unequivocal manner, the rights and responsibilities of leaders, and provide them with comprehensive training that will highlight how servant-leadership practices relate to the diverse aspects of their roles.

Organizations should implement assessment centers to gather information pertaining to the personality characteristics of leaders. Assessment centers should provide information pertaining to leaders' capabilities, dispositions, and willingness to develop strong servant-

leadership competencies. Such information might be used to assign responsibilities.

Finally, the structure and processes of organizations might constitute important structural constraints that hinder sound leadership practices and foster the development of alternative unethical means directed toward achieving leaders' objectives. Organizations should pay attention to the structural constraints that might preclude servant-leadership practices. When organizations are too complex and overburdened by bureaucratic processes, leaders might try to circumvent the system using unethical means. More attention should be given to the organizational structural constraints that pertain to systems and processes.

Strengths and limitations of the present research

Major strengths

There are major strengths of this research that I would like to highlight. First, the study of the presidency provides a unique perspective to the analysis of leadership behaviors. Presidents throughout American history encountered major challenges and transformed the political scene. They head one of the most complex administrations in the world. The impact of their decisions and actions has widespread consequences for American citizens and foreign nations. Therefore, analyses of the servant-leadership managerial practices of presidents provide new insights in the study of the presidency. It is essential to understand how presidential servant-leadership managerial practices predict positive outcomes with respect to domestic and foreign policy. The identification of specific managerial practices, that reflect servant-leadership and yield positive outcomes for constituents, is crucial in determining presidential effectiveness. Results provided in the current research demonstrate that servant-leadership is a key concept in understanding leaders' effectiveness.

Second, experts in American history and political science who evaluated the servant-leadership practices of presidents have extensive knowledge in the study of the American presidency. The APMI is a very detailed questionnaire that requires in-depth knowledge of the administration of a president and the political era in which a president holds office. Experts who participated in the current survey provided a comprehensive view. The quality of expert ratings provides some ground for the sustainability of the results obtained in the analyses presented in the results' sections.

Third, measures of presidential needs, personality traits, political beliefs, and values were provided by independent groups of raters using different measures. Relationships between personality characteristics and servant-leadership practices do not reflect overlaps in measures or common method variance, but practical linkages among concepts. It was possible to assess the predictive value of servant-leadership managerial practices using independent measures of performance as well.

Finally, the conceptual development was based on clearly stated philosophical assumptions and democratic principles of governance. The definition of servant-leadership is based on deductive reasoning. Its measurement is rooted in concrete managerial practices derived from an in-depth study of facts, events, and behaviors. In conclusion, the current research provides a unique perspective in the study of presidential leadership.

Some limitations

There are specific limitations that I would like to address. These limitations pertain to the measurement of leadership practices and performance, sampling issues, statistical tests, and research design.

First, the development of the APMI was based on a limited pool of biographies which restrained the identification of critical incidents. The collection of critical incidents depended on the selection of events and interpretations of historians. As a consequence, the availability of information in the selected biographies and perspectives of historians shaped the measurement of servant-leadership. Furthermore, the fact that the current survey targeted American presidents had an impact on the number of managerial practices that could be derived from the content analysis.

An alternative method to develop a new measure of servant-leadership might concentrate on experts' assessments. Experts could provide a list of behaviors that fit the definition of servant-leadership dimensions. Items that capture the essence of these behaviors could be derived, and data could be collected using these items to evaluate several leaders. Exploratory factor analyses could be conducted to assess whether the same factor structure might emerge within various organizational settings. Such research would allow for the identification of servant-leadership managerial practices that are effective in various organizational settings.

The sample of experts who participated in this research was small. With 100 completed questionnaires it was impossible to perform an exploratory factor analysis with all items of the APMI. Therefore, the factor structure should be corroborated in future research.

This study is not totally free from common method variance. Measures of foreign and domestic policy effectiveness were incorporated within the APMI to assess how experts evaluate the performance of presidents with reference to servant-leadership. As a consequence, positive correlations obtained between these measures of performance and servant-leadership behaviors should be interpreted in a conservative manner. However, factor

scales of the APMI presented significant relationships with several secondary indicators of performance that were provided by other researchers. It was possible to assess whether servant-leadership is related to important objective indicators of performance.

The APPE is a subjective measure of performance which is based on broad criteria for assessing a president's performance. Although specific items pertaining to presidential servant-leadership outcomes for constituents were developed, raters might still be subject to halo effect. Raters might assess a president's performance, making reference to their general impression, which is based on a social construction that is shared by a cultural entity. This might explain the strong correlations obtained between the social performance of presidents and measures of greatness. Another limitation pertains to the concept of constituents. Historians did not receive a list of constituents to include in their evaluations. As a consequence, historians who used contemporary standards to assess the performance of all presidents might ignore some constituents such as slaves, women, and American Indians in their assessments. Therefore, the term constituents might not include all constituents that are relevant to a particular historical context.

Another important restriction pertains to the characteristics of the sample of experts that was used in the APMI and APPE survey. The pool of experts is quite homogeneous. I could not obtain enough young faculty members and women who are specialized in the American history. This is due to the fact that most faculties are composed of professors who will be retiring in the next ten years. Furthermore, experts in history who belong to various cultural communities do not specialize in American presidency but, rather, concentrate their work on the study of minorities in America. Therefore, I had to target experts who largely contributed to the development of current knowledge in the field of the American presidency.

Most of them already participated in previous polls, which might explain the fact that I obtained strong correlations between social performance (APPE) and presidential greatness. High inter-rater reliability was obtained in this research for both APMI factor scales and APPE measures of social performance. This might be due to the fact that experts who completed the surveys share a common understanding of the American presidency, and have similar opinions on the performance of presidents. In other words, they contributed to the development of the social construction of American presidents and corroborated presidential images that dominate the literature in American history. Research that focuses on the analysis of the social construction of presidential images in American history should be conducted to assess the extent to which it contributes to the variance obtained in measurement of presidential leadership practices and performance outcomes.

The APMI questionnaire used in the current research was not validated in a pre-test. It was used in this research, and correlations with other leadership related variables were analyzed to assess the extent to which there is discriminant validity. Multiple measures should be used in future research to assess the convergent validity of servant-leadership. However, this research still highlights that charismatic and servant-leadership are distinct concepts that refer to different theoretical and philosophical foundations.

The systematic procedure used to measure presidential needs and values was based on Atkinson's methods. However, the manual for measuring the altruistic motive had not been pre-tested to verify if the procedure would provide scores that would produce enough variance among subjects. Given the fact that presidential needs do not show a high rate of occurrence in inaugural addresses, alternative means for measuring needs should be developed in future research.

It was necessary to refer to a population of subjects who had very similar roles and occupied the same position in a specific organizational context. The sample size used in this research is small due to the fact that the population that was targeted is very limited. As a consequence, I had low statistical power, which constrained the number of tests that could be conducted. For example, it might have been interesting to test 3-way interaction effects to assess how personality characteristics, servant-leadership behaviors, and situational constraints interact in predicting presidential performance. However, the sample size was not large enough to conduct such a test and provide clear illustrations of interaction effects.

Historiometry is very practical to perform fundamental research in which new concepts are analyzed. However, it also restricts the research design used in this study. It was impossible to assess the precedence of personal and situational antecedents. Longitudinal studies need to be conducted to analyze the precedence of personality characteristics and situational constraints. Servant-leadership is conceived as an antecedent of social performance. Therefore, measures of servant-leadership should be completed at least six months before the performance of leaders is assessed. Given the population investigated in this research, it was impossible to assess the performance of leaders at a particular point in time. It would be interesting to have a sample of leaders who work currently in organizational settings. It would be possible to compare servant-leaders with non servant-leaders in order to determine whether there are differences in their social performance.

Finally, mediating effects should be tested to determine if servant-leadership behaviors mediate the relationship between personal and situational antecedents and social performance. The use of a larger sample size would allow researchers to test potential mediating effects simultaneously using structural equation modeling. Research should be

conducted to assess the precedence of antecedents. It should be combined with statistical tests that allow for testing simultaneous mediating effects. Testing mediating effects without assessing the time precedence of antecedents does not provide strong evidence of the predictive value of antecedents.

Concluding notes

The nature of leadership influence is still a topic of importance in organizational behavior that needs to be better understood. In the current research, the concept of servant-leadership was grounded in philosophical assumptions pertaining to the ethicality of leaders' behaviors. It was found that leaders' needs, core political beliefs, and responsibility values are important personality characteristics of leaders that play an important role in determining whether leaders adopt ethical means to achieve moral ends.

The personality, cultural, situational, and organizational factors that contribute to the development of ethical leaders need to be explored. Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) made an attempt to describe the moral character of leaders. Bass and Steidlmeier (1999) proposed several concepts that should be explored to better grasp the authenticity of leaders. These authors contributed to the development of a new trend in the field of leadership, which reflects researchers' concerns with the substance of leadership.

For many years, researchers were asking the following question: does leadership matter? The focus of research was on the how. How can one improve organizational performance? How can one make major changes to the status quo? In such context, leadership was either a romance or an effective means.

The trend appears to have moved to the why and what of leadership. What is

authenticity? What is sound leadership? What is the substance of leadership? Why should leaders act in an ethical manner? Why is servant-leadership desirable? Why does one elect charismatic leaders? Why does one want servant-leaders and still elect charismatic leaders? Finally, why does leadership matter?

This research was aimed at exploring the substance of leadership and the moral character of leaders. It should constitute a modest attempt to initiate empirical research in a new leadership trend. Hopefully, efforts will be dedicated to this new area of leadership research.

Table 1
Fleiss's coefficients of inter-rater reliability

President	Fleiss K	Var (K)	K/SE(K)	p-value	N (sentences)	<u>n</u> (coders)
Washington	.3026	.0359	1.60	n.s.	23	4
Adams J.	.1384	.1187	1.17	n.s.	37	5
Jefferson	.3683	.0069	4.42	.01	41	4
Madison	.4475	.1365	1.21	n.s.	21	4
Monroe	.3468	.0054	4.71	.01	123	4
Quincy Adams	.5093	0079	5.74	.01	76	4
Jackson	.6198	.0361	3.26	.01	25	3
Van Buren	.1370	.0047	2.00	.05	98	4
Harrison W.	.0860	.0036	1.43	n.s.	210	4
Polk	.2935	.0046	4.33	.01	153	3
Taylor	.1853	.0172	1.41	n.s.	22	3
Pierce	.1847	.0263	1.14	n.s.	104	3
Buchanan	.1845	.0078	2.09	.05	89	3
Lincoln	.2541	.0070	3.04	.01	131	4
Grant	.7324	.0218	4.96	.01	40	3
Hayes	.4777	.0138	4.07	.01	59	3
Garfield	.2519	.0045	3.76	.01	111	3
Cleveland	.2546	.0060	3.30	.01	43	4
Harrison B.	.2092	.0059	2.73	.01	157	3
McKinley	.3076	.0087	3.29	.01	130	3
Roosevelt T.	.2097	.0380	1.08	n.s.	33	3
Taft	.3046	.0086	3.28	.01	158	3
Wilson	.2629	.0155	2.11	.05	68	3
Harding	.3038	.0073	3.57	.01	148	3
Coolidge	.3446	.0047	5.02	.01	196	3
Hoover	.2049	.0050	2.91	.01	164	3
Roosevelt F.D.	.3250	.0233	2.13	.05	85	3
Truman	.2665	.0018	6.33	.01	116	4
Eisenhower	.2517	.0094	2.59	.01	118	3
Kennedy	.6772	.0269	4.12	.01	52	3
Johnson L.	.4521	.0051	6.30	.01	93	3
Nixon	.2383	.0123	2.15	.05	104	3
Carter	.1471	.0143	1.23	n.s.	51	3
Reagan	.2228	.0069	2.62	.01	124	3
Bush	.3576	.0105	3.50	.01	140	3

198

Table 2 Kappa's coefficients of inter-rater reliability

President	1/2	1/3	2/3	1/4	2/4	3/4
Washington	.6229**	1312+	.3947+	.1006+	.4162*	.4162*
Adams J. (1)	.1113+	.5375**	.0882+	.0412+	.1345+	1049+
Jefferson	.2638*	.5111**	.4887**	.2565*	.3788**	.3417**
Madison	.3505*	.0826+	.1509+	1.000**	.3505*	.0826+
Monroe	.2786**	.2575**	.3034**	.3627**	.5526**	.3563**
Quincy Adams	.6313**	.4036**	.3026**	.6871**	.5558**	.4188**
Jackson	.6842**	.1923+	.2500+	.5596**	.6471**	.3182+
Van Buren	.2425**	.2020**	.1867*	.2352**	.0762+	.1266**
Harrison W.	.0469+	.2244**	.1563**	.2076**	.0361+	.1348**
Polk	.3106**	.1849**	.3690**	1.2070		
Taylor	.2205+	.4590**	0522+			
Pierce	.2520**	.2688**	.0760+		1	
Buchanan	.1327+	.1523+	.3541**			
Lincoln	.2284**	.2800**	.3440**	.2027**	.1927**	.2897**
Grant	.5876**	1.000**	.5876**			
Hayes	.3798**	.6824**	.4194**	1		
Garfield	.1494*	.3111**	.3340**	l .	1	
Cleveland	.3741**	.2616**	.3323**	.1763+	.4894**	.1713+
Harrison B.	.4027**	.1382**	.2290**		1	,
McKinley	.1235+	.3105**	.4582**		1	
Roosevelt T.	.3503**	.2195+	.1357+	ļ	ļ	
Taft	.3354**	.2111**	.3679**	Ì	1	
Wilson	.2728**	.3318**	.2057*			ļ
Harding	.3897**	.2614**	.2510**		1	
Coolidge	.3678**	.3934**	.2663**		ŀ	
Hoover	.1808**	.2264**	.3195**	1		
Roosevelt F.D.	.3223**	.3220**	.5221**	 		
Truman	.2324**	.3401**	.2258**	.2902**	.4888**	ļ
Eisenhower	.2062**	.2684**	.2725**	i	Į.	.1971**
Kennedy	.7021**	.6738**	.7033**	l	j	
Johnson L.	.5918**	.4008**	.4054**			
Nixon	.2886**	.2947**	.2103**	1	i	
Carter	.2386*	.2495*	.0117+			}
Reagan	.4148**	.2582**	.1721**	1		
Bush	.2808**	.3567**	.4331**			

Note 1: A fifth coder provided ratings. The inter-rater reliability coefficients were .2292 (1/5), .1874 (2/5), .2026 (3/5), .1746 (4/5).

Significant at the .01 level.

Significant at the .05 level. Non significant

Table 3
Raw scores for need for altruism and protective governance

President	Need for altruism	Protective governance
Washington	2.10	0.00
Adams J.	1.08	0.43
Jefferson	7.12	1.16
Madison	1.70	0.00
Monroe	6.38	1.48
Quincy Adams	5.23	0.77
Jackson	4.89	0.00
Van Buren	4.96	2.02
Harrison W.	1.89	2.13
Polk	6.25	2.15
Taylor	10.11	0.00
Pierce	3.30	0.30
Buchanan	6.73	1.77
Lincoln	3.16	3.23
Grant	6.80	1.48
Hayes	5.51	0.00
Garfield	9.41	2.91
Cleveland	8.18	1.34
Harrison B.	6.76	1.29
McKinley	5.13	1.26
Roosevelt	6.10	1.02
Taft	4.18	0.80
Wilson	5.49	2.74
Harding	7.21	1.70
Coolidge	8.30	2.46
Hoover	8.80	1.87
Roosevelt F.D.	4.08	1.78
Truman	17.38	3.63
Eisenhower	7.06	2.44
Kennedy	6.35	0.00
Johnson L.	15.20	5.59
Nixon	6.43	2.51
Carter	8.60	1.23
Reagan	10.00	2.06
Bush	9.36	0.58

Table 4

Indicators of servant-leadership dimensions and components

Dimension	Component	Indicator
Vision's inclusiveness	Universal values	Equality
	į	Dignity
		Justice
		Human rights
		Liberty and freedom
		Legitimacy
	Constitutional values	Minorities rights
		Diversity among the citizenry
		Property rights
1		Procedural due process
		Equal protection
		Individuality
		Equity
	Humanitarian values	Truth
		Nonviolence
		Charity
		Life
Moral empowerment	Spiritual self-identity	Inner virtues
		Inner strengths
		Idealized self
	Moral happiness	Poverty
1		Education
		Health
		Culture
		Autonomy
Principle guided action	Role model	Respect of others
		Self-constrained behavior
1		Selflessness
		Single standard of conduct
	Minimized secrecy	Stands scrutiny
		Public information

Table 5
Classification of critical incidents

APMI section	Example of critical incidents	Indicators
Section 1	 He was a methodical administrator. He had been deluged with requests from men seeking appointments under the new government. With his usual blunt good sense he had refused to commit himself to any of them. He came to New York with clean hands. Cunliffe (1959) on George Washington Having put aside his excessive fear of appearing to use his position for personal benefit, he appointed friends, relatives, and loyal supporters whom before he held reservations about favoring. Shaw (1976) on John 	Prudence Principle-guided action Favoritism (reverse scored incident for principle-guided action)
Section 2	Adams 3. His leadership style was one of persuasion rather than dictation, and there is ample evidence to show that his advisers felt free to speak their own mind without fear of retribution. Cunningham (1987) on Thomas Jefferson	Freedom of expression Non authoritarian style (a posteriori indicator)
Section 3	4. The president called a Cabinet meeting for March 14, then he summoned Congress to a special session sixty days later, on May 15. He would have two months in which to reflect and decide on his most appropriate course. His first step was the Cabinet meeting, a session that Adams viewed as a means of debating options rather than making a final decision. Ferling (1992) on John Adams	Consultative and participative style (a posteriori indicator) Inclusiveness
	5. Throughout his presidency Jefferson continued to consult his entire Cabinet on foreign affairs. He never considered foreign policy something to be decided by the president and the secretary of state alone. Jefferson included all his Cabinet in the decision-making process. Cunningham (1987) on Thomas Jefferson	Consultative and participative style Inclusiveness
Section 4	6. He reduced the residence requirement for naturalization back to five years, from the fourteen-year requirement imposed by the Federalists. Cunningham (1987) on Thomas Jefferson	Minorities rights
	7. He considered Indians inferior and treated them paternalistically. In a letter to Calhoun in 1821 Jackson had ridiculed the "absurdity" of the concept of Indian sovereignty over land with the states. He wrote that the government save the Indians from "weakness and decay" by separating them from white men. Cole (1993) on the presidency of Andrew Jackson	Minorities rights (reverse scored incident) Vision exclusiveness (reverse scored incident; a posteriori indicator)

Table 5 (continued...)

Classification of critical incidents

APMI section	Example of critical incidents	Indicators
Section 5	8. Harrison declared that he should never intrude upon the duties of the legislative branch. Although he could recommend measures, he should not be seen as the source of legislation. Peterson (1989) on the presidencies of Harrison and Tyler	Principle-guided action in presidential relations with Congress; constitutional principle
	9. When Buchanan sought votes for the Lecompton constitution, passed because of massive vote fraud in Kansas, he bribed legislators with offers of jobs and with contracts to firms owned by relatives of congressmen. Shaw (1994) on the presidency of Abraham Lincoln	Principle-guided action (reverse scored incident)
Section 6	10. The key rapprochement, Adams believed, was the negotiation of a new treaty giving France the same commercial rights as had been extended to Great Britain in the Jay Treaty." Ferling (1992) on John Adams	Foreign policy: equality of rights
	11. Buchanan read to Polk a letter which he had received from Moses Beech of the New York Sun. The letter was written in Mexico City and indicated that the Mexicans were ready to sign a treaty and that he, the newspaper reporter, would negotiate it. The reporter was made a secret agent of the American Government but was not given any diplomatic power. Polk's reaction to the information was opportunistic. He mentioned that should the reporter make a treaty with them, and it is a good one, "I will waive his authority to make it, and submit it to Senate for ratification" McCoy (1960) on Polk and the presidency	Opportunism (reverse scored incident) Does not support diplomatic efforts
Section 7	12. Lincoln was being pressed to define more precisely, not just in theory, but in fact what he meant by holding and possessing the property of the government. Shaw (1994) on the presidency of Abraham Lincoln	Domestic visionary process: lack foresight (a posteriori indicator)
	13. Taylor and Crawford analyzed the disturbance concerning the Seminoles in 1842 more accurately than some people who could observe the hostilities on the spot. The president refused to call Florida militiamen into federal service. Instead of plunging the peninsula into combat, Taylor and Crawford relied on conciliation and reason. Hamilton (1966) on Zachary Taylor	Environmental assessment Non violence Disciplined reason as virtuous disposition
Section 8	14. Pereira made it clear that Chile was made another positive step by presenting no objection to withdraw parts of Matta's note that the United States considered disagreeable. Blaine clearly launched the peace initiative on his own without the support of Harrison or anybody else in the administration. Socolofsky & Spetter (1987) on the presidency of B. Harrison	Does not prevent escalation of conflict

Table 6 Factor Structure of the Selection of Cabinet Members and Appointments Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor Label Variance explained	Factor 1 Objective selection 38,8%	Factor 2 Impartial selection 11,2%	Factor 3 Constituent balance 10,3%
Item number		<u>.</u>	
C04	.79	.36	01
C01	. <i>77</i>	.34	.08
C07	.76	18	.30
C08	.67	02	.15
C05	.65	.27	.20
C15	.58	.43	.27
C02	16	.82	06
C13	.27	.65	.32
C10	.36	.62	.16
C06	.32	.58	.29
CII	.29	.02	.74
C03	05	.27	.72
C12	.40	.23	.68
C14	.43	.19	.58
C09	.40	.32	46

Table 7 Factor Structure of the Managing Subordinates Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Label	Empowerment	Control	Deceptive style
Variance explained	33,1%	20,7%	14,9%
Item number			
SUB06	.79	.01	.32
SUB09	. <i>78</i>	32	.06
SUB10	.77	.27	.19
SUB04	.75	24	02
SUB07	.61	.45	.41
SUB05	.59	.34	46
SUB01	05	.92	.03
SUB03	04	.88	10
SUB11	.34	.09	.79
SUB02	.17	23	.78
SUB08	.32	21	39

Table 8 Factor Structure of the Decision-making Process Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
Label	Consultative and participative style	Constituent inclusiveness	Directive style	Laissez-faire
Variance explained	42,3%	14,2%	9,3%	6,7%
Item number	15,575		7,270	5, 7.15
DEC07	.91	.07	.24	03
DEC08	.87	.03	.02	22
DEC11	.87	.12	.14	.09
DEC06	.86	.09	.10	10
DEC03	.82	.02	.26	.06
DEC09	.82	.17	.04	04
DEC10	.80	.28	07	.26
DEC02	.75	.09	.34	.14
DEC18	.72	.28	.12	17
DEC15	.56	.03	.47	.17
DEC19	.05	.89	.08	.12
DEC17	.18	.86	.04	13
DEC20	.19	.84	.05	.20
DEC16	.10	. <i>77</i> '	07	19
DEC01	.02	.12	.83	07
DEC12	.14	08	.81	15
DEC05	.41	.04	.72	.22
DEC14	21	07	14	.75
DEC04	.48	.08	.18	.56

Table 9 Factor Structure of the Dealing with Cultural Entities and Diversity Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2
Label	Minority inclusiveness	Civil rights
Variance explained	59,7%	8,1%
Item number		
DIV14	.89	.24
DIV10	.86	.04
DIV12	.83	.34
DIV08	.83	.34
DIV03	.83	.38
DIV13	.83	.26
DIV09	.82	.28
DIV07	.82	.27
DIV04	.80	.29
DIV11	.76	.01
DIV01	.56	.30
DIV05	16	. <i>77</i>
DIV06	.48	.73
DIV02	.56	.59
DIV16	.40	.56
DIV15	.40	.42

Table 10 Factor Structure of the Relations with Congress Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Label	Congress	Individualized	Moving Congress	Vision	Fostering
1	(principle-guided	consideration	forward	consistency	teamwork
Variance	action)			_	
explained	36,2%	11,4%	7,6%	6,5%	5,2%
Item number	<u>}</u>			_	
CONG21	.79	09	06	01	04
CONG09	.75	.15	.23	.04	.22
CONG26	.70	.03	.18	.21	.33
CONG06	.68	.06	.28	.09	08
CONG01	.67	.12	.34	.32	.13
CONG04	.62	.42	.09	.18	.26
CONG22	.56	10	33	.41	.11
CONG13	.56	.50	.06	.27	.11
CONG16	06	.83	.04	.14	.02
CONG15	.13	.77	.03	.15	.27
CONG08	.39	.62	.43	11	08
CONG03	00	.56	.11	.01	.44
CONG20	00	.48	.46	.33	.23
CONG10	.13	.09	.80	.26	.08
CONGII	.27	.11	.63	.29	.32
CONG24	.06	.07	.58	04	.23
CONG07	.36	.03	.57	.55	.06
CONG18	.01	.22	.16	.78	.18
CONG05	.30	.05			15
CONG17	.22	.27		.59	.34
CONG14	.07	.23	.19	.09	.79
CONG25	.29	.14			.78

Table 11 Factor Structure of the Foreign Policy and International Relations Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Label	Foreign policy	Ethical actions with other	Openness to foreign
Variance explained	assessment 47,2%	nations 13,4%	ideologies 7,2%
Item number			
FP14	.83	.03	.33
FP12	.82	.13	.41
FP07	.78	.28	.23
FP19	.65	.27	.49
FP03	.64	.58	.08
FP01	.58	.43	09
FP05	.55	.54	.20
FP16	.42	.27	.17
FP18	01	.77	16
FP09	.33	.76	.24
FP08	.21	.74	.40
FP02	.47	.71	.19
FP11	.29	17	.79
FP17	.08	.21	. <i>78</i>
FP10	.16	.41	.68
FP15	.41	.37	.58
FP04	.47	28	.57

Table 12
Factor Structure of the Domestic Policy and Issues Section of the APMI (n=93)

Factor Label	Factor 1 Constituent responsiveness	Factor 2 Domestic policy vision	Factor 3 Domestic policy values	Factor 4 Constituent protection
Variance explained	43,5%	9,9%	6,6%	5,5%
Item number				
DP05	.86	.13	10	.16
DP08	.81	.34	01	.10
DP04	.80	.24	08	.19
DP14	.70	.13	.32	15
DP17	.63	.35	.41	.15
DP01	.60	.33	.29	12
DP16	.56	.14	.14	.10
DP18	.55	.52	.34	.01
DP07	.32	.77	.21	.12
DP10	.31	.72	.19	07
DP09	.18	.72	.11	.25
DP13	.17	.71	.22	.16
DP12	.21	.70	.39	11
DP06	.42	.69	.05	.10
DP19	.56	.58	.29	.18
DP02	.15	.14	.75	.21
DP21	12		.64	.21
DP03	.17	.19	.58	.05
DPII	.02	14	.30	.75
DP20	.39	.38	.03	.68
DP15	.06		.15	.64

Note: A listwise deletion was used to account for missing values.

Table 13
Factor Structure of the Conflict and Crisis Management Section of the APMI $(\underline{n}=100)$

Wisdom 45,6%	Judgment 12,6%	Tactical 7,3%	Cooperative style 6,2%
.79		7,3%	6,2%
	101		
701	.10	.05	.15
.79	.13	.26	.13
.73	.26	.29	.18
.67	.23	.01	.51
.67	.33	.44	.08
.20	.83	.08	.15
.39	. <i>7</i> 9	02	.06
02	.68	.50	.07
.06	.67	.40	.01
.21	.63	.52	.01
.24	.25	.82	.17
.25	.22	.81	.03
.33	.20	.03	.79
			66
.39	.09	.32	.57
.51	.21	.40	.55
.46	.06	.46	.53
.21	.46	.23	.48
	.73 .67 .67 .20 .39 02 .06 .21 .24 .25	.73	.73 .26 .29 .67 .23 .01 .67 .33 .44 .20 .83 .08 .39 .79 02 02 .68 .50 .06 .67 .40 .21 .63 .52 .24 .25 .82 .25 .22 .81 .33 .20 .03 .36 .29 .34 .39 .09 .32 .51 .21 .40 .46 .06 .46

Table 14 Objective selection scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
C04	4.15	1.34	Appoint the best and most experienced people to serve the country.
C01	4.40	1.35	Select Cabinet members based on competencies and/or experience.
C07	3.41	1.55	Avoid conflicts of interest in making appointments.
C05	4.12	1.14	Select Cabinet members based on member reputation.
C08	2.96	1.71	Support bipartisanship.
C15	2.92	1.58	Avoid favoritism in making appointments.

Table 15 Impartial selection scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
C02	2.90	1.41	Surround himself with less high profile politicians. (Reverse scored)
C13	3.20	1.51	Show parochialism in selecting Cabinet members. (Reverse scored)
C10	3.58	1.48	Put forward clear reasons for member dismissals.
C06	2.92	1.70	Select his friends and relatives as advisers. (Reverse scored)

Table 16 Constituent balance scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
Cll	3.87	1.45	Secure geographic balance in selecting Cabinet members.
C03	3.78	1.34	Balance constituents' interests in selecting Cabinet members.
C12	3.21	1.32	Ensure representation of all constituents in selecting Cabinet members.
C14	2.67	1.40	Respect the principle of equal representation in making appointments.

Table 17 Empowerment scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
SUB10	3.98	1.34	Promote his subordinates based on merit.
SUB06	4.18	1.38	Make his subordinates feel free to speak their own minds without fear of retribution.
SUB09	3.72	1.38	Fully empower his subordinates.
SUB04	4.53	1.12	Entrust his subordinates with key responsibilities.
SUB07	3.94	1.71	Communicate ethical principles of governance to his subordinates.
SUB05	4.55	1.30	Use persuasion as a means to influence his subordinates.

Table 18 Control scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
SUB01	2.59	1.66	Exercise close supervision over his subordinates.
SUB03	2.63	1.56	Keep full control over his subordinates' actions.

Table 19 Deceptive style scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	[tem
SUBII	3.55	1.73	Use deception as a means of influencing his subordinates. (Reverse scored)
SUB02	2.07	1.49	Use his subordinates as means to achieve his own personal objectives. (Reverse
ļ.			scored)

Table 20 Consultative and participative style scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
DEC07	3.94	1.48	Use his Cabinet as a true advisory group.
DEC08	3.78	1.47	Call sessions with his Cabinet members to debate options.
DECII	4.29	1.28	Seek advice from his Cabinet members.
DEC06	3.96	1.18	Attempt to reach agreement on a solution with his Cabinet members.
DEC03	4.29	1.26	Discuss problems with his Cabinet members.
DEC09	3.34	1.54	Include all his Cabinet members in the decision-making process.
DEC10	3.99	1.46	Consult his Cabinet members in order to be informed of the affairs of their
	l		departments.
DEC02	3.92	1.38	Inform his advisers on a regular basis.
DEC18	3.45	1.19	Enhance consultation among his Cabinet members.
DEC15	2.60	1.50	Keep his Cabinet in the dark concerning his decisions. (Reverse scored)

Table 21 Constituent inclusiveness scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number	<u> </u>	deviation	
DEC19	3.55	1.21	Address constituents' needs and interests in the decision-making process.
DEC17	3.57	1.18	Be responsive to constituents in his decisions.
DEC20	3.16	1.20	Balance constituents' rights prior to making a decision.
DEC16	3.20	1.27	Consult constituents' representatives prior to making a decision.

Table 22 Directive style scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
DEC01	3.66	1.49	Override his Cabinet in communicating public information. (Reverse scored)
DEC12	3.93	1.48	Act independently of the advice of his Cabinet members. (Reverse scored)
DEC05	3.60	1.58	Bypass his Cabinet to achieve his objectives. (Reverse scored)

Table 23 Laissez-faire style scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
DEC14	2.47	1.32	Ask his Cabinet to make a decision. (Reverse scored)
DEC04	3.13	1.80	Be influenced by the schemes of a kitchen cabinet. (Reverse scored)

Table 24 Minority inclusiveness

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
DIV14	2.61	1.74	Give equal status to cultural entities.
DIV10	2.93	1.60	Provide help to cultural entities.
DIV09	2.89	1.76	Foster diversity of citizenry in the United States.
DIV08	2.90	1.67	Maintain egalitarian relationships with official representatives of cultural entities.
DIV12	2.96	1.88	Sustain equality of educational opportunities for all cultural entities.
DIV03	3.07	2.00	Emphasize equal rights and treatment for all cultural entities.
DIV13	2.89	2.02	Seek legitimate and lasting solutions to racial problems.
DIV07	2.50	1.63	Ensure representation of cultural entities within the body of the Administration.
DIV04	3.21	1.84	Promote the integration of certain cultural entities within American society.
DIVII	2.43	1.51	Support the autonomy of cultural entities.
DIV01	3.55	1.79	Identify with all American citizens.

Table 25 Civil rights

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
DIV05	3.21	1.81	Launch legal prosecutions against certain cultural entities. (Reverse scored)
DIV06	3.19	1.84	Represent a narrow American identity. (Reverse scored)
DIV02	3.37	1.65	Prevent violent conflicts between the Administration and cultural entities.
DIV16	4.09	1.66	Sustain individual freedom.
DIV15	3.58	1.59	Advocate equality in property rights.

Table 26
Congress (Principled action in relation with Congress)

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CONG21	2.94	1.71	Use coercive techniques to gain support from members of Congress. (Reverse scored)
CONG09	4.48	1.40	Submit international agreements to Congress.
CONG26	3.91	1.52	Keep Congress informed about actions carried out in the name of the United
1			States.
CONG06	3.92	1.54	Advocate full separation of powers.
CONG01	4.00	1.30	Provide information to members of Congress.
CONG04	4.00	1.15	Consider recommendations of Congress.
CONG22	4.73	1.42	Bribe members of Congress to gain their support. (Reverse scored)
CONG13	4.25	1.16	Support Congress responsiveness to narrow segments of public opinion. (Reverse scored)

Table 27
Individualized consideration to members of Congress

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CONG16	4.20	1.23	Communicate his willingness to aid his supporters.
CONG15	3.91	1.54	Spend time cultivating personal relationships with members of Congress.
CONG08	3.72	1.48	Understand individual concerns of Congress members.
CONG03	3.42	1.30	Rely on members of Congress to tap public opinion.
CONG20	4.27	1.45	Use persuasion as a means to gain support from members of Congress.

Table 28 Moving Congress forward

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CONG10	3.63	1.79	Be more progressive than Congress.
CONGII	3.99	1.57	Submit well-founded legislative requests to Congress.
CONG07	4.29	1.44	Present a clear vision to Congress.

Table 29 Vision consistency

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Îtem
		+	
CONG18	4.55	1.16	Show a high level of commitment to his legislative programs.
CONG05	4.50	1.42	Communicate his moral principles to Congress.
CONG17	4.03	1.39	Provide members of Congress with a consistent message about legislative
		1	programs.

Table 30 Fostering teamwork

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CONG25	3.30	1.43	Foster teamwork among cabinet members, congressional leaders, senators, staff members and other political leaders.
CONG14	3.14	1.53	Organize meetings between his Cabinet and members of Congress.

Table 31 Foreign policy assessment

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
FP14	3.88	1.71	Master the details of foreign policy-making.
FP12	3.92	1.73	Fully grasp the complexities of foreign issues.
FP07	4.11	1.51	Make objective and realistic assessments of foreign issues.
FP19	3.55	1.65	Understand divergent interests between foreign countries.
FP03	4.01	1.36	Sustain reciprocity with other nations.
FP01	3.77	1.47	Sustain equality of commercial rights for foreign countries in their exchanges with the United States.
FP05	4.25	1.37	Foster diplomatic efforts to solve conflicts with other nations.
FP16	2.39	1.06	Protect the rights of American citizens in foreign countries.

Table 32 Ethical actions with other nations

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number	1	deviation	
FP18	3.44	1.64	Emphasize the neutrality of the United States in dealing with conflicts among
1		1	foreign countries.
FP09	3.86	1.58	Respect the law in his relations with foreign countries.
FP08	3.79	1.51	Support the autonomy of other nations.
FP02	4.12	1.51	Seek peaceful resolution of conflicts with other nations.

Table 33 Openness to different ideologies

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
FP11	3.42	1.73	Seek political links with other parts of the world.
FP17	2.39	1.45	Help other nations reconcile divergent ideologies.
FP10	2.66	1.70	Emphasize human rights in his relations with other countries.
FP15	3.71	1.53	Facilitate negotiations for peace among other countries.
FP04	3.85	1.84	Advocate a policy of isolationism.

Table 34
Constituent responsiveness scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
DP05	3.71	1.37	Use his political skills to balance constituents' interests.
DP08	3.77	1.22	Respond to the needs of constituents.
DP04	3.79	1.34	Understand constituents' conditions, needs, and interests.
DP14	3.43	1.36	Meet with constituents to solve domestic problems.
DP01	3.23	1.45	Integrate divergent points of view of constituents within his vision.
DP17	3.62	1.27	Help constituents share a common understanding of problems.
DP16	3.47	1.34	Empower constituents to protect their own rights.
DP18	3.76	1.56	Encourage constituents to concentrate on common interests rather than selfish
l			concerns.

Table 35
Domestic policy vision scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
DP07	4.02	1.34	Foster constructive policy.
DP13	3.91	1.27	Promote fair trade practices.
DP09	3.94	1.41	Promote the dissemination of public information among the population.
DP10	4.00	1.74	Articulate a progressive long-term vision.
DP12	3.63	1.59	Develop an in-depth knowledge of economic and social issues.
DP06	4.03	1.46	Make comprehensive assessments of domestic issues.
DP19	3.59	1.48	Develop shared goals and/or plans with constituents.

Table 36
Domestic policy values scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
DP02	2.34	1.57	Put nationalism above humanitarian and/or constitutional values. (Reverse scored)
DP21	3.24	1.68	Prefer expediency to principle-guided action. (Reverse scored)
DP03	2.91	1.73	Maintain a laissez-faire policy. (Reverse scored)

Table 37
Constituent protection scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
DP11	3.63	1.66	Hamper the freedom of expression of American citizens. (Reverse scored)
DP20	3.73	1.63	Fight against special privileges for constituents.
DP15	3.41	1.53	Impede immoral business practices.

Table 38 Wisdom scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
CCM15	3.71	1.34	Effectively manage controversy.
CCM02	3.96	1.40	Distinguish the truth from rumors.
CCM06	3.84	1.43	Be prudent in making promises.
CCM14	3.91	1.51	Make irrational use of information. (Reverse scored)
CCM09	4.00	1.42	Show wisdom in negotiating with other parties.

Table 39
Judgment scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CCM11	3.17	1.42	Be prone to misjudgments. (Reverse scored)
CCM03	3.20	1.33	Be prone to miscalculation. (Reverse scored)
CCM04	2.89	1.44	Frame differences as barriers to conflict resolution. (Reverse scored)
CCM01	3.00	1.62	Exaggerate the strength that lay behind external threats. (Reverse scored)
CCM12	3.38	1.70	Distort information. (Reverse scored)

Table 40 Tactical scale

Item number	Mean	Standard deviation	Item
CCM18	2.82	1.76	Use threats to influence other parties. (Reverse scored)
CCM13	3.31	1.68	Precipitate a crisis. (Reverse scored)

Table 41
Cooperative style scale

Item	Mean	Standard	Item
number		deviation	
CCM17	3.41	1.47	Grasp other parties' concerns and limits.
CCM16	2.78	1.55	Understand other cultures.
CCM10	3.78	1.53	Emphasize cooperation to solve conflicts.
CCM05	3.26	1.40	Prevent conflicts from escalating.
CCM07	3.01	1.43	Increase the chances of a deadlock by his intransigency. (Reverse scored)

Table 42
Reliability coefficients and descriptive statistics for APMI section scales

Scale	Internal	Inter-rater	Mean	Standard	Number of	Number
	consistency	reliability		deviation	items	of cases
Objective selection	.84	.84	3.67	1.09	6	92
Impartial selection	.73	.77	3.14	1.14	4	91
Constituent balance	.78	.75	3.38	1.07	4	92
Empowerment	.83	.81	4.16	1.00	6	95
Control	.87	.83	2.63	1.50	2	96
Deceptive style	.67	.80	2.83	1.38	2	96
Consultative and participative	.95	.80	3.80	1.18	10	95
Constituent inclusiveness	.88	.72	3.38	1.03	4	92
Directive style	.77	.80	2.25	1.26	3	95
Minority inclusiveness	.96	.84	2.95	1.53	11	94
Civil rights	.78	.74	3.49	1.26		91
Congress (Principle-guided action)	.87	.82	3.98	1.07		92
Individualized consideration	.79	.70	3.87	1.10	5	93
Moving Congress forward	.82	.77	3.97	1.37		94
Vision consistency	.73	.73	4.38	1.07	3	94
Fostering teamwork	.82	.73	3.22	1.35		92
Foreign policy assessment	.90	.77	4.01	1.15	8	96
Ethical actions with other nations	.83	.83	3.82	1.27	4	96
Openness to foreign ideologies	.81	.80	3.23	1.24		95
Constituent responsiveness	.89	.80	3.62	1.08		93
Domestic policy vision	.91	.82	3.89	1.21	7	90
Domestic policy values	.60	.74	2.85	1.20		93
Constituent protection	.70	.83	3.59	1.27	3	95
Wisdom	.88	.83	3.88	1.18	5	96
Judgment	.86	.70	3.12	1.21	5	93
Tactical	.83	.79	3.04	1.60	2	95
Cooperative style	.86	.76	3.27	1.19	5	96

Note: Inter-rater reliability is measured with eta coefficient.

Table 43 Higher-order factor structure of the scales of the American Presidential Management Inventory $(\underline{n}=100)$

Factor	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Label	Principle-guided	Constituent	Vision
	action	responsiveness	inclusiveness
17	£4.20/	10.007	5.007
Variance explained	54,3%	10,0%	5,9%
Scale label			
Congress	.82	.26	.17
Empowerment	. <i>78</i>	.31	.19
Wisdom	.76	•	
Ethical actions with other nations	.76		
Consultative and participative style	.75		1
Judgment	.74	1	
Impartial selection	.66		1
Objective selection	.66	.26	.49
Cooperative style	.56	.49	.44
Constituent inclusiveness	.16	.84	.12
Constituent responsiveness	.30	.78	
Individualized consideration	.18	li de la constant de	I
Constituent balance	.42		1
Civil rights	.26	.56	.43
lo a la ligrama i la			
Openness to different ideologies	.16		1
Minority inclusiveness	.08		
Foreign policy assessment	.59		
Domestic policy vision	.53	.47	.57

Table 44
Scores for American presidents on servant-leadership dimensions

President	Principle-guided action	Constituent responsiveness	Vision inclusiveness
Washington	4.47	3.11	3.20
Adams J.	4.21	2.98	3.67
Jefferson	3.73	4.04	3.51
Madison	4.28	3.22	3.69
Monroe	4.33	3.00	3.12
Quincy Adams	3.25	2.80	3.26
Jackson	2.64	3.17	2.43
Van Buren	3.56	3.62	3.07
Harrison W. H.			
Polk	3.34	3.07	3.06
Taylor	4.63	4.33	4.10
Pierce	2.81	3.20	2.66
Buchanan	2.40	2.02	2.57
Lincoln	4.41	4.17	4.13
Grant	3.74	3.36	3.55
Hayes	5.40	4.40	4.56
Garfield			
Cleveland	3.96	3.29	3.08
Harrison B.	4.28	3.14	4.44
McKinley	4.03	4.43	3.72
Roosevelt T.	4.00	3.74	4.28
Taft	4.13	3.11	3.44
Wilson	3.04	2.91	3.76
Harding	2.66	2.96	1.07
Coolidge	3.74	3.59	2.62
Hoover	4.88	4.26	4.60
Roosevelt F.D.	3.89	4.14	4.22
Truman	3.83	4.01	4.25
Eisenhower	4.37	3.96	4.00
Kennedy	3.64	3.75	4.36
Johnson L.B.	3.17	4.57	4.24
Nixon	2.39	2.61	3.26
Carter	3.79	3.43	4.73
Reagan	1.97	1.95	1.50
Bush G.			
Mean	3.72	3.45	3.50
Standard deviation	0.78	0.67	0.86
Lower quartile	3.19	3.02	3.07
Median	3.81	3.33	3.61
Higher quartile1	4.28	4.03	4.24

Table 45
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 1

President	Objective selection	Impartial selection	Constituent balance
Washington	4.44	3.75	3.50
Adams J.	3.92	<i>3.88</i>	2.50
Jefferson	4.42	3.63	4.38
Madison	4.58	<i>3.88</i>	3.25
Monroe	4.33	<i>3.75</i>	4.33
Quincy Adams	3.50	3.25	3.25
Jackson	2.19	2.38	3.06
Van Buren	2.58	2.63	3.13
Harrison W. H.			İ
Polk	3.33	3.17	3.75
Taylor	4.67	4.25	4.75
Pierce	2.67	3.00	4.00
Buchanan	2.00	0.75	0.75
Lincoln	4.42	4.38	3.80
Grant	3.33	3.00	3.13
Hayes	5.50	5.00	4.25
Garfield			ļ
Cleveland	3.17	5.25	4.00
Harrison B.	4.50	2.63	4.00
McKinley	3.72	3.33	4.56
Roosevelt T.	3.50	3.94	3.23
Taft	3.25	3.63	2.63
Wilson	3.58	3.50	2.88
Harding	2.92	0.88	2.75
Coolidge	2.94	3.42	3.58
Hoover	5.33	3.63	3.13
Roosevelt F.D.	3.82	3.39	3.94
Truman	3.95	2.82	3.53
Eisenhower	5.06	3.44	3.75
Kennedy	3.61	2.92	2.58
Johnson L.B.	4.33	2.85	4.15
Nixon	3.42	2.69	2.38
Carter	4.25	2.50	3.88
Reagan	1.67	1.30	1.35
Bush G.			
Mean	3.72	3.21	3.38
Standard deviation	0.93	0.99	0.88
Lower quartile	3.19	2.72	2.92
Median	3.66	3.36	3.51
Higher quartile ¹	4.42	3.75	4.00

Table 46
Presidential scores on the scales of sections 2 and 3 of the APMI

President	Empowerment	Constituent inclusiveness	Consultative and participative style	
Washington	5.14	3.13	5.20	
wasnington Adams J.	4.33	3.38	3.65	
Adams 7. Jefferson	4.67	3.63	4.25	
Madison	5.00	2.88	4.50	
Madison Monroe	4.17	2.25	4.20	
Monroe Quincy Adams	3.17	2.75	3.00	
	3.04	3.24	2.60	
Jackson Van Dunne	3.58	3.38	3.90	
Van Buren	3.36	3.36	3.30	
Harrison W. H.	3.18	2.50	4.45	
Polk		4.00	5.10	
Taylor	4.83	3.00	2.70	
Pierce	2.67	l l	2.70 5.10	
Buchanan	2.83	1.50	3.70 4.05	
Lincoln	4.89	3.85		
Grant	3.92	2.75	4.20	
Hayes	5.83	4.00	5.70	
Garfield				
Cleveland	4.50	3.50	4.00	
Harrison B.	4.67	1.75	5.35	
McKinley	4.78	4.08	4.30	
Roosevelt T.	4.29	4.00	3.88	
Taft	4.25	2.25	3.95	
Wilson	3.08	2.75	2.50	
Harding	3.58	2.75	3.10	
Coolidge	3.67	3.83	3.80	
Hoover	5.83	3.75	4.95	
Roosevelt F.D.	4.50	3.72	3.47	
Truman	4.40	3.96	4.27	
Eisenhower	5.00	4.25	4.78	
Kennedy	4.61	3.25	3.97	
Johnson L.B.	3.80	4.40	3.92	
Nixon	2.54	2.43	2.02	
Carter	3.83	3.38	3.10	
Reagan	3.47	2.19	2.02	
Bush G.				
Mean	4.12	3.20	3.94	
Standard deviation	0.86	0.75	0.94	
Lower quartile	3.50	2.75	319	
Median	4.27	3.31	3.98	
Higher quartile ¹	4.75	3.84	4.49	

Table 47
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 4

President	Minority and cultural diversity	Civil rights
Washington	1.77	1.99
Adams J.	1.64	2.00
Jefferson	2.59	4.50
Madison	2.68	3.30
Monroe	2.00	2.40
Quincy Adams	2.64	2.60
Jackson	1.57	2.58
Van Buren	1.50	3.70
Harrison W. H.		
Polk	0.91	2.58
Taylor	4.27	5.20
Pierce	2.09	3.00
Buchanan	1.36	2.60
Lincoln	4.24	4.17
Grant	4.45	4.10
Hayes	4.81	5.20
Garfield		
Cleveland	1.45	2.80
Harrison B.	4.50	4.30
McKinley	2.58	3.87
Roosevelt T.	2.95	3.25
Taft	1.95	5.40
Wilson	2.81	3.20
Harding	1.00	2.20
Coolidge	2.33	3.40
Hoover	3.68	5.10
Roosevelt F.D.	3.50	3.89
Truman	4.25	4.14
Eisenhower	3.34	4.05
Kennedy	4.82	4.15
Johnson L.B.	5.06	4.40
Nixon	2.39	2.50
Carter	4.91	4.20
Reagan	1.27	2.24
Bush G.		2.2 .
Mean	2.85	3.53
Standard deviation	1.30	1.01
Lower quartile	1.67	2.59
Median	2.62	3.55
Higher quartile ¹	4.24	4.19

Table 48
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 5

President	Principled relations with Congress	Individualized consideration to	
		Congress members	
Washington	4.88	3.53	
Adams J.	4.81	3.40	
Jefferson	4.12	4.40	
Madison	4.50	3.40	
Monroe	4.75	3.00	
Quincy Adams	3.38	2.40	
Jackson	3.13	3.58	
Van Buren	4.06	4.40	
Harrison W. H.			
Polk	4.50	3.40	
Taylor	5.25	3.60	
Pierce	3.12	3.00	
Buchanan	4.12	3.60	
Lincoln	4.22	4.46	
Grant	4.12	3.70	
Hayes	5.75	3.80	
Garfield			
Cleveland	4.12	3.00	
Harrison B.	5.25	3.60	
McKinley	4.29	4.93	
Roosevelt T.	4.69	4.35	
Taft	5.38	2.50	
Wilson	2.93	2.60	
Harding	4.12	4.30	
Coolidge	4.50	3.87	
Hoover	5.19	4.50	
Roosevelt F.D.	3.75	4.62	
Truman	4.27	4.40	
Eisenhower	4.43	3.95	
Kennedy	3.96	4.27	
Johnson L.B.	4.00	5.16	
Nixon	2.13	2.80	
Carter	3.56	2.10	
Reagan	1.88	2.80	
Bush G.			
Mean	4.16	3.67	
Standard deviation	0.87	0.78	
Lower quartile	3.80	3.00	
Median	4.17	3.60	
Higher quartile ¹	4.73	4.39	

Table 49
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 6

President	Foreign policy assessment	Openness to foreign	Ethical actions with
		ideologies	foreign nations
Washington	4.42	2.49	5.20
Adams J.	5.50	3.40	5.50
Jefferson	3.88	3.00	4.12
Madison	4.62	3.40	4.25
Monroe	4.38	2.40	4.75
Quincy Adams	3.88	2.80	3.75
Jackson	3.20	1.85	3.16
Van Buren	4.00	2.70	4.25
Harrison W. H.			
Polk	4.69	2.70	2.50
Taylor	4.50	3.20	4.00
Pierce	2.62	2.80	2.75
Buchanan	3.62	3.00	3.00
Lincoln	4.17	2.92	4.75
Grant	4.06	2.90	4.50
Hayes	5.88	2.40	6.00
Garfield			
Cleveland	3.88	3.00	4.00
Harrison B.	4.81	3.60	4.50
McKinley	4.88	3.07	4.17
Roosevelt T.	4.75	4.50	3.88
Taft	3.94	4.50	5.50
Wilson	4.06	4.00	4.00
Harding	1.25	1.10	2.88
Coolidge	3.25	2.00	3.83
Hoover	5.31	3.60	5.62
Roosevelt F.D.	4.58	4.27	4.11
Truman	4.14	4.34	3.89
Eisenhower	4.53	4.05	3.94
Kennedy	4.45	3.87	2.83
Johnson L.B.	3.54	3.97	3.25
Nixon	4.16	3.35	2.00
Carter	4.63	5.10	4.62
Reagan	1.78	1.48	1.35
Bush G.			
Mean	4.10	3.18	3.96
Standard deviation	0.95	0.91	1.06
Lower quartile	3.88	2.70	3.18
Median	4.17	3.04	4.00
Higher quartile ¹	4.63	3.94	4.59

Table 50
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 7

President	Constituent responsiveness	Domestic policy vision
Washington	3.40	4.12
Adams J.	3.63	4.14
Jefferson	3.31	4.58
Madison	3.25	4.07
Monroe	3.00	3.71
Quincy Adams	3.00	3.71
Jackson	3.39	3.09
Van Buren	3.50	4.07
Harrison W. H.		
Polk	3.13	3.93
Taylor	4.12	4.43
Pierce	3.00	3.14
Buchanan	1.63	2.29
Lincoln	4.55	4.79
Grant	3.13	2.79
Hayes	4.75	5.14
Garfield		
Cleveland	3.13	4.00
Harrison B.	2.06	4.86
McKinley	4.71	4.38
Roosevelt T.	3.88	4.93
Taft	2.82	3.36
Wilson	3.12	4.14
Harding	2.82	0.93
Coolidge	3.25	2.90
Hoover	4.81	5.79
Roosevelt F.D.	4.51	4.54
Truman	4.02	4.27
Eisenhower	3.82	4.07
Kennedy	4.50	4.33
Johnson L.B.	4.40	4.49
Nixon	2.94	3.14
Carter	3.56	4.28
Reagan	1.60	1.46
Bush G.		
Mean	3.46	3.87
Standard deviation	0.83	1.02
Lower quartile	3.00	3.19
Median	3.35	4.09
Higher quartile ¹	4.09	4.47

Table 51
Presidential scores on the scales of the APMI section 8

President	Wisdom	Judgment	Cooperative style
Washington	4.50	3.70	3.37
Adams J.	4.50	3.90	3.40
Jefferson	3.40	1.90	3.10
Madison	4.60	3.70	3.50
Monroe	4.60	<i>3.80</i>	4.60
Quincy Adams	3.60	3.20	2.40
Jackson	3.15	2.18	1.98
Van Buren	4.20	3.50	3.30
Harrison W. H.			
Polk	4.80	2.30	1.80
Taylor	4.60	4.80	4.20
Pierce	2.80	2.60	3.00
Buchanan	1.40	1.20	1.20
Lincoln	4.98	3.75	4.21
Grant	3.90	3.10	3.60
Hayes	5.40	4.60	4.80
Garfield			
Cleveland	3.60	3.40	3.60
Harrison B.	4.30	4.20	3.10
McKinley	4.67	3.46	3.53
Roosevelt T.	4.40	3.40	4.05
Taft	4.20	4.40	2.60
Wilson	2.70	2.00	3.10
Harding	1.50	2.30	2.70
Coolidge	4.20	4.07	3.20
Hoover	5.10	3.60	4.70
Roosevelt F.D.	4.40	3.56	4.02
Truman	4.14	3.20	3.51
Eisenhower	4.70	4.05	3.90
Kennedy	4.27	2.73	3.87
Johnson L.B.	2.93	1.87	2.97
Nixon	2.55	1.65	2.50
Carter	4.60	2.70	4.90
Reagan	1.76	2.96	1.36
Bush G.			
Mean	3.89	3.18	3.31
Standard deviation	1.04	0.90	0.93
Lower quartile	3.21	2.37	2.77
Median	4.23	3.40	3.40
Higher quartile ¹	4.60	3.80	3.99

Table 52

Descriptive statistics and correlation matrix

Variables	ū	M	<u>ŞD</u>
1.Objective selection	32	3.71	.93
2. Impartial selection	32	3.21	.99
3. Constituent balance	32	3.38	.88
4. Empowerment	32	4.13	.86
5. Consultative and participative	32	3.94	.94
6. Constituent inclusiveness	32	3.20	.75
7. Minority inclusiveness	32	2.85	1.30
8. Civil rights	32	3.53	1.01
9. Congress	32	4.16	.87
10.Individualized consideration	32	3.67	.78
11. Foreign policy assessment	32	4.11	.95
12.Ethical actions	32	3.96	1.06
13.Openness to ideologies	32	3.18	.91
14.Constituent responsiveness	32	3.46	.83
15.Domestic policy vision	32	3.87	1.02
16.Wisdom	32	3.89	1.04
17.Judgment	32	3.18	.91
18.Cooperative style	32	3.31	.93
19.Constituent responsiveness (1)	32	3.45	.67
20. Vision inclusiveness (1)	32	3.50	.87
21.Principle-guided action (1)	32	3.72	.78
22.Achievement (2)	34	5.88	1.90
23.Affiliation (2)	34	3.16	1.88
24.Power (2)	34	3.36	2.01
25.Altruism (2)	35	6.61	3.38
26.Protective governance (2)	35	1.54	1.22
27.Empathy	35	5.24	.76
28.Idealism (3)	35	3.54	1.38
29.Pacifism (3)	35	3.97	.97 1.03
30.Peace (3)	35	3.52	
31.Service (3)	35 30	3.79 6.71	.85 2.62
32.Obligation (4)	30	5.83	3.32
33.Moral/legal standard (4)	34	.00	1.04
34.Machiavellianism (5)	34	20.03	8.12
35.Narcissism (5) 36.Impression management (5)	34	.00	.96
37.Charisma (5)	34	.00	1.05
38.Domestic policies (Neal)	33	139.08	50.68
39. Domestic policy effectiveness	32	2.10	.91
40.Foreign policies (Neal)	33	150.09	45.92
41. Foreign policy effectiveness	32	2.42	.94
42.Greatness (Maranell)	29	.53	4.82
43. Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	31	.13	1.01
44. War entry	31	1.32	.48
45.War avoidance	29	1.55	.51
46.International relations	34	.74	1.23
47.Domestic social issues	34	.51	.90
48.Domestic & international	34	.83	1.12
economy			1
49.Social performance	33	1.62	.76
50.Composition of Congress	35	1.26	.44
51.Crises	34	7.41	3.43
52.Year			
	-	-	-
		.1	<u> </u>

Table 52

Correlation matrix (continued...)

1. Objective selection 2. Impartial selection 3. Constituent balance 61 62 4. Empowerment 78 59 .44 5. Consultative and participative 60 36 .34 6. Constituent inclusiveness .47 .50 .57 7. Minority inclusiveness .63 .26 .40 .42 .42 9. Congress .60 .48 .40 .42 9. Congress .60 .48 .40 .42 9. Congress .60 .48 .40 .41 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .42 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .43 .	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Impartial selection 3. Constituent balance 4. Empowerment 5. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent inclusiveness 7. Minority inclusiveness 8. Civil rights 9. Congress 1. Foreign policy assessment 1. Toreign policy assessment 1. Toreign policy assessment 1. Constituent responsiveness 1. Constituent responsiveness 1. Constituent responsiveness 1. Congress 1. Congress 1. Constituent responsiveness 1. Congress 1. Co							
3. Constituent balance 4. Empowerment 5. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent inclusiveness 7. Minority inclusiveness 8. Civil rights 9. Congress 6. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent inclusiveness 8. Civil rights 9. Congress 6. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent inclusiveness 8. Civil rights 9. Congress 6. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent rights 9. Congress 6. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent responsiveness 6. Consultative actions 10. Individualized consideration 11. Foreign policy assessment 17. Constituent responsiveness 12. Ethical actions 13. Openness to ideologies 14. Constituent responsiveness 14. Constituent responsiveness 15. Constituent responsiveness 16. Constituent responsiveness 16. Constituent responsiveness 17. Color	- 1	1	i			İ	
4. Empowerment 5. Consultative and participative 6. Constituent inclusiveness 7. Minority inclusiveness 8. Civil rights 9. Congress 10. Individualized consideration 11. Foreign policy assessment 170	1	1		j			
5. Consultative and participative 60 .36 .34 6. Constituent inclusiveness .47 .50 .57 7. Minority inclusiveness .63 .26 .40 8. Civil rights .54 .34 .42 9. Congress .60 .48 .40 10. Individualized consideration .23 .02 .26 11. Foreign policy assessment .70 .63 .35 12. Ethical actions .65 .61 .38 13. Openness to ideologies .39 .25 .14 14. Constituent responsiveness .61 .55 .54 14. Constituent responsiveness .61 .55 .54 15. Domestic policy vision .76 .69 .57 16. Wisdom .70 .72 .60 17. Judgment .48 .60 .41 18. Cooperative style .75 .62 .61 19. Constituent responsiveness (1) .75 .62 .61 19. Constituent responsiveness (1)	İ		ł		ì		
6. Constituent inclusiveness	.71		1	1	l		
7. Minority inclusiveness 6.3 2.6 .40 8. Civil rights .54 .34 .42 9. Congress .60 .48 .40 10. Individualized consideration .23 .02 .26 11. Foreign policy assessment .70 .63 .35 12. Ethical actions .65 .61 .38 13. Openness to ideologies .39 .25 .14 14. Constituent responsiveness .61 .55 .54 15. Domestic policy vision .76 .69 .57 16. Wisdom .70 .72 .60 17. Judgment .48 .60 .41 18. Cooperative style .75 .62 .61 19. Constituent responsiveness (1) .64 .53 .72 20. Vision inclusiveness (1) .75 .54 .45 21. Principle-guided action (1) .83 .76 .59 22. Achievement (2) .11 .03 .07 22. Achievement (2) .01 <	.49	.18	ŀ				
8. Civil rights 9. Congress 60	.46	.31	.44			1	
9. Congress 10. Individualized consideration 23	.55	.46	.43	.72			
10. Individualized consideration 11. Foreign policy assessment 12. Ethical actions 13. Openness to ideologies 13. Openness to ideologies 14. Constituent responsiveness 15. Domestic policy vision 16. Wisdom 17. Judgment 18. Cooperative style 19. Constituent responsiveness (1) 19. Constituent responsiveness (1) 20. Vision inclusiveness (1) 21. Principle-guided action (1) 22. Achievement (2) 23. Affiliation (2) 24. Power (2) 25. Altruism (2) 26. Protective governance (2) 27. Empathy 28. Idealism (3) 29. Pacifism (3) 30. Peace (3) 31. Service (3) 32. Obligation (4) 33. Moral/legal standard (4) 34. Machiavellianism (5) 35. Narcissism (5) 36. Impression management (5) 37. Charisma (5) 38. Domestic policies (Neal) 49. Foreign policies (Neal) 49. Foreign policies (Neal) 41. Foreign policy effectiveness 44. War entry 45. War avoidance 46. International relations 47. Domestic & international economy 49. Social performance 28. 24. 16 50. Composition of Congress -09 111 -02	.71	.87	.23	24	.48	ļ	
11.Foreign policy assessment .70	.41	.38	.58	.28	.32	.30	
12.Ethical actions	.59	.58	.29	.44	.40	.57	.11
13.Openness to ideologies 39 25 14 14.Constituent responsiveness 61 55 54 15.Domestic policy vision 76 69 57 16.Wisdom 70 72 60 17.Judgment 48 60 41 18.Cooperative style 75 62 61 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 64 53 72 20.Vision inclusiveness (1) 75 54 45 21.Principle-guided action (1) 83 76 59 22.Achievement (2) 11 -03 -07 23.Affiliation (2) 09 -24 -18 24.Power (2) 02 03 -05 25.Altruism (2) 04 -23 10 26.Protective governance (2) -02 -21 -01 27.Empathy -10 -02 -10 28.Idealism (3) -21 -27 -04 29.Pacifism (3) -21 -27 -04 29.Pacifism (3) -21 -27 -04 29.Pacifism (3) -25 -10 -06 31.Service (3) -25 -10 -06 33.Moral/legal standard (4) 16 -09 19 34.Machiavellianism (5) -19 -23 -08 35.Narcissism (5) -21 -25 -25 36.Impression management (5) -11 -18 -25 37.Charisma (5) -17 -26 -05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) 17 -25 08 41.Foreign policy effectiveness 44 37 27 42.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) 27 42 24 44.War entry 16 08 21 45.War avoidance 20 21 17 45.War avoidance 20 21 17 46.International relations -01 01 12 47.Domestic & international economy -20 -07 11 49.Social performance 28 24 16 50.Composition of Congress -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -09 -07 -00 31. Composition of Congress -09	.70	.58	.28	.31	.46	.75	.08
14.Constituent responsiveness .61 .55 .54 15.Domestic policy vision .76 .69 .57 16.Wisdom .70 .72 .60 17.Judgment .48 .60 .41 18.Cooperative style .75 .62 .61 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) .64 .53 .72 20.Vision inclusiveness (1) .75 .54 .45 21.Principle-guided action (1) .83 .76 .59 22.Achievement (2) .11 .03 .07 23.Affiliation (2) .09 .24 .18 24.Power (2) .09 .24 .18 24.Power (2) .04 .23 .10 25.Altruism (2) .04 .23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) .02 .21 .01 27.Empathy .10 .02 .10 28.Idealism (3) .21 .27 .04 29.Pacifism (3) .21 .27 .04 29.Pacifism (3) .25 .10 .06 31.Service (3) .27 .10 .19 32.Obligation (4) .06 .02 .28 33.Moral/legal standard (4) .16 .09 .19 34.Machiavellianism (5) .19 .23 .08 35.Narcissism (5) .21 .25 .25 36.Impression management (5) .11 .18 .25 37.Charisma (5) .11 .26 .05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .17 .26 .05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 42.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 44.War entry .16 .08 .21 45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 46.International relations .01 .01 .12 47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy .20 .07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress .09 .11 .02	.21	.12	.24	.54	.49	.16	01
15.Domestic policy vision 16.Wisdom 17.Judgment 18.Cooperative style 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 20.Vision inclusiveness (1) 21.Principle-guided action (1) 22.Achievement (2) 23.Affiliation (2) 24.Power (2) 25.Altruism (2) 26.Protective governance (2) 27.Empathy 28.Idealism (3) 29.Pacifism (3) 30.Peace (3) 31.Service (3) 32.Obligation (4) 33.Moral/legal standard (4) 33.Moral/legal standard (4) 34.Machiavellianism (5) 35.Narcissism (5) 36.Impression management (5) 37.Charisma (5) 38.Domestic policies (Neal) 49.Foreign policy effectiveness 40.Foreign policy effectiveness 40.Foreign policy effectiveness 40.Foreign policy effectiveness 41.Foreign policy effectiveness 42.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) 43.Domestic occupance 46.International relations 47.Domestic social issues 48.Domestic social issues 48.Domestic social performance 28 24. 16 50.Composition of Congress	.59	.28	.85	.56	.52	.16	01 .59
16.Wisdom .70 .72 .60 17.Judgment .48 .60 .41 18.Cooperative style .75 .62 .61 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) .64 .53 .72 20.Vision inclusiveness (1) .83 .76 .59 21.Principle-guided action (1) .83 .76 .59 22.Achievement (2) .11 .03 .07 23.Affiliation (2) .09 .24 .18 24.Power (2) .02 .03 .05 25.Altruism (2) .04 .23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) .02 .01 .05 25.Altruism (2) .04 .23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) .02 .21 .01 27.Empathy .10 .02 .01 28.Idealism (3) .21 .27 .04 29.Pacifism (3) .12 .07 .19 30.Peace (3) .25 .10 .06 31.Service (3) .27 .10 .19 32.Obligation (4)	.65	.50	.53	.57	.56	.50	.31
17.Judgment 18.Cooperative style 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 20.Vision inclusiveness (1) 21.Principle-guided action (1) 22.Achievement (2) 23.Affiliation (2) 24.Power (2) 25.Altruism (2) 26.Protective governance (2) 27.Empathy 28.Idealism (3) 29.Pacifism (3) 30.Peace (3) 31.Service (3) 32.Obligation (4) 33.Moral/legal standard (4) 34.Machiavellianism (5) 35.Narcissism (5) 36.Impression management (5) 37.Charisma (5) 38.Domestic policies (Neal) 41.Foreign policy effectiveness 40.Foreign policy effectiveness 40.Foreign policy effectiveness 44.Greatness (Maranell) 43.Greatness (Maranell) 43.Composition of Congress 40.Composition of Congress 41.Composition of Congress 42.Composition of Congress 44.Composition of Congress 45.Composition of Congress 46.Composition of Congress 47.Domestic composition of Congress 48.Domestic composition of Congress	.71	.56	.47	.43	.48	.66	.18
18.Cooperative style 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 10.Constituent responsiveness (1) 11.Constituent (2) 11.Constituent (2) 11.Constituent (2) 11.Constituent (2) 11.Constituent (2) 11.Constituent (2) 12.Achievement (2	.68	.48	.29	.24	.39	.66	.03
19.Constituent responsiveness (1)	.70	.38	.58	.62	.51	.48	.22
20. Vision inclusiveness (1) 21. Principle-guided action (1) 22. Achievement (2) 23. Affiliation (2) 24. Power (2) 25. Altruism (2) 26. Protective governance (2) 27. Empathy 28. Idealism (3) 29. Pacifism (3) 30. Peace (3) 31. Service (3) 32. Obligation (4) 33. Moral/legal standard (4) 34. Machiavellianism (5) 35. Narcissism (5) 36. Impression management (5) 37. Charisma (5) 38. Domestic policies (Neal) 39. Domestic policies (Neal) 41. Foreign policy effectiveness 40. Foreign policy effectiveness 41. Foreign policy effectiveness 42. Greatness (Murray & Blessing) 43. Domestic & international economy 49. Social performance 50. Composition of Congress -09 -11 -03 -07 -18 -08 -07 -10 -02 -21 -27 -04 -29 -21 -27 -10 -19 -28 -28 -21 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25	.64	.30	.86	.64	.72	.47	.69
21.Principle-guided action (1) .83 .76 .59 22.Achievement (2) .11 .03 .07 23.Affiliation (2) .09 .24 .18 24.Power (2) .02 .03 .05 25.Altruism (2) .04 .23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) .02 .21 .01 27.Empathy .10 .02 .10 28.Idealism (3) .21 .27 .04 29.Pacifism (3) .12 .07 .19 30.Peace (3) .25 .10 .06 31.Service (3) .27 .10 .19 32.Obligation (4) .06 .02 .28 33.Moral/legal standard (4) .16 .09 .19 34.Machiavellianism (5) .19 .23 .08 35.Narcissism (5) .21 .25 .25 36.Impression management (5) .11 .18 .25 37.Charisma (5) .21 .25 .25 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policy	.58	.45	.47	.81	.68	43	.09
22.Achievement (2) .11 03 07 23.Affiliation (2) .09 24 18 24.Power (2) .02 .03 05 25.Altruism (2) .04 23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) 02 21 01 27.Empathy 10 02 .10 28.Idealism (3) 21 27 04 29.Pacifism (3) 12 .07 19 30.Peace (3) 25 10 06 31.Service (3) 27 10 19 32.Obligation (4) 06 02 .28 33.Moral/legal standard (4) .16 09 .19 34.Machiavellianism (5) 19 23 08 35.Narcissism (5) 21 25 25 37.Charisma (5) 11 18 25 37.Charisma (5) 11 18 25 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56	.89	.74	.46	.46	.56	84	.22
23.Affiliation (2)	05	35				- 34	24
24.Power (2) .02 .03 05 25.Altruism (2) .04 23 .10 26.Protective governance (2) 02 21 01 27.Empathy 10 02 .10 28.Idealism (3) 21 27 04 29.Pacifism (3) 12 .07 19 30.Peace (3) 25 10 06 31.Service (3) 27 10 19 32.Obligation (4) 06 02 .28 33.Moral/legal standard (4) .16 09 .19 34.Machiavellianism (5) 19 23 08 35.Narcissism (5) 21 25 25 36.Impression management (5) 11 18 25 37.Charisma (5) 17 26 05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56 40.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09			.08	.31	.14	-	
25.Altruism (2) 26.Protective governance (2) 27.Empathy 28.Idealism (3) 29.Pacifism (3) 30.Peace (3) 31.Service (3) 32.Obligation (4) 33.Moral/legal standard (4) 34.Machiavellianism (5) 35.Narcissism (5) 36.Impression management (5) 37.Charisma (5) 38.Domestic policies (Neal) 39.Domestic policies (Neal) 41.Foreign policy effectiveness 44. 37 42.Greatness (Maranell) 43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) 44.War entry 45.War avoidance 46.International relations 47.Domestic & international economy 49.Social performance 50.Composition of Congress -09 -01 -02 -21 -27 -10 -19 -06 -07 -19 -06 -07 -19 -07 -19 -08 -09 -09 -07 -11 -01 -02 -01 -04 -05 -05 -05 -05 -05 -05 -05 -05 -06 -07 -07 -07 -01 -01 -01 -02 -07 -07 -01 -01 -02 -07 -07 -01 -01 -02	08	21	.07	.32	03	34	.02
26. Protective governance (2) -02 -21 -01 27. Empathy -10 -02 .10 28. Idealism (3) -21 -27 -04 29. Pacifism (3) -12 .07 19 30. Peace (3) -25 10 06 31. Service (3) -27 10 19 32. Obligation (4) -06 -02 .28 33. Moral/legal standard (4) .16 -09 .19 34. Machiavellianism (5) 19 -23 08 35. Narcissism (5) 21 25 25 36. Impression management (5) 11 18 25 37. Charisma (5) 17 26 05 38. Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39. Domestic policies (Neal) .17 26 05 38. Domestic policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41. Foreign policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56 40. Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42. Greatness (Maranell) .17	.12	18	.06	.23	.17	23	- 04
27. Empathy 10 02 .10 28. Idealism (3) 21 27 04 29. Pacifism (3) 12 .07 19 30. Peace (3) 25 10 06 31. Service (3) 27 10 19 32. Obligation (4) 06 02 .28 33. Moral/legal standard (4) .16 09 .19 34. Machiavellianism (5) 19 23 08 35. Narcissism (5) 21 25 25 36. Impression management (5) 11 18 25 37. Charisma (5) 17 26 05 38. Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39. Domestic policies (Neal) .17 26 05 40. Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41. Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42. Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 43. Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 44. War entry .16 <	03	.03	.25	.37	.30	- 08	.24
28. Idealism (3) 29. Pacifism (3) 30. Peace (3) 31. Service (3) 32. Obligation (4) 33. Moral/legal standard (4) 34. Machiavellianism (5) 35. Narcissism (5) 36. Impression management (5) 37. Charisma (5) 38. Domestic policies (Neal) 39. Domestic policies (Neal) 41. Foreign policy effectiveness 40. Foreign policy effectiveness 41. Foreign policy effectiveness 42. Greatness (Maranell) 43. Greatness (Murray & Blessing) 44. War entry 45. War avoidance 46. International relations 47. Domestic & international economy 49. Social performance 50. Composition of Congress -09 -17 -27 -28 -27 -10 -19 -28 -28 -28 -28 -29 -29 -29 -29 -29 -20 -21 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25 -25	- 21	15	.19	.18	.08	24	.33
29.Pacifism (3)	32	35	.19	02	25	41	.05
30.Peace (3)	35	24	.13	.10	.04	28	.31
31.Service (3) -27 -10 -19	31	17	14	12	31	12	16
32.Obligation (4) -06 -02 .28	22	.08	06	.05	11	03	.14
33.Moral/legal standard (4) 16 -09 .19 34.Machiavellianism (5) -19 -23 -08 35.Narcissism (5) -21 -25 -25 36.Impression management (5) -11 -18 -25 37.Charisma (5) -17 -26 -05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 .44.War entry .16 .08 .21 .21 .45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 .47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 .48.Domestic & international economy .20 -07 .11 .49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 .50.Composition of Congress .09 .11 -02	17	.02	24	11	09	.04	01
34.Machiavellianism (5) 19 23 08 35.Narcissism (5) 21 25 25 36.Impression management (5) 11 18 25 37.Charisma (5) 17 26 05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 40.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 44.War entry .16 .08 .21 45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 46.International relations .01 .01 .12 47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	01	.01	.02	.12	.14	.03	09
35.Narcissism (5)	18	.02	14	.36	.25	06	34
36.Impression management (5)	34	23	.12	03	09	- 31	35
37.Charisma (5) 17 26 05 38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56 40.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 44.War entry .16 .08 .21 45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 46.International relations .01 .01 .12 47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	33	24	31	13	39	- 30	- 05
38.Domestic policies (Neal) .22 .34 .29 39.Domestic policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56 40.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 44.War entry .16 .08 .21 45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 46.International relations .01 .01 .12 47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy -20 -07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress -09 .11 -02	05	.04	- 33	33	31	12	03
39.Domestic policy effectiveness .61 .65 .56 .40.Foreign policies (Neal) .17 .25 .08 .41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27 .42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09 .43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 .44.War entry .16 .08 .21 .17 .45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 .46.International relations .01 .01 .12 .47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 .48.Domestic & international economy .20 .07 .11 .49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 .50.Composition of Congress .09 .11 .02	15	30	.21	.06	08	- 40	.35
40.Foreign policies (Neal)	.18	10	.42	.21	.04	12	.33
41.Foreign policy effectiveness .44 .37 .27	.61	.42	.51	.35	.36	.48	.33
42.Greatness (Maranell) .17 .30 .09	.17	15	.23	05	19	-16	.11
43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing) .27 .42 .24 .44.War entry .16 .08 .21 .45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 .46.International relations .01 .01 .12 .47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 .48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11 .49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 .50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	.42	.36	.20	.20	.00	.38	.04
44.War entry .16 .08 .21 45.War avoidance .20 .21 .17 46.International relations .01 .01 .12 47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	.16	23	.34	.12	04	24	.23
45.War avoidance	.31	.03	.38	.07	03	.02	.26
46.International relations	.12	02	.25	.24	.17	16	.42
47.Domestic social issues .35 .52 .61 48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11 49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	.12	.02	.15	.09	13	06	.20
48.Domestic & international economy 20 07 .11	03	.03	14	19	25	.10	08
49.Social performance .28 .24 .16 50.Composition of Congress 09 .11 02	.30	.06	.36	.12	1	.14	.15
50.Composition of Congress09 .1102	30	37	01	18	34	35	04
	.20	15	.41	.32	.06	15	.27
ا بنا به ما د ا مما	.02	04	.11	01	.08	15	09
51.Crises .05 14 11	14	34	.16	.18		39	.18
52.Year053017	07	30	.16	.38	.27	33	.08
	İ		Į.	1		1	1

Table 52

Correlation matrix (continued...)

Variables	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.Objective selection		1				1		İ		ŀ
2. Impartial selection	j	- 1	1	i			l	ļ	ŀ	1
3. Constituent balance	1	- 1	1		1	-	i	ļ	1	- 1
4. Empowerment	1		1		ŀ			i		1
5. Consultative and participative		l			1	l	İ	ŀ	i	
6. Constituent inclusiveness]		- 1	l.	ì		1		- 1
7. Minority inclusiveness	- 1	į			}		Į.	l		
8. Civil rights				l	i	İ		i		ļ
9. Congress			- 1	1	ļ	l				İ
10.Individualized consideration	1			ŀ		į	1			
11. Foreign policy assessment		ŀ			Į.				ļ	
12.Ethical actions	.66		1	l						
13.Openness to ideologies	.54	.29		İ		İ				ŀ
14.Constituent responsiveness	.54	.43	.34							i
15.Domestic policy vision	.83	.60	.59	.69						
16.Wisdom	.80	.70	.36	.65	.77					ł
17.Judgment	.44	.64	.07	.32	.38	.72	84			
18.Cooperative style	.59 .45	.66	.40	.70 .89	.66 .70	.73 .62	.56 .37	ر د		
19.Constituent responsiveness (1) 20.Vision inclusiveness (1)	.83	.43 .55	.33	.65	.70	.70	.37	.68 .70	.66	Ì
21.Principle-guided action (1)	.76	.33 .86	.30	.60	.74	.89	.33 .79	.80	.64	.68
22.Achievement (2)	.02	07	.36	.09	.07	14	22	.33	.01	.23
23.Affiliation (2)	08	36	.14	.13	08	18	31	.05	01	
23.Attitution (2) 24.Power (2)	03	20	.34	.14	.09	.03	07	.11	.07	.19
25.Altruism (2)	20	27	.16	.07	01	19	18	01	.25	12
26.Protective governance (2)	20	24	.17	.07	-01	22	33	- 12	.17	.05
27.Empathy	18	40	09	-01	09	26	27	- 17	.01	11
28.Idealism (3)	05	43	.14	.16	08	13	33	- 15	.15	03
29.Pacifism (3)	.29	08	l ii	01	.16	05	15	17	21	.11
30.Peace (3)	05	42	.02	11	04	05	17	- 22	05	-01
31.Service (3)	16	14	19	21	24	13	03	08	18	- 21
32.Obligation (4)	.06	01	.08	.09	07	.20	.19	.21	.13	.07
33.Moral/legal standard (4)	.03	04	.23	20	.02	15	13	.09	03	.23
34.Machiavellianism (5)	03	44	.07	.16	.03	12	41	23	.11	.01
35.Narcissism (5)	01	28	.13	24	.05	23	35	33	- 32	01
36.Impression management (5)	.14	08	12	17	.02	06	15	17	- 29	12
37.Charisma (5)	12	41	.14	.22	.10	19	32	17	.15	.05
38.Domestic policies (Neal)	.16	.05	.32	.42	.40	.21	07	.17	.37	.33
39.Domestic policy effectiveness	.57	.44	.28	.62	.65	.70	.39	.46	.61	.56
40.Foreign policies (Neal)	.24	.04	.25	.27	.26	.28	.03	.15	.10	.19
41.Foreign policy effectiveness	.66	.38	.22	.33	.39	.69	.48	.50	.21	.43
42.Greatness (Maranell)	.25	.07	.42	.42	.47	.22	16	.14	.26	.38
43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	.28	.22	.26	.41	.52	.34	.06	.17	.31	.33
44. War entry	.10	19	.26	.39	.30	.09	26	01	.38	.29
45.War avoidance	.25	01	.39	.12	.41	.19	07	.19	.12	.33
46 International relations	.26	.06	.14	05	.12	.25	06	.07	11	.07
47.Domestic social issues	.14	.18	.03	.38	.37	.41	.21	.37	.40	.21
48. Domestic & international economy	11	25	21	.03	05	10	31	08	07	17
49. Social performance	.21	.05	.49	.43	.37	.21	07	.25	.33	.42
50.Composition of Congress	03	16	15	02	04	07	.16		.01	06
51.Crises	.01	31	.30	.31	.12 09	03 19	37 15		.14	.19
52.Year	18	34	.35	.12	09	19	13	.07	.12	.13
				1						
<u></u>		<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>				1	<u> </u>

Table 52

Correlation matrix (continued...)

Table 52

Correlation matrix (continued...)

Variables	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1.Objective selection	Ī		•							_]
2. Impartial selection	i	- 1			ŀ			ŀ		ĺ
3. Constituent balance	l	ł				1				
4. Empowerment	ŀ	ŀ							ļ	}
5. Consultative and participative					ļ					ĺ
6. Constituent inclusiveness	ł	l							-	
7. Minority inclusiveness	l	l								ì
8. Civil rights										
9. Congress										-
10.Individualized consideration				:						
11.Foreign policy assessment								:		
12.Ethical actions		- 1								1
13.Openness to ideologies	1									
14.Constituent responsiveness										Ì
15.Domestic policy vision									:	
16.Wisdom										
17.Judgment					İ					
18.Cooperative style	İ					1		ŀ		
19.Constituent responsiveness (1)					1	!		Ì		
20. Vision inclusiveness (1)						i ·				
21.Principle-guided action (1)					i			1		
22.Achievement (2)					İ					
23.Affiliation (2)				ŀ	ļ					
24.Power (2)				•	ļ		ļ	Ì		
25.Altruism (2)						1	Ì	İ		
26.Protective governance (2)				ļ				!		
27.Empathy				1		1	İ	1		
28.Idealism (3)				ļ	ļ					
29.Pacifism (3)				!			ļ			
30.Peace (3)							1			
31.Service (3)		l		ţ					ļ	
32.Obligation (4)	.10			İ		Į			1	
33.Moral/legal standard (4)	.00	.26	1			ł	i			
34 Machiavellianism (5)	.16	08	18		ļ	ŀ	ļ	j		
35.Narcissism (5)	.15	14	10	.34	f	l		1	ì	
36.Impression management (5)	15	14	22	.22	.25	ļ.				
37.Charisma (5)	11	.09	15	.37	.57	.19	į			
38.Domestic policies (Neal)	20	.04	24	.24	.34	09	.52	1	İ	
39.Domestic policy effectiveness	16	.25	14	01	.02	21	.14	.68		
40.Foreign policies (Neal)	34	.00	34	.11	.27	.05	.35	.73	.51	
41.Foreign policy effectiveness	01	.41	09	04	.03	02	10	.16	.51	.46
42.Greatness (Maranell)	23	12	42	.25	.46	02	.55	.92	.63	.80
43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	30	17	42	.02	.40	.04	.49	.90	.70	.76
44. War entry	32	18	22	.31	.06	.09	36	.61	.43	.39
45.War avoidance	.03	18	15	.29	.56	.18	.34	.62	.39	.59
46. International relations	03	.27	.05	01	.24	.26	.00	.09	.26	.37
47.Domestic social issues	.05	.22	02	.05		19	19		.69	.46
48.Domestic & international economy	.20	.31	.17	.28	.29	.14	.35		.13	.23
49.Social performance	23	01	23	.24		16	.50		.59	.79
50.Composition of Congress	.19	02	01	.16		07	03		3	06
51.Crises	12	.17	.01	.45	.01	.07	.35		.15	.30
52.Year	02	.20	.21	.28	05	17	24		10	.03
Ja. I Cdi	02	.20	.21	.28	03	- ***	1 .24	02	10	.03
				ļ	<u> </u>		<u> </u>	1		

Table 52

Correlation matrix (continued...)

Variables	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
1.Objective selection		i	- 1					l		ŀ	i
2. Impartial selection			i		ŀ			i	Ì	İ	1
3. Constituent balance		į		1				ŀ		l l	l
4. Empowerment	- 1	l l	l		1	i		1	1		- 1
5. Consultative and participative		- 1			l						- 1
6. Constituent inclusiveness	i	1			1						
7. Minority inclusiveness	1				ŀ	1				1	Į.
8. Civil rights	l	l							ļ		
9. Congress	İ	1						i		1	
10.Individualized consideration		l			ļ						
11.Foreign policy assessment		- 1									
12.Ethical actions											
13.Openness to ideologies	- }	i						i			1
14.Constituent responsiveness	1	1								1	
15.Domestic policy vision	- 1	ŀ									
16.Wisdom	1										
17.Judgment											1
18.Cooperative style	i										
19.Constituent responsiveness (1)	1										
20. Vision inclusiveness (1)	- 1]
21.Principle-guided action (1)											
22.Achievement (2)	l					'			ł		1
23.Affiliation (2)								ļ			
24.Power (2)								1	ļ	ļ	
25.Altruism (2)									1	l	İ
26.Protective governance (2)					l i			<u> </u>]	
27.Empathy					1		}		ļ		
28.Idealism (3)							ł			1	
29.Pacifism (3)					ļ		İ	ì			
30.Peace (3)											
31.Service (3)							ļ				
` '					l		ì		ł		1
32.Obligation (4)				ľ					1	ŀ	
33.Moral/legal standard (4)				1	ļ		1	ł		Ī	
34.Machiavellianism (5)					l						
35.Narcissism (5)				Į.	ļ.	1	1	ļ	Ì		ļ
36.Impression management (5)					1						1
37.Charisma (5)					:	l	ļ			l	
38.Domestic policies (Neal)	1			ł	į		İ	<u> </u>	ŀ	ł	
39.Domestic policy effectiveness			İ		İ			1	ļ		
40.Foreign policies (Neal)				l	1	ļ	ļ	1	}	Į.	1
41.Foreign policy effectiveness			Ì	1	į		ĺ	1	i	Ì	ļ
42.Greatness (Maranell)	.20		l	ł	1				Į.		
43.Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	.21	.96		1		ļ	1	1	1	ļ	
44. War entry	09	.58	.53	l			}	1		1	1
45.War avoidance	.34	.62	.65	.36	i						
46.International relations	.46	.17	.16	.05	.51		1	1		1	1
47.Domestic social issues	.30	.52	.58	.32	.54	.28	1	1		1	1
48.Domestic & international economy	.01	.25	.15	05	.07	.34	.30	1			
49.Social performance	.29	.91	.82	.57	.66	.12	.53	.11			
50.Composition of Congress	.08	14	20	16	.04	31	.01	14	1		1
51.Crises	.01	.43	.16	.52	.23	.07	.14	.14		1 ł	
52.Year	07	.03	20	.12	.08	02	02	.02	.22	.25	.47
	i	1	l	1	1	L	L	l	1.	1	1

Table 53 Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and motives

Servant-leadership factor scales	Achievement	Affiliation	Power	Altruism	Protective governance	Empathy
Section 1						
Objective selection	.10	.08	.02	.04	01	10
Impartial selection	03	24	.03	23	21	02
Constituent balance	07	18	05	.10	01	.10
Section 2						
Empowerment	05	.08	.12	03	21	32
Section 3						
Consultative and participative style	35	21	18	.03	15	35
Constituent inclusiveness	.08	.07	.06	.25	.19	.19
Section 4						
Minority inclusiveness	.31	.32	.22	.37	.18	02
Civil rights	.14	03	.17	.30	.08	25
Section 5						
Congress (principle-guided action)	34	34	23	08	24	41
Individualized consideration	24	.02	04	.24	.33	.05
Section 6						
Foreign policy assessment	.02	08	03	20	20	18
Ethical actions with other nations	07	36	20	27	24	40
Openness to different ideologies	.36	.14	.34	.16	.17	09
Section 7	1					
Constituent responsiveness	.09	.13	.14	.07	.07	01
Domestic policy vision	.07	08	.09	01	01	09
Section 8						
Wisdom	14		.03	19	22	
Judgment	22		07	18	33	
Cooperative style	.33	.05	.11	01	12	17
Higher-order factor scales						
Constituent responsiveness	.01	L.	.07			1
Vision inclusiveness	.23					
Principle-guided action	11	22	05	15	25	31

Notes: Level of significance for correlation coefficients:

.23 (p< .10) .29 (p< .05) .38 (p< .01)

<u>N</u>=32

Table 54 Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales, political beliefs and responsibility values

Servant-leadership factor scales	Idealism	Pacifism	Peace	Service	Obligation	Moral/legal standard
Section 1						
Objective selection	21	12	25	27	06	.17
Impartial selection	27	.07	10	09	02	09
Constituent balance	04	19	06	19	.28	.19
Section 2						
Empowerment	35	31	22	17	01	18
Section 3						
Consultative and participative style	24	17	.08	.02	.01	.02
Constituent inclusiveness	.13	14	06	24	.02	14
Section 4		_				
Minority inclusiveness	.10	12	.05	11	.12	.36
Civil rights	.04	31	11	09	.14	.25
Section 5					ļ	
Congress (principle-guided action)	28	12	03	.04	.03	06
Individualized consideration	.31	16	.14	01	09	34
Section 6	į				<u> </u>	
Foreign policy assessment	05	.29	05	16	.06	.03
Ethical actions with other nations	43	08	42	14	01	04
Openness to different ideologies	.14	.12	.02	19	.08	.23
Section 7			ļ			
Constituent responsiveness	.16	01	10	21	.09	20
Domestic policy vision	08	.16	04	24	07	.02
Section 8						
Wisdom	13	.05	05	13	.20	15
Judgment	33	15	17	03	.19	13
Cooperative style	15	17	22	08	.21	.09
Higher-order factor scales						
Constituent responsiveness	.15	21	05	18	.13	03
Vision inclusiveness	.03		01	21	.07	.23
Principle-guided action	34	13	19	12	.08	05

Notes: Level of significance for correlation coefficients:

.23 (p< .10) .29 (p< .05)

.38 (p< .01)

 \underline{N} =32 (\underline{N} =28 for obligation; \underline{N} =30 for moral/legal standard)

Table 55 Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and personality traits

Servant-leadership factor scales	Machiavellianism	Narcissism	Impression management	Charisma
Section 1		,		
Objective selection	19	21	11	17
Impartial selection	23	25	18	26
Constituent balance	08	25	25	04
Section 2				
Empowerment	34	33	05	15
Section 3				
Consultative and participative style	23	25	.04	30
Constituent inclusiveness	.12	31	33	.21
Section 4				
Minority inclusiveness	03	13	33	.06
Civil rights	09	39	31	08
Section 5				
Congress (principle-guided action)	31	30	12	40
Individualized consideration	.35	05	03	.35
Section 6				
Foreign policy assessment	03	01	.14	12
Ethical actions with other nations	44	28	08	
Openness to different ideologies	.07	.13	12	.14
Section 7				
Constituent responsiveness	.16	1	17	
Domestic policy vision	.03	.05	.02	.10
Section 8				
Wisdom	12		06	
Judgment	41			
Cooperative style	23	33	17	17
Higher-order factor scales				
Constituent responsiveness	.11		l .	
Vision inclusiveness	.00			
Principle-guided action	35	35	11	33

Notes: Level of significance for correlation coefficients:

.23 (p< .10) .29 (p< .05) .38 (p< .01)

<u>N</u>=32

Table 56 Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and indicators of presidential performance

Servant-leadership factor scales	Domestic policies (Neal's survey)	Domestic policy effectiveness (APMI)	Foreign policies (Neal's survey)	Foreign policy effectiveness (APMI)	
Section 1					
Objective selection	.22	.61	.17	.44	
Impartial selection	.34	.65	.25	.37	
Constituent balance	.29	.56	.08	.27	
Section 2					
Empowerment	.18	.61	.17	.42	
Section 3		1	[
Consultative and participative style	10	.42	15	.36	
Constituent inclusiveness	.42	.51	.23	.20	
Section 4					
Minority inclusiveness	.21	.35	05	.20	
Civil rights	.04	.36	19	.00	
Section 5					
Congress (principle-guided action)	12	.48	16	.38	
Individualized consideration	.33	.33	.11	.04	
Section 6					
Foreign policy assessment	.16	.57	.24	.66	
Ethical actions with other nations	.05	.44	.04	.38	
Openness to different ideologies	.32	.28	.25	.22	
Section 7					
Constituent responsiveness	.42	.62	.27	.33	
Domestic policy vision	.40	.65	.26	.39	
Section 8					
Wisdom	.21	.70	.28	.69	
Judgment	07	.39	.03	.48	
Cooperative style	.17	.46	.15	.50	
Higher-order factor scales					
Constituent responsiveness	.37		I		
Vision inclusiveness	.33	.56	.19		
Principle-guided action	.11	.64	.12	.55	

.23 (p< .10)

.29 (p< .05) .38 (p< .01)

<u>N</u>=32

Table 56 (continued...)

Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and indicators of presidential performance

Servant-leadership factor scales	Greatness	Greatness	War entry	War avoidance
	Maranell	Murray & Blessing		
Section 1				
Objective selection	.17	.27	.16	.20
Impartial selection	.30	.42	.08	.21
Constituent balance	.09	.24	.21	.17
Section 2				
Empowerment	.16	.31	.12	.12
Section 3				
Consultative and participative style	23	.03	02	.02
Constituent inclusiveness	.34	.38	.25	.15
Section 4				
Minority inclusiveness	.12	.07	.24	.09
Civil rights	04	03	.17	13
Section 5				
Congress (principle-guided action)	24	.02	16	06
Individualized consideration	.23	.26	.42	.20
Section 6				
Foreign policy assessment	.25	.28	.10	.25
Ethical actions with other nations	.07	.22	19	01
Openness to different ideologies	.42	.26	.26	.39
Section 7				
Constituent responsiveness	.42	.41	.39	.12
Domestic policy vision	.47	.52	.30	.41
Section 8				
Wisdom	.22	.34	1	.19
Judgment	16	.06		07
Cooperative style	.14	.17	01	.19
Higher-order factor scales				
Constituent responsiveness	.26	.31		
Vision inclusiveness	.38	.33		i .
Principle-guided action	.07	.25	04	.11

N=32 (N=29 for greatness measured by Maranell and war avoidance; N=31 for greatness measured by Murray & Blessing and war entry)

^{.23 (}p< .10)

^{.29 (}p< .05)

^{.38 (}p< .01)

Table 56 (continued...) Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and indicators of presidential performance

Servant-leadership factor scales	International relations (House et al., 1991)	Domestic social issues (House et al., 1991)	Domestic and international economy (House et al., 1991)	Social performa nce (APPE)
Section 1				
Objective selection	.01	.35	21	.01
Impartial selection	.01	.52	07	.01
Constituent balance	.12	.61	.11	.16
Section 2				
Empowerment	04	.30	30	.20
Section 3				
Consultative and participative style	.03	.06	37	14
Constituent inclusiveness	14	.36	01	.41
Section 4				
Minority inclusiveness	19	.12	18	.32
Civil rights	25	.08	34	.06
Section 5				
Congress (principle-guided action)	.10	.14	35	15
Individualized consideration	08	.15	04	.27
Section 6				
Foreign policy assessment	.26	.14	11	.21
Ethical actions with other nations	.06	.18	25	.05
Openness to different ideologies	.14	.03	21	.49
Section 7				
Constituent responsiveness	05	.38	.03	.43
Domestic policy vision	.12	.37	05	.37
Section 8				
Wisdom	.25	.41		.21
Judgment	06		31	06
Cooperative style	.07	.37	08	.25
Higher-order factor scales				
Constituent responsiveness	11		L.	.33
Vision inclusiveness	.07			.42
Principle-guided action	.07	.34	26	.11

.23 (p< .10) .29 (p< .05) .38 (p< .01)

<u>N</u>=32

Table 57 Correlations among servant-leadership factor scales and situational constraints

Servant-leadership factor scales	Composition of Congress	Crises	First year in office for the first mandate
Section 1			
Objective selection	08	.05	05
Impartial selection	.11	14	30
Constituent balance	02	11	17
Section 2			
Empowerment	.02	14	07
Section 3			
Consultative and participative style	04	34	30
Constituent inclusiveness	.11	.16	.16
Section 4			
Minority inclusiveness	01	.18	.38
Civil rights	.08	.03	.27
Section 5			
Congress (principle-guided action)	15	39	33
Individualized consideration	09	.18	.08
Section 6			
Foreign policy assessment	03	1	18
Ethical actions with other nations	16	31	34
Openness to different ideologies	15	.30	.35
Section 7			
Constituent responsiveness	02	1	.12
Domestic policy vision	04	.12	09
Section 8			
Wisdom	07	1	
Judgment	.16	1	1
Cooperative style	.01	.07	.07
Higher-order factor scales			
Constituent responsiveness	.01		
Vision inclusiveness	06	1	I .
Principle-guided action	03	22	24

.23 (p< .10) .29 (p< .05) .38 (p< .01)

<u>N</u>=32

Table 58
Effect of narcissism on servant-leadership dimensions and scales

Dependent variable	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Criterion: Constituent inclusiveness					
l'ear	1	.05		.45	.08
Crises					.14
Composition of Congress					.10
Narcissism	2	.14	.09*	1.10	31*
Criterion: Civil rights and non-violence					
Year	1	.09		.88	.33
Crises					12
Composition of Congress					.01
Narcissism	2	.23	.14**	1.99	39**
Criterion: Cooperative style					
Year	1	.01		.06	.04
Crises					.05
Composition of Congress					.00
Narcissism	2	.12	.11*	.94	35*
Criterion: Judgment in conflict and crisis					
management					
Year	1	.16		1.71	01
Crises					36*
Composition of Congress					.13
Narcissism	2	.25	.09*	2.25*	32*
Criterion: Ethical actions with foreign nations					
Year	1	.16		1.81	22
Crises					22
Composition of Congress					14
Narcissism	2	.26	.10*	2.31*	31*
Criterion: Principled relations with Congress					
Year	1	.20		2.29*	14
Crises					33*
Composition of Congress					14
		.30	.10*	2.82**	32*

Notes: *p≤ .10, **p≤ .05, ***p≤ .01

Table 58
Effect of narcissism on servant-leadership dimensions and scales (continued...)

Dependent variable	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
Criterion: Presidential constituent responsive	iess ¹				
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.02		.23	.07 .11 .00
Narcissism	2	.14	.12*	1.06	34*
Criterion: Principle-guided action ¹					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.07		.73	17 14 01
Narcissism	2	.20	.13**	1.64	36**

Notes: * $p \le .10$, ** $p \le .05$, *** $p \le .01$ 1. Dimensions of servant-leadership

Table 59
Effect of Machiavellianism on servant-leadership scales

Dependent variable	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Criterion: Individualized consideration to Congress members					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.04		.38	.02 .17 08
Machiavellianism	2	.21	.17**	1.34	.52**
Criterion: Cooperative style					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.01		.06	.04 .05 .00
Machiavellianism	2	.11	.10*	.84	38*
Criterion: Judgment in conflict and crisis management					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.16		1.71	01 36* .13
Machiavellianism	2	.25	.09*	2.20*	36*
Criterion: Ethical actions with foreign nation	าร				
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.16		1.81	22 22 14
Machiavellianism	2	.24	.08*	2.20*	34*

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 60
Effects of charisma and impression management on servant-leadership scales

Dependent variable	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Criterion: Constituent inclusiveness					
Year	1	.05		.45	.08
Crises					.14
Composition of Congress					.10
Charisma	2	.21	.16**	1.38	.25
Impression management					39**
Criterion: Ethical actions with foreign nation	ıs				
Year	1	.16		1.81	22
Crises					22
Composition of Congress					14
Charisma	2	.27	.11*	1.89	33*
Impression management					06

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 61 Effects of responsibility values and political beliefs on servant-leadership scales and foreign policy effectiveness

Dependent variable	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Criterion: Individualized consideration to Congress members					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.04		.38	02 .20 06
Moral/legal standard	2	.16	.12*	1.22	36*
Criterion: Ethical actions with foreign nations	;				
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.16		1.81	22 22 14
Belief in peace	2	.29	.13**	2.81**	37**
Criterion: Foreign policy effectiveness ¹					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.02		.12	03 03 .12
Obligation	2	.20	.18**	1.42	.44**

Notes: * $p \le .10$, ** $p \le .05$, *** $p \le .01$ 1. Foreign policy effectiveness scale from the APMI

Table 62
Predictors of empowerment

Independent variables	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Effects of political beliefs					
1.					
Year	1	.02		.20	01
Crises					14
Composition of Congress					.02
Belief in positive intentions of others	2	.13	.11*	.97	34*
2.					
Year	1	.02		.20	01
Crises					14
Composition of Congress					.02
Belief in idealism vs. self-interest	2	.13	.11*	1.01	38*
Effect of narcissism					
Year	1	.02		.20	01
Crises					14
Composition of Congress					.02
Narcissism	2	.13	.11*	.97	33*
Effect of Machiavellianism					
Year	1	.02		.20	01
Crises					14
Composition of Congress					.02
Machiavellianism	2	.13	.11*	.99	39*

Notes: * $\underline{p} \le .10$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, *** $\underline{p} \le .01$

Table 63 Servant-leadership effect on domestic policies

Independent variables	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
Year	ı	.16		1.71	16
Crises					.42**
Composition of Congress					07
Objective selection	2	.33	.17*	2.05*	19
Impartial selection					.42*
Constituent balance					.19
APMI section 3					
Year	1	.16		1.71	16
Crises					.42**
Composition of Congress					07
Consultative and participative style	2	.33	.17***	2.52**	14
Constituent inclusiveness					.44***
APMI section 5					
Year	ı	.16		1.71	16
Crises					.42**
Composition of Congress					07
Principled relations with Congress	2	.24	.08*	1.66	16
Individualized consideration to Congress members					.33*

Notes: * $p \le .10$, ** $p \le .05$, *** $p \le .01$ The indicator of domestic policies is from Neal's survey

Table 64
Servant-leadership effect on domestic policy effectiveness

Criterion: Domestic policy effectiveness ¹	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
(ear	1	.07		.66	19
Prises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Objective selection	2	.58	.51***	5.80***	.18
mpartial selection					.50***
Constituent balance					.17
APMI section 2					
/ear	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
omposition of Congress					09
Empowerment	2	.47	.40***	5.98***	.64***
APMI section 3					
(ear	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Consultative and participative style	2	.45	.38***	4.32***	.38**
Constituent inclusiveness					.44***
APMI section 5					
Year	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Principled relations with Congress	2	.38	.31***	3.14**	.58***
Individualized consideration to Congress members					.09
APMI section 6					
Year	i	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Foreign policy assessment	2	.39	.32*	2.64**	.50*
Ethical actions with foreign nations					.22
Openness to foreign ideologies					15

Table 64 Servant-leadership effect on domestic policy effectiveness (continued...)

Independent variables	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 7					
Year	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Constituent responsiveness	2	.50	.43**	5.18***	.33
Domestic policy vision					.40**
APMI section 8					
Year	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Wisdom in conflict and crisis management	2	.54	.47***	4.91***	.88***
Judgment in conflict and crisis management					12
Cooperative style					13
Dimensions of servant-leadership					
Year	1	.07		.66	19
Crises					.23
Composition of Congress					09
Inclusive vision	2	.54	.47*	4.98***	.02
Presidential constituent responsiveness					.26
Principle-guided action					.48*

Notes: * $\underline{p} \le .10$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, *** $\underline{p} \le .01$ 1. Scale from the APMI

Table 65
Servant-leadership effect on foreign policy effectiveness

Criterion: Foreign policy effectiveness	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 2					
Year	1	.02		.18	13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Empowerment	2	.20	.18**	1.67	.43**
APMI section 3					
Year	1	.02		.18	13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Constituent inclusiveness	2	.17	.15*	1.10	.10
Consultative and participative style					.39*
APMI section 4					
Year	i	.02		.18	13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Civil rights and non-violence	2	.13	.11*	.79	32
Minority and cultural diversity inclusiveness					.51*
APMI section 5					
Year	1	.02		.18	13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Principled relations with Congress	2	.23	.21**	1.52	.55**
Individualized consideration to Congress members					16
APMI section 6					
Year	1	.02		.18	13
Crises				-	.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Foreign policy assessment	2	.49	.47***	4.00***	.90***
Openness to foreign ideologies					08
Ethical actions with foreign nations					29

Table 65 Servant-leadership effect on foreign policy effectiveness (continued...)

Independent variables	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 8					
Year	1	.02			13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Wisdom in conflict and crisis management	2	.49	.47***	4.04***	.80***
Judgment in conflict and crisis management					10
Cooperative style					03
Dimensions of the APMI					
Year	1	.02		.18	13
Crises					.08
Composition of Congress					.11
Vision inclusiveness	2	.42	.40***	2.97**	.14
Presidential constituent responsiveness					42*
Principle-guided action					.78***

Notes: * $\underline{p} \le .10$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, *** $\underline{p} \le .01$ 1. Scale from the APMI

Table 66 Servant-leadership effect on presidential social performance

Criterion: social performance (APPE)	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 3					
Year	1	.19		2.25*	.07
Crises					.39**
Composition of Congress					08
Constituent inclusiveness	2	.33	.14**	2.55**	.39**
Consultative and participative style					11
APMI section 4					
Year	ı	.19		2.25*	.07
Crises					.39**
Composition of Congress					08
Civil rights and non-violence	2	.29	.10*	2.09*	27
Minority and cultural diversity inclusiveness					.46*
APMI section 6					
Year	1	.19		2.25*	.07
Crises					.39**
Composition of Congress					08
Foreign policy assessment	2	.33	.14*	2.07*	09
Openness to foreign ideologies					.44*
Ethical actions with foreign nations					.07

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 67
Servant-leadership effect on international relations

Criterion: International relations (House et al., 1991)	Step	<u>R²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 6					
Year	1	.09		.90	.02
Crises					.03
Composition of Congress					29
Foreign policy assessment	2	.21	.12*	1.13	.57*
Openness to foreign ideologies					16
Ethical actions with foreign nations					31
APMI section 8					
Year	i	.09		.90	.02
Crises					.03
Composition of Congress					29
Cooperative style	2	.26	.17**	1.48	21
Judgment in conflict and crisis management					55*
Wisdom in conflict and crisis management					.82**

Notes: *<u>p</u>≤ .10, **<u>p</u>≤ .05, ***<u>p</u>≤ .01

Table 68
Servant-leadership effect on domestic social issues

Criterion: Domestic social issues (House et al., 1991)	Step	<u>R²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	l	.03		.28	13 .19 .04
Objective selection Impartial selection Constituent balance	2	.48	.45***	3.85***	23 .38* .55***
APMI section 2					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.03		.28	13 .19 .04
Empowerment	2	.13	.10*	1.03	.33*
APMI section 3					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.03		.28	13 .19 .04
Constituent inclusiveness Consultative and participative style	2	.15	.12*	.94	.36* .00

Notes: *<u>p</u>≤ .10, **<u>p</u>≤ .05, ***<u>p</u>≤ .01

Table 69
Servant-leadership effect on domestic and international economy

Criterion: Domestic and international economy (House et al., 1991)	Step	<u>R²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
Year	1	.03		.29	02
Crises Composition of Congress					.14 10
Objective selection	2	.19	.16*	.96	48*
Impartial selection					.01
Constituent balance					.42*
APMI section 3					
Year	1	.03		.29	02
Crises					.14
Composition of Congress					10
Constituent inclusiveness	2	.17	.14**	1.04	.10
Consultative and participative style					42**
APMI section 5					
Year	1	.03		.29	02
Crises					.14
Composition of Congress					10
Principled relations with Congress	2	.16	.13**	1.00	44**
Individualized consideration to Congress members					.09

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 70
Servant-leadership effect on presidential greatness (Murray & Blessing)

Criterion: Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	Step	<u>R²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
Year	1	.15		1.55	34*
Crises					.32
Composition of Congress					14
Objective selection	2	.37	.22**	2.30*	.00
Impartial selection					.47**
Constituent balance					.05
APMI section 2					
Year	1	.15		1.55	34*
Crises					.32
Composition of Congress					14
Empowerment	2	.28	.13**	2.49*	.37**
APMI section 3					
Year	1	.15		1.55	34*
Crises					.32
Composition of Congress					14
Constituent inclusiveness	2	.37	.22***	2.96**	.50***
Consultative and participative style					.01
APMI section 7					
Year	i	.15		1.55	34*
Crises					.32
Composition of Congress					14
Domestic policy vision	2	.44	.29**	3.98***	.40**
Constituent responsiveness					.22

Notes: *<u>p</u>≤ .10, **<u>p</u>≤ .05, ***<u>p</u>≤ .01

Table 71
Servant-leadership effect on presidential greatness (Maranell)

Criterion: Greatness (Maranell)	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
APMI section 1					
Year	1	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition of Congress					02
Objective selection	2	.34	.13*	1.85	06
impartial selection					.45*
Constituent balance					07
APMI section 3					
Year	ı	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition of Congress					02
Constituent inclusiveness	2	.32	.11*	2.20*	.37*
Consultative and participative style					13
APMI section 6					
Year	1	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition					02
Foreign policy assessment	2	.37	.16*	2.19*	03
Ethical actions with other nations					.06
Openness to foreign ideologies					.45*
APMI section 7					
Year	ı	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition of Congress					02
Domestic policy vision	2	.39	.18*	2.91**	.36*
Constituent responsiveness					.16
APMI section 8					
Year	1	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition of Congress					02
Wisdom in conflict and crisis management	2	.36	.15*	2.05*	.62*
Judgment in conflict and crisis management					66*
Cooperative style					.15

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 71 Effects of servant-leadership on presidential greatness (continued...)

Criterion: Greatness (Maranell)	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
Dimensions of servant-leadership					
Year	1	.21		2.17	16
Crises					.49**
Composition of Congress					02
Principle-guided action	2	.36	.15*	2.09*	29
Presidential constituent responsiveness					.16
Vision inclusiveness					.51*

Notes: * $\underline{p} \le .10$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, *** $\underline{p} \le .01$

Table 72

Moderating effects of personality characteristics on foreign policies

Independent variables	Step	<u>R ²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
1. Moderating effect of need for altruism					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.10		1.06	14 .36* 01
Need for power Need for altruism	2	.19	.09	1.25	.35 14
Need for power X need for altruism	3	.36	.17**	2.38**	1.83**
2. Moderating effect of protective governance	e				
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.10		1.06	14 .36* 01
Need for power Protective governance	2	.20	.10	1.27	.37* .15
Need for power X protective governance	3	.39	.19***	2.71**	1.89***
3. Moderating effect of narcissism					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.10		1.06	14 .36* 01
Protective governance Narcissism	2	.17	.07	1.03	.02 .25
Protective governance X narcissism	3	.41	.34***	2.91**	-1.54***
4. Moderating effect of belief in service					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.10		1.06	14 .36* 01
Charisma Belief in service	2	.26	.16*	1.86	.27 30*
Charisma X belief in service	3	.35*	.09*	2.20*	-1.56*

Notes: *** $\underline{p} \le .01$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, * $\underline{p} \le .10$

The indicator of foreign policies is from Neal's survey

Table 73

Moderating effects of personality characteristics on domestic policies

Independent variables	Step	<u>R ²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
1. Moderating effect of Machiavellianism					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.15		1.70	15 .42** 06
Charisma Machiavellianism	2	.34**	.19***	2.66**	.47*** 01
Charisma X Machiavellianism	3	.44***	.10**	3.33***	.37**
2. Moderating effect of Narcissism					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.15		1.70 2.57*	15 .42** 06
Charisma Narcissism	2	.34**	.19*	2.67**	.43* .05
Charisma X narcissism	3	.41**	.07*	2.94**	.74*

Notes: *** $\underline{p} \le .01$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, * $\underline{p} \le .10$

Table 74

Moderating effects of personality characteristics on presidential social performance (APPE)

Independent variables	Step	<u>R ²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
1. Moderating effect of protective governance					
Year	1	.19*		2.25*	.07
Crises Composition of Congress					.39 ** 08
Need for power Protective governance	2	.37**	.18**	3.12**	.45** .34*
Need for power X protective governance	3	.45***	.08*	3.42***	1.17*
2. Moderating effect of Machiavellianism					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.19*		2.25*	.07 .39** 08
Charisma Machiavellianism	2	.33**	.14**	2.53**	.41 ** 07
Charisma X Machiavellianism	3	.48***	.15***	3.81***	.44***

Notes: *** $p \le .01$, ** $p \le .05$, * $p \le .10$

Table 75

Moderating effect of personality characteristics on international relations

Criterion: International relations (House et al.)	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Independent variables					
Year	1	.10		1.10	.02
Crises					.03
Composition of Congress					32*
Protective governance	2	.14	.04	.92	11
Narcissism					.21
Protective governance X narcissism	3	.31	.17***	2.06*	-1.31***
Year	1	.10		1.10	.02
Crises	•				.03
Composition of Congress					32
Composition of Congress					<i>عر.</i> -
Charisma	2	.16	.06	1.10	25
Narcissism					.33
Charisma X narcissism	3	.32	.16***	2.11*	-1.07***

Notes: *<u>p</u>≤ .10, **<u>p</u>≤ .05, ***<u>p</u>≤ .01

Table 76

Moderating effect of need for altruism on the relationship between charisma and domestic and international economy

Criterion: Domestic and international economy(House et al.)	Step	<u>R</u> ²	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Independent variables					
Year Crises Composition of Congress	1	.04		.37	02 .14 12
Charisma Need for altruism	2	.17	.13*	1.12	.34* 23
Charisma X need for altruism	3	.34	.17***	2.33*	-1.06***

Notes: *p< .10, **p< .05, ***p< .01

Table 77

Moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationship between servant-leadership and performance

	Step	<u>R ²</u>	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
1. Criterion: Foreign policies (Neal)					20
Year Crises	1	.10		1.64	14 .36*
Composition of Congress Principle-guided action	2	.13	.03	1.02	01 .18
Composition of Congress X principle-guided action	3	.29*	.16**	2.10*	-2.07**
2. Criterion: Foreign policies (Neal)					
Year Crises	1	.10		1.64	14 .36*
Composition of Congress Wisdom in conflict and crisis management	2	.17	.07	1.42	01 .27
Composition of Congress X Wisdom	3	.32**	.15**	2.50**	-1.83**
3. Criterion: Social performance (APPE)					
Year Crises	1	.19*		3.36**	.05 .41**
Composition of Congress Impartial selection of Cabinet members	2	.32**	.13**	3.13**	15 .37**
Composition of Congress X Impartial selection	3	.40***	.08*	3.42***	-1.34*

Notes: *** $p \le .01$, ** $p \le .05$, * $p \le .10$

Table 78

Moderating effect of composition of Congress on the relationship between charisma and performance

Criterion: Domestic social issues (House et al.)	Step	<u>R²</u>	Change in R ²	F	Standardized Beta
Independent variables					
Year Crises	1	.03		.44	11 .19
Charisma Composition of Congress	2	.06	.03	.44	.17 .06
Charisma X composition of Congress	3	.23	.17***	1.65	-1.46***
Criterion: Domestic policies (Neal)					
Year Crises	1	.15		2.56*	17 .44**
Composition of Congress Charisma	2	.34**	.19**	3.45**	03 .46***
Composition of Congress X Charisma	3	.41***	.07*	3.54***	96*

Notes: *p≤ .10, **p≤ .05, ***p≤ .01

Table 79

Moderating effect of need for altruism on the impact of crises on presidential performance

Criterion: Social performance (APPE)	Step	<u>R ²</u>	Change in \mathbb{R}^2	F	Standardized Beta
Year Composition of Congress	1	.08		1.22	.27 15
Crises Need for altruism	2	.21	.13**	1.77	.42** .16
Crises X need for altruism	3	.40***	.19***	3.39***	1.03***

Notes: *** $\underline{p} \le .01$, ** $\underline{p} \le .05$, * $\underline{p} \le .10$

Table 80

Hierarchical regressions: Effects of charisma and servant-leadership on presidential performance

Predictor	Indicator of performance	ΔR^2	β
Crises Composition of Congress	Presidential social performance (APPE)	.19**	.39**
Year Charisma		.13**	.07
Servant-leadership		.11**	.34**
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Foreign policy effectiveness (APMI)	.02	.08 .11 13
Charisma		.01	10
Servant-leadership		.21***	.46***
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Domestic policy effectiveness (APMI)	.07	.23 09 19
Charisma		.01	.11
Servant-leadership		.46***	.68***
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Greatness (Maranell)	.21**	.49** 02 16
Charisma		.17***	.46***
Servant-leadership		.07*	.29*
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Greatness (Murray & Blessing)	.15*	.31 14 34*
Charisma		.20***	.49***
Servant-leadership		.17***	.42***

Note: *p≤ .10, **p≤ .05, ***p≤ .01

Table 80
Hierarchical regressions: Effects of charisma and servant-leadership on presidential performance (continued...)

Predictor	Indicator of performance	ΔR^2	β
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Foreign policy (Neal)	.10*	.36* 01 14
Charisma		.07	.29
Servant-leadership		.03	.17
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Domestic policy (Neal)	.15**	.42** 06 16
Charisma		.18***	.46***
Servant-leadership		.10**	.32**
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Domestic and international economy (House et al., 1991)	.03	.13 10 02
Charisma		.11*	.36*
Servant-leadership		.03	18
Crises Composition of Congress Year	International relations (House et al., 1991)	.09	.03 30 .02
Charisma		.00	02
Servant-leadership		.00	.01
Crises Composition of Congress Year	Domestic social issues (House et al., 1991)	.03	.19 .04 13
Charisma		.03	.17
Servant-leadership		.13**	.36**

Note: $*p \le .10$, $**p \le .05$, $***p \le .01$

Figure 1
Typology of leadership influence

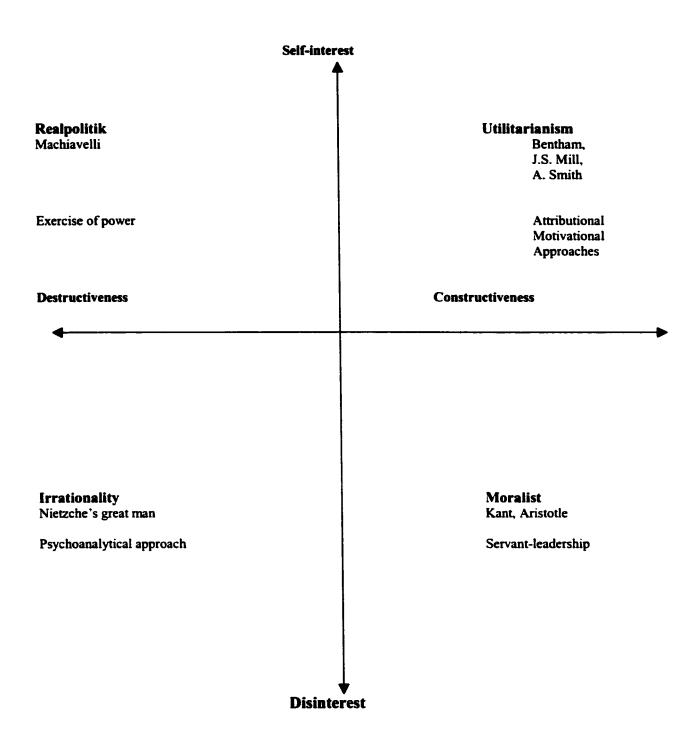
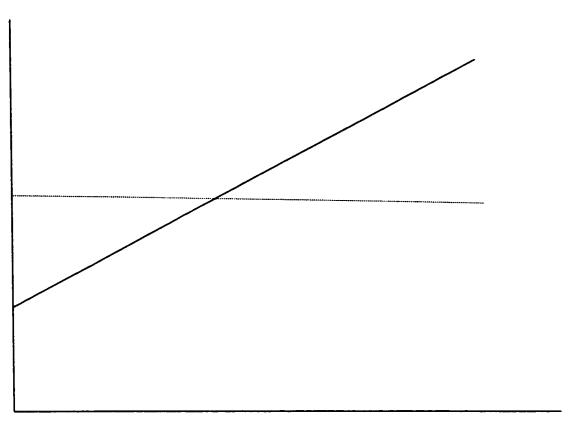


Figure 2
Moderating effect of need for altruism





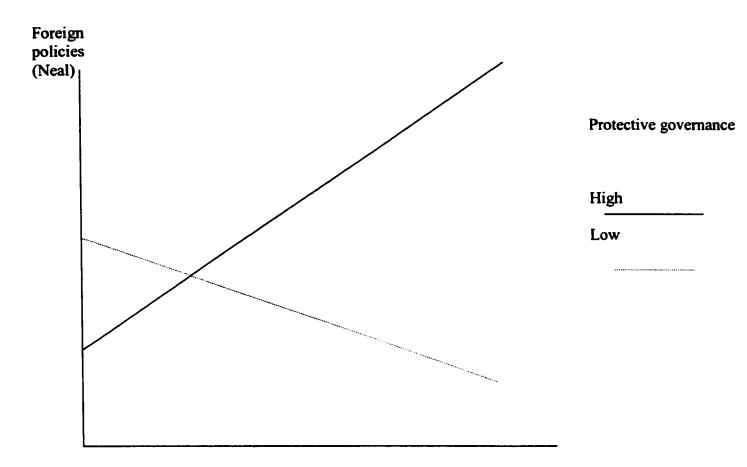
Need for power

Need for altruism

High

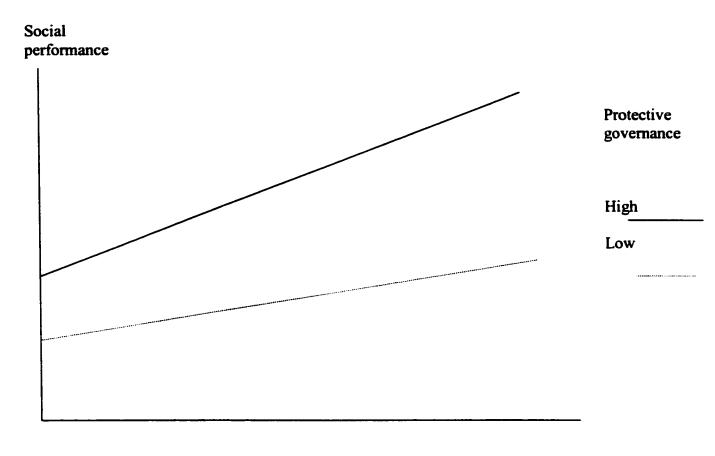
Low

Figure 3
Moderating effect of protective governance: Need for power and foreign policies



Need for power

Figure 4
Moderating effect of protective governance: Need for power and social performance



Need for power

Figure 5
Moderating effect of Machiavellianism: Charisma and domestic policies

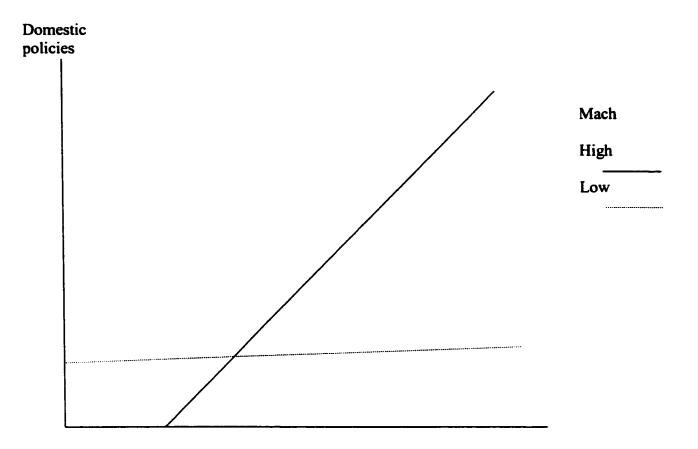


Figure 6
Moderating effect of Machiavellianism: Charisma and social performance



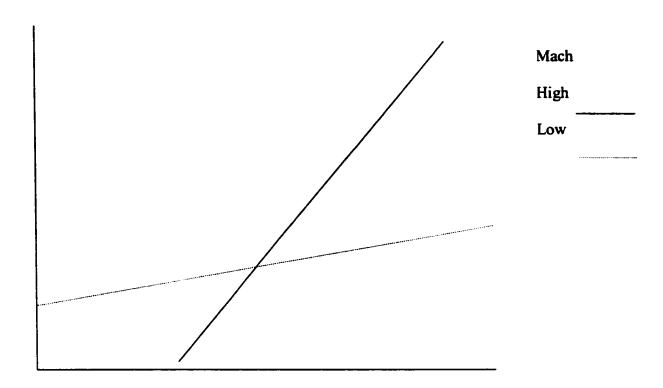


Figure 7
Moderating effect of narcissism: Charisma and domestic policy

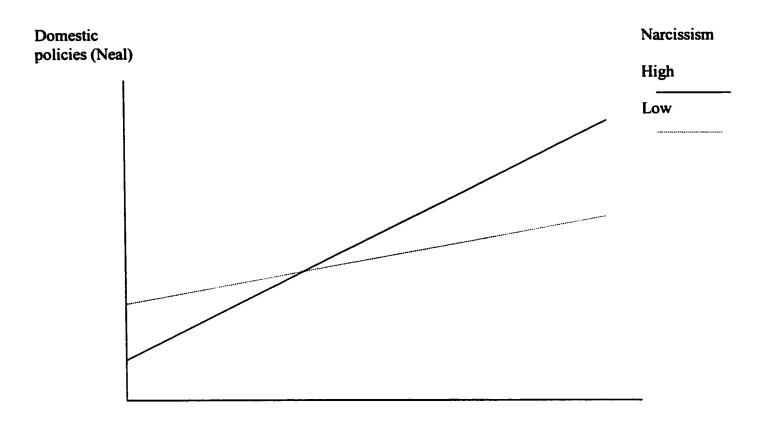


Figure 8

Moderating effect of narcissism on the relationship between charisma and international relations

International relations

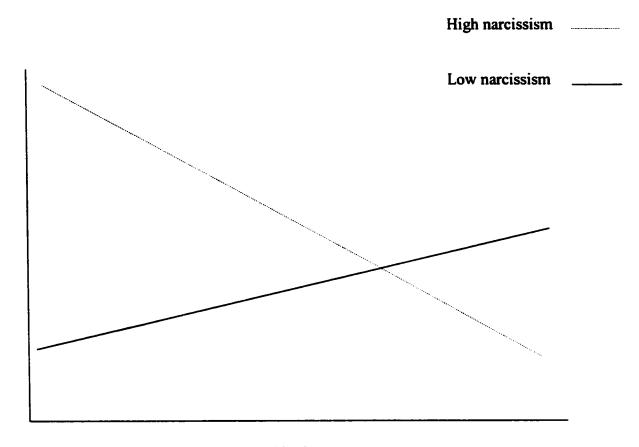
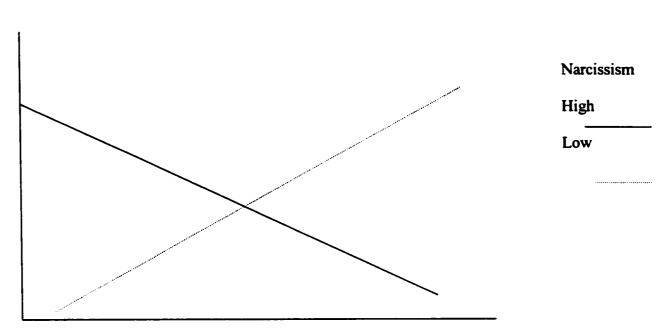


Figure 9
Moderating effect of narcissism: Protective governance and foreign policies

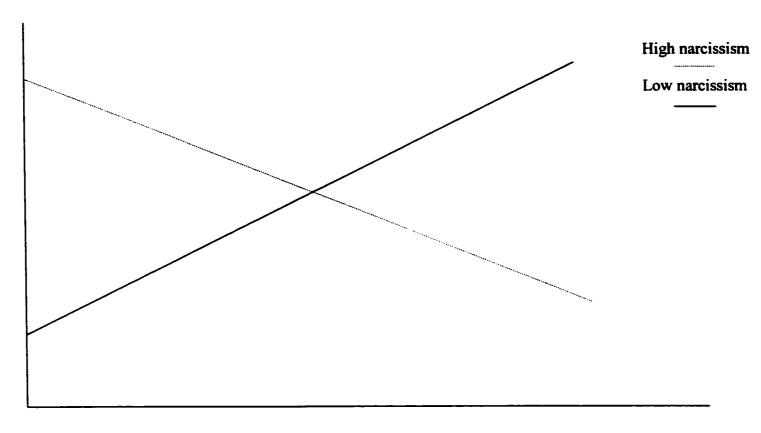




Protective governance

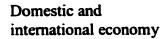
Figure 10
Moderating effect of narcissism on the relationship between protective governance and international relations

International relations



Protective governance

Figure 11
Moderating effect of need for altruism on the relationship between charisma and domestic and international economy



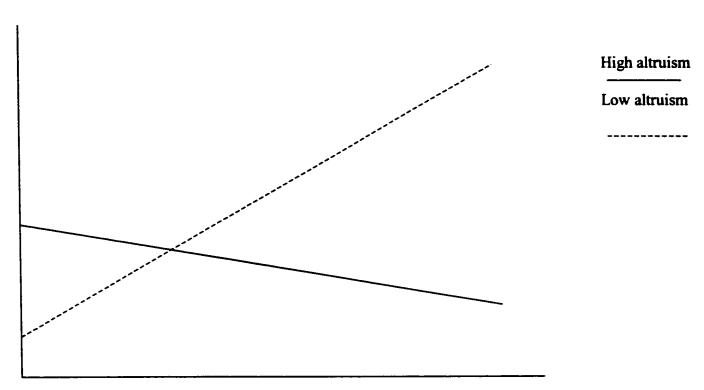


Figure 12
Moderating effect of belief in service

Foreign policies	Belief in service	
	High	
	Low	

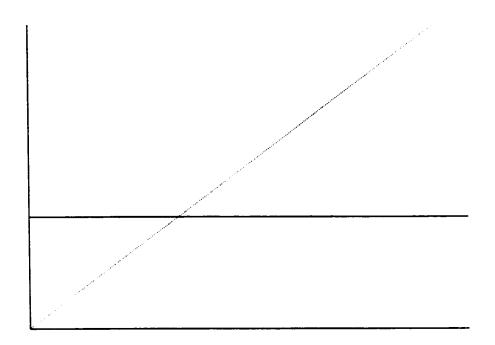
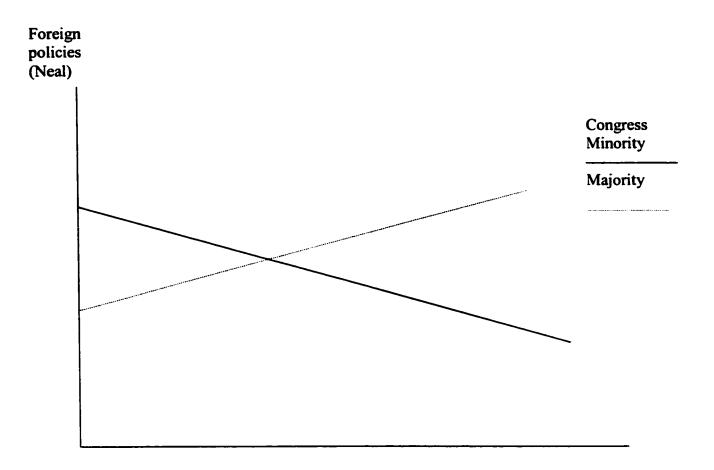


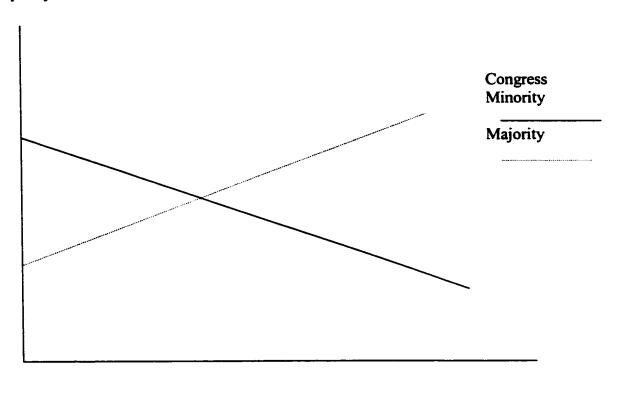
Figure 13
Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Principle-guided action and foreign policies



Principle-guided action

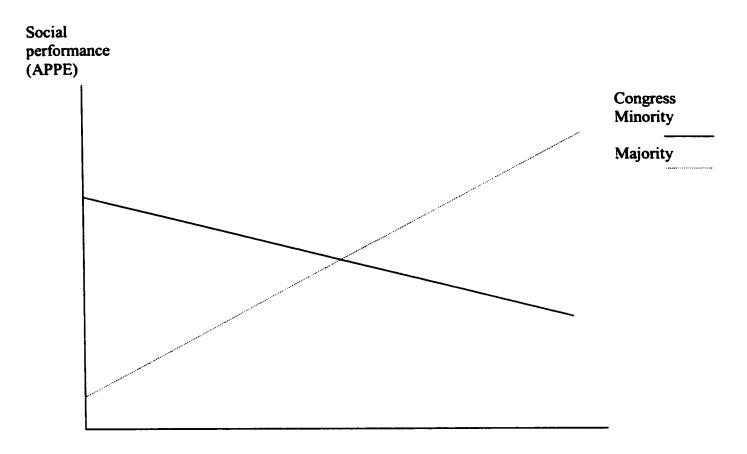
Figure 14
Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Wisdom and foreign policies

Foreign policy



Wisdom

Figure 15
Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Impartial selection and social performance



Impartial selection

Figure 16
Moderating effect of composition of Congress: Charisma and domestic policies

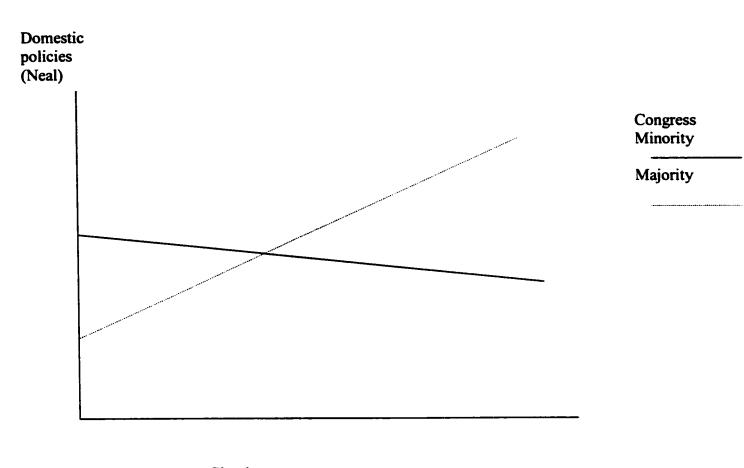


Figure 17

Moderating effect of the composition of Congress on the relationship between charisma and domestic social issues

Domestic social issues

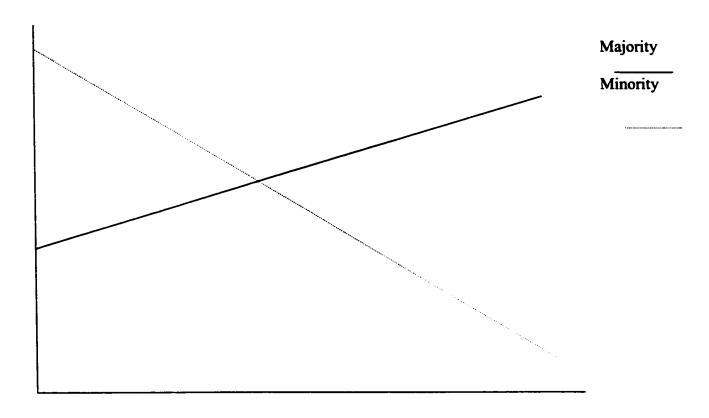
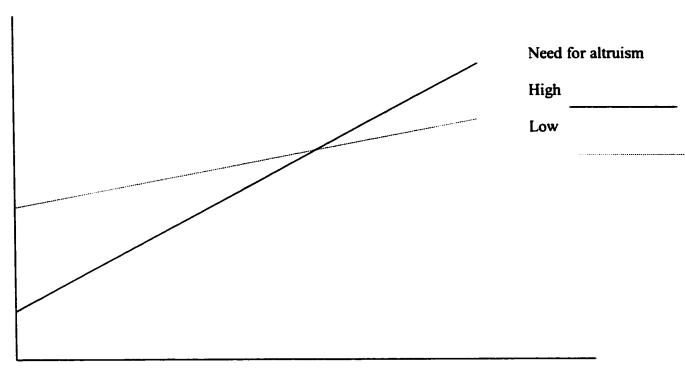


Figure 18
Moderating effect of need for altruism: Crises and social performance





Crises

Exhibit 1
Measurement of servant-leadership behaviors and presidential performance

Concept	Measure	Procedures
Servant-leadership	American Presidential Management Inventory (APMI) Based on content analysis of biographies of American presidents	Survey 90 scholars in American history 100 completed and usable questionnaires Response rate: 34.5%
Foreign and domestic policy effectiveness	APMI Neal's survey reported in Chicago Sun-Times by McCoy (1996)	Idem Secondary data
Social performance	American Presidential Performance Effectiveness (APPE)	Survey 90 scholars who participated in the first survey 48 scholars responded to the survey Yielded 666 ratings Minimum of 12 expert ratings per president
Presidential greatness	Maranell's (1970) survey Murray & Blessing's (1983) survey	Secondary data
International relations Domestic and international economy Domestic social issues	House, Spangler & Woycke's presidential study (1991)	Secondary data

Exhibit 2
Measurement of personality characteristics and situational constraints

Concept	Measure	Procedures
Need for power	Winter (1987)	Secondary data
Need for achievement		Scores from coded inaugural
Need for affiliation		addresses
Need for altruism Protective governance	Manual for coding the altruistic motive	Coding inaugural addresses Student scoring Yielded 2 to 4 independent scores per inaugural address
Empathy	Questionnaire on empathy	Student ratings based on inaugural addresses
Political beliefs	Questionnaire on core political beliefs	Ratings Presidential personality profiles (Dr. Dean Keith Simonton)
Responsibility values	Winter's (1992) instructions	Coding inaugural addresses Student scoring Yielded 2 independent scores per inaugural address
Charisma	Simonton (1988)	Secondary data Scores based on ratings Gough Adjective Cheklist
Impression management Machiavellianism	Simonton (1986)	Secondary data Scores based on ratings Gough Adjective Cheklist
Narcissism	Deluga (1997)	Secondary data Narcissistic Personality Inventory (Raskin & Terry, 1988) Scores based on ratings
Composition of Congress	DeGregorio (1997)	Compilation of minority and majority in Congress
Crisis	House, Spangler, & Woycke, (1991)	Secondary data Weighted scores Chronological history (Morris, 1982; Schlesinger, 1983)

Exhibit 3
Psychometric properties of variables developed and/or measured in this research

Variable	Scale	Reliability	Validity
Servant-leadership items (APMI)	Interval scale 7-point	Inter-rater reliability (eta coefficient) Internal consistency (Cronbach alpha)	Factor analysis with Varimax rotation
Foreign and domestic policy effectiveness (APMI)	Interval scale 5-point	Inter-rater reliability (eta coefficient) Internal consistency (Cronbach alpha)	Factor analysis with Oblimin rotation
Social performance (APPE)	Interval scale 5-point	Inter-rater reliability (eta coefficient) Internal consistency (Cronbach alpha)	Principal component factor analysis
Need for altruism Protective governance	Nominal scale -1, 0, +1	Fleiss's inter-rater reliability coefficient Cohen's kappa	Content validity Face validity
Empathy	Interval scale 7-point	Inter-rater reliability (eta coefficient) Internal consistency (Cronbach alpha)	Principal component factor analysis
Political beliefs	Interval scale 7-point	Resolve disagreements between raters Internal consistency (Cronbach alpha)	Factor analysis with Varimax rotation
Responsibility values	Nominal scale 0, +1	Cohen's kappa	Winter's (1992) assessment
Composition of Congress	Dummy variable Majority=1 Minority=2		

References

- Allison, G.T. (1969). Conceptual models and the Cuban missile crisis. *The American Political Science Review*, 3: 689-718.
- Ambruster, M.E. (1982). The presidents of the United States and their administrations from Washington to Reagan (7th ed.). New York: Horizon Press.
- Andrén, G. (1981). Reliability and content analysis. In K.E. Rosengren (Ed.), Advances in content analysis. Sage.
- Aristotle (1992). Éthique à Nicomaque. Paris: Librairie générale française.
- Aronfreed, J. (1970). The socialization of altruistic and sympathetic behavior: Some theoretical and experimental analyses. In J. Macauley & L. Berkowitz (Eds.), *Altruism and helping behavior*: 103-126. New York: Academic Press.
- Atkinson, J.W. (1958). Motives in fantasy, action, and society: A method of assessment and study. Princeton: D.Van Nostrand.
- Avolio, B.J., Waldman, D.A., & Einstein, W.O. (1988). Transformational leadership in a management game simulation: Impacting the bottom line. *Group and Organization Studies*, 13 (1): 59-80.
- Bailey, T.A. (1980). The pugnacious presidents. New York: Free Press.
- Bailey, T.A. (1981). Presidential saints and sinners. New York: Free Press.
- Bandura, A., & Cervone, D. (2000). Self-evaluative and self-efficacy mechanisms of governing the motivational effects of goal systems. In E.T. Higgins & A.W. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Motivational Science: Social and personality perspectives. Key readings in social psychology*: 202-214. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press Taylor & Francis.
- Bass, B.M. (1985). Leadership and performance beyond expectations. New York: Free Press.
- Bass, B.M. (1988). The inspirational processes of leadership. The Journal of Management Development, 7 (5): 21-32.
- Bass, B.M. (1998). Transformational leadership: Industry, military, and educational impact. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bass, B.M., Avolio, B.J., & Goodheim, L. (1987). Biography and the assessment of transformational leadership at the world-class level. *Journal of Management*, 13: 7-19.

- Bass, B. M., & Steidlmeier, P. (1999). Ethics, character, and authentic transformatinal leadership behavior. *Leadership Quarterly*, 10 (2): 181-217.
- Bass, B.M., & Valenzi, E.R. (1974). Contingent aspects of effective management styles. In J.G. Hunt & L.L. Larson (Eds.), *Contingency approaches to leadership*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Batson, D.C. (1991). The altruism question: Toward a social-psychological answer. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bentham, J. (1948). An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation. New York: Hafner.
- Berkowitz, L. (1972). Social norms, feelings, and other factors affecting helping and altruism. In L. Berkowitz, *Advances in experimental social psychology*, Vol. 6. Academic Press.
- Boller, P.F. (1981). Presidential anecdotes. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, D.L. (1986). Power outside organizational paradigms. In S. Srivastua and associates (Eds.), *Executive Power*: 289-311. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Burns, J.M. (1978). Leadership. New York: Harper & Row.
- Carroll, L. (1987). A study of narcissism, affiliation, intimacy, and power motives among students in business administration. *Psychological Reports*, 61: 355-358.
- Cavanagh, G.F., Moberg, D.J., & Velasquez, M. (1981). The ethics of organizational politics. Academy of Management Review, 6: 363-374.
- Choi Y., & Mai-Dalton, R.R. (1998). On the leadership function of self-sacrifice. *Leadership Ouarterly*, 9: 475-501.
- Clark, K.J. (2000). Belief and tolerance: friends, not enemies. Global Dialogue, 2: 11-20.
- Cohen, J., & Cohen, P. (1983). Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Conger, J.A., & Kanungo, R.N. (1987). Toward a behavioral theory of charismatic leadership in organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, 12: 637-647.
- Crockett, D.A. (2000). The president as opposition leader. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30: 245-274.
- Current Biography (1940-1983). New York: Wilson.

- D'Agostino, B. (1995). Self-images of hawks and doves: A control systems model of militarism. *Political Psychology*, 16: 259-295.
- Dansereau, F., Graen, G., & Haga, W. (1975). A vertical dyad linkage approach to leadership within formal organizations: A longitudinal investigation of the role making process. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 13: 46-78.
- Davis, M. (1980). A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy. JSAS: Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 10: 85.
- Dienesch, R.M., & Linden, R.C. (1986). Leader-member exchange model of leadership: A critique and further development. *Academy of Management Review*, 11: 618-634.
- DeGregorio, W.A. (1997). The complete book of U.S. presidents: From George Washington to Bill Clinton. NewYork: Wings Books.
- Deluga, R.J. (1997). Relationship among American presidential charismatic leadership, narcissism, and rated performance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 8: 49-65.
- Dobel, J.P. (1998). Political prudence and the ethics of leadership. *Public Administration Review*, 58: 74-81.
- Donley, R.E., & Winter, D.G. (1970). Measuring the motives of public officials at a distance: An exploratory study of American presidents. *Behavioral Science*, 15: 227-236.
- Eckstein, H., & Gurr, T.R. (1974). Patterns of authority: A structural basis for political inquiry. New York: Wiley-Interscience.
- Edwards III, G.C. (1980). Presidential influence in Congress. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- Eisenberg, N., & Miller, P.A. (1987). The relation of empathy to prosocial and related behaviors. *Psychological Bulletin*, 101: 91-119.
- Emmons, R. A. (1989). Exploring the relations between motives and traits: The case of narcissism. In D.M. Buss & N. Cantor (Eds.), *Personality psychology: Recent trends and emerging directions*: 32-196. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Springer-Verlag.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica (15th ed.). (1974). Chicago: Author.
- Ericson, D.F. (1997). Presidential inaugural addresses and American political culture. Presidential Studies Quarterly, 27, (4): 727-744.
- Fehr, B., Samsom, D., & Paulhus, D.L. (1992). The construct of Machiavellianism: Twenty years later. In C.D. Spielberger & J.N. Butcher (Eds.), Advances in personality

- assessment, Vol. 9: 77-116. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Feldman, S. (1988). Structure and consistency in public opinion: The role of core beliefs and values. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32: 416-440.
- Fisher, L. (1990). Reagan's relations with Congress. In D.M. Hill, R.A. Moore, & P. Williams (Eds.), *The Reagan presidency: An incomplete revolution?* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Flanagan, J.C. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin*, 51: 327-358.
- Fleiss, J.L. (1971). Measuring nominal scale agreement among many raters. *Psychological Bulletin*, 6 (5): 378-382.
- Fornell, C., & Larcker, D.F. (1981). Evaluating structural equation models with unobservable variables and measurement error. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 18: 39-50.
- Frost, P.J., & Egri, C.J. (1990). Appreciating executive action. In S. Strivastva, & D.L. Cooperrider (Eds.), Appreciative management and leadership: The power of positive thought and action in organizations: 289-323. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gaertner, S.L. (1973). Helping behavior and racial discrimination among liberals and conservatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 25 (3): 335-341.
- Geis, F., & Christie, R. (1970). Overview of experimental research. In R. Christie & F.L. Geis (Eds.), Studies in Machiavellianism: 285-313. New York: Academic Press.
- George, A.L. (1969). The operational code: A neglected approach to the study of political leaders and decision-making. *International Studies Quarterly*, 23: 190-222.
- Gleason, J.M., Seamen, F.J., & Hollander, E.P. (1978). Emergent leadership processes as a function of task structure and Machiavellianism. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 6: 33-36.
- Graen, G.B., & Uhl-Bien, M. (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. Leadership Quarterly, 6: 219-247.
- Graham, J.W. (1991). Servant-leadership in organizations: Inspirational and moral. Leadership Quarterly, 2: 105-119.
- Greenleaf, R.K. (1977). Servant-leadership. New York: Paulist Press.
- Gurr, T.R. (1980). A conceptual system of political indicators. In Taylor, C.L. (Ed.), Indicator systems for political, economic, and social analysis. Cambridge, MA:

- Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain Publishers.
- Hegarty, W. H., & Sims, H.P., Jr. (1978). Some determinants of unethical behavior: An experiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 63: 451-457.
- Hegarty, W. H., & Sims, H.P., Jr. (1979). Organizational philosophy, policies, and objectives related to unethical decision behavior: A laboratory experiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 64: 331-338.
- Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K.H. (1988). Management of organizational behavior: Utilizing human resources, (5th ed.), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Hickman, S.E., Watson, P.J., & Morris, R. J. (1996). Optimism, pessimism, and the complexity of narcissism. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 20 (4): 521-525.
- Hill R.W., & Yousey, G.P. (1999). Adaptive and maladaptive narcissism among university faculty, clergy, politicians, and librarians. In N.J. Pallone (Ed.), *Altruism, narcissism, comity*: 87-95. New Brunswick, JN.
- Hoffman, M.L. (1975). Developmental synthesis of affect and cognition and its implications for altruistic motivation. *Developmental Psychology*, 11, 5: 607-622.
- Hoffman, M.L. (1984). Interaction of affect and cognition in empathy. In C.E. Izard, J. Kagan, & R.B. Zajonc, *Emotions, cognition, and behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). Cultures' consequences, international differences in work-related values. Berverly Hills: Sage.
- Hogan, R. (1969). Development of an empathy scale. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 33 (3): 307-316.
- Holland, J.L. (1985). Making vocational choices: A theory of vocational personalities and work environments (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- House, R.J. (1977). A 1976 theory of charismatic leadership. In J.G. Hunt & L.L. Larson (Eds.), *Leadership: The cutting edge*: 189-207. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- House, R.J., & Howell, J.M. (1992). Personality and charismatic leadership. *Leadership Quarterly*, 3: 81-108.
- House, R.J., Spangler, W.D., & Woycke, J. (1991). Personality and charisma in the U.S. presidency: A psychological theory of leader effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 36: 364-396.

- Israel, F. (1965). The chief executive: Inaugural addresses of the presidents of the United States from George Washington to Lyndon B. Johnson. New York: Crown.
- Janis, I.L. (1972). Victims of groupthink. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Johns, G. (1991). Substantive and methodological constraints on behavior and attitudes in organizational research. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 49: 80-104.
- Johns, G., & Saks, A.M. (2001). Organizational behaviour: Understanding and managing life at work (5th ed.). Toronto, ON: Harper Collins.
- Jones, E.E., & Nisbett, R. (1971). The actor and the observer: Divergent perceptions of the causes of behavior. In E.E. Jones and associates (Eds.), Attribution: Perceiving the Causes of Behavior. Morristown, J.J.: Silver Burdett.
- Kant, I. (1991). The metaphysics of morals. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kanungo, R.N., & Conger, J.A. (1993). Promoting altruism as a corporate goal. *Academy of Management Executive*, 7, (3): 37-48.
- Kanungo, R.N., & Mendonca, M. (1996). Ethical dimensions of leadership. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.
- Karylowski, J. (1982). Two types of altruistic behavior: Doing good to feel good or to make the other feel good. In V.J. Derlega & J. Grzelak (Eds.), Cooperation and helping behavior: Theories and research. New York: Academic Press.
- Keeley, M. (1995). The trouble with transformational leadership: Toward a federalist ethic for organizations. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 5: 67-96.
- Kerr, S., & Jermier, J.M. (1978). Substitutes for leadership: Their meaning and measurement. Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 22: 375-403.
- Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1988). Prisoners of leadership. *Human Relations*, 41: 261-280.
- Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1989). Leaders who self-destruct: The causes and cures. Organizational Dynamics, 18: 5-17.
- Kets de Vries, M.F.R., & Miller, D. (1985). Narcissism and leadership: An object relations perspective. *Human Relations*, 38: 583-601.
- Kinder, D.R., & Fiske, S.T. (1986). Presidents in the public mind. In M.G. Hermann (Ed.), Political psychology: Contemporary problems and issues: 193-218. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Kohlberg, L. (1964). Development of moral character and ideology. In M.L. Hoffman (Ed.), Review of child development research, Vol. 1. NY: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Kohut, H. (1971). The analysis of the self. New York: International Universities Press.
- Kohut, H. (1972). Thoughts on narcissism and narcissistic rage. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 27: 360-400.
- Kohut, H. (1976). The restoration of the self. New York: International Universities Press.
- Korsgaard, M.A., Meglino, B.M., & Lester, S.W. (1997). Beyong helping: Do other-oriented values have broader implications in organizations? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82, (1): 160-177.
- Krebs, D.L. (1975). Empathy and altruism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32: 1134-1146.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content analysis: An Introduction to its methodology. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Kuhnert, K.W., & Lewis, P. (1987). Transactional and transformational leadership: A constructive/developmental analysis. *Academy of Management Review*, 12: 648-657.
- Kuzma, L.M. (1996). When hawks are doves and doves are hawks: Reevaluating elite foreign policy beliefs. Dissertation Abstracts: Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 56 (9-A): 3732.
- Larson, D.W. (1994). The role of belief systems and schemas in foreign policy decision-making. *Political Psychology*, 15: 17-33.
- Latner, R.B. (1979). The presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House politics 1829-1837. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Lerner, M.J. (1975). The justice motive in social behavior: Introduction. *Journal of Social Issues*, 31 (3): 1-19.
- Lindholm, C. (1990). Charisma. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell.
- Loomer, B.M. (1976). Two kinds of power. Criterion (Winter): 11-29.
- MacIntyre, A. (1984). After virtue. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Maranell, G.M. (1970). The evaluation of presidents: An extension of the Schlesinger polls. Journal of American History, 57: 104-113.
- Maslow, A. (1973). Deficiency motivation and growth motivation. In D.C. McClelland, &

- R.S. Steele. *Human motivation: A book of readings*: 233-251. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.
- McClelland, D.C. (1951). Personality. New York: Dryden.
- McClelland, D.C. (1958). In J.W. Atkinson and D.C. McClelland, *Motives in fantasy, action and society*. NY: Van Nostrand.
- McClelland, D.C. (1975). Power: The inner experience. New York: John Wiley.
- McClelland, D.C. (1976). The achieving society (reprinted edition). New York: Irvington.
- McClelland, D.C. (1985). Human motivation. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- McClelland, D. C., & Boyatzis, R.E. (1982). Leadership motive pattern and long-term management success in management. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67: 737-743.
- McClelland, D.C., Davis, W.N., Kalin, R., & Wanner, E. (1972). The drinking man: Alcohol and human motivation. New York: Free Press.
- McCoy, D. (1996). Chicago Sun-Times Poll. Presidential Studies Quarterly, Special Issue: The Nixon Presidency, 26, (1): 281-283.
- McCrae, R.R., & Costa, P.T. (1996). Toward a new generation of personality theories: Theoretical contexts for the five-factor model. In J.S. Wiggins (Ed.), *The five-factor model of personality: Theoretical perspectives*: 51-87. New York: Guilford Press.
- McHoskey, J. (1995). Narcissism and Machiavellianism. *Psychological Reports*, 77: 755-759.
- McHoskey, J., Worzel, W., & Szyarto, C. (1998). Machiavellianism and psychopathy. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74: 192-210.
- Mill, J.S. (1979). Utilitarianism. Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Morgan, C.D., & Murray, H.A. (1935). A method for examining fantasies: The Thematic Apperception Test. Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, 34: 289-306.
- Morris, R.B. (1967). Great presidential decisions: State papers that changed the course of history (rev. ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Morris, R.B. (1982). Encyclopedia of American History. New York: Harper and Row.
- Murray, R.K., & Blessing, T.H. (1983). The presidential performance study: A progress report. *The Journal of American History*, 70: 535-555.

- Nair, K. (1994). A higher standard of leadership. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
- Neustadt, R.E. (1990). Presidential power and the modern presidents: The politics of leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan. New York: Free Press.
- Null, E.J., & Smead, W.H. (1971). Relationships between the political orientation of superintendents and their leader behavior as perceived by subordinates. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 65: 103-106.
- O'Connor, J., Mumford, M.D., Clifton, T.C., Gessner, T.L., & Connelly, M.S. (1995). Charismatic leaders and destructiveness: An historiometric Study. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6: 529-555.
- Osborn, R.N., & Hunt, J.G. (1975). An adaptive-reactive theory of leadership: The role of macro variables in leadership research. In J.G. Hunt & L.L. Larson (Eds.), Leadership Frontiers. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press.
- Ottati, V.C., Steenbergen, M.R., & Riggle, E. (1992). The cognitive and affective components of political attitudes: Measuring the determinants of candidate evaluation. *Political Behavior*, 14 (4): 423-442.
- Palmer, P.J. (1994). Leading from within: out of the shadows, into the light. In J.A. Conger (Ed.), Spirit at work: Discovering the spirituality in leadership. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Pearce, P., Amato, P.R., & Smithson, M. (1983). Social psychological research: some recent concerns. In M. Smithson, P.R. Amato, & P. Pearce. *Dimensions of helping behaviour*: 2-21. Oxford: Robert Maxwell.
- Podsakoff, P.M., MacKenzie, S.B., Morrman, R.H., & Fetter, R. (1990). Transformational leader behaviors and their effects on followers' trust in leader, satisfaction, and organizational citizenship behaviors. *Leadership Quarterly*, 1: 107-142.
- Popper, M. (2000). The development of charismatic leaders. *Political Psychology*, 21: 729-744.
- Post, J.M. (1986). Narcissism and the charismatic leader-follower relationship. *Political Psychology*, 7: 675-687.
- Post, J.M. (1991). Saddam Hussein of Iraq: A political psychology profile. *Political Psychology*, Vol. 13, No. 2.
- Post, J.M. (1993). Current concepts of the narcissistic personality: Implications for political psychology. *Political Psychology*, 14: 99-121.
- Powers, W.T. (1973). Behavior: The control of perception. Chicago: Aldine.

- Pringle, H.F. (1939). The life and times of William Howard Taft: A biography. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.
- Raskin, R., & Terry, H. (1988). A principal-components analysis of the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and further evidence of its construct validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, (5): 890-902.
- Raven, J. (1988). Toward measures of high-level competencies: A re-examination of McClelland's distinction between needs and values. *Human Relations*, 41 (4): 281-294.
- Read, S.J., Jones, D.K., & Miller, L.C. (1990). Traits as goal-based categories: The importance of goals in the coherence of dispositional categories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58 (6): 1048-1061.
- Richardson, L.F. (1960). Statistics of deadly quarrels. Pittsburgh, PA: Boxwood Press.
- Roberts, N.C., & Bradley, R.T. (1988). Limits of charisma. In J.A. Conger, R.N. Kanungo, & Associates (Eds.). Charismatic Leadership: The Elusive Factor in Organizational Effectiveness. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rokeach, M. (1968). Beliefs, attitudes, and values. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). The nature of human values. New York: The Free Press.
- Roseman, I.J. (1994). The psychology of strongly held beliefs: Theories of ideological structure and individual attachment. In R.C. Schank & E. Langer (Eds.), Beliefs, reasoning, and decision making: Psychology in honor of Bob Abelson: 175-208. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rosenbloom, D.H., & Goldman, D.D. (1993). *Public administration*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Rost, J.D. (1993). Leadership for the twenty-first century. New York: Praeger.
- Rushton, J.P. (1980). Altruism, socialization, and society. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Schlesinger, A.M., Jr. (1957). The age of Roosevelt: Crises of the old order. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schlesinger, A.M. (1983). The almanack of American history. New York: Putnam.
- Schriesheim, C.A. (1998). Delegation and leader-member exchange: Main effects, moderators, and measurement issues. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41 (3): 298-

- Schwartz, S.H., & Howard, J.A. (1984). Internalized values as motivators of altruism. In E. Staub, D. Bar-Tal, J. Karylowski, & J. Reykowski (Eds.), The development and maintenance of prosocial behavior: International perspectives on positive development: 229-255. New York: Plenum Press.
- Sherman, N. (1989). The fabric of character: Aristotle theory of virtue. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Shultz, J.S. (1993). Situational and dispositional predictions of performance: A test of the hypothesized Machiavellianism X structure interaction among sales persons. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 23: 478-498.
- Simonton, D.K. (1986). Presidential personality: Biographical use of the Gough Adjective Check List. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51: 149-160.
- Simonton, D.K. (1987). Why presidents succeed: A political psychology of leadership. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Simonton, D.K. (1988). Presidential style: Personality, biography, and performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55: 928-936.
- Simonton, D.K. (1990). Psychology, science, and history: An introduction to historiometry. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Skowronek, S. (1993). The politics presidents make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Small, M. (1980). Was war necessary? National security and United States entry into war. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Smith, A. (1976). Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations. Impression Bussière à Saint-Amand, France: Gallimard.
- Smith, C.P., & Franz, C.E. (1992). Practice materials for learning the scoring systems. In C.P. Smith (Ed.), *Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis*: 625-629. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Spangler, W.D., & House, R.J. (1991). Presidential effectiveness and the leadership motive profile. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60: 439-455.
- Spence, J.T., Helmreich, R.L., & Stapp, J. (1974). The Personal Attributes Questionnaire: A measure of sex role stereotypes and masculinity-feminity. *JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, 4: 43.

- Starling, G. (1996). The changing environment of business. Cincinnati, OH: South Western College Publishing.
- Staub, E. (1978). Positive social behavior and morality: Social and personal influences, Vol. 1. New York: Academic Press.
- Sulfaro, V.-A. (1997). Sources of foreign policy orientations: An empirical analysis of mass and elite behavior. Dissertation Abstracts International, 57, (7A): 3234.
- Taber, C.S. (1992). POLI: an expert system model of U.S. foreign policy belief systems. American Political Science Review, 86: 888-904.
- Teske, N. (1997). Beyond altruism: Identity-construction as moral motive in political explanation. *Political Psychology*, 18: 71-91.
- Toi, M., & Batson, D.C. (1982). More evidence that empathy is a source of altruistic motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43 (2): 281-292.
- Tulis, J.K. (1987). The rhetorical presidency. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Volkan, D.V. (1980). Narcissistic personality organization and "reparative" leadership. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, 30: 131-152.
- Vroom, V.H., & Jago, A.G. (1988). The new leadership: Managing participation in organizations. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.
- Ward, M. (1980). Composite measures of development. In Taylor, C.L. (Ed.), *Indicator systems for political*, economic, and social analysis: 25-38. Cambridge: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Whitney, D.C. (1982). The American presidents (5th ed.). Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Wilner, D. S., Near, D., & Miller, R.R. (1996). Machiavellianism: A synthesis of the evolutionary and psychological literatures. *Psychological Bulletin*, 119: 285-299.
- Wilson, D.S., Near, D., & Miller, R.R. (1996). Machiavellianism: A synthesis of the evolutionary and psychological literatures. *Psychological Bulletin*, 119: 285-299.
- Winter, D.G. (1973). The power motive. New York: Free Press.
- Winter, D.G. (1987). Leader appeal, leader performance, and the motive profiles of leaders and followers: A study of American presidents and elections. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52: 196-202.
- Winter, D.G. (1991). Measuring personality at a distance: Development of an integrated system of scoring motives in running text. In A.J. Stewart, J.M. Healy, Jr., & D.J.

- Ozer (Eds.), Perspectives in Personality: Approaches to Understanding Lives: 59-89. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Winter, D.G. (1992). Content analysis of secondary data, personal documents, and everyday verbal productions. In C.P. Smith (Ed.), *Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis*: 110-125. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winter, D.G. (1992). Responsibility. In C.P. Smith (Ed.), Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis: 500-505. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winter, D.G. (1992). Scoring system for responsibility. In C.P. Smith (Ed.), Motivation and Personality: Handbook of Thematic Content Analysis: 506-511. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Winter, D.G., & Barenbaum, B.B. (1985). Responsibility and the power motive in women and men. *Journal of Personality*, 53: 196-202.
- Winter, D.G., & Stewart, A.J. (1977). Content analysis as a method of studying political leaders. In M.G. Hermann (Ed.), A psychological examination of political leaders: 27-61. New York: Free Press.
- Winter, D.G., & Stewart, A.J. (1978). Power motivation. In London, H., & J. Exner (Eds.), Dimensions of Personality: 391-447. New York: Wiley.
- Winter, D. G., Stewart, A.J., John, O.P., Klohnen, E.C., & Duncan, L.E. (1998). Traits and motives: Toward an integration of two traditions in personality research. *Psychological Review*, 105 (2): 230-250.
- Wren, J.T. (1998). James Madison and the ethics of transformational leadership. In J. Ciulla (Ed.), Ethics: The heart of leadership: 145-168. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Appendix 1

Louise Tourigny Doctoral Candidate Department of Management CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

MANUAL FOR CODING THE ALTRUISTIC MOTIVE

INSTRUCTIONS:

- 1. This manual provides instructions for professional coders and should be used only with verbal material.
- 2. This coding system has been developed for scoring inaugural addresses of American Presidents.
- 3. This manual cannot be reproduced without permission of the author.

A Scoring Manual for the Altruistic Motive

The manual presents a general statement of what is meant by *n altruism* or motivation to behave in an altruistic manner.

This definition, however, is developed specifically for coding inaugural addresses. Therefore, this measure of the altruistic motive should be considered more as a research tool than as a formal test.

Definition of the altruistic motive

Motives "drive, orient, and select behavior" (McClelland, 1987: 226). Altruism is conceived as a motive underlying helping behavior. It is a personality trait in the sense that individuals differ in the extent to which they are motivated to help others (Staub, 1978; 1979).

Altruism is a motivational state, a potential energy directed toward the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare (Batson, 1991). The motivation is goal-directed. It involves a state of an imbalance between the individual's experienced world and some future consequences of his potential actions. The goal to help others cannot be accessory in attaining some other goals, because that would imply that the altruistic act is not essential (Batson, 1991). However, several motives can occur simultaneously and these can be oriented toward different goals.

The altruistic motive does not imply that one is self-interested or disinterested. That is, helping others can benefit someone, but in some circumstances it can also involve self-sacrifice. The goal to help others is activated by the altruistic motive, but it can occur simultaneously with the motive to benefit one's self. Therefore, the altruistic motive is conceptually independent from the self-interest motive (Hoffman, 1975; Kanungo & Conger, 1993; Kanungo & Mendonça, 1996).

The altruistic motive is oriented toward the consequences of the future (Winter, 1992). It involves an assessment of others' conditions, and a projection of the consequences of one's actions on those conditions. Therefore, to increase someone's welfare, "the motivated person must perceive a negative discrepancy between another person's current state and potential state" (Batson, 1991: 6).

When a need to benefit others is expressed, it is considered as an altruistic motive (n altruism). This need takes the form of an implied, hypothetical, or potential action aimed at helping others. That is, a past, present, or future action on the part of the individual or other entities mentioned by the author.

The need to benefit others is socially constructed, it is learned. However, the feeling of empathy is a spontaneous reaction to others' conditions, and it is essential for the development of altruism (Aronfreed, 1970). The altruistic motive depends on empathy and cognitive processes (Hoffman, 1975). Altruism can be learned by training, and exposure to information pertaining to the life condition of others (Hoffman, 1975). The distance between the vicarious cues and the consequences of one's potential action constitutes a state of an imbalance which determines one's altruistic motive to help others. However, this does not mean that one will take action. We concentrate on motives because one's actions can be constrained by several environmental factors. This means that the motive can be present even when someone does not take action to help others.

The vicarious cues can activate an empathic emotion and internalized standard (norm) by which conditions or events are evaluated and judged (Rushton, 1980). Norms serve "to evaluate good from bad, right from wrong, appropriate from inappropriate, . . . or truth from falsehood" (Rushton, 1980: 41-42). The following norms can serve to assess one's potential action: (1) norms of social responsibility, (2) norms of equity, and (3) norms of reciprocity.

Norms of reciprocity prescribe that people should help those who have helped them in the past (Gouldner, 1960). Norms of equity refer to a set of balanced scales which are used to weigh the fairness of many aspects of the environment. When the scales get out of balance, a motive to redress that balance is activated (Rushton, 1980). The norm of social responsibility is based on dependency. This is a norm to help another person especially when he or she is dependent on the other's help (Berkowitz, 1972). The norm of social responsibility refers to an internalized belief that it is a moral imperative to help others without any consideration in return (Berkowitz, 1972; Kanungo & Mendonça, 1996; Schwartz & Howard, 1984).

The role of moral or other-oriented values is crucial in the sense that these are learned through the socialization process

which fosters the acquisition of norms through the reinforcement of helping behavior (Kanungo & Mendonça, 1996; Korsgaard, Meglino, & Lester, 1997). Therefore, one's potential action is justified by the moral values underlying one's internalized norms. The ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare is related to one's acquisition of other-oriented values. The individual expresses these values by showing a positive concern for others. Concerns for others values reflect the cognitively transformed need for altruism (Rokeach, 1973).

The altruistic motive is conceptually defined as "a motivational state, (a potential energy aroused by empathic emotion and internalized standard), with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare" (Batson, 1991: 6). This definition is operationalized as an expression of an implied, hypothetical, or potential behavior reflecting a positive concern for others.

Coding system

The most important decision the coder has to make is to determine whether a particular sentence contains one or more *potential behaviors* as altruism related. The coder must first decide whether or not there is any potential behavior which would allow the inference that the person writing the discourse was at all motivated to be altruistic. Evidence of the motive is necessary in order to score the sentence.

The altruistic motive is scored when the sentence contains some evidence of concern for helping, caring, doing, respecting, relieving, uplifting, supporting or giving to others. This is adequately described by showing positive concern for others.

It is essential that the author makes reference to *different others* such as nations, communities, cultural groups, or minority groups. It can take the form of specific descriptive terms such as neighbour, black, poor, hungry, child, mother. brother, father, sister, parents, farmers, women, unemployed, fellow men, other people, and so on. It can also take the form of encompassing terms such as mankind, or human being.

However, coders should be careful to distinguish positive concern for others from intimacy, affective relationship, or

affiliation. Close intimate relationships or friendships are not scored for concern for others (Winter, 1992). Fear of rejection, exclusion, abandon, or expel from others are not coded for n altruism. The specific authors' personal needs to be gratified, supported, sustained, surrounded, protected, loved, advised, guided, indulged, forgiven, consoled, or remain close to others are not coded for n altruism, because these needs do not imply an action aimed at helping others (Hall & Lindzey, 1957, after Murray, 1938). In brief, needs to help or protect the author's "self" are not coded for n altruism.

However, cooperation or reciprocation with allied others (Hall & Lindzey, 1957, after Murray, 1938) or different others is coded for n altruism, because it implies actions on the part of both parties. The author can show a need to cooperate or reciprocate, and/or make reference to norms of reciprocity, equity or social responsibility (Berkowitz, 1972; Gouldner, 1960; Rushton, 1980; Schwartz & Howard, 1984).

Need to gratify the needs of helpless others is coded for n altruism, but altruism can extend beyond helping helpless others to include different others despite their relative status. Therefore, needs to support, protect, or comfort any others (as described previously) are coded for n altruism.

The sentence is scored for n altruism when the author, a group, a nation, etc., is explicitly described as showing positive concern for others. "Bringing about some general good condition is not scored unless the theme of help or positive effect on others is explicit" (Winter, 1992: 507). This means that it involves an intended past, present, or future action on the part of the author, or a specific entity such as a group or a nation.

In order to be scored, a sentence can present feelings of compassion for different others. Compassion is a sympathetic consciousness of others' needs with a desire to help them fulfill their needs. Sympathy implies empathy, in the sense of being able to share others' feelings (Hoffman, 1984; Rushton, 1980). For example, considering others like oneself is scored.

Anticipated positive outcomes for others and projected positive consequences of one's actions on the state of others are scored for n altruism. If there is no link between an outcome and any implied, hypothetical, or potential behavior on the part of the author or other entity referred to, the sentence should not be scored for n altruism.

References to obstacles to others' moral happiness such as poverty, lack of education or training, and unemployment, and to others' conditions are scored for n altruism when the author's goal is to benefit others. In addition, references to means to help others such as legislation are scored for n altruism when the author's goal is to benefit others. Therefore, if the author only makes reference to these obstacles or means without associating them to any helpful act or empathic concern, the sentence should not be scored.

Sentences in which the author cites a quotation of a text addressing altruistic issues are not scored, because these do not reflect the author's motive. However, if the author makes reference to a text or a concept (e.g., The American covenant) in order to justify his potential actions, the sentence can be scored as long as it presents the characteristics described above.

Altruism themes

The sentence is scored for the altruistic motive when the sequence of words, identified according to the criteria given previously, corresponds to a central or a dominant theme in the sentence. Whenever the sequence of words corresponding to the altruistic motive could be dropped without changing the essence of the sentence, it is not scored. If the sequence of words is accessory, it is not scored.

Scoring codes for positive concern for others

When a sentence is scored for n altruism (positive concern for others), the coders indicate a +1 in the left margin. If it is not scored, coders indicate zero. Besides the number the term PCO (for positive concern for others) should be written.

When there is a reference to cooperation or reciprocation in the sentence, the coders should add the code MU (for mutual altruism) besides the number and the previous code. When the action is intended to benefit others without any expected return, and when the term "others" (those who are concerned by the intended action) cannot encompass the author's own "self", the coders should add the term MO (for moral altruism) besides the number and the previous code.

Negative concern for others

Altruism is operationalized as a positive concern for others. However, the altruistic motive is one of two polar dimensions represented as a continuum ranging from high negative concern for others to high positive concern for others. These negative concerns for others might be related to the expression of a need to protect certain constituents or the nation. Indeed, this motive can reflect protective governance. Nevertheless, they are the expression of a need to hinder the action of a specific entity.

The negative concern for others is scored when the sentence contains some evidence of concern for harming, eliminating, destroying, fighting, attacking, injuring, killing, revenging, controlling, commanding, dissuading, restraining, prohibiting, seducing (as a negative strategy of influence), dominating and discriminating others.

It is essential that the author makes reference to different others such as adversaries, enemies, and outsiders, or to others mentioned above such as nations as long as the meaning attributed to the term makes reference to *opposed* others.

Scoring codes for negative concern for others

The sentence in which there is a negative concern for others is **reverse scored**. The coders should indicate a -1 in the left margin. Besides the number the term NCO (for negative concern for others) should be written.

Blind coding

All information that could allow for the identification of the Presidents has been removed from the inaugural addresses.

Coders should add a note at the bottom of the inaugural address if they think they have identified the President who pronounced the inaugural address, and provide his name.

Practice material

After reading the scoring manual for the altruistic motive, write out your answers to the following questions without consulting the manual. Then check your answers to see if you are correct.

- 1. What is the operational definition of the altruistic motive?
- 2. What are the criteria for coding an intended behavior as a positive concern for others?
- 3. Are the author's needs to help or protect his own self coded for n altruism? Give the criteria used to identify these needs.
- 4. How is cooperation or reciprocation coded?
- 5. What are the norms associated with the need to cooperate or reciprocate?
- 6. Define feelings of compassion. Should we code them for n altruism?
- 7. What are the other factors that can be associated with the author's intended behavior to benefit others?
- 8. How are references to other texts or concepts coded?
- 9. What is the criterion used to code for an altruism theme?
- 10. What are the criteria used to identify a negative concern for others?

Examples taken from different inaugural addresses

"(We must be prepared) in order to <u>prevent</u> other <u>nations</u> from taking advantage of us and of our inability to <u>defend</u> our interests-and assert our rights with a strong hand."

Coded for negative concern for others: The author refers to opposed others and implies an action reflecting a need to dissuade or restrain others.

"We <u>dedicated ourselves</u> to the fulfilment of a vision-to speed the time when there would be <u>for all the people</u> who <u>security and peace</u> essential to the pursuit of <u>happiness</u>."

Coded for positive concern for others: The author refers to others (all the people) and to their state (security, peace, and happiness) associated with the action of the entity (ourselves) referred to.

CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Louise Tourigny as part of her research dissertation under the supervision of Dr. Gary Johns of the Department of Management at Concordia University.

A. Purpose

The purpose of this research is to content analyze historical source material in order to validate some concepts used in the field of organizational behavior. This is part of a broader research project on American presidential leadership style and performance.

B. Procedures

As participant, you are required to score the historical material, which is randomly distributed. You are provided specific scoring procedures and scoring sheets to complete this content analysis.

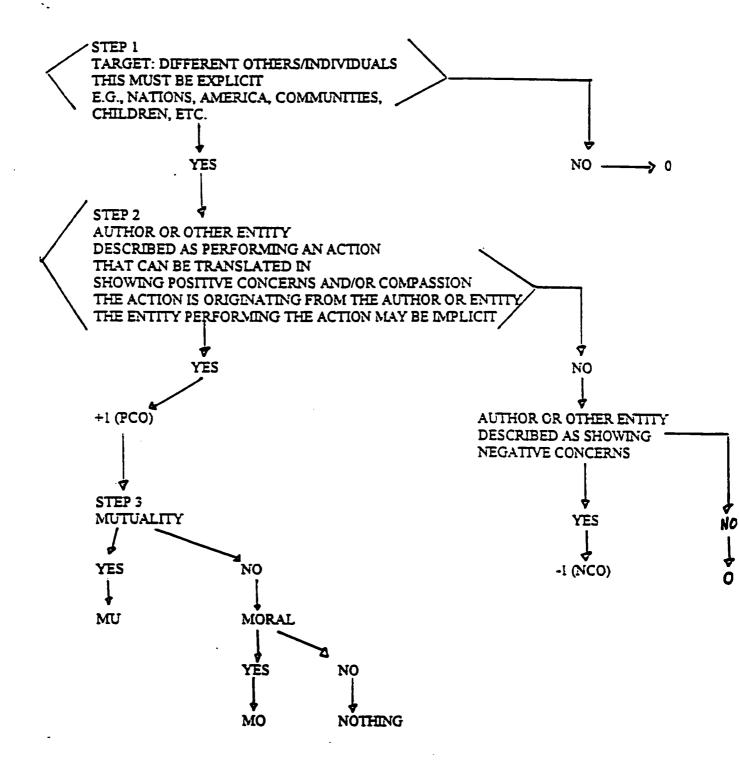
C. Conditions of Participation

- I understand that the purpose of this analysis is to measure presidential responsibility values.
- I know that I will be randomly assigned one to three inaugural addresses depending on the length of each speech.
- I know that my participation consists in providing an objective assessment based on the instructions provided in the scoring procedures created by Dr. David G. Winter.
- I know that I can withdraw my consent and participation any time <u>before the deadline for submission</u> without negative consequences. However, I understand that I will be given another assignment that will count for the same percentage of the final grade. I know that this alternative is offered only before the deadline for submission. I understand that this alternative is not offered in compensation for the results obtained on the scoring assignment or any other assignment in this course.
- I know that I will be evaluated based on the following criteria: providing a complete assignment, following the procedures prescribed, level of understanding of the concepts and accuracy.
- I understand that the data from this research may be published and/or presented in a conference.
- I understand that my participation in this research is CONFIDENTIAL.
- I understand the purpose of this research and know that there is no hidden motive of which I have not been informed.

I have carefully read the above and understand this agreement. I freely consent and agree to participate in this study.

NAME (Please print):	
SIGNATURE:	
COURSE INSTRUCTOR'S SIGNATURE:	
DATE:	

PRESENTATION OF A COGNITIVE SCHEMA FOR CODING



Appendix 3 Glossary

Definitions

- 1. Government: The act or process of governing; authoritative direction or control; the office, authority or function of governing; the continuous exercise of authority over and the performance of functions for a political unit; the organization, machinery, or agency through which a political unit exercises authority and performs functions and which is usually classified according to the distribution of power within it; the complex of political institutions, laws, and customs through which the function of governing is carried out in a specific political unit; the body of persons that constitutes the governing authority of a political unit or organization as the officials comprising the governing body of a political unit and constituting the organization as an active agency; the executive branch of the U.S. federal government including the political officials and usually the permanent civil service employees; small group of persons holding simultaneously the principal political executive offices of a nation or other political unit and responsible for the direction and supervision of public affairs.
- 2. Populace: refers to the common people, to the masses. Also uneducated common people.
- 3. Popular: nothing to do with pop music. It comes from popularis (lat.) and means the people. It relates to the general public, the majority.
- 4. Union: (1) a confederation of independent individuals (as nations or persons) for some common purpose; (2) a political unit constituting an organic whole formed usually from previously independent units which have surrendered their principal powers to the government of the whole or a newly created government as in the U.S. in 1789.
- 5. Country: Political state or nation or its territory; the people of a state or district: populace.
- 6. Nation: A community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government; a territorial division containing a body of people of one or more nationalities and usually characterized by relatively large size and independent status.
- 7. Market: The course of commercial activity by which the exchange of commodities is effected; a formal organized coming together of buyers and sellers of goods (e.g., stock market).
- 8. Public: of, relating to, or affecting all the people or the whole area of a nation or state; governmental: in the service of the community or nation; of or relating to mankind in general-universal, popular, of or relating to business or community interests as opposed to private affairs: social
- 9. Legislature: A body of persons having the power to legislate; an organized body having the authority to make laws for a political unit and often exercising other functions.
- 10. Business: A commercial or industrial enterprise; trade, commerce.

Practice material

Code the following sentences and explain why.

E.g.,

"(We must be prepared) in order to prevent other nations from taking advantage of us and of our inability to defend our interests-and assert our rights with a strong hand".

Coded for negative concern for others: The author refers to opposed others and implies an action reflecting a need to dissuade or restrain others.

"We <u>dedicated ourselves</u> to the <u>fulfillment</u> of a vision-to speed the time when there would be <u>for all the people</u> that security and peace essential to the <u>pursuit of happiness</u>".

Coded for positive concern for others: The author makes reference to others (all the people) and to their state (security, peace, and happiness) associated with the action of the entity (ourselves) performing the action. ML

target

- 1. "The finances of the Government shall suffer no detriment which it may be possible for my \mathcal{O} Administration to prevent".
- 2. "The funding of the national debt at a lower rate of interest should be accomplished without compelling the withdrawal of the national-bank notes, and thus disturbing the business of the country".
- 3. "The Mormon Church not only offends the moral sense of manhood by sanctioning polygamy, but prevents the administration of justice through ordinary instrumentalities of law".
- 4. "Mankind needs a world-wide benediction of understanding. It is needed among individuals, among > tenet/on peoples, among governments, and it will inaugurate an era of good feeling to make the birth of a new order".
- 5. "The evils which afflict the Southern States can only be removed or remedied by the united and harmonious efforts of both races, actuated by motives of mutual sympathy and regard;..." +1 (PC0)

QUIZ	NAME:
MARCH 18, 1998	I.D.:
True or false	•
1. Altruism is a motivational state, a pote	ential energy directed toward the welfare of others
2. If the president directly or indirectly b toward others there is no altruis	enefits from an intended behavior oriented
3. The altruistic need takes the form of a future action aimed at helping of	in implied, hypothetical, or potential, past, present, or hers
4. What are the norms associated to the	altruistic motive?
2 3	
5. What is the operational definition of t	he altruistic motive?
Code the following sentences, and under or anticipated positive consequence(s):	rline the target(s), and action(s), feeling(s) of compassion,
•	ales the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what for your peace and prosperity
	on defense, the general welfare, and the blessings of overnment under which we have lived.
	arselves alone, we have contributed of our resources and and the settlement of the disputes among the European
9. The wisest and soundest method of s	olving our tax problem is through economy.
promoting freedom and independence,	ciety are not exhibiting a superior intelligence, are not are not following the path of civilization, but are displaying savagery, and treading the way that leads back to the

Coder:	Leader:
I.D.:	

Empathy is defined as sensitivity to feelings, and apprehension of another's condition, and state of mind without practically experiencing that person's feelings (Davis, 1980; Hogan, 1969; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1974).

This questionnaire is assessing the leader's empathy based on his discourse. First, read the items below. Second, read the inaugural address of the leader that corresponds to the number above. Then, use the scales provided below and indicate the extent to which each item is typical of the leader's empathic concerns. The scale varies from 1 (extremely atypical) to 7 (extremely typical). Circle the number corresponding to your answer.

Extremely atypical	Atypical	Somewhat atypical	Neither typical nor Atypical	Somewhat typical	Typical	Extremely typical	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1. This leader is recognizing feelings of others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	2. This leader is appreciating the distress of others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	3. This leader is understanding of others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	4. This leader is aware of feelings of others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	5. This leader is recognizing needs of others.
i	2	3	4	5	6	7	6. This leader is devoting himself to others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7. This leader shows empathy.
ı	2	3	4	5	6	7	8. This leader is vicariously experiencing feelings of others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9. This leader is assessing others' conditions.

Louise Tourigny, Doctoral Candidate, Department of Management, Concordia University Please, do not reproduce without the author's permission.

Appendix 7 Responsibility values

Scoring sheet	•
Inaugural address number 01	
Scorer number1	
For each sentence that reflects the responsibility value listed below, put a	÷l in the
appropriate column.	

ntence number	Moral/legal standard	Obligation	l Self-judgment
29	· · · · · ·	2	
<u> ۲</u> 0	+1	ပ	
리		0	_
пЭ	+1	0	
43	<u></u>	÷1	
Lil	7	<u>-,</u>	_
٣٤			
Hija		0	-
ŭ,	<u> </u>		<u> </u>
ric.			-
LIG		<u> </u>	_
e/j			_
51			_
43			_
			_
£\$		c	_
<u> </u>	.		
<u>e</u> i	+1		
دنہ		C	
<7·	÷ 1	C	
cs		_ ^	
		•	_ ;
40	~	1	_
61		.	
63.	\overline{C}	3	
. ૯૩		0	
(e4	0	-:	—
-(
<i>(-(:</i>			s
7-7			-
٠ %		-	-
69 .		-	
70			-
71			-
7.3	\ <u></u>		_
73			_
74	· 	7	
75			
			
76	· 	0	

QUESTIONNAIRE ON PRESIDENTIAL CORE POLITICAL BELIEFS

I am interested in presidential leadership in the United States. This questionnaire measures presidential core political beliefs.

INSTRUCTIONS:

First, read the presidential personality profile that corresponds to the identification number written on the questionnaire. Then, using the scale below, indicate the extent to which each item reflects the description presented in the presidential personality profile. There are seven possible responses for each view. Please, use the key below to respond to the questions. For example "typical" refers to the extent to which the item represents the president's beliefs.

- 1 Extremely typical
- 2 Typical
- 3 Somewhat typical
- 4 Neither typical nor atypical
- 5 Somewhat atypical
- 6 Atypical
- 7 Extremely atypical

Please, refer to this key when you select your answer for each question.

President identification numbe	r:
--------------------------------	----

Please, circle the number corresponding to your answer.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1. This president believes that he can change the world.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	2. This president wants to protect the security of the United States.
l	2	3	4	5	6	7	3. This president attributes hostility to individuals' behavior or intention.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	4. This president seeks to engage in war.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	5. This president believes that he must serve all constituents.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	6. This president advocates peace among nations.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7. This president sees conspiracies in individuals' behavior or intention.
ı	2	3	4	5	6	7	8. This president believes that he can do things to improve the world.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	 This president believes that he must help all constituents achieve their ends.
ı	2	3	4	5	6	7	10. This president believes that his actions contribute to the development of the world.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	11. This president promotes mutual security among nations.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	12. This president believes that nations are acting in good faith with each other.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	13. This president emphasizes idealistic principles and values.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	14. This president has a constructive image of the world.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	15. This president uses others as means to achieve his personal objectives.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	16. This president has a positive image of his role in the world.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	17. This president emphasizes self-interest.
i	2	3	4	5	6	7	18. This president has a destructive view of the world.

Thank you for your help! Louise Tourigny, Ph.D. Candidate Department of Management Concordia University.

Please do not reproduce without the author's permission.

Appendix 9 Presidential personality profiles: Examples

Please read the following profile and answer the questions. Your responses are completely confidential. If you have already completed a similar survey in a previous class, please do not complete a second survey.

"one of the three handsomest men [ever to attain his position]" "of better than average height, he was of impressive appearance and possessed an urbanity commensurate with it" "He had very little education" "was an ambitious youth and learned quickly; not only that, he showed signs of brilliance" "very much attracted to public life" "handsome appearance and genial manners" "greatest humility" "Although he had few thoughts of self-interest, [he] lacked forthrightness" a prestige university "wanted to confer an honorary degree upon him, but he declined on the ground that he was not entitled to receive such a degree—an example of honest modesty rare in public life"

"Six feet tall, with blue eyes and a handsome face, [he] was more impressive in appearance than he was in accomplishment"

"Secondhand, commonplace, mediocre, undistinguished" "never overestimated himself"

"honest, experienced, dignified"

"A rather colorless lawyer" "a fair-minded man" "firmness, fairness, and good-humor, favoring conciliation over conflict"

"scanty schooling, which...enabled him to teach school for a brief time" "he declined to accept a D.C.L. degree from Oxford University on the valid grounds that he could present no literary or scientific achievements to warrant such an honor" "he read law and became a prosperous practitioner" "firmness, fairness, and good humor [when he] presided over...heated debates" "The adjective commonly applied to [him] is "colorless", which is another name for what later generations would call 'lack of charisma" "Yet contemporaries noted that he radiated a dignified and impressive presence, set off by his five feet, nine inches, his well developed chest, his deep voice, his kindly blue eyes, and his finely chiseled features. Clearly he was one of the most handsome and gracious of all [those in his position]" "Ever a compromiser" "if conciliation, moderation, and compromise are the essence of statesmanship, [he] has valid claims to being a nonbelligerent statesman. On a pugnacity scale he would receive a low rating, largely because he favored conciliation above coercion"

"a moderate and sensible man whose calm leadership was a welcome change" "left home at an early age to learn tailoring and wool carding and managed to educate himself...he began to study law while teaching school and was admitted to the bar" "presided with a calm impartiality over the fiery debates" "retired to a quiet life"

"was a likable fellow. He mixed readily. He was most persuasive in small groups; his stolid style did not play well before large audiences. He spoke slowly, deliberately, usually using simple expressions and short

sentences. His speeches lacked the flourish typical of great orators. A practical, unemotional man, he relied on logic and common sense to make a point in argument. He appealed to the mind rather than to the heart. Although basically a pragmatist, he was capable of genuine idealism if the cause struck his sense of righteousness. 'A spark of idealism smoldered in his mind'. 'Because his whole training had been aimed toward making or improving his livelihood, nothing could ever ignite the spark that would place him in that class of complete idealists who steadfastly cling to their visions no matter how inimical to their interest. But the trait was there, seldom dominating, yet always helping to shape his values.'"

2

Please read the following profile and answer the questions. Your responses are completely confidential. If you have already completed a similar survey in a previous class, please do not complete a second survey.

"He had been called an introvert; if so, he was a tough introvert. He was by nature shy, and his personality did not come across to the public easily. As a young man, he had preferred history and music to mathematics and sports" "severely censured...for no inaccessibility" "sought to govern without either romanticism or harshness" "sycophants with which he had surrounded himself" "hunger for reprisal of an insecure chief" "poor judgement of people, suspicion, inability to treat opponents with any degree of magnanimity, dislike of criticism [were his defects]" "exercised a greater than normal assumption of authoritarianism of his office" "the man had both unusual ability and unusual knowledge of statecraft" "imperiousness"

"During his school years [he] took part in many activities and attained excellent grades as well. He was a leading member of the debate teams in high school and college, winning prizes for public speaking. He acted in plays, performed on the organ [at church] and the piano at parties. He was elected to various school offices including president of the college student body. And when he graduated from [college] he stood second in his class" "awarded a tuition scholarship" to law school graduated "third in his class" "skills as a lawyer and a debater" "great courage" "cool-headed"

"the most controversial. He was also one of the most elusive." One associate called him "inexplicable, strange, hard to understand" another said he was "a mystery wrapped in an enigma enclosed in a paradox" "made much of his humble beginnings and his rise in life by grit, determination, self-denial, and hard work" "critics...charged that he was a greedy man"

"After coming up through the local public schools [he] enrolled in [a] nearby college and graduated with a high standing in his class. As for extracurricular activities, he participated in football and debating, both of which brought out his ingrained pugnacity. In physical combat, he was not a first-stringer, five feet, eleven inches in his prime, he was never especially robust or well-coordinated, but he partially made up in determination what he lacked in brute strength. In debating, he was glib, clever, resourceful, and outstandingly successful. Later in political life he delighted in scoring verbal points, but often without

scrupulous regard for fairness and truth. Never affluent in early life [he] entered...law school on a scholarship, and by dint of assiduous study graduated second in a class of twenty six." "managed to see war at first hand and acquired a realistic conception of what it entailed. He was reputed to be an exceptionally successful poker player during off hours" "gloried in verbal combat" "clever" "sharpness on the platform" "combative" "expert poker player"

"a man who seemed uncomfortable in public life" "graduated from...college, subsequently attending [law school]...from which he graduated" "served in navy during [the war]" "His political integrity was called into question" "inability to command respect and confidence" "his apparent personal insecurity, admitted intolerance of [opponents], and willingness to comply questionable political practices"

"a man torn by inner conflict, lonely, hypersensitive, narcissistic, suspicious, and secretive. The predominant characteristic was a fear of passivity, of appearing soft, of being dependent on others. He was a compulsive liar, he lied to gain love, to shore up his grandiose fantasies, to bolster his ever-wavering sense of identity. He lied in attack, hoping to win...And always he lied, and this most aggressively, to deny that he lied."

3

Please read the following profile and answer the questions. Your responses are completely confidential. If you have already completed a similar survey in a previous class, please do not complete a second survey.

"a naturally pacific and sober man" "no leadership, no assertiveness" "typical trading politician" "if it was necessary to sacrifice a weak friend to propitiate a powerful enemy he would not hesitate for one moment to do so" neither a "man of God" nor a "great humanitarian" "no such stamina" "he would sacrifice honorable conduct to silence censure of himself by the most obviously unprincipled jingoes" "backwardlooking conservatism" "His years of hard life in the field had changed him from the pale sickly boy who had volunteered for army duty into a healthy, robust young man" "forensic ability" "vigorous campaigning" "short stature" "habit of putting his hand inside his coat while speaking" "became famous for his devotion to his invalid wife" " 'kindly nature and lovable traits of character...amiable consideration for all about him" "could refuse a favor and make a friend" "'He had an innate dignity and at the same time a warm sympathetic nature" "hand shake was famous" "remarkable memory for faces and names was also well known and highly appreciated" "tactful even with children" "solicitude for his ailing wife [a semi-invalid] was the talk of the town" "kind and gentle" "was no war lover" "extremely sensitive to public opinion" "a kindly and compassionate man" "he did have a mind of his own and a sincere dedication to conservative principles. His personal honesty was commendable, and although he was guilty of occasional mistakes, they were made by a man of integrity on the basis of such information as was available to him at the time" "His elementary education was absorbed at the public schools, and his more advanced instruction at [college]" "devout" "war record was impressive" "exceptional gallantry" "study of law, and ultimately established a renumerative practice" "he was short [five feet, six inches], stout, and dignified in bearing.

He was notably calm in temper and was famous for his spotless white vests, which he changed several times a day" "He had a gift for saying `no' in...a gracious manner" not "brusque, impatient" "reluctant imperialist" "perhaps the most gentle, kindly, compassionate, and peace-loving man ever to [assume his office]" "a servant of the people, rather than their dictatorial master, and as a champion of democracy he believed in giving the people what they wanted. His penchant for ear-to-the ground politics has caused him to be labeled...spineless...which he was not" "A benign man who had seen enough of war" "born into a wealthy business family" [promoted] "for gallant and meritorious services" [in combat] "studied law" "did not harbor imperialist ambitions. He was in fact as mild mannered an imperialist as any pacifist would ever hope to see"

"By all accounts, he was open, friendly, even tempered, cheerful, optimistic, and universally well liked. He was more than popular, he was beloved...Even his political opponents were attracted by the peculiar sweetness of his personality. His uniform courtesy and fairness commanded the admiration of all...The general public found him free from vanity or affectation. Yet he did not gush with emotion. Rather, he worked a subtle charm effective with people from all walks of life. He enjoyed having lots of people around. Although not a particularly gifted storyteller, he had a dry wit and enjoyed a good, clean joke, but bristled at off-color remarks."

4

Please read the following profile and answer the questions. Your responses are completely confidential. If you have already completed a similar survey in a previous class, please do not complete a second survey.

"able to manage a...strong identification with the public" not a "good administrator" "dazzling, exciting"
"lover of crowds...knew exactly how to talk to crowds, how to smile at them, how to glamorize what he had
in mind for them" "unquestionably supplied leadership, regardless of how some people came to criticize
that leadership" "an educated man" "a country squire, genial, presiding over his large family and cognizant
of his patrician origins" "not very familiar with economic theory" "an experimenter" "a very capable
politician" "he could not deal generously with opponents"

"jaunty smile, a soothing voice and supreme self-confidence" "a fine speaker" "more than charmer"
"showed himself to be thoughtful, energetic, compassionate, and open to experiment" "was to display
remarkable gifts for leadership in a time of crisis" "Despite his conservative background as a country
squire...[he] enjoyed breaking precedents and shattering traditions. He thought that dramatic gestures on
his part would raise morale" "approach to problems tended to be personal rather than theoretical" "lack of
interest in economic theory" "recipient of both passionate adoration and blind hatred"

"a rather shy youth" "After he entered [college] [he] threw himself into undergraduate activities. His strenuous extracurricular and social life left him relatively little time for his studies, in which his record was undistinguished. He was, however, influenced by his economics professors" "gradually abandoned his patrician airs and attitude of superiority" "tall, handsome"

"he demonstrated that he retained his youthful buoyance and vitality; he also showed that he had matured into a more serious and human person" "zest for sailing and his enjoyment in collecting stamps and naval books and prints" "opponents ascribed to him shallowness, incompetence, trickiness, and dictatorial ambitions. His supporters hailed him as [a] savior and the defender of democracy" "unexcelled in winning and holding popular support"

"He knew a lot about human nature" "comes off well by the test of money—honesty, other troublesome questions arise in connection with his attempts to deceive the public. Here he is more vulnerable for we must remember that he was a professional politician" "often he was surprisingly candid" "a combination of the lion and the fox. At times [he] would courageously meet problems head on; at others he would slink around them with deceptive language or beat a hasty retreat" "realistic" "resorted to considerable deviousness and deception" "In private life [he] appears to have been a man of integrity, except notably for a prolonged and clandestine love affair with a former...secretary"

"hated war" "father and mother were wealthy, and the son was pampered" practiced law "with considerable distaste for several years" "thought on a grand scale" "Handsome as a Greek god and superbly built [he] stood six feet, two inches" "vibrant golden voice" "with jauntily upturned cigarette holder, the smiling [person] exuded confidence" "both a man of peace and a man of war" "a happier warrior when he was fighting for peace...Personally pleasant, outgoing, smiling, bantering, he was not basically pugnacious" "born into an old, aristocratic family" "an idyllic childhood" "after college,...studied law" "personal tragedy in the form of polio...left him crippled for life. But the disease did not dampen his natural ebullience and optimism" "his sometimes disorganized but still charismatic leadership" "He had been a leader of great strengths and weaknesses, but his heritage to the nation was largely one of crucial and beneficial activism." "Was ebullient, charming, persuasive, gregarious and genuinely interested in people and their problems.

To some he seemed snooty as a young man; his habit of carrying his head back and literally looking down his nose at others reinforced this early image. He worked well under pressure. 'His composure under stress was remarkable.' 'The main reason for his composure was his serene and absolute assurance as to the value and importance of what he was doing.' Had a devious nature. He never spoke with complete frankness even to his most loyal supporters."

5

Please read the following profile and answer the questions. Your responses are completely confidential. If you have already completed a similar survey in a previous class, please do not complete a second survey.

[&]quot;innate conservatism" "executive ability" "undeniable patriotism"

[&]quot;vigor and youthful appearance" "self assured sincerity and persuasive skill" "In high school he played football and other sports. His popularity won him the presidency of the student council. In the summers he earned money as a lifeguard at a nearby rustic resort, where over a period of seven years he rescued seventy eight people from drowning" in college "Playing football as a running guard, acting in college plays, and taking part in campus politics were more important to him than academic studies" "became increasingly

more conservative in his political views" "good-humored, anecdotal style" "demonstrated his determination to stand by the principles he believed in" "firmness"

"liked politics best" "The philosophy...developed was ultra conservative" "right wing rhetoric" his
"simplicities bothered some people" "resorted to generalities" made the impression "as an easy-going
relaxed, likeable, straightforward, and self-confident [person] full of good intentions and lacking guile"
"usually good-natured, but on occasion he lost his temper and threw a pencil or his reading glasses across
the room. But he always recovered quickly" "famous for his one liners. Even in emergencies he preserved
his good humor and tossed off quip after quip to reassure those around him"

"personable" mother gave "him her happy outlook and encouraging his reading and memorizing abilities and his caricature drawing—all before he became of school age" "aversion to hard liquor" "The bedrock of [his] world view is the ruggedly individualistic, optimistic ethic of his parents, along with the general values ambient in his small-town...boyhood, centered in home, family, and patriotism" in high school "he played football and basketball, ran track, was president of the student body, and did his first acting. Summers, he worked as a lifeguard, and he continued doing so after matriculating [from] a small [churchaffiliated] liberal arts college. ...He supplemented his partial scholarship...with his earnings as a lifeguard, as a dishwasher at his fraternity house..., and as a college swimming coach" "Joining the student dramatic society, he won an [acting] award" "As at high school, at [college] he played guard on the football team, was president of the student body, and, academically, his photographic memory enabled him to breeze through his classes with minimal last-minute cracking of the books" "graduated...with a B.A. degree in economics and sociology" "easy, warm conversational voice, his outstanding gift" "love of horseback riding" "disqualified from combat duty because of his near-sightedness" "learned how to compromise...and turned out to be much more pragmatic and restrained than his simplistic conservative campaign rhetoric would have suggested" "Jealous of his solitude and leisure" "spends much of his time riding horseback with his wife and chopping wood" "a man of imposing physique [large framed, six foot one, 185 pounds] and beguiling voice who flaunts neither his physical presence nor his vocal gift, emphasizing his most urgent points with shrugs and whispers" "A man of simple taste" "seemed to represent the politics of influence and money" "graduated from...college" "insisted...that he was 'a plain guy with a set of homespun features" "He moved from a liberal to a more conservative outlook" "viewed as a hardline conservative" "felt continued confidence in his abilities" "divorced [first wife]" "entrenched conservatism"

"He was a gifted raconteur with a seemingly endless store of anecdotes. By all accounts, he was affable, cheerful, even-tempered, and forever optimistic. 'His aw-shucks manner and charming good looks disarm those who from a distance have thought of his as a far-right fanatic.' Some describe him as aloof, intensely private, and reluctant to reveal much about himself to those outside his family. Was portrayed as a remarkably passive figure, disengaged from day-to-day operations, timid about asserting his authority, inept at personal confrontation, and lacking at times even a basic understanding of major issues. His impatience for detail and his willingness to delegate much authority to his staff came in for sharp criticism. He confessed to being claustrophobic."

Biographies

- Alden, J.R. (1984). George Washington: A biography. Louisiana State University Press.
- Brant, I. (1970). The fourth president: A life of James Madison. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill.
- Burns, J.M. (1956). Roosevelt: The lion and the fox. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Cadenhead, I.E. Jr. (1974). *Theodore Roosevelt: The paradox of progressivism*. Woodbury, NY: Barron's Educational Series.
- Cappitanchik, D.B. (1969). The Eisenhower presidency and American foreign policy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Clements, K.A. (1992). *The presidency of Woodrow Wilson*. The University Press of Kansas.
- Cohen, W.I., & Tucker, N.B. (1994). Lyndon Johnson confronts the world: American foreign policy, 1963-1968. Cambridge University Press.
- Cole, D.B. (1993). The presidency of Andrew Jackson. The University Press of Kansas.
- Coletta, P.E. (1973). The presidency of William Howard Taft. The University Press of Kansas.
- Cunliffe, M. (1959). George Washington: Man and monument. London: Collings.
- Cunningham, N.E. Jr. (1987). In pursuit of reason: The life of Thomas Jefferson. Louisiana State University Press.
- Cunningham, N.E. Jr. (1996). The presidency of James Monroe. The University Press of Kansas.
- Davison, K.E. (1972). *The presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Doenecke, J.D. (1981). The presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. The Regents Press of Kansas.
- Dumbrell, J. (1993). *The Carter presidency: A re-evaluation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Ferling, J. (1992). John Adams: A life. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press.
- Ferrell, R. H. (1998). *The presidency of Calvin Coolidge*. The University Press of Kansas.
- Fleming, T. (1969). The man from Monticello: An intimate life of Thomas Jefferson. New York: William Morrow and Cie.
- Hamilton, H. (1966). Zachary Taylor: Soldier in the White House. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.
- Hammond, P.Y. (1992). LBJ and the presidential management of foreign relations.

 Austin: University Press of Texas.
- Hargreaves, M.W.M. (1985). *The presidency of John Quincy Adams*. The University Press of Kansas.
- Hill, D.M., Moore, R.A., & Williams, P. (1990). The Reagan Presidency: An incomplete revolution? New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hilsman, R. (1992). George Bush vs. Saddam Hussein: Military success! Political failure? Novato, CA: Presidio.
- Latner, R.B. (1979). The presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House politics 1829-1837. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- McCoy, C.A. (1960). Polk and the presidency. The University of Texas Press.
- McCullough, D.G. (1992). Truman. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- McFeely, W.S. (1981). Grant: A biography. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Merrill, H.S. (1957). Bourbon leader: Grover Cleveland and the Democratic Party. Boston, MA: The library of American biography edited by Oscar Handlin.
- Mills, J. (1988). John F. Kennedy. New York: F. Watts.
- Myers, W.S., & Newton, W.H. (1936). The Hoover administration. NY: Scribner's.
- Nagel, P.G. (1997). John Quicy Adams: A public life, a private life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nichols, R.F. (1964). Franklin Pierce: Young hickory of the granite hills. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Peterson, N.L. (1989). The presidencies of William Henry Harrison & John Tyler. The

University Press of Kansas.

- Shaw, P. (1976). The Character of John Adams. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Shaw, P. (1994). The presidency of Abraham Lincoln. The University Press of Kansas.
- Small, M. (1999). The presidency of Richard Nixon. The University Press of Kansas.
- Smith, E.B. (1975). The presidency of James Buchanan. The University Press of Kansas.
- Socolofsky, H.E., & Spetter, A.B. (1987). *The presidency of Benjamin Harrison*. The University Press of Kansas.
- White, T.H. (1975). Breach of faith: The fall of Richard Nixon. New York: Atheneum.
- Wilson, M.L. (1984). The presidency of Martin Van Buren. The University Press of Kansas.

American Presidential Management Inventory

AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT INVENTORY

HISTORIAN AND EXPERT SURVEY ON AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

A BEHAVIORAL ASSESSMENT OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES

investigator:	Expert.
Louise Tourigny	Name:
Ph.D. Candidate Department of Management	Institutional address:
Concordia University	

AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT INVENTORY

Please refer to the list of American presidents included in this package and indicate the complete name of the president you are rating.

Name of the president you are rating	
--------------------------------------	--

<u>Instructions</u>: This inventory provides a list of presidential behaviors classified in eight sections. Each section refers to a specific presidential responsibility and contains short descriptive statements. For each statement, you should indicate how likely the president could be expected to present the behavior. Please answer to all questions. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

Please use this scale for the seven possible responses to all questions below. Circle your answer to each question.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Likely	Very likely	Certainly

Section 1: Selection of Cabinet Members and Appointments

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

			<u>-</u>	••,				and knowledge, now nately this president could be expected to:
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	1.	select Cabinet members based on competencies and/or experience.
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	2.	surround himself with less high profile politicians.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	3.	balance constituents' interests in selecting Cabinet members.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	4.	appoint the best and most experienced people to serve the country.
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	5.	select Cabinet members based on member reputation.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	6.	select his friends and relatives as advisers.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7.	avoid conflicts of interest in making appointments.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	8.	support bipartisanship.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	9.	favor party patronage.
0	i	2	3	4	5	6	10.	put forward clear reasons for member dismissals.
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	11.	secure geographic balance in selecting Cabinet members.
0	i	2	3	4	5	6	12.	ensure representation of all constituents in selecting Cabinet members.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	13.	show parochialism in selecting Cabinet members.
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	14.	respect the principle of equal representation in making appointments.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	15.	avoid favoritism in making appointments.
_				_				

Section 2: Managing Subordinates

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

	According to your expertise and knowledge, now macry this president could be expected to:												
0	1	2	3	4	5	6		exercise close supervision over his subordinates.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	17.	se his subordinates as means to achieve his own personal objectives.					
lo	1	2	3	4	5	6	18.	ep full control over his subordinates' actions.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	19.	entrust his subordinates with key responsibilities.					
ि	1	2	3	4	5	6	20.	use persuasion as a means to influence his subordinates.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	21.	make his subordinates feel free to speak their own minds without fear of retribution.					
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	22.	ommunicate ethical principles of governance to his subordinates.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	23.	help his subordinates gain political capital out of their own successes.					
o	1	2	3	4	5	6	24.	fully empower his subordinates.					
\o	1	2	3	4	5	6	25.	promote his subordinates based on merit.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	26.	use deception as a means of influencing his subordinates.					

Copyright © 2000 by L. Tourigny

Please use this scale for the seven possible responses to all questions below. Circle your answer to each question.

0	1	2	3	4		
Not at all	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Likely	Very likely	Certainly
						Certainly

Section 3: Decision-making Process

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

	_							transport and the street could be expected to:				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	27.	override his Cabinet in communicating public information.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	28.	inform his advisers on a regular basis.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	29.	discuss problems with his Cabinet members.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	30.	e influenced by the schemes of a kitchen cabinet.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	31.	bypass his Cabinet to achieve his objectives.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	32.	attempt to reach agreement on a solution with his Cabinet members.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	33.	use his Cabinet as a true advisory group.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	34.	call sessions with his Cabinet members to debate options.				
0	1	2	3	4	-5	6	35.	include all his Cabinet members in the decision-making process.				
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	36.	consult his Cabinet members in order to be informed of the affairs of their departments.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	37.	seek advice from his Cabinet members.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	38.	act independently of the advice of his Cabinet members.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	39.	remain the center of the decision-making process.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	40.	ask his Cabinet to make a decision.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	41.	keep his Cabinet in the dark concerning his decisions.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	42.	consult constituents' representatives prior to making a decision.				
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	43.	be responsive to constituents in his decisions.				
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	44.	enhance consultation among his Cabinet members.				
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	45.	address constituents' needs and interests in the decision-making process.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	46.	balance constituents' rights prior to making a decision.				

Section 4: Dealing with Cultural Entities and Diversity

<u>Instructions</u>: In this section, the term cultural entities refers to specific communities such as ethnic or religious communities, Indian tribes, Blacks, immigrants, and minority groups.

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

					,			The manufacture of the president could be expected to:			
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	47.	identify with all American citizens.			
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	48.	prevent violent conflicts between the Administration and cultural entities.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	49.	emphasize equal rights and treatment for all cultural entities.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	50.	romote the integration of certain cultural entities within American society.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	51.	launch legal prosecutions against certain cultural entities.			
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	52.	represent a narrow American identity.			
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	53.	ensure representation of cultural entities within the body of the Administration.			
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	54.	maintain egalitarian relationships with official representatives of cultural entities.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	55.	foster diversity of citizenry in the United States.			
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	56.	provide help to cultural entities.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	57.	support the autonomy of cultural entities.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	58.	sustain equality of educational opportunities for all cultural entities.			
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	59.	seek legitimate and lasting solutions to racial problems.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	60.	give equal status to cultural entities.			
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	61.	advocate equality in property rights.			
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	62.	sustain individual freedom.			
_	_		·	720	~~						

€ Tourigny, L. (2000)

Please use this scale for the seven possible responses to all questions below. Circle your answer to each question.

0	l	2	3	4		6
Not at all	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Likely	Very likely	Certainly

Section 5: Relations with Congress

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

_	_							property cars bresident could be expected to:				
0	i	2	3	4	5	6	63.	provide information to members of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	64.	interfere in legislative affairs.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	65.	rely on members of Congress to tap public opinion.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	66.	consider recommendations of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	67.	communicate his moral principles to Congress.				
0	i	2	3	4	5	6	68.	advocate full separation of powers.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	69.	present a clear vision to Congress.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	70.	understand individual concerns of Congress members.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	71.	submit international agreements to Congress.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	72.	be more progressive than Congress.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	73.	submit well-founded legislative requests to Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	74.	support Congress responsiveness to narrow segments of public opinion.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	75.	be accessible to legislative officers.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	76.	organize meetings between his Cabinet and members of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	77.	spend time cultivating personal relationships with members of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	78.	communicate his willingness to aid his supporters.				
O	1	2	3	4	5	6	79.	provide members of Congress with a consistent message about legislative programs				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	80.	show a high level of commitment to his legislative programs.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	81.	compromise his principles to ensure passage of his programs.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	82.	use persuasion as a means to gain support from members of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	83.	use coercive techniques to gain support from members of Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	84.	bribe members of Congress to gain their support.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	85.	offer several services (e.g., expertise, knowledge, campaign aid) to members of				
1							1	Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	86.	call special sessions with Congress.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	87.	foster teamwork among cabinet members, congressional leaders, senators, staff				
1								members and other political leaders.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	88.	keep Congress informed about actions carried out in the name of the United States.				
-			•	100								

Please use this scale for the seven possible responses to all questions below. Circle your answer to each question.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Likely	Very likely	Certainly

Section 6: Foreign Policy and International Relations

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

			· <u>-</u>	10)		czp	ei use	and knowledge, now likely this president could be expected to:				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	89.	sustain equality of commercial rights for foreign countries in their exchanges with the United States:				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	90.	eek peaceful resolution of conflicts with other nations.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	91.	istain reciprocity with other nations.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	92.	lvocate a policy of isolationism.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	93.	ster diplomatic efforts to solve conflicts with other nations.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	94.	show opportunism in making strategic decisions concerning the relations of the United				
1							ŀ	tes with other nations.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	95.	make objective and realistic assessments of foreign issues.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	96.	pport the autonomy of other nations.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	97.	respect the law in his relations with foreign countries.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	98.	mphasize human rights in his relations with other countries.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	99.	eek political links with other parts of the world.				
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	100.					
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	101.	employ secrecy to maintain his courses of action in dealing with the problems of foreign				
1							i	nations.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	102.	master the details of foreign policy-making.				
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	103.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	104.	protect the rights of American citizens in foreign countries.				
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6		help other nations reconcile divergent ideologies.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	106.	emphasize the neutrality of the United States in dealing with conflicts among foreign				
1							1	countries.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	107.	understand divergent interests between foreign countries.				

Section 7: Domestic Policy and Issues

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

	According to your capertise and knowledge now likely this president could be expected to.											
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	108.	integrate divergent points of view of constituents within his vision.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	109.	put nationalism above humanitarian and/or constitutional values.				
0	i	2	3	4	5	6	110.	naintain a laissez-faire policy.				
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	111.	nderstand constituents' conditions, needs and interests.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	112.	se his political skills to balance constituents' interests.				
lo	l	2	3	4	5	6	113.	make comprehensive assessments of domestic issues.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	114.	foster constructive policy.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	115.	respond to the needs of constituents.				
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	116.	promote the dissemination of public information among the population.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	117.	articulate a progressive long-term vision.				
lo	1	2	3	4	5	6	118.	hamper the freedom of expression of American citizens.				
ļo	i	2	3	4	5	6	119.					
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	120.	promote fair trade practices.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	121.	meet with constituents to solve domestic problems.				
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	122.	impede immoral business practices.				
0	l	2	3	4	5	6	123.	empower constituents to protect their own rights.				
O	ī	2	3	4	5	6	124.	help constituents share a common understanding of problems.				
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	125.	encourage constituents to concentrate on common interests rather than selfish concerns.				
0	I	2	3	4	5	6	126.	develop shared goals and/or plans with constituents.				
0	!	2	3	4	5	6	127.	fight against special privileges for constituents.				
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	128.	prefer expediency to principle-guided action.				
		_	_	.30								

C Tourigny, L. (2000)

Please use this scale for the seven possible responses to questions 129-146. Circle your answer to each question.

	0	1	2	3				
	Not at all	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Likely) 1/ 171- 1	6	l
,				Treatment likely liet dillikely	Likely	Very likely	Certainly	ı

Section 8: Conflict and Crisis Management

According to your expertise and knowledge, how likely this president could be expected to:

			_	_				in the state of th
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	129.	exaggerate the strength that lay behind external threats
0	ì	2	3	4	5	6	130.	distinguish the truth from rumors.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	131.	be prone to miscalculation.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	132.	frame differences as barriers to conflict resolution.
0	T	2	3	4	5	6	133.	prevent conflicts from escalating.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	134.	be prudent in making promises.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	135.	increase the chances of a deadlock by his intransigency.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	136.	compromise his principles to solve conflicts.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	137.	show wisdom in negotiating with other parties.
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6	138.	emphasize cooperation to solve conflicts.
0	ı	2	3	4	5	6		be prone to misjudgments.
lo	1	2	3	4	5	6	140.	distort information.
0	ī	2	3	4	5	6		precipitate a crisis.
lo	1	2	3	4	5	6	142.	make irrational use of information.
lo	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	effectively manage controversy.
lo	ī	2	3	4	5	6	144.	understand other cultures.
h	Ť		-	,	- -	6	145.	
lŏ	i	2	3	4	5	6		grasp other parties' concerns and limits.
<u>Ľ</u>	<u>.</u>		<u>-</u> _	<u>-</u>	<u> </u>		140.	use threats to influence other parties.

Please use this scale for the five possible responses to items 147-152. Circle your answer to each question.

0	ì	2	3	4
Not effective	Slightly effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective

Presidential Effectiveness

0	ı	2	3	4	147.	How effective was this president in solving economic problems?
0	1	2	3	4	148.	How effective was this president in solving domestic problems?
0	1				149.	How effective was the domestic policy of this president?
0	1	2	3	4	150.	How effective was this president in negotiating with foreign countries?
0	1	2	3	4	151.	How effective was the foreign policy of this president?
0	1	2	3	4	152.	In all, how effective was this president?

Please use this scale for the five possible responses to items 153 and 154. Circle your answer to each question.

	0 Not at all			ıll		l To some degree	2 Fairly well	3 Extremely well	4 Exactly
0	1	2	3	4	153.	According to you	r knowledge and exp	ertise, to what extent does th	is presidential management
0	l	2	3	4	154.	inventory accurate In all, to what ext	ely represent the ran ent does this preside	ge of managerial behaviors o ntial management inventory a aviors of American president	f the president you rated?

Your comments are highly valued. They may be used in planning future research, developing measures of presidential performance, and analyzing results. Please provide any comments on the president you rated or any other type of information that should be considered in analyzing the performance of this president. **Demographics** First language: Country of birth: Country of residence: U.S.A. Canada Other: Education Year obtained Institution Degree Areas of concentration (you can put a mark in the space provided): Colonial and revolutionary • National period Middle period Civil war and reconstruction United States 1877-1900 United States 1900-1945 United States since 1945 Areas of expertise (you can put a mark in the space provided): Cultural and/or social **Political** Diplomatic Immigration and ethnic Intellectual American Indian Women's history Military Economic Southern history Legal and constitutional Western and frontier Other:

Afro-American history _

Your age (you can put a mark in the space provided):
1. Under 34 years old
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

5. 65 and older
35 to 44 years old 45 to 54 years old 55 to 64 years old 65 and older you participated in previous polls aimed at rating or ranking American presidents? name of all historians and experts who participate in this survey will be listed in the owledgements of the dissertation and subsequent publications. u do not want to be listed, please check here se indicate the additional number of American presidents you would like to rate she you for your cooperation. Please send this questionnaire in the return envelope enclosed in this package to: ututional address: isse Tourigny D. Candidate artment of Management (GM-1040) coordia University S, de Maisonneuve Blvd. West attract, Quebec, Canada G 1M8
The name of all historians and experts who participate in this survey will be listed in the acknowledgements of the dissertation and subsequent publications.
If you do not want to be listed, please check here
Please indicate the additional number of American presidents you would like to rate
Thank you for your cooperation. Please send this questionnaire in the return envelope enclosed in this package to: Institutional address:
Louise Tourigny
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Management (GM-1040)
Concordia University
H3G 1M8
Mailing address:
Louise Tourigny
Uniprix
PO BOX # 47555
1550 de Maisonneuve Blvd. West Montreal, Quebec, Canada
H3G 2V7
E-mail: tourlou@mercato.concordia.ca
Fax: (514) 848-4593
Copyright: Please do not reproduce without written permission of the author.

List of participants

Acknowledgments

All experts in American history and political science who agreed to be listed, and participated in the survey are listed below:

- 1. Dr. Peri E. Arnold, University of Notre Dame, IN
- 2. Dr. Jonathan M. Atkins, Berry College, GA
- 3. Dr. Michael C. Bailer, Berry College, Georgia
- 4. Dr. Paul H. Bergeron, The University of Tennessee, TN
- 5. Dr. Michael J. Birkner, Gettysburg College, PA
- 6. Dr. Frederick Bode, Concordia University, Qc, Canada
- 7. Dr. Jeffrey P. Brown, Associate Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, New Mexico State University
- 8. Dr. Charles W. Calhoon, East Carolina University, NC
- 9. Dr. Norman S. Cohen, Occidental College, CA
- 10. Dr. Paolo E. Coletta, retired
- 11. Dr. Clifford P. Coppersmith, College of Eastern Utah, Utah
- 12. Dr. James Cozine, The University of Louisiana at Monroe, LA
- 13. Dr. David A. Crockett, Trinity University, TX
- 14. Dr. Edward R. Crowther, Adams State College, CO
- 15. Dr. Robert Dallek, Boston University, MA
- 16. Dr. Albert Desbiens, UQAM, Qc, Canada
- 17. Dr. Philip D. Dillard, James Madison University, VA
- 18. Dr. Mario R. DiNunzio, Providence College, RI
- 19. Dr. Robert A. Divine, Professor Emeritus, The University of Texas at Austin, TX
- 20. Dr. Lawrence Douglass, Plymouth State College, NH
- 21. Dr. Ronald W. Edsforth, Dartmouth College, NH
- 22. Dr. Elizabeth Elliot-Meisel, Craighton University, NE
- 23. Dr. Anthony H. Evans, California State University, CA
- 24. Dr. John E. Ferling, State University of West Georgia, Georgia
- 25. Dr. Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University, IN
- 26. Dr. Tim Garrison, Portland State University, OR
- 27. Dr. William E. Gienapp, Harvard University, MA
- 28. Dr. Gregory P. Granger, Northwestern State University, LA
- 29. Dr. William K. Hall, Bradley University, IL
- 30. Dr. Richard Hamm, SUNY-Albany, NY
- 31. Dr Gordon E. Harvey, The University of Louisiana at Monroe, LA
- 32. Dr. Ellis W. Hawley, retired
- 33. Dr. Gary Hess, Bowling Green State University, Ohio
- 34. Dr. Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, San Diego State University, CA
- 35. Dr. Ali Hoogenboom, Brooklyn College, NY
- 36. Dr. Randolph Horn, Samford University, AL
- 37. Dr. David Horowitz, Portland State University, OR
- 38. Dr. Robert Jones, Fordham University, N.Y.
- 39. Dr. L. Wayne Jordan, College of Charleston, S.C.
- 40. Dr. Kimberly Kellison, Baylor University, TX
- 41. Dr. Ralph Ketcham, The Maxwell School of Syracuse, NY
- 42. Dr. Walter F. LaFeber, Cornell University, NY
- 43. Dr. Steven F. Lawson, Rutgers University, NJ
- 44. Dr. Rich Loosbrock, Adams State College, CO
- 45. Dr. John Malsberger, Muhlenberg, PA
- 46. Dr. Henry Mattox, North Carolina State University, NC
- 47. Dr. Stephen Middleton, North Carolina State University, NC

- 48. Dr. H. Wayne Morgan, University of Oklahoma, OK
- 49. Dr. Joseph C. Morton, Northeastern Illinois University, Illinois
- 50. Dr. James D. Norris, Northern Illinois University, IL
- 51. Dr. Thomas O'Connor, Boston College, MA
- 52. Mr. Steve Piscitelli, Professor of History and Education, Florida Community College of Jacksonville, FL
- 53. Dr. Monte M. Poen, Northern Arizona University, AZ
- 54. Dr. Boyd Rist, Liberty University, VA
- 55. Dr. Howard B. Rock, Florida International University, Florida
- 56. Dr. T. Michael Ruddy, Saint Louis University, MO
- 57. Dr. Philip R. Rulon, Northern Arizona University, Arizona
- 58. Dr. James H. Schampel, College of Eastern Utah, Utah
- 59. Dr. Stephen Scheinberg, Concordia University, Qc, Canada
- 60. Dr. Joel H. Silbey, Cornell University, NY
- 61. Dr. Brooks D. Simpson, State University of Arizona, AZ
- 62. Dr. Robert Sims, Boise State University, Idaho
- 63. Dr. Steven E. Siry, Baldwin-Wallace College, Ohio
- 64. Dr. Elbert B. Smith, Professor Emeritus, University of Maryland, MD
- 65. Dr. Allan Spetter, Wright State University, Ohio
- 66. Dr. James M. SoRelle, Baylor University, TX
- 67. Dr. Mark A. Stoler, University of Vermont, VT
- 68. Dr. Neil R. Stout, University of Vermont, VT
- 69. Dr. Nancy J. Taniguchi, California State University, CA
- 70. Dr. Athan G. Theodaris, Marquette University, WI
- 71. Dr. Gil Troy, McGill University, Montreal, Qc, Canada
- 72. Dr. Norman Lance Trusty, Purdue University, IN
- 73. Dr. Stephen Walt, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, MA
- 74. Dr. K. Mark Weinert, George Fox University, Oregon
- 75. Dr. David L. Wilson, Southern Illinois University, IL
- 76. Dr. Allan M. Winkler, Miami University, Ohio
- 77. Dr. James M. Woods, The Georgia Southern University, GA
- 78. Dr. Silvano A. Wueschner, William Penn University, IA
- 79. Dr. Donald A. Yerxa, Eastern Nazarene College
- 80. Dr. Marilyn B. Young, New York University, NY
- 81. Dr. Arthur Zilversmit, Lake Forest College, IL
- 82. Anonymous scholars (9)

AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL PERFORMANCE EFFECTIVENESS

This questionnaire is aimed at assessing presidential performance effectiveness. It contains a list of eight specific statements pertaining to presidential achievements. It focuses on how presidents served various constituencies, and provided benefits to the nation. The goal is to gain more insight into the details that make experts determine whether a president is effective or great. This survey is part of a global study on American presidential leadership, which involves in-depth assessment of presidential managerial practices, motives, personality characteristics, and performance.

Instructions: For each item, please rate all elected presidents that are listed (or as many as you can) on how effective they were in achieving the described outcome. The goal is not to compare presidents or rank them. Each assessment is independent and should reflect presidential achievement given the specific historical context surrounding a president's performance. You should use the following scale to evaluate each president on the eight specific items:

0	i	2	3	4
Not effective	Slightly effective	Effective	Very effective	Extremely effective

Example: On a global basis, if you believe that Wilson was very effective in providing benefits to foreign countries, put 3 in the corresponding cell as illustrated below.

Elected presidents	Providing benefits to various constituents	Providing benefits to foreign countries	Meeting high- priority collective needs	Providing long-term benefits to the nation	Achieving equity in the distribution of collective goods	Finding adequate solutions to top-priority problems	Bringing positive consequences for minorities and/or various cultural communities	Achieving satisfactory solutions to global problems that respect opponents and non-followers
21. Woodrow Wilson		3				1	1	<u> </u>

efore you start, please indicate the era(s) of American presidency in which you are specialized (e.g., Wintemporary):							
envelope. If you want to receive a	ion in this endeavor. Please send this questionnaire in the enclosed return a copy of the research report on the American Presidential Management ail address or indicate whether you prefer to receive it by U.S. mail.						
Investigator:	Expert name:						
Louise Tourigny Ph.D. Candidate Department of Management Concordia University	Institutional address:						
E-mail add:	res:						

Please continue on the back of this page.

Copyright 2000 by L. Tourigny

Please use the following scale to rate each president on the eight performance items that are listed below:

0 Not effective	1		2		3 Verv effective	<u> </u>	4	
Vot ellective	Slightly effect	TAG	Effective		et a cifective		Extremely eff	ective
Elected presidents	Providing benefits to various constituents	Providing benefits to foreign countries	Meeting high- priority collective needs	Providing long-term benefits to the nation	Achieving equity in the distribution of collective goods	Finding adequate solutions to top-priority problems	Bringing positive consequences for minorities and/or various cultural communities	Achieving satisfactory solutions to global problems that respect opponents and non-followers
George Washington	1							
2. John Adams								
3. Thomas Jefferson						·		
4. James Macison							l	
5. James Monroe				1				
6. John Quincy Adams		• •					• •	
7. Andrew Jackson					l			
8. Martin Van Euren						1		
9. James K. Fcik							·	
10. Zachary Taylor					Ī			
11. Franklin Pierca	1						·	
12. James Euchanan	,	•				· ·	l · · · - ·	l .
13. Abranam Lincoln					1	i	<u> </u>	1
14. Ulysses S. Grant						1	l	
15. Rutherford B. Haves							"	
16. Grover Cleveland			İ	Ì			Ī	
17. Benjamin Hamson			1	1			1	Ī
18. William McKinley			 	i	<u></u>	l	<u> </u>	İ
19. Theocore Rocsavelt			İ	Ì	İ			
20. William H. Taft	i	İ		Ì	İ	i	i	
21. Woodrow Wilson	: .	:		İ			1	<u> </u>
22. Warren G. Harding	ĺ	i		i i	<u> </u>	1	i	
23. Calvin Coolidge	i			· .		İ	i	<u> </u>
24. Herbert Hoover	 	İ	İ	i	 	İ	<u> </u>	i
25. Franklin D. Roosevelt								
25. Harry S. Truman		 	i 	 	i i	i	i 	
27. Dwight D. Eisenhower		7				: -, : 3:		1 2 2 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
28. John F. Kennedy		1	1					
29. Lyndon B. Johnson		1				1		
30. Richard M. Nixon	1				1	1	*	
31. Jimmy Carter	1				1	1		
-32. Ronald Reagan	•	1			1	1		
33. George H. Eush						1 :		

Sample letters to participants





Dear Dr.

(Personalized introduction developed for each participant). Your expertise in American presidential history is highly valued.

This research is aimed at evaluating specific presidential managerial behaviors that have an effect on foreign and domestic policy effectiveness. It is part of a broader program on American presidents, which includes analyses of personality characteristics, motives, political beliefs, and social performance.

Please find enclosed the American Presidential Management Inventory, a list of American presidents, and a return envelope. You should select a president based on your expertise and knowledge. Please answer all questions following the instructions provided below.

The questionnaire is divided into eight parts: (1) selection of Cabinet members and appointments, (2) managing subordinates, (3) decision-making process, (4) dealing with cultural entities and diversity, (5) relations with Congress, (6) foreign policy and international relations, (7) domestic policy and issues, and (8) conflict and crisis management. The inventory provides a list of presidential behaviors that refer to specific managerial responsibilities. It contains brief descriptive statements. For each statement, you should indicate how likely the president you selected could be expected to present the behavior described using the scale provided. Please complete the section on demographics. This information will be used for research purpose. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential. The dissertation and subsequent publications will contain aggregated data.

Please return the completed questionnaire in the pre-addressed and pre-stamped envelope included in this package. A summary research report will be mailed to all expert participants. If you have questions or need more information, you can contact me at the numbers provided. I sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

Best regards,

Louise Tourigny Tel: (514) 848-2738

Doctoral candidate E-mail: tourlou@mercato.concordia.ca





Dear Dr.

(Personalized introduction developed in terms of answers and comments provided by the expert participant).

I sincerely thank you for your participation in this research. I am in the process of collecting data on presidential performance, and need your cooperation once more.

Please find enclosed the American Presidential Performance Effectiveness and a return envelope. You should rate as many presidents as you like based on your expertise and knowledge. Please answer all questions following the instructions provided.

The questionnaire is aimed at assessing presidential performance effectiveness. It contains a list of eight specific statements pertaining to presidential achievements. It focuses on how presidents served various constituents, and provided benefits to the nation.

For each item, you should indicate how effective a president was in achieving the described outcome using the scale provided. The goal is not to compare or rank presidents. Each assessment is independent and should reflect presidential achievement given the specific historical context surrounding a president's performance. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential. The dissertation and subsequent publications will contain aggregated data.

Please return the completed questionnaire in the pre-addressed and pre-stamped envelope included in this package. A summary research report will be mailed to all expert participants. If you have questions or need more information, you can contact me at the numbers provided. I sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

Best regards,

Louise Tourigny
Doctoral candidate

Tel: (514) 848-2738

E-mail: tourlou@mercato.concordia.ca