ing helping people obtain needed health insurance, affordable prescriptions, reasonably priced housing, and so on. The problem is that no candidate has offered assurance that the country can find a way to pay for such programs. Similarly, neither has sufficiently spelled out plans for effectively tackling the current economic crisis—a recession which could deepen into a depression.

So, as the reader can see, there is some justification for at least some of my ambivalent feelings regarding which candidate to support. Ultimately, it will come down to what my unconscious finally decides—if it has not done so already in writing this essay.

***Burton Norman Seitler, PhD,*** *a clinical psychologist/ psychoanalyst in private practice and Director of Counseling and Psychotherapy Services (CAPSR) in Ridgewood and Oakland, New Jersey, is also Director of the Child and Adolescent Psychotherapy Studies Program of the New Jersey Institute for Training in Psychoanalysis in Teaneck. Dr. Seitler serves on the Board of Directors of the International Center for the Study of Psychiatry and Psychology and may be contacted at binsightfl@aol.com.* ❑

# The Values and Integrative Complexity of McCain and Obama

**Rajiv Jhangiani, Ryan Cross, Sverre Frisch, Ekaterina Netchaeva, Katya Legkaia, and Peter Suedfeld**
**University of British Columbia**

An earlier study (Clio's Psyche, December 2007) provided psychological portraits of six early leading candidates for the 2008 U.S. presidential election, with a focus on the variables integrative complexity and central values. The former refers to the complexity with which people think about a given topic, more specifically, the extent to which individuals are able to identify different perspectives or dimensions on a given issue (differentiation), as well as the extent to which they are able to recognize interconnections between these perspectives or dimensions (integration; see Peter Suedfeld, K. Guttieri, and P.E. Tetlock, "Assessing Integrative Complexity at a Distance: Archival Analyses of Thinking and Decision Making," in Jerrold M. Post, ed., *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, 2003, 246-272). Integrative complexity is scored on a 1 (no differentiation) to 7 (high-level integration) scale. Central values refer to the eleven categories of values identified in an important series of studies by Shalom Schwartz and his colleagues to apply to most cultures around the world (See Shalom H. Schwartz, "Basic Human Values," 2006, http://www.fmag.unict.it/Allegati/convegno%207-8-10-05/Schwartzpaper.pdf). The eleven value categories subsume seventy-five specific values, and include the following: *Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, Security,* and *Spirituality*.

Earlier study

Coding the early campaign speeches (up until March 2007) of three leading candidates from each party (Clinton, Obama, and Edwards for the Democrats and Giuliani, Romney, and McCain for the Republicans), the results showed no significant differences between the candidates in integrative complexity. However, significant differences emerged in the amount of importance they placed on several values. For instance, Edwards valued *Power* (in the specific form of preserving one's public image) more than did Giuliani, and *Universalism* (which embodies the concept of inclusiveness and the perception of a common bond among all mankind) more than did Obama, while Clinton appeared to value *Conformity* (in the specific form of respect for parents and elders) slightly more than did the remaining candidates. Finally, Obama and Edwards both appeared to value *Benevolence* (the internalized motivational basis for cooperative and supportive social behaviors) slightly more than any of the remaining candidates. Overall, Democrats as a whole tended to value *Universalism*, *Benevolence*, and *Security* more highly than did Republicans.

Follow-up Study

At the present time, it appears that Barack Obama and John McCain will be the nominees of their parties. As a result, it was thought that coding their speeches upon having gotten enough dele-

gates to subsequently secure the nomination at their conventions would provide a useful insight into any changes in their integrative complexity or value hierarchies following this success. Accordingly, as in the earlier study, the speeches of John McCain in Dallas, Texas, on March 4, 2008 and Barack Obama in St. Paul, Minnesota, on June 3, 2008 were scored in their entirety for integrative complexity and values.

Interestingly, while McCain and Obama were once again statistically inseparable in their integrative complexity, both showed significant increases in integrative complexity from the early part of their campaigns (2.12 vs. 2.92 for McCain; 2.02 vs. 2.58 for Obama). This is consistent with the results of earlier studies of revolutionary leaders and U.S. presidents, which have both shown that successful political leaders (whether defined through longevity in office or successful re-election) tend to show significant increases in complexity following a political victory.

In terms of their value hierarchies, McCain now appears to value *Benevolence* at a level even higher than does Obama (previously the candidate scoring highest on this value). There were no other significant differences between the candidates' value hierarchies after having secured enough delegates for the nomination. Several interesting changes in the candidates' value hierarchies have taken place across time, however. While Obama has increased his emphasis on the importance of *Power* and *Conformity*, both candidates have begun to stress the importance of *Achievement* and *Universalism* to a much greater extent than earlier in the campaign. Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, both candidates now stress the importance of *Security* to a far greater extent than before (twice as much in the case of McCain and three times as much in the case of Obama).

Overall, it is striking how few differences exist in the public statements of the two presumptive nominees. With his new emphasis on *Universalism*, *Benevolence*, and *Security*, McCain's value hierarchy now closely resembles that of the three democratic candidates from earlier in the campaign. This may be indicative of his need to appeal to voters who traditionally classify themselves as Democrats. The increased emphasis in *Security* (in all of its forms including national security, patriotism, social order, and family security) among both candidates is also unsurprising, given that this is a domain in which McCain continues to stress his superior qualifications and Obama continues to argue for his capability.

Yet another indication of the similarity between the two rivals comes from the coding of the speeches of both candidates for motive imagery (power, affiliation, and achievement motivation; see David G. Winter, *Manual for Scoring Motive Imagery in Running Text* [3rd ed.], 1991), which was also performed for the present study. On these variables as well, no differences were found either between the candidates, or for either candidate across time. In short, as in the polls, according to at least three measures of these candidates' personalities, McCain and Obama appear to be running neck and neck.

***Rajiv Jhangiani, Ryan Cross, Sverre Frisch, Katya Legkaia,*** *and* ***Ekaterina Netchaeva,*** *work in the Department of Psychology at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada, under the supervision of* ***Peter Suedfeld, PhD,*** *where they conduct research on political psychological topics including elite decision-making, terrorism, genocide, and ethnopolitical conflict. Professor Suedfeld is a past president of the Canadian Psychological Association and a recipient of the International Society of Political Psychology's Harold D. Lasswell award for "distinguished scientific contributions in the field of political psychology." Correspondence may be addressed to Rajiv Jhangiani at rajiv@psych.ubc.ca.*❑

## Leaders from Broken Homes: Obama, Clinton, Lula da Silva

**Ted Goertzel**
**Rutgers University—Camden**

Barack Obama, William Jefferson Clinton and Brazil's president, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, are leaders with exceptional ability to share feelings and communicate empathy to large publics. All three charted their own course in life instead of following a family history or tradition. They may owe their success, in part, to having been raised by mothers who were single parents for many of their critical childhood years. All three took their moth-