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How the Social Context of Bill Clinton's Childhood Shaped his Personality: Using Oral History Interviews of his Childhood Peers and Relatives

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By

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Abstract:

Since individual personality plays an important role in presidential decision-making (Barber, 1972), then understanding the setting that impacted the personality is an important component in any understanding of a president's personality. This study seeks to understand the setting that shaped the personality of William Jefferson Clinton. This case study was selected for two reasons: (1) there is a plethora of descriptive psycho-biographies of Clinton (Maraniss, 1995, Renshon 1996b, Post, 2006) and (2) there are oral history interviews from individuals who were part of Clinton's familial and childhood peer networks. The interviews used for this study are part of the Clinton History Project, a joint oral history study by the University of Arkansas and The Miller Center at the University of Virginia.

This thesis is approved for
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How the Social Context of Bill Clinton's Childhood Shaped his Personality: Using Oral History Interviews of His Childhood Peers and Relatives.

Introduction

Fifty years later, Richard Neustadt's (1950) classic quote, "presidential power is the power to persuade," is still relevant today. Discussions in the media over the personality and persuasiveness of the current presidential candidates are often more numerous than discussions over the candidates policy positions. Equally relevant in the discussion of presidential personality is the discussion of the personality of presidential spouses. The spouse's personalities are likely to be dissected in the attempt to build a narrative about the candidate and his family. When your spouse happens to be an ex-president the scrutiny is even more intense.

Bill Clinton's personality drew extra criticism partly due to his resume and partly due to several remarks he made about his wife's opponent on the campaign trail and his recent associations with infamous people. The most recent articles and essays (Klein, 2008, Purdum, 2008) largely question Clinton's decision-making regarding choices made on campaign trail and in his personal life. The consensus among popular journalists is Clinton is suffering from a mid-life crisis and that he is greatly concerned about his historical legacy in the wake of his wife's loss to a relative newcomer and because of the recent criticisms about him personally.

Despite the perpetual complaint that American politics should move away from judging candidates based on their personality, the interest still appears to be in the personalities of the candidates. When a narrative about a politician is developed in the media it is difficult for the average voter to assess their personalities without relying on the images of them portrayed in the media. The narratives that exist in

popular media about candidates like Bill Clinton are often one dimensional. The public is often not privy to their more dynamic personalities until they are out of office or out of the spotlight.

Presidential personality has always been a popular topic among presidential scholars interested in relationship between personality and public opinion polls, decision-making, and performance in the office. The work of mid-twentieth century political scientists James David Barber (1972) and Richard Neustadt (1960) are still studied because of the applicable message of getting elected and governing in modern day America and the shift toward permanent campaigning. These early works foretell the role personality and character play in getting elected and governing in a democratic republic society.

While Clinton will never be president again, revisiting questions about his personality are relevant considering the impact it had on the 2008 election. This paper will focus on how Clinton's social environments impacted the development of his personality in his childhood and adolescent years. Using the oral history interviews of Clinton's childhood friends and relatives from Hope and Hot Springs, Arkansas, with the permission of the Barbara and David Pryor center at the University of Arkansas, this paper will reexamine the various elements that affected his identity and personality.

Constructing an approach to studying presidential personality from afar is a difficult process. First, there are many elements that shape personality development including cognitive functions, character traits, and social factors that are hard to assess with psychologically testing an individual. Second, the lack of a guiding

theoretical approach makes the study of presidential personality even more difficult. Using a president as a case study on personality can ease the process because of the availability of public resources such as speeches, interviews, and writings. However, it can also hinder the process because most of the available public records are filtered by speech-writers, political consultants, or the media.

Attempts by recent scholars to assess presidential personality (Maraniss, 1995, Renshon, 1996a, Post, 2006) are helpful but they are too narrowly focused on isolated traits exhibited in single events. Also, theories of personality alone do not suffice because they often rely on psychological analysis that is difficult to replicate without psychologically testing an individual. Personality typologies are not reliable because they isolate individual character traits and are often situation-dependent (Mischel, 1968). Biographical narratives supply a historical narrative but are shaped by a writer's personal lens. Rather than approach personality as a cognitive function of individual personality traits, there needs to be a more multi-dimensional, multivariate approach to understanding this topic.

The best way to obtain the necessary data to assess a president's personality is to employ several methods. First, scholars should strive to apply more rigorous standards in order to achieve scientific standards. Second, scholars could strive to provide multiple accounts of an individual's life from various viewpoints. By increasing the number of accounts of someone's life history, conclusions about a presidential personality can become more valid and reliable.

Over the last fifteen years, presidential scholars (Renshona, 1996, Maraniss, 1995, Post, 2006) have been investigating the personality of William Jefferson

Clinton. The recent biographies have done a fair job of identifying Clinton's personality traits. The literature has suggested that Clinton's high level of ambition and his disregard for the boundaries often affected his ability to make good decisions. While Clinton's lengthy autobiography (2004) is interesting, it lacks any psychological analysis of his personality. Stanley Renshon claims that Clinton has become "far too sophisticated at manipulating his own image and is far too calculating at presenting how his image is presented to the public, therefore making it difficult to ascertain any real sense of his inner motivations" (2000b, p.105).

Theory

It is important to remember that personality is more than a series of elements, such as motives, beliefs and values, or traits, held together by a self-schema functioning in isolation. Personality has context beyond the self. In order to consider the development of an individual's personality, the larger unit must be considered, such as the family, kin group, tribe, neighborhood, nation etc. This theory is known as the social context perspective because it considers the individual personality as the product of the accumulation of numerous changes in an individual's life. The changes that occur in an individual's life are what create the unique differences in an individual's personality or identity. Our unique identities are shaped during childhood according to social psychologists (Erickson, 1959, Stewart, 1992, and Mishcel, 1993).

When assessing an individual's personality it is important to seek out various methods with primary sources to provide the anecdotal evidence of an individual's life history (Runyan, 1982). The reason for this is because many

different kinds of social contexts shape and individual's personality. The various

elements that affect our social context can be divided into micro-context and macro-

context. The social micro-context, or the immediate responses or habits that we have

learned from birth, is considered learned or reinforcement history. The social

macro-context is affected by the larger more complex environment. Macro-contexts

can be defined as: gender, social class, religion, race and ethnicity, nationality,

culture, and history. Social psychologists also believe that macro-context can be

defined in terms of social-psychological mechanisms: the process of social identity,

group pressure, social influence, social support, obedience, interpersonal

relationships, and intra-group and inter-group relations (Erickson, 1959).

Leading social psychologist George Winter (1996) believes that individual

personality is largely formed by the social environments that we are exposed to in

childhood. These environments are not occurring randomly or accordingly. Instead,

an individual's environment is affected by the various elements that define the

macro-contexts of our lives. The macro-context also has a history or a set of

collective memories and legends, often involving relationships with other similar or

complementary macro-contexts. Our relationships with the opposite gender are

affected by our history with them. The same belief about history can be applied to

our relationships with our bosses, friends, family members, foreigners, and even

perfect strangers, therefore supplying countless applications for assessing an

individual's social context (Winter, 1996, p.531).

The complexity in studying personality occurs when the observer tries to

integrate each of these environments into a cohesive narrative about the

development of an individual's personality. Sometimes the social context of an individual's childhood fit together smoothly and provides a cohesive narrative and sometimes they do not. For some individuals their social contexts are conflicting. When this occurs there can be contradictory behavior and unpredictable decisions. According to social physiologists, when such conflicts occur during times of rapid social change and dislocation there is an even greater chance of identity conflict. Therefore, theoretically the micro and macro social context largely shape our personality, or we are the sum of our social contexts.

Purpose of Study

The aim of this study is to offer a scientific approach to personality scholarship. This study attempts to support the theory that personality is affected by the social context of a president's life experiences. This study specifically seeks to provide a more authentic narrative about the development of Clinton's personality. This thesis is the first phase of a larger project, the Clinton History Project, being conducted by the Pryor Center at the University of Arkansas. Each phase of the Clinton History Project spans different periods of Clinton's life: (1) the Hope-Hot Springs years, (2) the Georgetown-Oxford-Yale years, (3) the 1973-1978 period, (4) gubernatorial years, and (5) the post-presidential era. The greater goal of this project is to provide a narrative of Clinton's life based on the perspective of his peers and relatives.

Why study how Clinton's personality traits developed? There are various reasons. First, Clinton has a complex personality. Second, Clinton is a relevant figure in politics and now that his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton is running for

president, he still continues to spark controversy and debate among political pundits and journalists. Third, when historians look back on the Clinton presidency, they are likely to be more fascinated by him than by the accomplishments and failures of his administration, the impact of his foreign and domestic policy on the country, or even his impeachment and its implications on his presidency (Edwards,2003). The most enduring aspect about Clinton may be Clinton himself: a president whose persona became the focus of his administration. Clinton, according to Edwards, is "a complex individual but also one who has been easily stereotyped by late-night humorist and political opponents, a magnet that both attracts and repels, a focus of adulation and condemnation, a larger-than-life baby boomer" (1999, p.558). Lastly, there is an absence of primary sources provided by Clinton's family and peers on their perspectives of his life. To address the absence in the literature, an analysis will be performed into the childhood background of Clinton.

William Jefferson Clinton

Born during World War II and having grown up during the fifties and sixties, Clinton, the first baby boomer president, was influenced by a unique generation that lived through the height of the Cold War, the civil rights movement, the feminist movement, and the anti-war movement. In his autobiography Clinton (2004) mentioned how living in close proximity to Little Rock during the Central High School incident, where federal troops were called in to escort nine black students to school for a year, had a huge impact on how he perceived race relations and how he perceived the right to an education.

While Clinton may not have felt a direct impact from the Cold War, he was exposed to sociological factors created by the war. It was a good vs. evil mentality during the Cold War. This was a race to beat the Russians in space technology, scientific discoveries, and in other areas. This created a nationalistic culture in the United States. By the time Clinton entered college, the cultural tide shifted and the subversive wave of anti-Americanism submerged. The growing sentiment of anti-Americanism was escalated by the Vietnam War which led to huge waves of anti-war protests. Clinton was caught up in this movement. Clinton participated in anti-war protests while attending Yale. Clinton also notoriously avoided the draft. The now infamous letter he wrote to the ROTC officer at the University of Arkansas clearly stated his beliefs about the war and the draft (Maraniss, 1998).

The other cultural factor influencing Clinton was the feminist movement. Clinton would become the first pro-feminist president. Having been raised by a single mother who worked for a living affected Clinton greatly. In his autobiography, Clinton (2004) mentioned the profound respect he had for his mother and her work ethic influenced him. While Virginia was an extrovert who spent a great deal of time at the races or at nightclubs, she took time to talk to her son about important issues in politics and world government. Also Virginia was not the type of woman who could be controlled and which impacted how Clinton perceived women. Clinton believed women could and should be treated like sexual equals and that if sex with a woman was consensual then there was nothing wrong with it.

Understanding how Clinton's personality developed is complex and it is difficult to formulate an empirical understanding of his personality traits without considering the social context of his environment. Using Clinton as a case study further complicates the process. President Clinton is reluctant to have the private details of his life analyzed and is not likely to consent to a psychological profile, presumably because of the fear of research and profiles being misconstrued and having the details taken out of context. Understandably, Clinton has guarded himself from scholars attempting to dissect and describe his personality. Despite Clinton's attempt to craft a narrative of his life in his autobiography *My Life (2004)*, there is still a gap that exists in understanding the internal development of his personality. In order to better understand the social context of Clinton's childhood there is a need to assess the culture he grew up in.

Arkansas, the smallest state in the South, is infamous for its frontier culture and outsiders tend to believe the stereotypical hillbilly image about the state (Tucker, 1985). Notorious for ranking next to lowest in education standards, Arkansas is not the first state many would expect a political prodigy to come from. Yet, Arkansas is a much more diverse state than most outsiders realize. Arkansas is home to multinational corporations like Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods. Historical political figures like J. William Fulbright and Nelson Rockefeller represented the state of Arkansas. Also Arkansas is home to a few uniquely cultured towns including Hot Springs (Dumas, 1993).

However, Arkansas is mostly made up of traditional small towns such as Hope. The former group of towns is home to a more metropolitan culture that is

more progressive and more liberal in values. The latter group of towns is home to a

more traditional culture that is more populist and more conservative in values

(Tucker, 1985). The attitudes of the latter group are most predominant in Arkansas?

The predominant culture has distinct attitudes and beliefs. According to Gallen, a

native Arkansan,

> It seems the most southern thing about Arkansas is its people's habit of self-deprecation and instinct for shame; a pathology for melancholia and self-loathing that manifests itself as a kind of palpable inferiority complex. Arkansans reflexively assume anything of local origin to be second-rate; we mistrust the most innovative and original among us. Likewise, we often suspect the worst of ourselves; like all hell-fearing beings we continually question our motives and hold fast to guilt, (Gallen, 1993, p.4).

Gallen goes on to defend Arkansans' insecurity and defensiveness by adding

that people from Arkansas are born without privileges or advantages. Gallen

describes the persona of the typical Arkansans as having "a thin skin to criticism,

yet, seeks it out simultaneously. Arkansans are quick to be offended and yet, are

quick to offend", (1994, p.4). Arkansans are unique in personality and culture and

this duality also has affected Bill Clinton.

Like many Arkansans, Bill Clinton comes from humble beginnings. Born in

Hope, a small town in the southwest corner of Arkansas, Clinton's life was fraught

with tragedy before he was even born. His father, William Jefferson Blythe, Jr., was

killed in a car accident while he was still in mother's womb. Soon after his birth, his

mother, Virginia Kelley, handed him over to his grandparents so she could receive

an anesthesiologist license in New Orleans. By the time he was in second grade

Clinton's mother had fought his grandparents to regain custody of him. Soon after

Virginia married a car salesman, Roger Clinton, and moved herself and Bill to Hot

Springs. This next era of Bill's childhood would be filled with good and bad days. Mostly good due to an increase in economic status but some bad as well due to the alcoholism of his stepfather and the raging battles between his parents (Clinton, 2004).

Yet, Clinton would rise above all the drama of his personal life in order to achieve success in his public life. From Hope to Hot Springs, Bill Clinton's identity was shaped by the cultural traits of each town he was raised in and by the southern culture of Arkansas. The first explanation is found in Clinton's earliest days in Hope with his grandparents, Eldridge and Edith Cassidy. Clinton's grandparents first and foremost cared greatly for him and at the same time shaped his moral compass. The Cassidy's owned and operated a general store in Hope which was known as one of the few places that serviced white and black customers, which had a great impact on Clinton's attitudes towards blacks. Clinton actually complimented his grandparents for forging his moral instinct on race while campaigning for president in 1992 (Clinton, 2004). This early exposure to blacks would shape Clinton's beliefs and attitudes about race.

The second explanation is found in the time he spent in Hot Springs. Hot Springs is different from most Arkansas towns. In Hot Springs, educational success was revered and the typical student was striving for something beyond the walls of Arkansas source. This pushed Clinton to compete with his fellow over-achieving classmates. In Hot Springs, Clinton would not be the most popular or the most bookish. Instead, he seemed to blend in. Another important event in high school that affected Clinton's political fate occurred when he was selected as a senator to Boy's

Nation, sent to Washington D. C. and met John F. Kennedy face-to-face (Clinton, 2004).

Clinton mentioned this face-to-face with Kennedy as the most defining moment of his life because the event ignited his political ambitions (Clinton, 2004). Upon graduation from high school, Clinton entered Georgetown University and then received a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University. Later, he obtained a law degree from Yale. Despite all of these amazing opportunities Clinton came back to Arkansas to fulfill his personal goal: the need to help Arkansas progress to the modern era (Clinton, 2004). 1978, Clinton was elected governor of Arkansas. At 32, this made him the youngest governor in Arkansas history. He lost his first bid for reelection in 1980 but came back after only two years and regained the governorship. Clinton would become known as "the comeback kid" when he survived a brutal nomination process in 1992 to become the presidential nominee of the Democratic Party (Allen & Portis, 1992).

Clinton's life became of national interest during his bid for the presidency. Having survived scandals no ordinary politician could, many began labeling Clinton a phenomenon in modern day politics. Clinton's political mastery was further analyzed as he spent the next eight years in the White House under constant speculation from the media and conservatives. Controversy followed Clinton all the way through the White House and culminated in an impeachment trial in the House of Representatives (Maraniss, 1998)

Every aspect of Clinton's life has been scrutinized by journalists and political opponents (Toobin, 1999, Woodward, 1994). Literary biographers turned

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their interests toward Clinton as well, sensing his public struggles were revelations of private struggles. David Maraniss (1995) wrote *First in His Class*, a biography on Clinton which revealed personal details based on information provided by close insiders like Betsey Wright. Wright, an aide to Clinton while he was governor and president, offered an alternative account to Maraniss regarding Clinton's decision to not run for president in 1988. During the 1988 election Clinton's name was at the top of the list to replace Gary Hart as the Democratic nominee who had been caught in a sex scandal. Clinton was days away from announcing his decision to step into the race when Wright convinced Clinton to reconsider (Maraniss, 1995).

According to Wright she pulled Clinton aside and "confronted him with a list of women who might be problematic for him" (Maraniss, 1995). Wright pleaded with Clinton to consider the consequences of what the "bimbo eruptions" would have on his wife, Hillary, and his daughter, Chelsea (Maraniss, 1998, p. 14). Within days Clinton announced he would not run for the Democratic nomination because of the impact it would have on his daughter. Clinton revealed he was concerned about the amount of time running for president would take away from his family time and the impact the office would have on his daughter (Clinton, 2004).

Maraniss also questioned the validity of statements made by Clinton regarding his draft deferment. When Clinton was running for president it was revealed that he had received preferential treatment in signing up for the ROTC at the University of Arkansas, which in turn allowed him just enough time to avoid the draft before Nixon ended involuntary conscription into the armed forces in 1973. Against his better judgment, Colonel Holmes, head of the ROTC in Arkansas, caved

to pressure by Fulbright and accepted Clinton into the ROTC. Clinton was supposed

to immediately enroll at the University of Arkansas's Law School, but he never did.

Instead he stayed at Oxford and continued to protest the war. In an infamous letter

to Colonel Holmes, Clinton revealed that he really never had any intention of

attending the University of Arkansas or joining the ROTC because he did not

believe the Vietnam War should continue. Clinton also stated that he only went

through the steps of signing up for the ROTC to save his political career (Maraniss,

1995).

Maraniss revealed numerous other contradictions in Clinton's life. In a

follow up book on Clinton written during the impeachment trial, Maraniss stated;

> It was not difficult to find the darker corners of Clinton's life. He could be
> deceptive, and he came from a family, in which lying and philandering were
> routine, two traits that he apparently had not overcome. As he grows older,
> the more tension he felt between idealism and ambition, the more he gave in
> to his ambition, sometimes at the expense of friends and causes that he had
> once believed in. I could also see his sources of light. He was a fatherless
> son who came out of depths of provincial southwestern Arkansas and never
> seemed ashamed of his roots. Many people who have dismissed him as a
> calculating phony are far more invented creatures and less connected to their
> pasts than he has always been (Maraniss, 1998, p.17-18).

Maraniss believed that Clinton has many facets to his personality, some

redeeming, such as his ability to empathize with diverse groups like blacks and

other minorities and also the poor and disadvantaged. Maraniss believed that

Clinton's attitudes on race are legitimate. However, not all of Clinton's actions

regarding blacks were positive. Clinton refused to stop the execution of a retarded

black inmate on the eve of a big primary and he also pulled the nomination of Lani

Guinier for attorney general, all in order to protect his political leverage (Renshon,

1996b).

How do scholars process this information revealed by these scholars? How do scholars weigh these observations in measuring Clinton's personality? Before conclusive statements are made about Clinton's personality and how it impacts his decision-making there needs to be understanding of how his decision-making developed. The development of Clinton's decision-making will help scholars to better understand how potentially great leaders, such as Clinton, have contradictory decision-making and behavior.

Research Methods

This study uses a multivariate approach using both the qualitative and quantitative approach. Utilizing insights from friends and family members that knew Clinton from Hope and Hot Springs this paper constructs a narrative of the social context impacting Clinton's childhood. These interviews come from a project conducted by the David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History at the University of Arkansas. Individual scholars working for the Pryor Center have conducted interviews with friends, family members, political supporters, rivals, and others who can speak effectively about Clinton's life and career before and after the presidency and offer the anecdotal evidence to support the development of the manifestations of his interpersonal character.

The Pryor Center used a chronological framework to divide the project into five distinct phases: (1) the Hope-Hot Springs years, (2) the Georgetown-Oxford-Yale years, (3) the 1973-1978 period, (4) gubernatorial years, and (5) the post-presidential era. The Miller Center for Public Affairs at the University of Virginia is also conducting a complimentary project focusing on President Clinton's eight years

in the White House – as they have done with every outgoing administration since President Carter's (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

The Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History conducted interviews for the first phase using the oral history method developed over the past fifty years. Once the person agreed to be interviewed, the Center dispatched an interviewer, trained in both the techniques of conducting historical interviews and the subject of the interview, to meet with the individual. The individual being interviewed was asked several questions regarding Clinton, his family, the town they live in, and about various social factors relevant to their town. The interviews were audio-taped and later transcribed. The interviewees were then given the opportunity to review the transcript to ensure that it properly conveys his or her memories and observations. After the suggested changes were incorporated into the transcript, the interviewee signed a form releasing the material for public use. Unreleased interviews could not be used for this project which is discussed in more detail later in the paper (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

For this paper, thirty interviews are utilized from the Hope-Hot Springs years that the Pryor Center released on January 30, 2007 (please see Appendix A)[1]. These interviews took place from January 2002-July 2005 and were conducted (with one exception) by the assistant directors of the Pryor Center[2]. Sixteen of the

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[1] The individual transcripts for each can be assessed at
http://libinfo.uark.edu/specialcollections/pryorcenter/projects/clinton/default.asp
[2] Michael Pierce, the assistant director in 2002 and 2003, conducted all the interviews during that period.

interviewees are associated primarily with Hot Springs while fourteen are from Hope. Eleven of the individuals are classified as relatives and the rest as friends. An additional ten interviews have been conducted by the Pryor Center but were not released; therefore those transcripts could not be used as part of this study.

First, this study will perform a content analysis on the interviews provided by the Pryor Center. Then, this study will provide excerpts from the interviews to provide a firsthand narrative on Clinton's childhood. A content analysis utilizing a variety of sources can be a daunting task. Reliability of coding, especially when the task is spread across a number of coders, can be problematic. To deal with these issues, we decide to use a content analysis program called Diction, which was developed by Roderick Hart of the University of Texas.

Diction 5.0 is a Windows-based program that uses a series of dictionaries to search a passage for five semantic features-activities, optimism, certainty, realism, and commonality- as well as thirty-five sub-features. Diction conducts its searches via a 10,000-word corpus and the user can create additional (custom) dictionaries for exacting more particular results. Based on a 20,000-item sample of modern-day discourse, Diction reports normative data for each of its forty scores.

The general norms can be used for comparative purposes or they can be analyzed against the thirty-six sub-categories, including speeches, poetry, newspaper editorials, business reports, scientific documents, television scripts, telephone conversations, etc. The program can accept either individual or multiple

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Andrew Dowdle, the assistant director in 2004 and 2005, conducted all the interviews during those years
with one exception: Peggy Lloyd interviewed Jewel Dean Moore in Hope on November 29, 2004.

passages and, at the user's discretion, it provides high frequency counts and special counts of orthographic characters. Diction will analyze (a) only the first 500 words of a given passage, (b) automatically break up a text into 500-word units, or (c) average the 500-word segments of a passage. This latter option is the program default, thereby allowing passages of any length (up to 500,000 words) to be processed while allowing the user to evaluate the passage as it progresses (Digitext, 2000).

Diction produces five measures of analysis. When taken together, the five measures provide the most general understanding of a given text. The first measure, the standard dictionary totals include raw frequencies, standardized scores, and normative standards for Diction's thirty-one-word-lists. Special note is also made of scores lying outside the norm (+1-1 standard deviation from the mean for the normative grouping chosen). The second measure, the custom dictionary totals display the raw frequencies for any special word list the user has prepared. Diction permits use of ten such dictionaries, with up to 200 search words in each word list. The third measure, the insistence score calculates a text's dependence on a limited number of often-repeated words. In calculating this score, Diction singles out all words used three or more times in a 500-word text. The fourth measure, the calculated variables include four of Diction's scores which result from calculations rather than dictionary matches. These include insistence (a measure of code-restriction), embellishment (the ration of descriptive to functional words), variety (a measure of linguistic dispersion), and complexity (word size). The fifth measure, the master variables include Diction's five overall measures-activity, optimism,

certainty, realism, and commonality. The master variables are composed by standardizing all previous scores, combining them via addition and subtraction, and then by adding a constant of 50 (Digitext, 2000).

Diction uses thirty-one dictionaries (word-lists) to search a text. In addition, five master variables are built by merging these dictionary scores. Four calculated variables are also used. The dictionaries have the following properties: they vary considerably in size, ranging from as few as 10 words to as many as 745 words, the dictionaries contain individual words only, no words are duplicated across the thirty-one dictionaries, and homographs, or words that are spelled alike but have different meanings, are statistically weighted (Digitext, 2000).

The master variables include Diction's five overall measures-activity, optimism, certainty, realism, and commonality. The certainty score is defined as language indicating resoluteness, inflexibility, completeness, and a tendency to speak ex cathedra. The formula is [tenacity + leveling + collectives + insistence.] – [numerical terms + ambivalence + self reference + variety].The optimism score is defined as the language endorsing some person, group, concept, or event or highlighting their positive entailments. The formula is [praise + satisfaction + inspiration] – [blame + hardship + denial].The activity score is defines as language featuring movement, change, and the implantation of ideas and the avoidance of inertia. The formula is [aggression + accomplishment + communication + motion] – [cognitive terms + passivity + embellishment]. The realism score is defined as language describing tangible, immediate, recognizable matters that affect people's everyday lives. The formula is calculated as [familiarity + spatial awareness +

temporal awareness + present concern + human interest + concreteness] – [past

concern + complexity].The commonality score is defined as the language

highlighting the agreed –upon values of a group and rejecting idiosyncratic modes

of engagement. The formula is calculated as [centrality + cooperation + rapport] –

[diversity + exclusion + liberation] (Digitext, 2000).

A distinct feature of Diction 5.0 is that it comes equipped with a variety of

norms the may give a more detailed understanding of the texts. The normative data

have been established by running more than 20,000 texts through Diction. These

texts range from public speeches to poetry, from newspaper editorials to music

lyrics, from business reports and scientific documents to television scripts and

informal telephone conversations. All of the texts were produced in the United

States from 1945-1998. The default in Diction is to combine all of these data into a

single normative profile so the user can see what a passage looks like in general.

Greater specificity can be discerned by selecting from among thirty-six different

sets of norms (Digitext, 2000).

The next step is to perform a content analysis of the paper of the Clinton

History Project transcripts for the Hope-Hot Springs phase (see Appendix A). I

focused on three particular questions: (1) How did residents of Hope and Hot

Springs envision their own town?; (2) Did residents of Hope have similar first

impressions of Bill Clinton as the residents of Hot Springs?: and (3) Did the

impressions that his family have differ from those of his friends

The first set of data extracted from the Clinton History interviews is the

response given by all the interviewees on their impressions of their town.

Depending on which town they grew up, Hope or Hot Springs, dictated the follow-up questions by the interviewer. For the participants that grew up in Hope, the questions were geared toward race relations in Hope during the civil rights era. The questions ranged in topics from segregations in the schools and in the public to the violent acts that were committed against blacks. For the participants that grew up in Hot Springs, the questions were geared toward the unique culture of Hot Springs, from legalized gambling and open prostitution to the large group of over-achievers that emerged from the period that Bill Clinton graduated high school.

In general most participants from Hope were either went to kindergarten with Clinton or was a relative of his. Very little stands out about Hope in the participant's minds, other that the development of race relations in the town. Some participants admitted that they knew of at least one hanging in the town in the 1920's. However, by the time Clinton was living in the Hope in the 1940's and early 50's, race relations were improving. Most participants mentioned that Clinton's grandfather opened his store to all races. The other aspect that stands out about Hope is how most of the children that attended Miss Purdy's kindergarten class stayed connected throughout their lives, at least three students went on to work for Clinton: Vince Foster, Mack McLarty, and Joe Purvis.

In general most participants from Hot Springs were either school friends or relatives. The participants from Hot Springs have a stronger impression of their town. Hot Springs was for most of the twentieth century the southern Mecca of gambling, prostitution, and the place to go to have a good time. Hot Springs attracted presidents and professional gamblers and the town also was home to the

unique bath house culture that sprung up in America in the early twentieth century. Clinton moved to Hot Springs in the second grade and lived there until he graduated Hot Springs High School. Most participants mentioned how Clinton was a great student but that he did not stand out because there were so many great students in Hot Springs, which they credited to the top-notch school system. Many of the friends in this town also stay connected throughout their lives, either staying in touch with Clinton or working for him.

Literature Review

In order to assess the development of Clinton's personality a few different topics need to be discussed. First, the psychological literature on personality followed by the literature on presidential personality, and then the literature assessing Clinton's personality will be reviewed. Lastly, the literature that supports this studies theory on social contact is offered to justify the need to assess various elements in presidential personality development. Consistent in the literature is the need to understand the social environment surrounding the individual especially during the most formative years of childhood and adolescence.

Early twentieth century psychologists Erick Erikson and Carl Jung focused on the development of personality in childhood. Erikson theorized the stage of identity development as one of the eight stages of personality development and perhaps the most impactful stage of personality development. Each of these stages shapes the inner feelings, impulses, and wishes that shape an individual's personality. If these stages are not brought into alignment with each one's social expectations and influences, then one's inner psychology will be affected.

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Erickson's main point is that social context, or one's gender, social class, religion, race/ethnicity, nationality, culture, and history matters because it shapes the development of personality (Erickson, 1950, 1959).

Jung's ideas diverge from Sigmund Freud's idea that an individual's inner manifestations are solely based on sexual desires and fear of death, and Erickson builds upon Jung. Freud's theory was based on the idea that the repression of latent sexual tendencies and fear of death motivated one to make unconscious choices and caused severe psychological abnormalities, such as: drug abuse, sexual abuse, and compulsive-obsessive disorders. Jung believed individual motivations and psychological issues were also affected by interpersonal contact and cultural factors. Erickson furthered this theory by clearly defining what cultural factors impact personality.

This shift is not only significant in the development of psychoanalysis but it is also significant in understanding how society impacts one's personality and one's concept of the self. For example during adolescence the body changes dramatically as physical growth speeds up and hormonal changes radically alter the internal body environment. At the same time, the reflected social self is altered as adolescents move out into wider circles from their familiar family homes, have greater involvement in school activities, and then off to college or work and a wholly separated life. Thus, during adolescence and young adulthood, or the formative years, people are likely to experience confusions, crises, and changes in their self-concepts. The major congruence between the bodily and social selves is one's identity. The emerging ego identity, then, bridges the early childhood stages, and in

the later stages, when a variety of social roles becomes available and increasingly coercive (Jung, 1971).

Depending upon the congruence of the body and social self, one will either have a stable or unstable ego identity. If one develops an unstable ego identity, they can develop psychological issues like narcissism, low self-esteem, sexual identity issues, and eating disorders among many other issues. Unstable ego identity may also lead one to revise one's life story and create cognitive functions that are risky, such as: having sex with prostitutes, shoplifting, and other thrill seeking behaviors (Jung, 1971).

Early presidential scholars (Neustadt, 1960, Greenstein, 1970, Barber, 1972) attempted arm-chair psychology when they began to investigate presidential personalities. These early scholars developed psychological profiles, which were used to create classification systems of leadership traits. The focus was mostly on individual traits or aspects of personality, such as; leadership skills, world view, and attitudes.

James David Barber, In *The Presidential Character (1972)*, Barber predicted how presidential personality shaped performance. For the purpose of his study, Barber defined personality as character, world view, and style. Then, Barber identified patterns of these elements in modern day presidents and created a typology with two categories: world view and motivation for taking the job. Each president scores positive or negative in each category.

Ironically Barber's study was published right before Nixon was elected president, which he predicted in a chapter of his book titled, *The Presidential*

Character (1972). Along with the presidential personality typology, Baber included

a chapter on Nixon's personality. In it Barber recounted the difficult childhood that

Nixon endured due to harsh economic conditions and an emotionally unavailable

mother, yet he adapted by developing certain traits, such as hard work and

perseverance. Despite these positive skills, Nixon developed a negative world view.

Ironically, Barber asserts the following about Nixon's clash of beliefs:

> All of these feelings come together in Nixon's "classic crises." There he
> relieves each time the agony of self-definition, as he does whether or not a
> crisis is "his": the confirmation of suffering, as he wearily drives himself to
> get ready; the freedom of aggression, as he takes clear action; and the
> closure of control, as he reasserts self-restriction in the aftermath. There, in a
> short space of time, Nixon acts out the drama of the life-over and over again
> (1992, p.142).

Of course this grim assessment was made within a year before the story of

Watergate broke leading some scholars to grow suspicious of the timing of Barber's

assessment. Alexander George (1974), a leading critic of Barber, argued that

presidents face vastly different situations and Barber's typology is too simplistic to

explain the complex situations presidents face. In his critique of Barber, George

admitted he was suspect of the motivation for publishing this work when it was

admittedly not ready and since it was released during the 1972 election.

As the details of Watergate broke, more presidential scholars became

interested in presidential behavioral analysis. The focal point shifted from

leadership skills and decision-making to personal circumstances, such as the

childhood that shaped the development of a personality. One such account, *In

Search of Nixon,* provided one of the first in-depth inquiries into the development of

Nixon's personality. The author Bruce Mazlish (1972), ironically before the

Watergate story broke, offered a sense of urgency in analyzing the personalities of the presidents due to the increasing power of the office.

Mazlish led the discussion over the inseparability of personal background and politics. Mazlish looked at Nixon's family history, the biographical details of his childhood and youth, and his early political life in order to provide a psycho-historical narrative of Nixon's personality. Mazlish uncovered many interesting facts about Nixon including, his high level of anxiety, his distrust in others, and his preoccupation with death. Mazlish admitted that making conclusive statements about Nixon's personality was difficult to construct because of the absence of methodologies to make sense of the massive amount of facts available to the researcher (1972, p.153).

Perhaps a key factor in gaining a more accurate perception of a president's personality is to observe his surroundings. Studying how a president's personality is shaped is similar to studying how any individual's personality is shaped. Like the ordinary individual there has to be a basic understanding of the individual's inner psychology. Freud once compared the work of psychoanalysis to the work of archaeology, stating that:

> Like the archeologist the analyst has to make sense out of bits and pieces of surviving materials. If his work is crowned with success, the discoveries are self-explanatory; the ruined walls are part of the ramparts of a palace or treasure house; the numerous inscriptions, which, by good luck, may be bilingual, reveal an alphabet and a language, and when they have been deciphered and translated, yield undreamed-of information about the vents of the remote past, to commemorate which the monuments were built, thus the whole gives meaning to the parts, just as the arts can be understood only in terms of the whole (Freud, 1915).

Fred Greenstein (1975) also considered the individual surroundings relevant in evaluating the personalities of elected leaders. Greenstein identified three steps to follow; (1) the early part of life of an elected leader must be studied in order to see what is to be explained, (2) a psychological explanation must be constructed based on a combination of assumed psychological concepts: motives, defenses, cognition, and traits, in order to explain surprising choices made by the leaders, (3) the origins of the presumed dynamics must be traced to the early childhood experiences. Greenstein admitted this is not an easy process and it is often controversial because it is hard to uncover accurate historical information and most attempts will be speculative in nature (1975, p.12).

By the 1980s scholarship on presidential personality began to focus less on inner feelings and beliefs and more on political skills and success rates. Methods like content and text analysis were applied to political leader's speeches, writings, and basically anything that might indicate what type of leader the American public was dealing with.

Stanley Renshon refocused the scholarship on presidential personality toward physiological elements (1996a) by constructing a theory on presidential personality that adopted the interpersonal character traits of ambition, relatedness, and integrity. He defined ambition as the level of desire to achieve his purposes, and the skills he is able to bring to bear on accomplishing them. Renshon pointed out that ambition alone will not ensure success therefore a politician also needs personal and political skills. Ambition will not always lead to accomplishment and accomplishment does not necessarily develop confidence, therefore a certain

amount of ambition is necessary to achieve success at politics. Renshon emphasized that scholars need to distinguish between "necessary and suspect" ambition (2000a, p.44).

Renshon posited that integrity is the key in assessing the difference in the motivations of ambition. Integrity is defined as, "the ideals and values by which the candidate says he lives and his fidelity to them" (2000a, p.44). Perhaps the only way to observe the true nature of one's integrity is by assessing instances when leaders stick by their convictions when faced with the possibility of real loss, political, and personal. Relatedness is defined as, "the basic nature of the candidate's interpersonal relations and his stance toward others" (2000a, p.44). Renshon classified Hillary Clinton as this type of leader. Renshon admitted that the assessments of personality traits alone will not likely predict a president's performance instead it fills in one piece of the puzzle. Other pieces to the puzzle include a leader's policy thinking and political action.

Renshon (1996a) posited earlier that the character elements of ambition, character integrity, and relatedness are the twin pillars of presidential performance. In a latter work, Renshon suggested that how a president relates toward others is also important in how a president mobilizes his base, orchestrates his duties, and impacts his judgment. As much as his policy positions affect him, a president is affected by the people around him and his relationships to them. The way a president interacts with his supporters, allies, advisors, and even the opposition will affect a president's quality and effectiveness (1996a, p.62) as well as a president's

ambition. The way he attempts to attain his goals will define his leadership and frame his judgments.

The social context or culture is defined as the "shared range of conscious and unconscious understandings, and their associated feelings, that are embedded in the individuals' interior psychology, the cultural group's societal institutions, and its public practices" (Renshon, 2000a, p.206). By this definition the common experiences, common practices, and the public practices are important in understanding the social context that shaped one's character integrity. Thus, social context is the missing link in understanding presidential personality.

In *High Hopes*, a psycho-biographical profile of Bill Clinton, Renshon assessed the key events in Clinton's early childhood that shaped his personality. Drawing upon behind the scenes accounts of Clinton's life from friends and employees, Renshon attempted to explain who Clinton really is and why he made some of the contradictory choices in his life. Clinton's beliefs about himself and his attitudes towards those who disagree with him are related, according to Renshon. Renshon argued that Clinton's loss of his father and then his mother during his early childhood created a need to be accepted by others and it affected how he interacted with people.

Renshon concluded that Clinton's ambition often overshadowed all other aspects of his life and that his political ambitions often shaped how he related to people close to him and in passing. Renshon also made the argument that Clinton risked his personal integrity by making bad decisions but that these choices are not

abnormal in children raised by alcoholic parents, as Bill Clinton was (Renshon, 1996b).

Renshon profiled Clinton's traits and relates his traits to his performance while in office. Renshon posited that Clinton had enormous ambition proven by the obstacles he had to overcome to become president. Clinton also had a great amount of energy, is highly intelligent, and is very persistent, all of which are needed to achieve his ambitions. Renshon asserted that Clinton is in the negative when it comes to character integrity. He supported this conclusion with the continual displacement of blame when it came to several incidents in Clinton's life, mainly concerning questions regarding the draft, his extramarital affairs, and his pot smoking. Instead of accepting blame, Clinton chose to put the blame on his press and political opponents for distorting incidents in his life. Renshon believed this was a result of Clinton's self-idealization (2000b, p.46).

When it comes to relating to others, Clinton does very well. Renshon believes that Clinton has a natural instinct to move toward others. Due to his humble origins and interactions with various ethnic and economic classes, Clinton learned to easily interact with his supporters and various groups (Renshon, 2000b). On the flip side, Clinton has notoriously showed his temper with his opponents, the press, and any one or group who does not support him or his policies. Many times throughout his life he allowed his temper out in public. Most recently while on the campaign trail for his wife, Clinton has became angry with hecklers, the media, and politicians not supporting his wife.

Renshon (1996b) also identified the following patterns in Clinton's behavior; his persistence, his impatience, his need to be special, the wish to have it both ways and his dislike for boundaries. He took risks yet took little responsibility for his actions, he was highly competitive, and strived for achievement. The combination of these personality traits impacted Clinton's presidential performance and his overall effectiveness. Clinton proved he was persistent even when in dire straits politically. Renshon suggested that it is Clinton's ambition that allowed him to persist.

Renshon (2000b) pointed out that Clinton unfortunately made reckless decisions regarding his personal life. Clinton was not the first president to make such reckless decisions while in office, but by the time he had entered the presidential arena the rules of the game had changed. Journalists raised in the Watergate culture were willing to reveal the scandalous details of a leader's life. Despite the tabloid journalistic culture, Clinton was more than willing to risk it all for self-gratification. Former senior advisor George Stephanopolous wrote of his former boss, "Clinton was too smart and too ambitious to be so self-destructive. How could he be so stupid? So reckless? So selfish?" (1999, p.433).

To make matters worse Clinton lacks the inability to take responsibility or directly apologize for his mistakes. Instead Clinton has continually placed the blame elsewhere and, at times like the Lewinsky scandal, actually got angry at his accusers for slandering him. Renshon concluded that a president who has the capacity to relate to others and "feel their pain" is more adept at exploiting these same people for their own purposes. Stephanopoulos (1999) and other aides have remarked about

Clinton's ability to get very angry with his staffers. Renshon (2000b) struggled to understand why a man like Clinton who possesses great personal and political skills was only being judged as satisfactory. Based on the outcomes of Clinton's presidency, Renshon believed that there were underlying signs to indicate the Clinton lacked control over his personal decision-making.

Walter Weintraub attempted to understand Clinton's personality by looking at Clinton's motivational biases and traits. Weintraub focused on the causal mechanisms associated with the processes of ego-defense, self-identity and other relationships. Verbally analyzing the press conferences of Clinton while he was president, Weintraub discovered Clinton tends to present himself not as problem solver but as a successful politician. Clinton's conversations reveal that he is comfortable and spontaneous during his press conferences with reporters and that he appears to be non-controlling. The press conferences also revealed Clinton can make decisions and reconsider them when necessary. One interesting fact that Weintraub discovered is that Clinton is more apt to state his point of view rather than explain it and he tends to play the victim (Post, 2006).

Another study supports Weintraub's findings regarding Clinton. Using a conceptual model, Immelman (1998) assessed the personality profiles of the 1996 presidential candidates in order to create a standard model for comparison of political leaders. Immelman combined Million's personality model with an earlier developed model, the psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis. This psycho-diagnostic meta-analysis constructs a framework using the clinical approach on personality

profiles. The personality profiles come from journalistic accounts, and biographies and auto-biographies of political leaders

Immelman (1998) found that Clinton's personality is primarily asserting/self-promoting and outgoing/gregarious and charismatic/extraverted. Immelman suggested that Clinton's personality is "consistent with a presidency troubled by ethical questions and lapses of judgment, and provides and explanatory framework for Clinton's high achievement drive and his ability to retain a following and maintain his self-confidence in the face of adversity" (1998, p. 2).

George Winter, a psychologist interested in presidential personality, attempted to give analytical structure to the scholarship by creating a personality typology, based on the four elements: cognition, motivation, traits and temperament, and social context, that could explain all the elements highlighted by personality and presidential scholars. (Please see appendix B).

The first category, cognition, is based on the variables of beliefs, attitudes, values, and self-concepts. The second category, motivation, is based on the variables of motives, defenses, and psychic structure. The third category, traits and temperament, is based on the variables of extraversion and energy level. The fourth category, social context, is based on the variables of habits, models, culture, class, ethnicity, and gender (Winter, 1996).

Winter (1996) believed the most direct way to assess these traits is through the own words of the individual, namely content analysis. By performing a content analysis of a leader's verbal or written texts, such as speeches, interviews, and government documents, Winter believed it is possible to assess a wide variety of

personality characteristics: integrative complexity, explanatory style, nationalism, and internal control of events. Winter attempted to measure achievement, affiliation, and power of political leaders in order to create a correlation between motives and outcomes of the United States presidents.

"Personality is more than a series of elements, such as; motives, beliefs and values, or traits, held together by a self-schema functioning in isolation, personality has context beyond the self" (Mischel, 1993). Personalities exist within contexts. In order to consider the development of an individual's personality, the various contexts surrounding an individual must be considered. The larger unit must be considered, or the family, kin group, tribe, neighborhood, nation etc. This theory known as the social context perspective considers the individual personality is the product of the many changes in an individual's life. The changes that occur in an individual's life are what create the unique differences in an individual's personality or identity.

When assessing an individual's personality it is important to seek out various methods with primary sources to provide the anecdotal evidence of an individual's life history (Runyan, 1982). The reason for this is because many different kinds of social contexts shape and individual's personality. The various elements that affect our social context can be divided into micro-context and macro-context. The social micro-context, or the immediate responses or habits that we have learned from birth is considered learned or reinforcement history. The social macro-context is affected by the larger more complex environment. Macro-contexts can be

defined as: gender, social class, religion, race and ethnicity, nationality, culture, and history.

Social psychologists also believe that macro-context can be defined in terms of social-psychological mechanisms: the process of social identity, group pressure, social influence, social support, obedience, interpersonal relationships, and intra-group and inter-group relations (Winter, 1996). These environments are not occurring randomly or accordingly. Instead an individual's environment is affected by the various elements that define the macro-contexts of our lives. The macro-context also has a "history or a set of collective memories and legends, often involving relationships with other similar or complementary macro-contexts. Our relationships with the opposite gender are affected by our history with them. The same belief about history can be applied to our relationships with our bosses, friends, family members, foreigners, and even perfect strangers" therefore supplying countless applications for assessing an individual's social context (Winter, 1996, p.531).

The complexity in studying personality occurs when the observer tries to integrate each of these environments into a cohesive narrative about the development of an individual's personality. Sometimes the social context of an individual's childhood fit together smoothly and provides a cohesive narrative and sometimes they do not. For some individuals their social contexts are conflicting. When this occurs there can be contradictory behavior and unpredictable decisions. According to social physiologists when such conflicts occur during times of rapid social change and dislocation there is an even greater chance of identity conflict.

Therefore, theoretically the micro and macro social context largely shape our personality, or we are the sum of our social contexts.

Psychological biographer Alonzo Hamby (1991), also reminds presidential scholars to not ignore how cultural shifts can impact personality. Hamby also adds that scholars should not ignore that personality can change in adult hood as the ups and downs of life occur. Hamby looks at how Harry S. Truman's complex personality was a product of his culture. A.J. Stewart also highlights the need to understand how historical and social events affect how an individual's identity shapes. Stewart's adds that when these events occur earlier or later in adolescence it can have a major impact in identity development. The concept is on historical impact on identity development is now. It was previously posited by Harold Laswell in *Power and Personality*.

Laswell (1948) theorizes that Americans born into the middle class are likely to have complex personalities due to the lack of a set path. People who are fortunate enough to be born into the elite class identify with power and wealth. People are born poor often stay in the cycle of poverty. People born into the middle class are different because they must strive to find their identity and often are ambitious to succeed. Hamby believes Laswell's theory explains how a self-made man like Harry Truman could become president. This theory might be applicable to many people born into the middle class who succeed, including Bill Clinton, but unfortunately this theory is easy to dispel.

Research Questions

In order to construct the social context of Clinton's personality this study looks at many elements of his social environment during his childhood and adolescent years. The Pryor Center interviews represent the best opportunity to do this. The oral history interview of Clinton's friends and family members describe the climate or race, the state of education, various factors that shaped the culture of Hope and Hot Springs. This paper will utilize the interviews to answer the following questions about Bill Clinton:

(1) How did residents of Hope and Hot Springs envision their own town?;

(2) Did residents of Hope have similar first impressions of Bill Clinton as the residents of Hot Springs?: and

(3) Did the impressions that his family have differ from those of his friends?

Study and Results

We first looked at simple word counts. In the Hope impressions of town file the high frequency words appearing ten or more times: black (15), Don (17), Hope (31), people (18), school (26), and time (13). In the Hot Springs file the high frequency words appearing ten or more times: Arkansas (10), back (11), big (12), Bill (16), community (16), different (11), gambling (23), high (54), Hot Springs (82), little (20), lot (25), people (75), place (16), school (77), time (15), and town (10). The Hot Springs file was about 250 percent larger than the one from Hope in terms of word volume.

In the comparison of the Hope and Hot Springs impressions of town file, the calculated variables that score similarly: insistence, variety and embellishment (see

Table 1). The only calculated variable that scores a significant difference is the complexity score. Both town scores represent a value outside the normal range of Diction.

Table 1- Impressions of Hope and Hot Springs: Calculated Variables

Variable	Hope	Hot Springs
Insistence	-.87	-.47
Embellishment	-.39	.46
Variety	-.87	-.53
Complexity	-2.01*	-1.88*

Scores represent Standardized score; *represents a value outside the normal range of Diction scores.

The master variables include Diction's five overall measures-activity, optimism, certainty, realism, and commonality. The master variables are composed by standardizing all previous scores, combining them via addition and subtraction, and then by adding a constant of 50 (to eliminate negative numbers). When taken together, these five measures provide the most general understanding of a given text (Digitext, 2000).

In the comparison of the Hope and Hot Springs impressions of town file, the master variables that score similarly: activity, optimism, certainty, realism, and commonality (see Table 2). There is no significant difference in the master variables between the towns. There is not a variable that scores outside the normal range of Diction.

Table 2- Impressions of Hope and Hot Springs: Master Variables

Variable	Hope	Hot Springs
Activity	50.13	49.14
Optimism	49.17	52.64
Certainty	45.69	50.55
Realism	49.56	48.71
Commonality	48.83	49.25

Score represents unstandardized score; * represents a value outside normal range of Diction score.

A number of important differences stand out in how the residents of Hope remembered Bill Clinton as opposed to the impressions that individuals from Hot

Spring had of him (see Tables 3 and 4). The language Hot Springs residents used to describe Bill Clinton departed significantly from normal rhetoric in three ways: (1) they spoke with a high amount of Variety, representing measured, precise language; (2) they spoke with a large amount of Embellishment, representing utilizing a large number of adjectives to describe the subject and (3) both they and the residents of Hope spoke with a limited amount of Complexity, where as a high score would represent convoluted and abstract phraseology.

Table 3 – Impressions of Bill Clinton: Hope vs. Hot Springs: Calculated Variables

Variable	Hope	Hot Springs
Insistence	-.67	-.95
Embellishment	-.71	20.51*
Variety	.58	2.27*
Complexity	-2.33*	-2.08*

Score represents standardized score; * represents a value outside normal range of Diction score.

An examination of Diction Master Variables shows some areas of commonality but also some important differences (see Table 4). Both groups had higher than normal Optimism scores, which represent language praising or advocating an individual. On the other hand, the Realism and Commonality indicators both fell within normal score ranges. One area in both instances fell below the normal range: Activity for Hot Springs and Certainty for Hope. The value for the certainty scores typically represents such aspects as group-related identification and confidence. Activity represents physical action and accomplishments instead of intellectual pursuits.

Table 4 – Impressions of Bill Clinton: Hope vs. Hot Springs: Master Variables

Variable	Hope	Hot Springs
Activity	48.05	30.92*
Optimism	53.18*	58.64*
Certainty	46.67*	48.45
Realism	52.72	50.03
Commonality	49.43	49.61

Score represents unstandardized score; * represents a value outside normal range of Diction score.

Table 5 shows Bill Clinton's friends and family recalled their impressions of him before he became an adult. The rhetoric they use shows less Complexity, which represents more abstract and indirect use of language. The language his family uses shows less Variety than is typical as well.

Table 5 – Impressions of Bill Clinton: Friends vs. Family: Calculated Variables

Variable	Friends	Family
Insistence	-.90	-.90
Embellishment	-.15	-.13
Variety	-.78	-1.42*
Complexity	-2.16*	-2.61*

Score represents standardized score; * represents a value outside normal range of Diction score.

An examination of Diction Master Variables for Friends and Family reveals two interesting findings (see Table 6). Family members expressed an unusually high level of certainty and optimism when talking about Bill Clinton. His friends, however, fell within normal ranges for all five variables.

Table 6 – Impressions of Bill Clinton: Friends vs. Family: Master Variables

Variable	Friends	Family
Activity	51.17	49.64
Optimism	51.82	54.02*
Certainty	47.42	51.96*
Realism	50.70	52.62
Commonality	48.64	50.36

Score represents unstandardized score; * represents a value outside normal range of Diction score.

Qualitative Section

Ultimately this study seeks contribute to the life history of Bill Clinton. In order to better understand Clinton's presidency we must examine how his life-course was influenced by his social structure, demographic, and historical conditions. Before scientists can accurately judge Clinton's presidency, the history of his life needs to be further researched from the perspective of his familial and

peer networks. By understanding the perspective of those around him, we can gain a better understanding of Clinton's personality and the environment he grew up in.

Oral historian William Runyan (1982) reminded scholars of the importance of oral history in learning about personality, the culture, and history of a leader's family. Runyan admited that oral history is often perceived as too simple or not rigid enough to be scientific, but comments;

> for the specific purpose of testing general hypothesis, this may be correct, but this is not the only goal of human sciences. The in-depth understanding of particular individuals is also a legitimate objective of intellectual inquiry and one of the fundamental levels of analysis. The study of life histories has much to contribute to the social sciences, both in its own right and as a complement to other forms of research, (Runyan, 1982, p.13).

Runyan stated there are limitations to oral history mainly due to difference people's accounts of stories. The method of oral history is by nature arbitrary and reflects a resemblance to fiction writing, but Runyan believes the only way to overcome this is to perform more extensive research. In order to assess the life history of a president, scholars need to take in as many accounts as possible and apply an epistemological relativism that allows you to balance the multiple perspectives.

Runyan conceptualized this method as utilizing "empirical evidence and logical inference within the context of a particular perspective" (1982, p.35). One translation given to better illustrate this concept is the idea that a painting can be viewed in many different angles; however there are certain standards for judging it. Runyon argues that this is the same with differing accounts of an individual's life. Although there may be different accounts of Clinton's life, when taken together, they yield a more trustworthy interpretation than will any one single account alone.

By integrating multiple accounts on Clinton's childhood we will gain a better understanding of how his personality was shaped.

Hope

Clinton's earliest days were spent in Hope. Sheila Foster, sister of Clinton's close childhood friend Vince Foster, describes Hope in the following passage;

> It was a traditional, southern small town. There were lots of churches and a thriving downtown. Like all small towns, it was very interested in all [of] its citizens and what was going on. There was a lot of community interaction, especially for some who were settling there and raising their families...Because Hope had so few entertainment opportunities for young people, the centers of our lives were our schools and our churches. We walked everywhere without fear of any kind. There was little crime—if there was ever any, it was just such a big deal, we could hardly believe it. We bicycled everywhere. We came home for lunch most of the time, or ate at school. We grew up in a very wholesome, protected, community (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Childhood friend, George Wright remarked that Hope was reminiscent of most small towns;

> In Hope there you have...a great closeness among everybody. I think that that closeness develops a lot of things (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Close childhood friend Donna Wingfield, validated the small town image of Hope by commenting that;

> It was a nice safe environment to raise children. I had a lot of children on my street. That was the way we were raised. I knew everybody on the street. I could go from one end of the block—Mother would whistle—she blew through her hands. We had a lot of kids on the street—on Thirteenth street—you don't see a lot of kids outside playing like that nowadays. They are inside watching TV. We had hamburger suppers on Friday nights. The parents would play "pitch" [a card game]. Different houses would share in that. We were real secure in the streets and playing in the yard. It's totally different [now]. Back then we were innocent. Safety, security on the streets—you don't see that on the streets with kids nowadays like you did in the 1950s and 1960s (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

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Larry Thrash, another childhood friend of Clinton reinforced the notion of the small

town in Hope;

> There were no fears, no worries. Nothing was going to be bad in Hope. If
> there was going to be something, it was going to come from outside of Hope
> (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History,
> 2006).

Childhood friend Richard McDowell validated the attitude about Hope;

> It was, as I said, just pretty easygoing. You know, everybody thought
> they had problems, but there weren't very many big ones. It was virtually
> crimefree. That's about it, really. I played Little League baseball and all that
> kind of stuff—just had pretty much an average life (David and Barbara Pryor
> Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Race Relations in Hope

Clinton actually complimented his grandparents for forging his moral

instinct while campaigning for president in 1992 (Gallen, 1994). This early

exposure to blacks would shape Clinton's beliefs and attitudes about race. Clinton's

grandparents first and foremost cared greatly for him and at the same time shaped

his moral compass. The Cassidy's owned and operated a general store in Hope

which was known as one of the few places that serviced white and black customers.

Clinton was raised in this community with his grandparents, Eldridge and

Edith Cassidy in a typical small town environment where the main focal point in

town was church and school. Like most other small southern towns Hope was

racially segregated. The following statement by Clinton's close childhood friend,

George Wright, Jr. confirms the racial environment in Hope;

> Back when I was growing up there was no integration in the school system.
> Blacks or African-Americans had their school. Caucasians or whites had
> their school. You didn't integrate that. Now, as most small towns, especially
> in the South, it seemed like the blacks were in one section of town. They

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were not as affluent as the large majority of the whites, and that probably carried up from maybe [limited] educational opportunities or anything like that, but their families would usually work in the factories, and they were not—well, they didn't have the opportunities [that the whites had] (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

According to Sheila Anthony Foster, racial segregation was the norm;

> The schools were totally segregated. There was never any expectation that we would go to a school with a black; I didn't even think about it, actually, until 1954 when *Brown vs. Board of Education* was decided. Then the [1957] Little Rock [Central High School integration] crisis occurred. I think I was a junior in high school—it was either my junior or senior year of high school, I can't recall which, but I remember it being very traumatic for the Little Rock students, some of whom I knew personally, who were unable to finish their senior year (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

This early exposure to blacks would shape Clinton's beliefs and attitudes about race. A friend of the family, Jewel Dean Moore described the general store the Eldridge's operated;

> It wasn't in the most desirable of neighborhoods, but it was a good location for a grocery store. They had a very good business. A lot of it was to the black [population], they had more black customers than white, although they did have some very good white customers who came from other parts of town just to trade there because they liked the friendly atmosphere and the service. And they also did a credit business. Most of these people had accounts, and they would pay by the month (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Friend of the family Margaret Polk described how Clinton interacted with the black children;

> Bill played with the little black children [and] the little white children. It didn't matter the color, they were all the same. I never in my knowing him saw him think he was better or mistreat anybody (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Family friends the Turners describe a significant event in regards to race relations in Hope in the following passage;

Yes, there was a hanging. I don't know. All I've ever heard about it and remember is that he was—I don't remember exactly whether he raped a white woman or what, but they hung him to a—I guess it was a light pole. . . . The man was hung from a light pole. That's the way I remember it, and I'm not sure about what he had done. It seems like he was accused of raping a white woman. Of course, we don't like to talk about it now because it was the wrong thing to do. But it did happen (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Another factor they may have led to Clinton becoming more socialized to

blacks may have been the fact that he was raised by a black nanny. Donna

Wingfield describes how the exposure they had to blacks in the following passage;

> Of course, both Billy and I had black nannies. Not that I didn't slip down to my nanny's house and play with her kids every now and then [laughter] which was only a couple of blocks away. We lived on 13th street, which is right in between Yerger, which was the black community, and the all white Hope High School. It was only three or four blocks to the high school, then another couple of blocks behind it the other way was Yerger. This was before they had integration and [as far as] race relationships, they were down there [in their neighborhoods] and they had their football games and their band and you could hear them all over town. You could hear the others from Hope High, but they were that [direction] and Hope High was the other way (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Richard McDowell commented on the racial climate;

> Well, there was no conflict. You never heard anything like that. There was a separate black high school—separate black elementary schools. They had a football team—they were in kind of a crazy conference. They played El Dorado and Texarkana and [a] bunch of larger schools, but they would play on Saturday afternoons at the stadium here. We played on Friday night, and they played on Saturday afternoon. We'd always go out there and watch them because it was pretty good football. Yes, at that time I probably didn't know two black people, but it was just because we weren't around each other. Discrimination was accepted, I guess, but there wasn't any really bad stuff going on. Nobody was being hanged (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Larry Thrash also commented on race in Hope;

> There was a black school system and a white school system, and we had what was considered a black part of town and a white part of town. One of the things that I remember about that was that when the white football team was out of town, the black football team would play in the high school stadium. I lived a block and a half from the stadium, so I'd go watch the black game [unintelligible]. There was a definite line and a definite division (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Yet Carter Russell had a slightly different perspective;

> The race relationship has always been good in Hope. I've been thankful for that. We've always had a good relationship. Even back in those days I had a lot of good black friends I thought as much of as I did white people. We would let the black football team come out and use our field on several occasions. Back in those days we didn't look at it as a race deal. "You're black and you stay over there, and I'm white and I'll stay over here." There weren't any problems. This town has been really fortunate because there hasn't been a lot of trouble. It just seemed like everybody got along, and these people lived in this part of town, and these people lived over here. Most of his trade was with black folks. That's where Bill, you know, got acquainted with a lot of them, and made contacts with black people. I think he's done more for the black folks than any president we've ever had (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Hot Springs

Clinton spent his adolescent through teenage years in Hot Springs. Hot Springs is a different from most Arkansas towns. It was a much more cosmopolitan town than most other towns in Arkansas. Unlike any other town in Arkansas, Hot Springs had legalized gambling in the form of the horse races and card games, which attracted some of the most notorious gamblers such as Minnesota Fats and also presidents like Truman and Kennedy.

The following statement by Farrar sums up the gambling culture of Hot Springs;

> But the gambling here—we were one of two places in the entire United States of America where you had casino gambling. You had Las Vegas

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[Nevada] and us, and it was a *big deal* here. We had every major entertainer you could think of except Frank Sinatra come through, just as Vegas did. Because the gambling subsidized big-league entertainment (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Hot Springs was also home the unique bath house culture attracting thousands a

year by the early twentieth century. Patty Criner describes Hot Springs in the

following passage;

> Hot Springs was unusual in that it was such a melting pot
> for people from all over the country, and where I have friends who say, I
> never met anyone from New York until I was in college, [laughter] or, I
> never met a Catholic until I was in high school. In Hot Springs, people from
> all over the world came to visit scenic Hot Springs and to take the hot baths.
> I think Hot Springs was a magical place to grow up because there were
> gamblers in and out of town. We didn't think that was a horrible
> thing...Well, in our walk, you'd pass Park Place Baptist Church and on the
> next corner would be the little Bohemian restaurant that's still there. Then
> you'd pass The Vapors, which was a nightclub, and a gambling house (David
> and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Hot Springs was also more open in regards to prostitution. Roy Clinton Jr. described

the attitudes that were prevalent in the following passage;

> [The difference] would be [from] daylight to dark. It wasn't like any other
> town that I've seen since then for that era. It was a wide open town. You
> could go to your little Presbyterian youth fellowship on Sunday night, and
> you're fourteen-we could all drive at the age of fourteen back then—that was
> a carry-over from the war. You could go to that and then go up to
> Whittington Pavilion and buy a beer in a glass for twenty-five cents, which
> some of them did. [Laughter] And there were slot machines everywhere. It
> was a playful town. It was from way back at its inception when it was a
> spa—to kind of get away from it all and kick up your heels, and that was
> evident to me from a very early age. There weren't whorehouses on every
> corner in other towns like there were in Hot Springs, trust me. Nor bars, nor
> slot machines in bars. Hot Springs was wide open (David and Barbara Pryor
> Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Glenda Cooper also commented on Hot Springs;

> Hot Springs was wonderful to me, everyone was so friendly and welcoming,
> and when you are an army brat it usually takes about six months to let go of

your fear of being new, you know, and Hot Springs was real easy to move in to. People were so kind and friendly and engaging and really inclusive. I have often said that it was a different town from others in the South. I guess because of the gambling, you know. It just had a different flavor—I lived in Little Rock as a child, but Hot Springs is more open, more friendly. There were more people there from the North, from other places. [It was] more cosmopolitan to me, [and] exciting things were happening. Some of my best friendships throughout my life were founded in Hot Springs, and friends I made there are still friends today (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Rose Crane commented on Hot Springs culture;

Well, I think it was very metropolitan because of the water—the baths. Because of the gambling and because of the horse racing, there were large numbers of people who came from other places. There was a large Jewish community—there still is. There was a Reform and Orthodox [Jewish] synagogue—temple—still there. We had a Kosher deli. Clinton, of his own impetus. He got up and went by himself. Hot Springs at that point was kind of the center of conventions. The band conventions, the medical society conventions—all of the different conventions came to Hot Springs. I think that had an influence, certainly, on the community, but on all of us as well. Well, tourism was the bread and butter of the city. Other kids would say it's "sin city" (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Childhood friend Paul David Leopoulous commented on Hot Springs;

You could look out your door and see the mountains and the trees. We'd go hiking all the time. I know President Clinton and I and another friend, Ronnie Cecil, would go hiking over the mountains. We'd go from our house over the mountains and go downtown from the back. It was a wonderful place to grow up. It was a very simple life (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Education in Hot Springs

In Hot Springs, educational success was revered and the typical student was

striving for something beyond the walls of Arkansas. This pushed Clinton to

compete with his fellow over-achieving students. In Hot Springs, Clinton would not

be the most popular or the most nerdy, instead he seemed to blend in. In the

following passage Joe Dierks describes the education in Hot Springs;

> Well, yes, I think we were properly prepared. I think the high schools
> properly prepare kids today, but it's an experience—high school—that can't
> be forced upon someone. If they're willing to accept the high school
> experience and get the learning out of it, then they can be prepared for any
> place. We have plenty of kids from around here who go to Georgetown
> [University]. Clinton is not the only one. We have kids from around here
> who go to many of this type school in America. It's not whether the high
> school did a good enough job in preparing them. The high school laid it out
> there. These kids did a good job of preparing (David and Barbara Pryor
> Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Patty Criner also described the education in Hot Springs in a similar fashion and

goes onto to describe her impression of Bill Clinton;

> We had good teachers. We had a lot of extracurricular activities. The music
> department was quite large in the state and had most of the choral concerts.
> The band state conventions were held in Hot Springs. The drama department
> was very active and did three or four shows a year and a big senior play
> every year. It wasa friendly high school. You know, I think of Bill Clinton—
> people ask me all the time, What do you remember about Bill Clinton? Did
> you know he was going to be president then? Well, of course, I didn't know
> he was going to be president then. But reflecting back, he was so well liked
> by the athletes, as well as the drama students, as well as the student
> government people, as well as the teachers, as well as the people who ran the
> cafeteria. You know, generally, people fall in one clique or another (David
> and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).
> However some fellow students of Clinton's perceived the environment as a
> little more strict.

Rose Criner describes her perceptions of Hot Springs in the following

Passage;

> Well, I think they were very representative of the time. There were lots of
> rules that kids today would be pretty unhappy with, one of which was that
> girls couldn't wear pants to school. Guys couldn't wear blue jeans and [they
> had] to have their shirts tucked in (David and Barbara Pryor Center for
> Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

The friends and peers of Clinton perceived him as one of the better students but they did not necessarily see a future president. The following passage by his friend Farrar an interesting description of him.

> Everybody I talked to who went to high school [with Bill Clinton] said he was a total straight arrow—no alcohol at all—basically was almost shy around the co-eds or the young ladies. And a lot of the kids at Hot Springs High School thought he was a member of the faculty because he would wear a coat and tie to school (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Patty Criner also provides an impression of Clinton in the following passage;

> He made good grades. He was smart. Teachers appreciated how well he did in classes. He was involved in the community and civic organizations, but was a *regular* person—was a genuinely nice, friendly person who I think every person you will interview will say. Well, he was my really good friend. He was my really good friend. And that's really true. He was friends with people in the class above him and the class behind him. They all befriended each other. One of his dates would be somebody from his own class, Mary Jo Nelson, who is Mary Jo Rogers now. And he would play in a band with somebody who played from the class behind in the band or a class he always seemed to really have an
> interest in you and your family and your school work and your activities—what you were doing. He was *genuinely* interested and was just a nice guy. We all knew he was smart, but I don't think anybody ever thought he was going to be president of the United States (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Relative Dan Clinton offers an interesting comment;

> Hot Springs was a great place for him to get his start (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Relative Dan Clinton remarked on the education in Hot Springs;

> I thought it was pretty good. I thought, truly, in comparing it with my college years, we had some really well-trained teachers, certainly both in the sciences and in math. It was there for us, and I think they were pretty well grounded. I think if he was going to have a more diverse education, sociologically, Hot Springs was the place to get it, and I think he capitalized on that (David and Barbara Pryor Center for Arkansas Oral and Visual History, 2006).

Conclusion

Initial ventures into content-analysis often produce a complex and often conflicting set of results. However, our first attempt has led to some early findings. Despite some important thematic differences (such as the role of gambling in Hot Springs), the residents of Hope and Hot Springs did not present the towns of Bill Clinton's childhood in vastly different lights. The residents of Hot Springs, however, spoke of Bill Clinton using precise language with greater rhetorical embellishment than their Hope counterparts. Similarly while Clinton's family spoke of him with a great amount of certainty and optimism Clinton's peers did not typically depart from rhetorical norms. While these findings are obviously clouded by a number of different factors, they do give us some insight into how the differences in how friends and family perceived presidents as children and adolescents.

These results indicate that the people around Bill Clinton did not foresee a president. The participants in Hope knew Clinton when he was still very young and among the participants living in Hot Springs, Clinton did not stand out because there were many students that were above average and high-achievers. Some of the interviews reveal psychoanalytical hints of Clinton's personality that might be traits of a person forced to overcome many obstacles, such as being detached from his mother at an early age, his grandmother fighting for custody of him, and growing up with an abusive step-father. There are also hints of traits that are linked to an over-achieving personality such as his competitiveness, his desire to be liked, and his goal-oriented nature. Yet the period of Clinton's life that took place in Hope and

Hot Springs appears to be too early to develop any sense among those that knew him best that he was going to be president.

This first round of interviews serves in laying the groundwork of the factors shaping Clinton's personality such as race relations in Hope and Hot Springs and the relatively permissive but also surprisingly cosmopolitan culture of Hot Springs. The authors of this study anticipate significant differences, not between Hope and Hot Springs participants, but in the next three stages of Clinton's life, his time as an instructor of law at the University of Arkansas, his years as governor of Arkansas, and his eight years in the White House.

The study supports the theory that social context affects personality (Erickson, 1950, Winter, 1996, Mischel, 1993) and that the familial and peer networks and culture shape the social context, (Renshon, 1996a, Post, 2006). Lastly, this study utilized the narratives of Clinton's childhood peers and family members to begin constructing Clinton's life history. The recent biographies do a fair job of identifying Clinton's personality traits (Renshon, 1996b, Maraniss, 1995) and speculating on how they affected his presidential effectiveness.

Scholars need to continue to build up the base of knowledge on Clinton, not just rely on biographical perspectives. By increasing the number of perspectives on Clinton's life history, scholars will have more anecdotal evidence provided by Clinton's family and peers to support their literature on his personality traits. This study attempted to address the absence in the literature by performing an analysis into the childhood background of Clinton. The literature review threaded the topics

of personality development, presidential leadership, and psychological perspectives

together to illustrate the importance of this study of personality.

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Appendix A: Interviewees, Relationship to Clinton and Location

Interviewee	Relative?	Location	Impressions of Town?	Impressions of Clinton?
Sheila Foster Anthony	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
Marie Russell Baker	Yes	Hope	Yes	Yes
Dan Clinton	Yes	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Roy Clinton, Jr.	Yes	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Glenda Cooper	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Rose Crane	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Patty Howe Criner	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Joe Dierks	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Clay Ferrar Jr.	Yes	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Kathy Ferrar	Yes	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Bobby Haness	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Myra Irvin	Yes	Hope	No	Yes
David Leopoulos	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Liz Clinton Little	Yes	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Lonnie Luebben	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Richard McDowell	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
Jewel Dean Moore	No	Hope	No	No
Bill Nipper	No	Hot Springs	Yes	No
Margaret Polk	Yes	Hope	No	Yes
Tom Purvis	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
Paul Root	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Carter Russell	Yes	Hope	Yes	Yes
Carolyn Staley	No	Hot Springs	Yes	Yes
Floris Tatom	Yes	Hope	Yes	Yes
Larry Thrash	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
Mac Turner	No	Hope	Yes	No
Mary Nell Turner	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
Donna Taylor Wingfield	No	Hope	Yes	Yes
George Wright, Jr.	No	Hope	Yes	Yes

Appendix B

The Major Elements of Personality

	Inner, Private, Subjective	Outer, Public, Objective
Enduring and typical across situations	Cognitions Examples of variables: Beliefs, attitudes, Values, self-concept	Traits and Temperament Examples of variables: Extraversion, energy level
Situtation-dependent	Motivation Examples of variables: Motives, defenses, psychic structure	Social Context Examples of variables: Habits, models, culture, class, ethnicity, gender

*Winter, 1996, 641.