PREDICTING AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OUTCOMES BASED ON CANDIDATES' POWER, AFFILIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVES

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

OF

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF APPLIED AND PROFESSIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

OF

RUTGERS,

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY

BY

FATOS KUSARI

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY OCTOBER 2010

APPROVED: _____
Cary Cherniss, Ph.D.

_____
Robert Emmerling, Psy.D.

DEAN: _____
Stanley Messer, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Three social motives, the need for power, achievement and affiliation, combine to form the configuration of the Leadership Motive Pattern (LMP) that has been shown to predict leadership effectiveness. It is hypothesized in this study that the motives will also predict electoral success. Twenty nomination acceptance speeches from the Democratic and Republican conventions from 1972 to 2008 were coded for need for power, achievement, affiliation and activity inhibition (i.e., concern with the moral exercise of power). Results revealed that power motivation was positively and significantly related to winning the general presidential elections, whereas achievement and affiliation motivation were positively but not significantly related to winning. Activity inhibition and the LMP variable (i.e., moderate to high need for power, need for power higher than need for affiliation and moderate to high activity inhibition) did not have an impact on presidential election outcomes. Several mechanisms explaining how the motives contribute to getting elected are proposed. Limitations of the study and future prospects are also discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, friends, co-workers and graduate school mentors for their continuous support. To my parents, Sutki and Flloza Kusari, whose continual encouragement throughout my life to constantly achieve academically has been a powerful motivational force. To my brother, Drilon, for his encouragement to complete the dissertation. And to my lovely fiancé, Agnesa, who unconditionally offered the three most important words of encouragement one could ever ask for: “I love you.”

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A set of personality characteristics that has attracted attention in leadership research are the social motives based on McClelland's theory of human motivation: (a) the power motive, a concern for impact, which is associated with a need to acquire social status and prestige (McClelland, Davis, Kalin & Wanner, 1972; McClelland 1975); (b) the achievement motive, a concern for excellence, which is associated with entrepreneurial success and moderate risk-taking (McClelland, 1961); and (c) the affiliation motive, a need for interpersonal relations, which is associated with establishing, maintaining and restoring close personal, emotional relationships with others (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). The motives are thought to tap dispositions and processes operating outside of conscious awareness; therefore, they have been termed "implicit motives" (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989, p. 690). The motives tend to "predict spontaneous behavioral trends over time" and are expressed in terms of needs: need for Power (*n* Power), need for Achievement (*n* Achievement) and need for Affiliation *(n* Affiliation) (McClelland et al., 1989, p. 691; McClelland, 1975). Research has also given attention to activity inhibition (AI), broadly conceptualized as self-control, moral restraint or a concern with the moral exercise of power (McClelland, 1987; McClelland & Burnham, 1976; Winter, D. & Barenbaum, B., 1985).

The concept of social motives and measurement techniques based on McClelland's work has been used to study the American presidency. Several studies have shown that power, affiliation and achievement motives are related to important presidential outcomes. For example, McClelland (1975) found that internal violence and political instability flourished in countries where power motivation was high and affiliation was low. Hermann (1980) found a significant relation between power motivation and pursuit of an independent foreign policy and between affiliation motivation and pursuit of an interdependent foreign policy. Langner and Winter (2001) found that the affiliation motive is positively related to making political concessions, whereas the power motive is negatively related to concessions. Winter (2007) concluded that high power motivation, low affiliation motivation and a low degree of activity inhibition tend to predispose political leaders "towards war rather than peace" (p. 921). Achievement orientation, on the other hand, is less likely to predispose decision-makers towards war, because it channels activity to economic forms of competition (Winter, 2007).

The assessment of personality and motivational factors has also been applied to predict electoral success (Winter, 1987; Zullow & Seligman, 1990). Zullow and Seligman (1990) assessed pessimistic rumination (i.e., pessimistic explanatory style and rumination about bad events) of Democratic and Republican candidates based on their nomination acceptance speeches. The results of the study showed that the candidate who was a more pessimistic ruminator lost nine out of ten elections from 1948 to 1984 and nine out of twelve elections from 1900 to 1944. The study suggested that voters prefer

optimistic and active candidates and that *hope* is a significant predictor of election outcomes.

Winter (1987) compared social motive scores of presidents (scored from the first inaugural address) with scores of American society, adapted from the work of McClelland (1975), who coded three types of American cultural documents from the 1790s through the 1960s: popular novels, children's readers and hymns. The president-society motive congruence was based on discrepancies between presidential scores and societal scores for *n* Power and *n* Affiliation only (i.e., not *n* Achievement or activity inhibition). The results showed significant correlations between president-society congruence and electoral success, as measured by vote percentage, margin of victory and being reelected.

There are several limitations, however, to Winter's (1987) study. First, he did not specifically test the effect of the LMP on electoral success, because he did not have a measure of activity inhibition. The study also did not assess achievement motivation of presidents. Second, Winter (1987) did not assess the motives of candidates that lost the elections. Arguably, the nominees that did not get elected could have had the same congruence with societal motives, resulting in overall non-significant correlations. Therefore, the rationale for conducting this study is to extend the work of Winter (1987) by testing the impact of nominees' motives on presidential election outcomes.

The Leadership Motive Pattern (LMP)

A key result of past research has been the finding that a certain combination of motives, labeled the Leadership Motive Pattern (LMP), is related to effective leadership (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982, p. 67). The LMP theory maintains that the effectiveness

of leaders in high positions in organizations, where influencing others is a major part of the job, is a function of high *n* Power, high AI or self-control, low *n* Affiliation and low to moderate *n* Achievement (McClelland and Burnham, 1976; McClelland and Boyatzis, 1982). Based on this, it is hypothesized that the LMP will have a positive impact on election outcomes. This gives rise to the first hypothesis:

> H1: Presidential nominees possessing the *Leadership Motive Pattern* are more likely to win the general elections.

Power Motive

The need for Power is “fundamental” to the conception of leadership (Marti, Gill, & Barrasa, 2009, p. 268). Power motivation is conceived as a desire to have "impact, control, or influence over another person, group, or the world at large" (Winter, 1973, p. 251). Individuals with high *n* Power often satisfy their motivational needs through leadership roles which involve legitimate, interpersonal power over others (Winter, 1998). Political positions offer opportunities to influence others and have an emotional impact on followers (Spangler & House, 1991). They also provide incumbents with status and fame. Spangler and House (1991) found that United States presidents’ need for power, as inferred from the presidential inaugural address, was positively related to greatness and great decisions cited, as rated by historians. Need for power was also positively related to performance in the social and international arena (e.g., appealing to the public), based on the assessment of presidential biographies. An essential component of winning an election is the ability to influence others; hence, it is hypothesized that a positive association between *n* Power and election outcomes exists. This assumption gives rise to the second hypothesis:

H2: Presidential nominees higher in *n* Power than their opponents are more likely to win the general elections.

Activity Inhibition

McClelland (1975) found that power is expressed in two forms: personalized power and socialized power (p. 257). McClelland (1975, p. 258) reported that those concerned with personal power wrote stories in which life was pictured as a "zero sum game" in which "if I win, you lose" or "I lose, if you win." These individuals had a very low activity inhibition, defined as the extent to which an individual uses available power to achieve institutional or societal goals rather than "purely personal goals" (House, Spangler & Woycke, 1991, p. 367). Individuals concerned with socialized power, on the other hand, were more hesitant to express power in a "direct interpersonal way" (p. 258). According to McClelland, this was not surprising because these individuals had *n* Power together with a strong inhibitory sense (p. 258). Activity Inhibition was measured by counting the number of "nots," because it was believed that the historical use of the word "not" in proscriptive statements in the Judeo-Christian tradition, such as "Thou shalt not …," reflects "constraint on the coercive, exploitative, and self-interested use of power" (House et al., 1991, p. 375). Based on this, it is expected that AI will be more reflective of winners because, by definition, nominees with a socialized power orientation have a concern with the goals, needs, hopes and fears of the voters. This gives rise to the third hypothesis:

H3: Presidential nominees higher in AI than their opponents are more likely to win the general elections.

Affiliation Motive

In leadership studies several ineffective behaviors are associated with leaders' high *n* Affiliation: reluctance to supervise the behavior of subordinates, to give negative feedback when necessary and to take disciplinary measures against violations of organizational policies (McClelland, 1975; McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). Leaders with high *n* Affiliation are also portrayed as being permissive, soft and unassertive (Pillai, Williams, Lowe & Jung, 2003). Spangler and House (1991) found that affiliative motivation was inversely related to presidential greatness, as rated by historians. A nominee low in *n* Affiliation, as inferred from the Spangler and House (1991) study, is more likely to make decisions on the basis of campaign necessity, whereas a nominee high in *n* Affiliation will be concerned about his personal relationships with others, and therefore is predisposed to make decisions on the basis of favoritism to the disadvantage of the political campaign. Based on this assumption, a negative relationship between nominees' affiliation needs and electoral success is expected. This gives rise to the fourth hypothesis:

H4: Presidential nominees lower in *n* Affiliation than their opponents are more likely to win the general elections.

Achievement Motive

Achievement motivation characterizes individuals who are driven by a need for accomplishment through their own efforts (McClelland & Burnham, 1976; Spangler & House, 1991). People with high *n* Achievement are typically more interested in how well they are personally doing than in how well they are influencing others to do well (McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982). Spangler and House (1991) reported *n* Achievement of

United States presidents to be negatively related to successful social performance outcomes. In politics, where influencing others is fundamental, effectiveness depends on the extent to which the leader motivates others (House & Spangler, 1991). High need for achievement can lead presidents to resort to micro-management, as Jimmy Carter did (Winter, 1998). A presidential nominee who exhausts himself in every campaign detail may lose because the number of tasks is enormous. In addition, achievement-oriented presidents do not enjoy mobilizing and "having an impact on others," as do power-motivated presidents (Goethals, 2005, p. 564). This gives rise to the fifth hypothesis:

> H5: Presidential nominees lower in *n* Achievement than their opponents are more likely to win the general elections.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Speeches

Nomination acceptance speeches are standard ways for candidates to outline their agenda for the presidency, and there is evidence that the acceptance speech resembles the fall campaign style (Zullow & Seligman, 1990). For the current study 20 nomination acceptance speeches from the Democratic and Republican conventions from 1972 to 2008 were coded for motives. The speeches were obtained online from *The American Presidency Project* at the University of California. The length of speech text ranged from 6 pages to 15 pages. The total number of pages scored for the motives is approximately 220 (87,468 words).

Assessment of Motives

The power, affiliation and achievement motives were scored based on Winter's (1994) manual for thematic motive coding, also known as the Integrated Running Text System. The scoring system is a systematic measurement approach that in past research has yielded reliable scores and meaningful inferences, permits measurement from a distance because it is not possible to gain access to past presidents, and requires only one coder if he or she attains 85% scoring reliability in practice tests with expert scoring (Winter, 1994).

The motive scoring system was originally developed to code brief, imaginative TAT stories. With considerable modifications, researchers applied the TAT scoring system to assess historical figures. Test-retest reliability of integrated running text scores for *n* Power, *n* Achievement and *n* Affiliation is .63, .71 and .62, respectively. Convergent validity between the TAT and integrated running text scoring system for *n* Power, *n* Achievement and *n* Affiliation has been reported to be .64, .54 and .72, respectively.

The predictive validity of presidential behavior from motives in inaugural addresses is as follows: *n* Power significantly relates to historians' rating of "greatness," great decisions cited, assassination attempts and war entry; *n* Achievement significantly relates to idealism and number of non-war military interventions; and *n* Affiliation significantly relates to scandals or resignations of cabinet or high staff, including Nixon (Winter, 1994).

According to the manual, *n* Power is scored whenever there is a concern with having an impact on others through strong, forceful actions and/or controlling, influencing, helping, impressing or eliciting emotions in others. Need for Achievement is scored when there is a concern with a standard of excellence, as indicated by adjectives that positively evaluate performance, other positive evaluations of goals, the mention of winning or competing with others, disappointment about failure, or the mention of unique accomplishments. Need for Affiliation is scored whenever there is a concern with establishing, maintaining or restoring friendly relations, as indicated by expressions of positive feelings toward people, groups or countries; sadness about separation; affiliative activities; or friendly, nurturing acts (Winter, 1994).

McClelland (1975) identified AI, measured by the frequency of the word "not" in TAT stories and folktales, as a variable negatively correlated with male alcohol consumption. Spangler and House (1991) found that activity inhibition of presidents was negatively related to moderation and conservatism and positively related to adjectives measuring forcefulness. Winter (2007) measured activity inhibition by counting both "not" and "-n't" and by standardizing the scores based on a mean score of 50 and standard deviation of 10. The same method was used to measure activity inhibition in this study.

Construction of the Leadership Motive Pattern

The methodology of constructing the LMP in this study is consistent with the method used in the McClelland and Boyatzis (1982) and Spangler and House (1991) studies where 1= power of 45 or more, power greater than or equal to affiliation, and activity inhibition equal to or above the median of the sample, and 0 = others. A power score cut off of 45, smaller than the standardized mean score of 50, was used in the McClelland and Boyatzis (1982) study to increase the number of AT&T managers classified as having the LMP. The formula is based on the theoretical model of LMP defined by McClelland (1975).

Procedure

The author coded the speeches after attaining 92% scoring reliability. Approximately 30 hours of training were required to practice the first seven sets, each of which contained 30 short TAT stories (practice sets A-G). To code political speeches an additional 20 hours of training were required to practice the remaining five sets, each containing a political speech or document six to eight pages long (sets H-L).

Nomination acceptance speeches were randomly selected and coded over a period of two months. Prior to coding the speeches, words from the text that were not part of the speech were removed (e.g., "four more years"). This ensured that text that was not part of the speech did not contribute to the length of the speech, which is important when calculating raw scores. Each phrase or word coded for a motive was highlighted in Microsoft Word and the number of motives was counted after the all the speeches were coded.

Data Analysis

The main statistical program for analyzing the results was PASW 18 (Predictive Analytics SoftWare), a 2010 premier software for SPSS. The software does not calculate β, the probability of making a Type II error (1 - β denotes statistical power); hence, a different software called G*Power was used for this purpose. The effect size index for chi-square was computed based on the reported formula for measuring the magnitude of associations with 1 df (degree of freedom): $\phi=\sqrt{X^2/N}$. The values for ϕ (phi) are interpreted the same as the Pearson *r*, which means that ϕ^2 estimates the proportion of variance accounted for (Green & Salkind, 2007).

For each raw score the number of motives was divided by the number of words in the text and then multiplied by 1,000. Consistent with the scoring manual guidelines, raw scores were then standardized with an overall mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 for each motive. The standardization process involved transforming the raw scores into *z* scores and then multiplying *z* scores by 10 and adding 50. This method enabled a better comparison of raw scores.

For the main analysis the chi-square test was used to examine the differences in the distribution of the four motives among the winning and the losing group. Each motive was coded into two categories (0 and 1) for the lower and higher score. The test evaluated whether the proportion of nominees who fell into one of the two categories was equal to the hypothesized value of p=.5.

For the secondary analysis an independent-samples *t* test was conducted to evaluate the differences between the means of the two groups (between the winning and losing group and between the Democratic and Republican party). The *t* test's condition for equal variances among populations was met using the Levene's test. The *t* test evaluated whether the mean value of variables for one group differed significantly from the mean value of variables for the second group.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the standard and raw scores for *n* Power, *n* Affiliation, *n* Achievement and AI of each Republican and Democratic presidential candidate from 1972 to 2008. The only nomination speech that did not contain indicators of activity inhibition was Carter's in 1976. Also, with exception of Clinton's speech in 1992, the *n* Power raw scores are higher than the *n* Affiliation raw scores; however, this does not result in higher *n* Power standard scores for all candidates because the raw scores were standardized for each variable.

Table 1
Scores of Democratic and Republican Presidential Candidates on n Power, n Affiliation, n Achievement and Activity Inhibition (AI), 1972-2008, N=20

Year	Outcome	Party	Candidate	Standard Scores				Raw Scores			
				*n*Pow	*n*Aff	*n*Ach	AI	Pow	Aff	Ach	AI
2008	Lost	Rep	John McCain	47	44	52	72	6.5	2.8	6.2	10.1
	Won	Dem	Barack Obama	53	59	55	65	7.7	5.2	7.1	8.2
2004	Lost	Dem	John F. Kerry	48	52	46	58	6.6	4.1	4.7	6.2
	Won	Rep	George W. Bush	63	42	49	40	10.0	2.6	5.6	.8
2000	Lost	Dem	Albert Gore, Jr.	54	45	50	49	7.8	3.1	5.7	3.6
	Won	Rep	George W. Bush	67	63	52	50	11.0	5.9	6.1	3.9
1996	Lost	Rep	Robert Dole	39	42	33	41	4.5	2.6	1.4	1.2
	Won	Dem	William J. Clinton	54	44	44	45	7.9	2.9	4.3	2.4
1992	Lost	Rep	George Bush	61	59	33	58	9.5	5.2	1.5	6.2
	Won	Dem	William J. Clinton	48	78	62	61	6.5	8.1	8.8	7.0
1988	Lost	Dem	Michael Dukakis	52	54	70	50	7.5	4.4	10.6	3.8
	Won	Rep	George Bush	68	44	30	58	11.1	2.9	.7	6.0
1984	Lost	Dem	Walter F. Mondale	32	41	62	57	2.9	2.5	8.7	5.8
	Won	Rep	Ronald Reagan	46	39	46	53	6.1	2.2	4.7	4.7
1980	Lost	Dem	Jimmy Carter	41	39	47	40	4.9	2.1	4.9	.9
	Won	Rep	Ronald Reagan	50	49	53	40	7.1	3.7	6.5	.9
1976	Lost	Rep	Gerald R. Ford	42	52	58	43	5.2	4.2	7.6	1.7
	Won	Dem	Jimmy Carter	48	52	49	37	6.5	4.1	5.5	.0
1972	Lost	Dem	George McGovern	33	41	52	43	3.1	2.4	6.3	1.7
	Won	Rep	Richard Nixon	54	62	57	39	8.0	5.7	7.6	.7

Table 2 presents the correlations between *n* Power, AI, *n* Achievement and *n* Affiliation. Overall, *n* Power was negatively correlated with *n* Achievement and positively correlated with *n* Affiliation. These findings are consistent with previous research (McClelland, 1975; McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982).

Table 2
Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Standard Scores on n Power, AI, n Affiliation and n Achievement, N=20

Variables	*M*	*SD*	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*
1. *n* Power	50	10	__	.13	.33	-.29
2. AI	50	10	.13	__	.23	.02
3. *n* Affiliation	50	10	.33	.23	__	.35
4. *n* Achievement	50	10	-.29	.02	.35	__

For the first hypothesis, 3 out of 10 candidates that possessed the LMP won the general elections (Ronald Reagan in 1984, George Bush in 1988 and George W. Bush in 2000). This proportion is not statistically significant, $X^2(1, N=10)=3.2$, $p=.074$. In total, 6 out of 20 candidates assessed possessed the LMP. Binomial test results revealed that this distribution is not significant, $p=.11$.

The second hypothesis stating that nominees higher in *n* Power are more likely to win the general elections is supported. The candidates with higher power motivation won 9 out of 10 elections. This proportion is statistically significantly different, $X^2(1, N=10)=6.4$, $p=.01$, $\phi=.8$. Based on Cohen's (1969) conventions, the effect size of *n* Power on election outcomes is "large."

The third hypothesis claiming that nominees higher in AI are more likely to win the general elections is not supported. The number of candidates higher in AI that won is equivalent to the number of candidates lower in AI that won, $X^2(1, N=10)=0$, $p=.0$, $\phi=.0$, $\beta=.32$. ϕ^2 indicates that AI has no effect on election outcomes. The probability of

retaining a false null hypothesis for AI (Type II error) is 32%.

The fourth hypothesis stating that nominees lower in *n* Achievement are more likely to win the elections is not supported. Results for this variable are in the opposite direction of the hypothesis, because presidential nominees higher than their opponents in *n* Achievement won 7 out of 10 elections. This proportion, however, is not statistically significant, $X^2(1, N=10)=1.4$, $p=.21$, $\phi=.37$, $\beta=.52$. The probability of retaining a false null hypothesis for *n* Achievement (Type II error) is 52%.

The final hypothesis stating that nominees lower in *n* Affiliation are more likely to win the elections is not supported. The chi-square test results are not significant for *n* Affiliation, $X^2(1, N=10)=.4$, $p=.53$, $\phi=.2$, $\beta=.39$. The candidates higher in *n* Affiliation won 6 out of 10 elections, which indicates that the distribution of *n* Affiliation among winners and losers is similar. The probability of making a Type II error for *n* Affiliation is 39%.

For differences in mean scores between the winning and losing group, the independent-samples *t* test is statistically significant only for *n* Power, $t(18)=2.63$, $p=.017$. The mean score for *n* Power is higher for the winning group ($M=55.12$, $SD=8.13$) than for the losing group ($M=44.87$, $SD=9.30$). The mean score for AI is higher for the losing group ($M=51.12$, $SD=10.21$) than for the winning group ($M=48.85$, $SD=10.19$), $t(18)=-0.50$, $p=.61$. Similarly, the mean score for *n* Achievement is slightly higher for the losing group ($M=50.15$, $SD=11.55$) than for the winning group ($M=49.85$, $SD=8.81$), $t(18)=-0.64$, $p=.95$. For *n* Affiliation, the winning group ($M=53.13$, $SD=12.06$) scored higher than the losing group ($M=46.86$, $SD=6.61$), $t(18)=1.44$, $p=.17$. Figure 1 presents the mean standard scores for the winning and losing group.

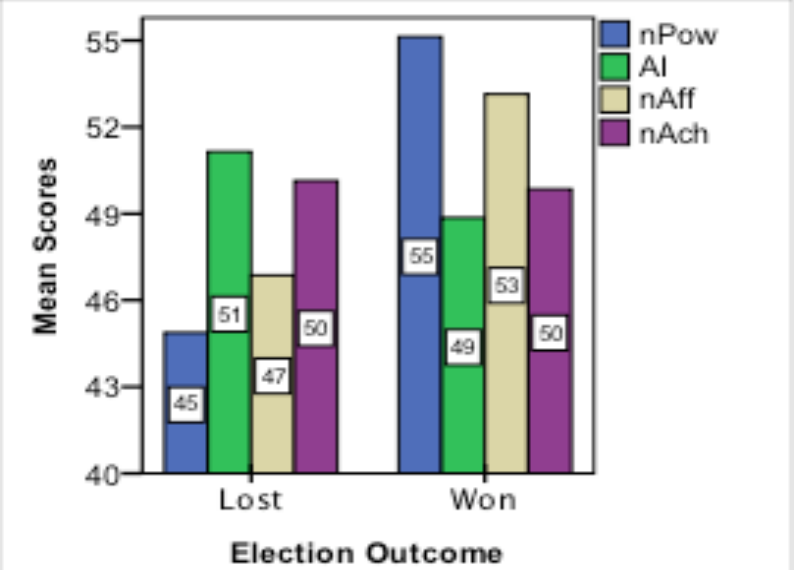

Figure 1.
Mean Scores of Nominees that Won and Lost the Elections.

For differences in mean scores between the Democratic and Republican parties, the independent-samples *t* test is not statistically significant for any of the four variables. However, Republicans scored higher in *n* Power (*M*=53.84, *SD*=10.50) than Democrats (*M*=46.16, *SD*=8.25, *t*(18)=1.82, *p*=.085. On the other hand, Democrats scored higher in *n* Achievement (*M*=53.21, *SD*=8.37) than Republicans (*M*=46.29, *SD*=10.51), *t*(18)=1.75, *p*=.098. The means for *n* Affiliation are very similar between the parties, although Democrats scored slightly higher (*M*=50.36, *SD*=11.45) than Republicans (*M*=49.36, *SD*=10.51), *t*(18)=.16, *p*=.876. Similarly, Democrats also scored higher (*M*=50.58, *SD*=9.54) than Republicans in AI (*M*=49.42, *SD*=10.92), *t*(18)=.25, *p*=.804. Figure 2 presents the mean score differences between the parties.

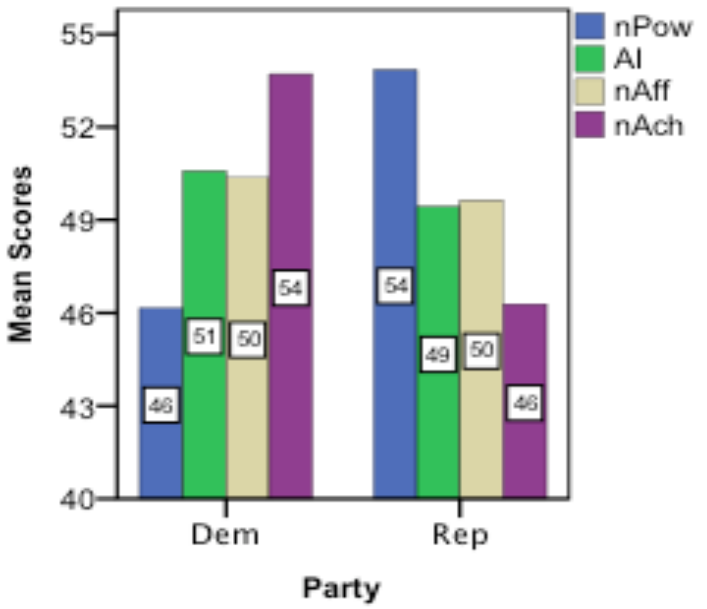

Figure 2.
Mean Scores of Democratic and Republican Candidates.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to explore the impact of American presidential nominees' motives on general election outcomes. The results revealed that *n* Power was significantly related to winning, whereas *n* Achievement and *n* Affiliation were positively but not significantly related to winning the general presidential elections from 1972 to 2008.

The study showed that the last 10 presidential candidates who exhibited higher *n* Power in their acceptance speech won 9 out of 10 elections. The only election where *n* Power failed to predict the winner was the Bush-Clinton election in 1992. Two main mechanisms can give an advantage to candidates higher in *n* Power to win more votes and, ultimately, the general elections. The first mechanism assumes that nominees higher in *n* Power can wield greater social influence and be more inspirational by affecting others on an emotional basis; hence, they are more likely to persuade more citizens to cast the vote for them. The second mechanism assumes that candidates higher in *n* Power are more likely to appear convincing, strong and decisive, which could decrease voter ambivalence, that is, voters' inability to decide where they stand (Keel & Wolak, 2008). For example, the well-known "flip-flop" term that Bush used to portray Kerry in the 2004 election caused the latter to be perceived as ambivalent on national security.

The LMP, activity inhibition, achievement and affiliation did not, by contrast, predict electoral success. Only 3 out of 10 candidates who won possessed the LMP, which suggests that the motive profiles of successful presidential candidates are different from the motive profiles of successful business and entrepreneurial leaders. Role differences can account for this finding – presidential candidates are mainly concerned with appealing to the voters and winning elections, whereas entrepreneurial leaders are concerned with organizational performance and effectiveness. Based on this finding, it appears that presidential leadership appeal and entrepreneurial effectiveness are different constructs. This conclusion is supported by the Winter (1987) study that suggests that presidential leadership appeal (i.e., getting elected) and presidential performance in the office (i.e., making great or momentous decisions and being highly rated by historians) are independent of one another. The result that LMP is not related to presidential performance is also supported by the Spangler and House (1991) study which used Winter's (1987) motive scores to measure the impact of LMP on presidential performance. The study revealed that LMP was not related to the following five measures of performance: 1) direct presidential action, an index of war entry, war avoidance and great decisions cited; 2) perceived greatness as rated by historians; 3) social performance; 4) economic performance; and 5) international relations performance.

Results indicate that all candidates, including Carter, based on his 1977 AI score, were concerned with the moral exercise of power (AI); however, the degree of activity inhibition was not related to election outcomes (winning or losing). Insignificant results for activity inhibition may be a result of how the variable was measured. In this study AI was measured by counting the number of "n't," whereas in the McClelland study (1975)

AI was represented by the number of times the word "not" appeared in stories, "usually as a way of blocking an action" (p. 285). None of the speeches contained the word "not" but all, with the exception of Carter's speech in 1976, contained the phrase "n't." Therefore, it is possible that the measure of activity inhibition used in this study is not in fact the same measure of activity inhibition as defined by McClelland (1975).

The insignificant results for *n* Affiliation and *n* Achievement can be attributed to conflicting effects that these variables are likely to have on the factors influencing voting behavior and election outcomes. On one hand, high need for affiliation can have a negative impact on campaign effectiveness. On the other hand, positive, pro-social behaviors and attitudes (i.e., affection) expressed by candidates with high *n* Affiliation can result in candidates being liked by voters. For example, previous research has shown that people with higher *n* Affiliation spend more of their time interacting with others and are able to learn social networks more quickly than those with lower *n* Affiliation (McClelland, 1975, 1987). In social interactions those high in *n* Affiliation appear to be predisposed to be sympathetic and accommodating toward others (McClelland, 1975, 1987). A study by Sorrentino and Field (1986, p. 1096) found that leaders with a high need for affiliation are more likely to create the "we feeling," which can be an important motivator to mobilize voters and encourage grassroot movements. Therefore, the need of nominees to show affection and be sympathetic to the needs of voters can lead to positive voter evaluation, which in turn might account for the positive but not significant relationship between *n* Affiliation and electoral success.

Similarly, the assumed negative impact of candidates' high *n* Achievement on campaign effectiveness can be diffused by the positive impact of *n* Achievement on voters' perceptions about candidates' competence. Nominees with high *n* Achievement engage in image building to create an impression of competence leading them to be perceived as more capable of solving national economic problems (McClelland, 1975). Reviewing a series of surprising findings, Kinder and Kiewiet (1979) suggested that voting behavior is affected far more by perceptions of national economic conditions than by personal economic conditions (i.e., unemployment). The link between economic conditions and voting behavior is strongly mediated by judgments about the competence to effectively manage economic issues (Kinder & Kiewiet, 1979). Therefore, the level of competence that candidates higher in *n* Achievement exhibit during the campaign by focusing on growth, innovation or accomplishment can account for the positive but non-significant association between *n* Achievement and electoral success.

Limitations of the Present Study

Besides the strength of being the first study to assess the motives of presidential nominees that both won and lost, the current study also has several limitations and the results should be viewed with caution.

First, although the total sample size of elections (N=10) is the same as the one used in Zullow and Seligman's (1990) first study, the available sample size is still relatively small. The small sample size is due to the considerable amount of work involved in coding the speeches. The power analysis indicated that the study had a 68%, 48% and 61% chance of detecting effects of activity inhibition, achievement, and affiliation, respectively. Cohen (1962) recommended a power of .80 or greater as

criterion for adequate sensitivity, which, assuming a 'low,' 'medium' or 'high' effect size for each variable, would have required a sample size of 785, 88, or 32 elections, respectively. Therefore, another explanation for the insignificant results for LMP, activity inhibition, achievement and affiliation might be that they are due to the low statistical power of the study.

Second, the standard scores in Table 1 show that motives of incumbents change to some extent within a four-year period, that is, from one election to another. Moreover, previous research has shown that motives can change even within a few months. For example, Winter (1987) showed a discrepancy between Clinton's (1992) pre-election scores and his first inauguration scores. These two findings indicate that motives exhibited during the first election campaign might differ from motives demonstrated after the campaign or during the second election campaign. This conclusion limits the generalizability of the current findings to predict how the current president or future presidents might behave after the campaign. The change of scores can also reflect issues with the reliability of the coding system.

The third limitation is related to the fact that the entire text was scored for each nomination speech. The issue with this approach is that longer speeches often had long stories consisting of very few motives. Controlling for the number of words yielded the same results, but a more efficient and practical approach might have been to randomly select blocks of text consisting of a specific number of words (i.e., 500 words), as McClelland (1975) recommended.

The final limitation is that only one coder assessed the motives. In several instances, coding the motives was difficult; hence, using more than one coder in future research could result in a more reliable assessment.

Conclusion and Future Prospects

This study has shown that power motivation, as reflected in nomination acceptance speeches, predicts election outcomes. The behavioral manifestation of the power motive is influencing others and it can also be measured by the *influence competency* of the Emotional and Social Competence Inventory (Boyatzis, 2007). Research has shown that Emotional Intelligence competencies such as *influence* can be developed; therefore, it is possible that training could increase or enhance nominees' influencing skills to better position them for the November elections. Political parties could also use this method to assess which candidates are more likely to win.

The study also provides an agenda for future research into motives and election outcomes. For example, assessment of ideal presidential motive patterns during challenging and prosperous economic times could reveal different ideal profile patterns for each condition. Finally, the finding that affiliation, achievement and AI are not related to electoral success should not be abandoned. Rather, future studies should test these findings further using a larger sample size.

REFERENCES

Boyatzis, R. (2007). *The creation of the Emotional and Social Competency Inventory*. Hay Group: Boston.

Cohen, J. (1962). The statistical power of abnormal-social psychological research: A review. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 65,* 145-153.

Goethals, G. R. (2005). Presidential leadership. *Annual Review of Psychology, 56,* 545-570.

Green, S. B. & Salkind, N. J. (2007). *Using SPSS for Windows and Macintosh: Analyzing and understanding data (5th ed.).* Prentice Hall: NJ.

Hermann, M. G. (1980). Explaining foreign policy behavior using personal characteristics of political leaders. *International Studies Quarterly, 24,* 7-46.

House, R. J., Spangler, W. D., & Woycke, J. (1991). Personality and charisma in the U.S. presidency: A psychological theory of leader effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 36,* 364-396.

Keele, L. & Wolak, J. (2008). Contextual sources of ambivalence. *Political Psychology, 29(5),* 653-672.

Kinder, D. R. & Kiewiet, R. D. (1979). The role of personal grievances and collective economic judgments in congressional voting, *American Journal of Political Science, 23(3)*, 495-527.

Langner, C. & Winter, D. G. (2001). The motivational basis of compromise and concessions: Archival and experimental studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81,* 711-727.

Marti, M., Gil, F., & Barrasa, A. (2009). Organizational leadership: Motives and behaviors of leaders in current organizations. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 12(1),* 267-274.

McClelland, D. C. (1961). *The achieving society.* Princeton, NJ: D. van Nostrand.

McClelland, D. C. (1975). *Power: The inner experience.* New York: Irvington.

McClelland, D. C. (1987). *Human motivation.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

McClelland, D. C. & Boyatzis, R. E. (1982). Leadership motive pattern and long-term success in management. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 67,* 737-743.

McClelland, D. C. & Burnham, D. (1976). Power is the great motivator. *Harvard Business Review, 54,* 100–110.

McClelland, D. C., Davis, W. N., Kalin, R., & Wanner, E. (1972). *The drinking man.* New York: Free Press.

McClelland, D. C., Koestner, R., & Weinberger, J. (1989). How do self-attributed and implicit motives differ? *Psychological Review, 96,* 690-702.

Pillai, R., Williams, E. A., Lowe, K. B., & Jung, D. I. (2003). Personality, transformational leadership, trust, and the 2000 US presidential vote. *Leadership Quarterly, 14,* 161-192.

Sorrentino, R. M. & Field, N. (1986). Emergent leadership over time: The functional value of positive motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50(6),* 1091-1099.

Spangler, W. D. & House, R. J. (1991). Presidential effectiveness and the leadership motive profile. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60(3),* 439-455.

Winter, D. G. (1973). *The power motive.* New York: Free Press.

Winter, D. G. (1980). An exploratory study of the motives of Southern African political leaders measured at a distance. *Political Psychology, 2,* 75-85.

Winter, D. G. (1987). Leader appeal, leader performance, and the motive profiles of leaders and followers: A study of American presidents and elections. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 52,* 196-202.

Winter, D. G. (1988). The power motive in women and men. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54,* 510-519.

Winter, D. G. (1991). A motivational model of leadership: Predicting long-term management success from TAT measures of power motivation and responsibility. *The Leadership Quarterly, 2,* 67-80.

Winter, D. G. (1994). *Manual for scoring motive imagery in running text.* University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, MI, USA.

Winter, D. G. (1998). A motivational analysis of the Clinton first term and the 1996 presidential campaign. *Leadership Quarterly, 9(3),* 367-376.

Winter, D. G. (2007). The role of motivation, responsibility, and integrative complexity in crisis escalation: Comparative studies of war and peace crises. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92(5),* 920-937.

Winter, D. G. & Barenbaum, B. B. (1985). Responsibility and the power motive in women and men. *Journal of Personality, 53,* 335-355.

Zullow, H. M. & Seligman, M. E. P. (1990). Pessimistic rumination predicts defeat of presidential candidates, 1900-1984. *Psychological Inquiry, 1(1),* 52-61.