FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FORMATION OF THE POWER
MOTIVE AND SEX DIFFERENCES IN MOTIVE EXPRESSION

by

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ABSTRACT

This investigation was designed to investigate some aspects of the dynamics of power motivation. An analysis was made of possible factors influencing the early formation of this motive in individuals, and of sex differences in the nature of fantasy responses which reflect the degree or strength of power motivation. Power motivation was here conceived to be a latent predisposition of a person to act in such a way as to gain control of the means of influencing and manipulating other person(s).

Concerning the formation of motives, it was hypothesized that subjects with a strong power motive would be those with an older sibling more often than subjects low in power motivation; that they would come from larger families; that they would have siblings closer in age; and that ordinal position, in relation to family size and spacing, would be related to strength of power motivation. It was further hypothesized that subjects high in power motivation would identify with their dominant parent, that is, they would tend to perceive themselves as like the dominant parent and as closer to the dominant parent as a child, more often than would low power subjects. It was also predicted that high power subjects would identify with their father more often than low power subjects, and that there would be a relationship between sex of the dominant parent and the strength of a subject's power
motivation.

Concerning sex differences in the expression of power motivation, it was predicted that the fantasy responses of women would contain more statements of an emotional nature, more expressions of obstacles to their goal-seeking, and more frequent reference to failure experience than would the imagery of males.

The method employed was similar to that devised by McClelland et al (1953) for the measurement of achievement and affiliation motives. Following an arousal task designed to activate the power motive, four pictures similar to those of the Thematic Apperception Test were projected on a screen. Subjects were required to write a short story in response to each stimulus picture. The subjects were 238 psychology students of whom 167 were males and 71 females. Their protocols, written in response to the pictures, were scored according to the scoring conventions for need power established by Veroff (1958). On the basis of these scores, subjects were divided into low and high need power groups. Attest and chi square tests of association were applied to the data.

The results indicated that ordinal position, in relation to family size and spacing, is related to strength of power motivation at the five percent level of significance. None of the remaining hypotheses concerning the formation of motives were confirmed. The hypothesis concerning sex differences in the expression of power motivation was not confirmed.
It was concluded that the fantasy measure of power motivation does isolate a variable for study, although evidence that fantasy may measure frustration of a need rather than strength of need limits the validity of interpretations based on fantasy material. The results of this investigation indicate that family structure is an important variable in the development of the power motive, and possibly other personality characteristics as well.
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CHAPTER I

Introduction and Statement of the Problem

This investigation was an attempt to reveal some aspects of the dynamics of power motivation. An analysis was made of possible factors influencing the early formation of this motive in individuals, and of sex differences in the nature of fantasy responses which reflect the degree or strength of the power motive. Power motivation was here conceived to be a latent predisposition of a person to act in such a way as to gain control of the means of influencing and manipulating other person(s). The person characterized by high power motivation will direct primary concern toward attaining or maintaining this control.

The measuring instrument used in this research was that developed by Veroff (1958). It is identical in structure to the methods used in the measurement of achievement and affiliation developed by McClelland et al (1953). This method involves the use of fantasy pictures similar to those used in the Thematic Apperception Test as a device to measure motives. In contrast with the achievement and affiliation motives, little research has been done on power. One of the aims of the present research was to further establish the usefulness of this measure of power motivation.

The manner in which an individual expresses power need
through fantasy will be influenced by two broad variables. The subject's perception of an ambiguous, fantasy-evoking situation will in part be determined by the socialization processes which he has experienced, and by his personality characteristics. There is considerable evidence that early socialization is crucial to adult motive formation (McClelland, 1951). It is widely-accepted that the fundamental motives guiding the life style of the individual are formed in early childhood. At the early developmental levels, rewards and punishments are mediated primarily through the parents, and, if they are present, other siblings. The nature of these relationships should have a profound influence on the motive structure of the child. The birth of a sibling may jeopardize security in an older child. Or the presence of an older sibling may thwart a young child's pleasure-seeking. The age spacing between the siblings may be of some importance. A sibling who is close in age may be viewed as a greater rival than a more distant brother or sister. In addition, the parent-child identification patterns may influence the formation of motives. The means which a child uses to effect identifications, and the qualities of the parent with whom he identifies will serve to shape his developing personality.

The following hypotheses were made concerning factors influencing the formation of the power motive. The research findings of Veroff (1958) suggested the possibility of a relationship between the formation of power motivation and family structure. On this basis a relationship between ordinal
placement and the strength of power motivation was predicted. An individual with a high need power score was expected to have at least one older sibling more often than low power scorers. High need power scorers were expected to come from large families significantly more often. They were expected to have siblings close in age more often than low power scorers. A relationship between these three variables, ordinal position, family size and spacing, was postulated. Subjects from families of three children or more with older siblings who are close in age were expected to show more evidence of power motivation than subjects whose family structure differs from this. A possible relationship between power scores and age and number of younger siblings was also investigated though no predictions were made.

A relationship between patterns of parental identification and the strength of power motivation was also predicted. High need power individuals were expected to identify with their mother. Measures designed to elicit information on two aspects of identification were used. It was expected that high need power subjects would perceive themselves to be most like their father, and in addition, that they would be most involved with their father. A further measure was designed to query which is the dominant parent in the home. Regardless of the sex of the parent, it was predicted that high need power people would identify with the dominant parent more often than low power people. The possibility of a relationship between strength of power motivation and the sex of the
subject's dominant parent was also investigated, though no predictions were made as to which parent would tend to be dominant for low and high power subjects.

The socialization process differs for men and women. This may result in differences in motive structure along sex lines. The area of power concern is one in which conflict in the female can be expected. Many of the roles ascribed to women mitigate against the overt expression of influence activity. In women characterized by a high power need, self-role conflicts may develop.

The following hypotheses were made concerning sex differences in the expression of power motivation. Because strong influence or manipulative activity outside here relatively restricted sphere of influence is negatively valued in our society, it was predicted that women will tend to anticipate more failure and frustration in the expression of power motivation than will men. It was expected that the fantasy responses of women would contain more imagery involving failure to reach goals and obstacles to their goal attainment. It was further suggested that female responses would contain more affective imagery since they may be more inclined than men to control their world through affective relationships (Bennett and Cohen, 1959) and since, because they are presumably in a conflict situation, their affective arousal would be greater. In a study employing the method used in this research, Veroff (1958) found little imagery involving affective states and obstacles. However, his subjects were
all males, and if the predictions concerning female responses
to fantasy were found to be significant, his findings may be
attributable to sex differences.

The following hypotheses were made.

Sibling Order

1. High need power subjects will tend to have an older
   sibling more often than will low power subjects.
2. High need power subjects will come from larger
   families than will low power subjects.
3. High need power subjects will have siblings closer
   in age than will low power subjects.
4. Ordinal position, in relation to family size and
   spacing, will be related to strength of power motiva-
   tion.

Identification

1. High need power subjects will perceive themselves
   as like their father more often than low power subjects.
2. High need power subjects will perceive themselves as
   similar to their dominant parent more often than low
   power subjects.
3. High need power subjects will tend to be more involved
   with their father than with their mother.
4. High need power subjects will tend to be more involved
   with their dominant parent than will low need power
   subjects.
5. There will be a relationship between the sex of the
   dominant parent and the strength of the subjects' power motivation.
Sex Differences

1. Female imagery will contain more statements of affect, more obstacles and more failure experiences than will the imagery of males.
CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

The Power Motive

Theories of Power. The phenomenon of power striving has received considerable attention in the theories of Adler (1927) and Sullivan (1947). Both agree that power striving develops out of the frustrations of early infancy and that it functions to impel development in certain directions. Adlerian man's profound inferiority feelings lead him to seek power over his environment. Power is symbolized by the father, so the child's attempts at ascendancy will usually result in emulation of or identification with the father. Power and masculinity appear to be equated. For women, Adler claimed the result is an almost universal dissatisfaction with their role. Their psychic life is pervaded by strong feelings of inferiority because of their situation in a man's world. Because their sense of inferiority is so much more intense, presumably their power strivings may be correspondingly stronger and more unremitting than the males'.

Sullivan's conception of power is considerably more refined. Underlying the manifestation of man's biological needs is a 'power motive' which impels the individual to seek both biological satisfactions and security. The 'self' is formed in the process of discovering how to obtain power or
success in interpersonal relations. Mullahy (1948) makes the following observation.

Sullivan has not yet adequately distinguished between power as ability, which goes with respect for oneself and others and the achievement of satisfactions and security; and power in the sense of gaining domination and control over others (p.334).

In this research the power motive was conceived of as a need to control the means of influencing others. The interpersonal aspects of this concept are obvious. This concept is more restricted than Sullivan's. However, his theory may help clarify the functioning of the power motive. For Sullivan, the development of the motive would seem to be far more dependent upon the relationship of the child with the significant members of his environment than with any feelings of inferiority based on sex.

Also of theoretical interest is Horney's (1937) conception of power. A child's struggle for relative control in competitive situations is condoned and fostered in our culture. In the primary family group this struggle may be more intense if there are other siblings with whom one must compete. This suggests the possible influence of family structure on the formation of the power motive.

It should be noted that these theoretical conceptions of power are much broader than the conception of power employed in the present research. Power motivation is here conceived closely approximates and was inspired by Murray's (1938) description of need dominance.
Research on Power Motivation. Though much has been done on the group dynamics of power relationships, very little research has been carried out on the dynamics of power motivation in individuals. We do not know why some people rather than others have a strong need to influence or control. Nor do we know if people with a strong need for power actually seek to express it, or, if they do, whether they are more or less successful in their influence attempts than those less strongly motivated. Maslow (1939) suggests that dominance feeling does not necessarily issue in dominance behavior. He does indicate that people with relatively high dominance feeling make the best leaders, and are often selected to be leaders. Maslow's concept of dominance includes much more, however, than the relatively restricted definition of power employed here.

By providing a method for the measurement of power motivation in individuals Veroff (1958) has opened up this area for study. He conceives of the power motive as follows.

... that disposition directing behavior toward satisfactions contingent upon the control of the means of influencing another person(s). In the phenomenal sphere of the power-motivated individual, he considers himself the 'gatekeeper' to certain decision making of others. The means of control can be anything at all that can be used to manipulate another person. Overt dominance strivings can be considered one kind of control execution. The definition of the power motive offered here, however, is meant to include more than dominance (p.105).

In developing his measure Veroff obtained from two groups written stories in response to pictures. For one group it was assumed that power motivation was aroused. This group consisted
of 34 male candidates for student office who had congregated to await the official results of the election. Because the candidates were presumably extremely concerned about control of the means of influence i.e., being elected to office, the situation was thought to meet the requirements for arousal of the motive as it was defined. For the second group it was assumed that power concern was not specifically activated. A scoring system isolating the kinds of imagery presumably reflecting power motivation was then applied to the two sets of stories. It was found, as was expected, that the stories from the aroused group contained more power imagery than those from the non-aroused group. Unexpected, however, was the finding that there was little imagery involving affective states and obstacles. As a possible explanation Veroff suggested that the power motive does not permit the arousal of associated affective thoughts. The repression of affect surrounding the power area may result from cultural taboos against the overt and obvious expression of this motive, especially the expression of overt satisfactions derived from power behavior. An alternative explanation is that the particular picture used did not provide cues to the kind of thinking that would reflect an affective component.

The validity of this measure rests first on the differences obtained between the two groups and secondly on its correlation with other behaviors presumably related to the satisfaction of power motivation. High need power scorers as compared with low need power scorers tended to have lower scores on the Social Value dimension of the Allport-Vernon Scale of Values. They
showed significantly stronger interest in the job satisfaction of being leader. They were rated significantly higher by their classroom instructors on the frequency of argumentation and the frequency of trying to convince others of their points of view. Finally, they rated the job satisfaction of obtaining recognition from their fellows significantly higher. Veroff (1958) made this observation.

That the measure reflects not only the group differences in assumed motivation level but also individual differences in variables related to aspects of power concern as defined is a fact suggesting that the instrument can be used with success in researches in which such a measure of motivation would be needed (p.115).

He went on to state the following conclusion.

The results indicate that the projective measure of power motivation developed here not only can successfully isolate the presumed differential level of motivation in groups but also can successfully predict attitudes and overt behavior which are presumably related to the processes involved in power motivation (p.116).

The Formation of Motives

Some Theoretical Considerations. In connection with her research into the relation between need achievement and learning experiences in independence and mastery Winterbottom (1958) made the following observation.

Research into the origins of motives revealed in fantasy has been directed towards at least two kinds of determinants. One direction has been toward a psychoanalytic understanding of the experiences of the person in relation to perceptions of his body as sources of motivation and conceptualization. Another direction has been towards the investigation of environmental factors and has stressed the motivational
and conceptual development engendered by experiences with parents, siblings, and the external world in general (p. 453).

In both cases the primacy of early experiences in the formation of relatively enduring, persistent and stable motive structures is recognized. McClelland (1958) offers a compelling rationale for the importance of early socialization experiences in the formation of motives. If it is accepted that affective arousal is somehow at the root of motivational associations, the great affective intensity of early childhood experience will result in the formation of strong, generalized motives. Affective states are both more intense and more diffuse at the earlier developmental levels than at the later. The motives which evolve will be extremely difficult to extinguish. As symbolic, cortical control develops the affective component and involvement of the autonomic nervous system apparently becomes less. This suggests that motives become progressively harder to form with age. Interpersonal experiences of the critical early period will have an enormous influence on the developing personality of the child.

Sibling Order. Rosen (1961) investigated the relationship between family structure and achievement motivation. He found that in small middle class families the effect of ordinal position seems to be relatively unimportant. The oldest and youngest children in a two-child family have almost identical need achievement scores. However, as family size increases the scores of the oldest child in a middle class family become
higher than those of the youngest child. He found this pattern changed with social class. He concluded that it is dangerous to speak of a relationship between birth order and need achievement without taking into account the influence of family size and social class. This caution was observed in the present research.

Veroff (1958) hypothesized that power motivation would be positively associated with the number of siblings in a subject's family. He further predicted a relation between birth order and strength of power motivation. He reasoned that power satisfactions are perhaps derived from experiences in which manipulatory behaviors are in evidence. One would expect that the high power motivated individuals would come from larger families where this type of experience is more likely to occur. Also, competition among siblings for the exclusive possession of a loved parent is likely to develop power related needs. However, Veroff's prediction that high need power subjects would come from large families was not substantiated. He suggested that this finding indicates that any relationship between the power motive and family structure depends on more complex considerations than simply the number of family members. When the distribution of power scores was divided into thirds (low, medium, and high) a trend was uncovered. High power scorers tended to have at least one older sibling more often than low power scorers (p.15).

Parental Identification. Identification is the key concept in psychoanalytic explanations of socialization. According to psychoanalytic theory the boy identifies with
his father and the girl with her mother. These patterns emerge through the Oedipus conflict situation when object choices have to be renounced. Identification involves the assimilation of the qualities of another to oneself. We may question the existence of identification patterns along same-sex lines. Adler (1927) seems to suggest that children will automatically identify with the father because he is seen as the power figure in the family. In any case, the parent with whom the child identifies embodies the qualities which the child wishes to have. If the child identifies with the dominant parent in the home, then possibly strong power needs will be induced in the child, regardless of the sex of the parent or the child.

Bieri and Lobeck (1959) have investigated the relationship of sex differences in authority acceptance and identification patterns. They found no significant sex differences in overall authority acceptance, but did uncover related trends in parental identification patterns. This seems to indicate that such patterns may be related to certain personality variables.

Sex Differences

Social Role. Sex differences are a result of constitutional, social and personality determinants which interact in a complex manner to produce the very obvious behavioral differences of men and women.

Pertinent to the present research is the evidence of
conflict in the adult female role. The degree of adjustment to roles which society assigns to its age-sex categories varies directly with the clarity with which such roles are defined. Role conflicts are likely to follow from ambiguous role expectations. There is evidence that the adult married female role is unclear to the average university girl (Rose, 1951). There is also evidence that the female role with which she is presently occupied is ambiguous. The presence of outmoded role models further increases the difficulty in developing a valid conception of her role. Situations which have not yet been defined and incompatible definitions of the same social situation add to the confusion. A study of women university students by Komarovsky (1946) indicates that they commonly face mutually exclusive expectations in their adult sex roles. They are confronted with vagueness and inconsistencies in the expectations of their parents and male friends. The particular conflict situation of the female university student involves two roles. The typically 'feminine role' embodies the older and still operant concepts of femininity, such as, submissiveness, charm, deference, and so on. The more 'modern role' partially obliterates differentiation between the sexes and emphasizes achievement. Both role expectations are present in the social environment and most girls vacillate between the two. It would seem difficult to whole-heartedly embrace one role rather than the other.

It seems reasonable to expect that role conflicts would
be manifested in the area of power concern. To a certain extent dominance behavior is fostered in both men and women in our culture. However, for both sexes, intense concern over control of the means of influence is unacceptable. A woman with a strong need power has the additional handicap of competing role definitions. Overt power behavior may conflict with other expected behavioral patterns, the fulfilment of which is necessary for certain kinds of gratification. The role conflict between acceptance of the 'feminine role' or the 'modern role', to use Komarovsky's terms, may be operative in the area of power concern. Maslow (1939) has suggested that the inhibitory control by cultural pressures is far greater and more effective for dominance behavior than it is for dominance feeling. Women with a high need power do not necessarily manifest it in behavior. Possibly the dynamics of this need may be more clearly revealed through fantasy.

Motivation. Studies on sex differences in personality stress the differential nature of the socialization process and tend largely to attribute personality differences to this factor rather than to constitutional factors (although psychoanalytic theory would not agree with this emphasis). Of particular interest is an investigation by Lindzey and Goldberg (1953) on motivational differences between males and females as measured by the TAT. They found that the TAT did differentiate between the sexes on a number of personality variables (females have a stronger need for abasement and are more
nurturant). In a later, similar study Linzey and Silverman (1959) scored stories for affiliation, achievement, and power imagery according to the method of Atkinson et al (1958). No significant differences were found for achievement or affiliation but women showed significantly more power imagery.

Observation of higher dominance scores for females produces all kinds of bewilderment. It fits neither with previous findings, nor with common sense. In earlier investigations, the author found college women significantly higher than males on abasement scores, a result which is seemingly inconsistent with the findings of high power motives (p.320).

A possible explanation of this seeming discrepancy could be that abasement scores reflect one aspect of the female role, whereas power scores reflect another, possibly conflicting, aspect. Lindzey used 40 subjects of each sex. It may be questioned as to whether his sample was sufficiently large.

Fantasy as a Measure of Motivation

The use of fantasy in the measurement of motives has certain advantages over the older methods involving self-description or ratings by others. Fantasy is readily influenced by induced motivational states and is sensitive to differences in intensity of motive strength. Also, the responses of the subjects are not contaminated by an awareness of the variables under study. Fantasy material further lends itself most readily to analysis in motivational terms. The simplest measure we can obtain of the power motive is to observe the frequency with which an individual thinks about power as measured through imaginative productions.
Fantasy productions reveal personality but the relationship between such revelations and overt behavior is rather obscure. What is strong in imagination is not necessarily strong in an individual's manifest personality. Do differences in strength of power motivation as measured by fantasy discriminate between individuals at an overt level?

Positive relationships between fantasy measures of power, achievement and affiliation, and indices of the same motives derived from overt behavior have been reported. Such results support the view that motives may be concurrently reflected in both fantasy and overt behavior. Recently, however, the validity of this formulation has been questioned. Broverman et al (1960) found evidence suggesting that fantasy might serve as an alternative or substitute channel for the expression of achievement motivation when this motive is blocked from behavior expression in real life. Lazarus et al (1957) had previously found that achievement fantasy decreased with age and education. On the basis of their subsequent results these findings were interpreted by Broverman et al as follows.

The higher achievement fantasy in younger, less well educated subjects was attributed to their inability to express achievement needs in behavior, while the older individuals were seen as more able to express such needs, with a concomitant reduction of fantasy about achievement (p.374).

Such an interpretation is consonant with a psychoanalytic view of fantasy as the expression of ungratified needs or wish fulfilment. In this way fantasy may function as an outlet for
socially unacceptable motives and frustrated power strivings. The research of Feshbach (1958) indicates that fantasy behavior may be drive-reducing. Hence, in a fantasy-evoking situation, the person characterized by motive frustration may be expected to express this motive. Lindzey and Goldberg (1953) have also suggested that covert or imaginative expression of a motive will only occur under conditions where the individual is not permitted full overt gratification. Fantasy may yield a measure of need frustration rather than need strength.

However, evidence linking measures of motive strength obtained through fantasy and overt behavioral criteria of the motive must be accounted for before the thesis that fantasy measures need frustration may be fully accepted.

Summary

The power motive has long been recognized in psychoanalytic theory as one of the principal determinants of behavior with its genesis in the early socialization experiences of the child. The research of Veroff (1958) indicates that this motive can be measured. His finding that power scores were related to other overt behavioral criteria of power striving suggests that this measure does in fact assess the power motive. If the present research was to show a relationship between power scores and other external criteria, additional evidence regarding the validity of this measure would be at hand. The review of the literature supports the linking of such variables as sibling order, sex differences, and identification
patterns to personality variables. Final consideration of the existence of frustration leads us to ask whether need frustration rather than need strength is being measured.
CHAPTER III

Method

Subjects

Undergraduate psychology students were used as subjects. A total of 238 were tested in three separate sessions. The first group were 58 students from Psychology 307 of which 37 were men, and 21 women. The second and third groups were 180 Psychology 100 students of which 130 were men and 50 were women. A total of 167 men and 71 women were tested. As can be seen the total number of men is more than twice that of women. This ratio approximates the general distribution of the sexes in the university. It was not feasible to test all-female groups separately.

Measuring Instruments

Stimulus Pictures. Four stimulus pictures were used. These were part of a set of six pictures devised for power studies in Michigan (Atkinson, 1958). With the original first group of third year students five pictures were shown. However, one of the pictures evoked virtually no power imagery at all and was discarded for this reason. These pictures resemble the more highly structured pictures of the TAT and presumably much the same dynamics enter into this fantasy situation as enter into the TAT. The pictures are black and
white. Copies of them are shown in Appendix 1.

Family Structure and Identification Questionnaire. A questionnaire was included in the experimental procedure in which the students were requested to state their sex and age, the marital status of their parents, and the number, sex, and ages of their siblings. Ten questions followed of which only three are pertinent to this study. These three questions were designed to establish the patterns of parental identification and the dominance status of the parents. The remaining seven were 'dummies' used in order to make the variables less obvious to the subjects. The relevant questions are as follows.

1. Which parent do you feel you are most like at the present?
2. Which parent did you feel closer to as a child?
3. Which parent plays the greatest part in making the important decisions in your household?

The subjects could respond mother, father, or uncertain. The first two questions were suggested by the research of Bieri et al (1959) on the comparison of direct, indirect, and fantasy measures of identification. The first question was designed to reveal perceived similarity. The second question was designed to reveal degree of involvement. The third question was added in an attempt to discover which is the dominant parent in the home. The complete questionnaire is shown in Appendix 2.

Experimental Procedure

Arousal Task. Prior to the presentation of the stimulus
pictures the subjects were required to do a short arousal task. The purpose of this task was to arouse or activate the motive which is considered to be a latent predisposition. Having been aroused, the motive is presumably revealed in the subsequent fantasy situation. It was found with the first group of subjects that writing a short answer in response to a question was sufficient to elicit need power in a reasonable number of cases. The question was, 'Suppose you are placed in a position to exert a great deal of influence. How would you use this influence and to what end?'.

Presentation of Stimulus Pictures. Upon completion of the arousal task the following instructions were given.

This is a study of imaginative processes. Four pictures will be projected on the screen before you. You will have 20 seconds to look at the picture and then five minutes to make up a story about it. These four questions are asked (indicating questions written on the blackboard). They will guide your thinking and enable you to cover all the elements of a plot in the time allotted. Plan to spend about a minute on each question. Obviously, there are no right or wrong answers, so that you may feel free to make up any kind of a story about the pictures you choose. Try to make them vivid and dramatic for this is a test of creative imagination. Do not merely describe the picture you see. Tell a story about it. Work as fast as you can in order to finish it on time. Make them interesting. Are there any questions? If you need more space for any questions use the reverse side of the paper. The sheets at the end of the test booklet contain a questionnaire. Please do not look at these sheets until you have completed writing the four stories. Do not give your name.

In all three groups these instructions were given by their classroom teacher. Test booklets were distributed. Each booklet contained four blank sheets on which to write stories,
and, at the end, two questionnaire sheets. The instruction not to look at the questionnaire was given in order to prevent the interference of predominantly affiliative themes with the set presumably created by the arousal situation. The slides were exposed for twenty seconds and the subjects were allowed approximately five minutes in which to write their stories. According to Lindzey and Silverman (1959) these are optimal conditions. They did find, however, that female subjects tended to show more of a given variable when presented with individual cards rather than projected slides. However, this was not feasible in the present study in view of the large number of subjects. The four questions mentioned in the instructions were the following.

1. What is happening?
2. What has led up to this situation? That is, what has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

Family Structure and Identification Questionnaire. Upon completion of the last story the subjects were asked to complete the questionnaire. They were advised once again that the entire proceedings were anonymous. Approximately eight minutes were allowed for this task, upon completion of which the test booklets were handed in.
Treatment of the Data

Scoring System. The protocols were first analyzed for the presence of power related imagery. Veroff (1958) made this statement.

There has to be some reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of one of the characters in a story which indicates that the character is concerned with the control of the means of influencing a person (p.220).

There are three criteria of power imagery. The first criterion concerns statements of affect surrounding the maintenance or attainment of the control of the means of influencing a person. The second involves statements about someone actually doing something about maintaining or attaining the control of the means of influencing another person. The final criteria applies to statements of an interpersonal relationship which in its execution is culturally defined as one in which there is a superior person having control of the means of influencing another who is subordinate. Once it is established that a story satisfies any one of these criteria the subcategory system of scoring follows. A description of the subcategories follows.

*Need* is scored if in the story there is an explicit statement of someone wanting to attain or maintain control of the means of influence.

*Instrumental Activity* is scored if there is a statement about someone in the story doing something to control the means of influence.

*Goal Anticipation* is scored if there are statements of a character thinking about the goal, or about whether
or not he will be successful in reaching the goal. Blocks in the Person or in the World are scored if there are instances of disruption to ongoing behavior which is directed toward attaining or maintaining control of the means of influence. If the obstacle lies in some weakness or difficulty of the person concerned with power then it is scored block person. If the obstacle lies outside the person the story is scored block world. Affective States are scored if there are affective responses made in connection with either having reached or not reached the goal. Thema is scored when the behavioral sequence of the power concern is the central plot of the story. The strength of power motivation is estimated by tallying the number of categories in which the scoring criteria are fulfilled. The scoring of instrumental activity, goal anticipation, and affective states may be either positive or negative. The maximal score possible is 10. If power imagery is not present, the story is scored unrelated imagery or zero power.

Scorer Reliability. Atkinson (1958) provides practice materials for learning how to score need power. These materials consist of seven sets of 30 stories each. For each set the scorer checks his scoring with that of an expert. The first index of agreement is the percentage agreement between the scorer and the expert on the presence of motive-related imagery.
The scoring of the Imagery category is the single most important scoring decision to be made; other categories can only be scored if motive-related imagery is present. The second index of agreement is rank order correlations (rho). This is used because the subjects were placed, on the basis of a median break in the distribution of total scores, into low and high need power groups. A reliable ordering of individuals is therefore essential. Two judges participated in the present research. On the practice materials with familiar pictures their combined mean reliability score was .81. This score may be compared with scores obtained by Feld and Smith (1958) who found a mean correlation of .78 for their sample of power scorers. When their scorers were given novel pictures their reliability fell to .69. The combined mean reliability of the judges in the present research when presented with novel pictures was .84. Feld and Smith considered the reliabilities which they achieved to be acceptable for research purposes. They studied the scoring of achievement and affiliation in addition to power and obtained higher reliabilities on the former two. However, they noted that the scoring system for need power is the most recently developed of the three and has had the least refinement through use in research. With all three motives, scoring reliabilities in the .80s is advisable. Judges are urged to discuss difficult scoring questions and come to agreements concerning conventions which are not adequately covered in the manuals. In Veroff's study (1958) the rank order
correlation (rho) obtained by two judges was .87. The percentage agreement for Imagery between the two judges of the present research was 93.7. Their rank order correlation (rho) was .90. These reliabilities were based on the scoring of 32 stories, of which half were written by males and half by females. The Thema category was excluded from the final scoring because it proved to be a very subjective judgement and the scorers were unable to agree as to its presence or absence. The rank order correlation quoted above was computed after Thema had been excluded.

Statistical Treatment of the Data. Every subject wrote four stories, each of which was scored for power motivation. The total score for any subject was the summed scores of the four stories. Subjects were divided into low, medium and high power groups on the basis of their scores. The totals for the male and female groups in each subcategory were also tabulated so as to permit comparison between the groups as regards the various categories of power imagery, such as, affective states, obstacles, etc. A t test and chi square was applied to the data. Since directional predictions were made, one-tailed tests of significance were made. Levels of .05 were considered 'significant', while those from .05 to .10 were considered suggestive only. Probabilities higher than .10 were considered neither significant nor suggestive and are reported as non-significant.
CHAPTER IV

Results

Distribution of Power Scores

Table 1 indicates the distribution of power scores for the male and female groups. On the basis of this distribution subjects were divided into low, medium and high need power groups. Subjects obtaining a score of zero were classified as low in power motivation. Those obtaining scores of two were placed in the medium power group. Those obtaining a score of three or above were placed in the high power group. Each group contained roughly one third of the total number of cases. The low and medium groups were combined to form a low power group which was contrasted with the high power group. This allowed more of the data to be used.

Table 1

Sibling Order and Power Motivation

Ordinal Placement. Table 2 gives the relationship between ordinal placement and strength of power motivation. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship between power scores and ordinal placement in the family. The hypothesis that high need power subjects would tend to have an older sibling more often than low need power subjects was
### Table 1

Distribution of Power Scores for Male and Female Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power Score</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
not confirmed.

Table 2

Family Size. Examination of Table 3 indicates that no relationship exists between strength of power motivation and the number of siblings in a family. Also, no relation was indicated between the strength of power motivation and a particular size of family, that is, subjects from three-child families are no different in this regard than subjects from two-child families.

Table 3

Spacing. Table 4 shows that no significant relationship was found to exist between strength of power and the presence of an older sibling three years older or less although the findings were confirmed directionally.

Table 4

Ordinal Placement, Family Size, and Spacing. Subjects were grouped according to their position in the family as first, middle, or last. Table 5 shows that no relationship was found between these ordinal positions and strength of power motivation. However, when subjects coming from one and two-child
Table 2
Relationship between Ordinal Placement and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Power (N=75)</th>
<th>Low Power (N=123)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ss with an older sibling</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ss with no older sibling</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = .96, p = n.s., 1 df, one-tailed test.
Table 3

Distribution of Power Scores and Family Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Siblings in Family</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Above 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Power</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Power</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4

Relationship between Age Spacing of Siblings and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Power (N=53)</th>
<th>Low Power (N=91)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ss with siblings three</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>years older or less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ss with no siblings three</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>years older or less</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 1.90, p = .10, 1 df, one-tailed test.
families were eliminated, a significant relationship was revealed. Table 6 shows that high need power people occupy middle or last positions significantly more often than low power people. A further comparison, shown in Table 7, introduced the spacing variable. This comparison was carried out between subjects in whose families there were three or more siblings, and in which there were siblings within three years or less of the subject. A significant difference was found indicating that high power subjects who have one or more siblings within three years of their age, and who come from families of three children or more, occupy middle or last positions more often than do low power subjects who have similar family structures.

Table 5, Table 6, and Table 7

Identification and Power Motivation

Because sex differences have been revealed in patterns of parental identification (Bieri & Lobeck, 1959) the male and female groups were not combined, so that separate trends would be revealed if in fact they existed.

Perceived Similarity Measure. The perceived similarity measure did not differentiate between low and high need power subjects. The hypothesis that high need power subjects would tend to perceive themselves as like the dominant parent more often than low power subjects was not substantiated. Nor did
Table 5

Relationship between First and Middle or Last Ordinal Positions and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Power (N=73)</th>
<th>Low Power (N=121)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ss occupying first ordinal position</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ss occupying middle or last ordinal position</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 1.19, p = n.s., 1 df, one-tailed test.
Table 6

Relationship between First and Middle or Last Ordinal Position in Families of Three Children of More and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Power (N=40)</th>
<th>Low Power (N=63)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ss occupying first ordinal position</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ss occupying middle or last ordinal position</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 3.72, p = .05, 1 df, one-tailed test.
Table 7

Relationship between Spacing and Ordinal Position in Families of Three Children or More and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Power (N 24)</th>
<th>Low Power (N 32)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ss having siblings within three years of own age and occupying first ordinal position</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ss having siblings within three years of own age and occupying middle or last ordinal positions</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 3.89, p = .05, 1 df, one-tailed test.
they perceive themselves as most like their father significantly more often than low power scorers.

Involvement Measure. The involvement measure also failed to differentiate between low and high need power subjects. High need power subjects do not tend to be more involved with their dominant parent than are low power subjects. Also, there was no indication that high need power subjects tend to be more involved with the father. Most subjects, regardless of power score, tended to be most involved with the mother.

Dominant Parent. Table 8 suggests a trend for high power male subjects to judge their mother as the dominant parent more often than do low power subjects.

Table 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex Differences and Power Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imagery in the stories written by the male and female groups was compared by dichotomizing the frequency distributions of the combined groups as near to the median as possible. Table 9 shows for each category the number of subjects in each group above and below the median of the combined distributions. Chi square was computed for each instance that potentially represented a significant deviation from a chance distribution. A significant difference was obtained in the category of positive instrumental activity with females demonstrating more of this</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8

Relationship between Sex of Dominant Parent and Strength of Power Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Parent</th>
<th>High Power (N 38)</th>
<th>Low Power (N 49)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square = 2.61, p. = .10, 1 df, one-tailed test.
imagery than males. No other significant differences were indicated.

Table 9

A t test was computed to compare the mean power scores of female subjects with the mean power scores of male subjects. No significant difference was obtained.

Restatement of Hypotheses

The hypotheses stated in Chapter I are restated below along with the level of significance obtained in each case.

Sibling Order

1. High need power subjects will tend to have an older sibling more often than will low power subjects. No significant results were obtained as shown in Table 2.

2. High need power subject will come from larger families than will low power subjects. No significant results were indicated as shown by examination of Table 3.

3. High need power subjects will have siblings closer in age than will low power subjects. No significant results were obtained as shown in Table 4, although the hypothesis was confirmed directionally.

4. Ordinal position, in relation to family size and spacing, will be related to strength of power motivation. Significant results were obtained as shown in Table 7 where $p = .05$. 
Table 9

Number of Subjects in Male and Female Groups Above and Below the Median* for Various Power-Related Imaginative Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imaginative Category</th>
<th>Males (N 167)</th>
<th>Females (N 71)</th>
<th>Chi Square</th>
<th>p**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Below</td>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Imagery................</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need.........................</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive....................</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative....................</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnable..............</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Sign....................</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal Anticipation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive....................</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative....................</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal....................</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental.............</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive....................</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative....................</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any Sign....................</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Median based on combined frequencies of both the female and the male groups.

** One-tailed test.
Identification

1. High need power subjects will perceive themselves as like their father more often than low power subjects. No significant results were obtained.

2. High need power subjects will perceive themselves as similar to their dominant parent more often than low power subjects. No significant results were obtained.

3. High need power subjects will tend to be more involved with their father than with their mother. No significant results were obtained.

4. High need power subject will tend to be more involved with their dominant parent than will low need power subjects. No significant results were obtained.

5. There will be a relationship between the sex of the dominant parent and the strength of the subjects' power motivation. No significant results were obtained as shown in Table 8, although again, the hypothesis was confirmed directionally.

Sex Differences

1. Female imagery will contain more statements of affect, more obstacles, and more failure experiences than will the imagery of males. No significant results were obtained as shown in Table 9.
CHAPTER V

Discussion

Sibling Order

The results indicate that ordinal placement, family size and spacing, considered separately are not sufficient in themselves to produce marked differences in power motivation.

Strength of power motivation is not affected by ordinal position along. However, when the variable of family size is taken into account, subjects occupying middle or last ordinal positions and who come from families of three or more children tend to be significantly higher in power motivation than subjects coming from similar size families who occupy the first ordinal position. In two-child families need power appears to be fairly evenly distributed which suggests that sibling order is not a significant variable in the development of the power motive in smaller families. A number of factors possibly interact to produce this difference.

The older sibling has a more powerful position than younger siblings. Veroff (1961) has suggested that this measure of power motivation may actually measure power deprivation. This suggestion is also born out by the results of Broverman et al (1960) with achievement motivation. It is reasonable to suppose that a younger sib experiences greater deprivation in the area of power concern than does an oldest sibling. Such
power deprivation may result in greater power needs as manifested in fantasy. On the other hand, if this instrument does not measure deprivation, but does measure the actual strength of power striving, it would still be expected that a younger child would manifest a stronger need power than an oldest child. Presumably early power experiences involve being manipulated by others and in turn manipulating others. There is likely to be a definable power hierarchy in the family of more than one child. From birth the child with an older sibling is involved in the interpersonal relations of this hierarchy to a greater extent than the first sibling who has at least a few years in which his position is relatively unrivalled. The investigation of Rosen (1961) suggests that the first child is likely to develop a high need achievement rather than a high need power, although this is evident only in families of three or more children.

However, the presence of an older sibling is not sufficient in itself to produce a high need power. The formation of motives is influenced by the size of the family. Most probably this is because more opportunities exist both for manipulating others and in turn being manipulated by others in families of three or more children than in smaller families. Youngest children in a larger family may also be in a better position to manipulate the parents as well. In any case, it is likely that definite 'pecking orders' exist in families of three children or more. Children occupying middle or last ordinal positions are closely involved in this 'pecking order' from birth.
No relationship was found to exist between strength of power motivation and the presence of a younger sib, even taking family size into consideration. This suggests that it is more important to have an older sib with whom to interact than a younger sib. It appears that being manipulated may be more important in the formation of the power motive than is the act of manipulating. This lends credence to the theory that what is being measured is, to some degree, power frustration.

Considered separately, the spacing variable also appears to be unrelated to strength of power motivation. When the presence or absence of siblings within three years was the variable employed to differentiate high from low power subjects, no significant difference was found. The presence of younger siblings within three years also failed to differentiate the two power groups. However, when the presence of older siblings within three years was the variable a trend was revealed, although it did not attain an acceptable significance level. High power subjects tended to have an older sibling within three years of the subjects age more often than low power subjects. This findings seems reasonable on the assumption that siblings close in age interact more often and more intensely than those not close in age. The elimination of subjects with siblings older by more than three years appeared to heighten the effects of ordinal placement. When all three variables, spacing, ordinal placement, and family size were controlled a significant relationship was revealed. Subjects from families of three children or more, who have siblings within three years of their own age,
and who occupy middle or last ordinal positions are more likely to be high in power motivation than are subjects from similar family structures who occupy the first ordinal position. As previously mentioned, a significant relationship was found even when the spacing variable was not controlled for and only family size and ordinal placement were the variables. However, the addition of the spacing variable raises the level of significance slightly. A larger sample than the one employed in the present study would be necessary to isolate the effects of these three variables and determine the relative weight which each contributes to the total result. Also, the choice of a three year interval as the spacing variable was quite arbitrary. It would be interesting to use several intervals.

Brim (1960) attempted without success to relate sib-age differences to sex-role learning. He found that the role-taking of younger sibs was affected by the sex of the older sib, i.e., younger boys with an older sister were substantially more feminine than older boys with a younger sister. The presence and sex of an older sib appears to influence this area of personality development. However, the size of the difference in ages between sibs was not a significant factor in role-taking. His study however was confined to two-child families. Had the present study been confined to two-child families, most likely the same results would have obtained. It was not until two-child families were eliminated that significant relationships were revealed.

Veroff (1958) found that high need power scorers tend
to have an older sibling more often than low need power scorers, but his findings were suggestive only. In personal correspondence Veroff (1961) mentions an unpublished study carried out at Princeton in 1956 which also upheld the relationship between need power scores and sibling order. However, the sample was very small. Veroff's results would perhaps have achieved a higher significance level had he eliminated the subjects from two-child families from his calculations. Rosen (1961) found no differences in achievement motivation with two-child families, but differences between the ordinal positions become quite pronounced as family size increased. It should be noted that Rosen found the effects of sibling order on achievement motivation to vary with social class. His results quoted here applied to subjects from middle class families. It was assumed in the present research that the sample of university students used as subjects would also represent the middle class predominantly.

Identification

The results indicate that identification patterns play little part in the formation of the power motive. Such results suggest that certain aspects of psychoanalytic theory should perhaps be re-examined. True to psychoanalytic formulations, identification patterns proceed along sex lines for the perceived similarity measure. Boys more often perceive themselves as like their father (p .01). For girls, identification with the mother is suggestive but not conclusive (p .10).
However, with the degree of involvement measure almost all subjects, regardless of sex, considered themselves as most involved with their mother as a child. This makes very good sense and the value of this particular measure to differentiate identification patterns may be questioned. Analysis reveals that boys tend to perceive their father as the dominant parent more often than their mother (p .05). If it is true as psychoanalytic theory holds, that boys tend to pattern themselves after their fathers, and if males perceive the father as the dominant member of the family, it would seem reasonable to expect the boy to show a greater need for dominance than will a girl who patterns her behavior on her mother. Girls also perceive their fathers as dominant (p .05). On the other hand, males may have a higher need power which fantasy doesn't reflect because the need is relatively satisfied.

The Adlerian hypothesis that power is the stimulant in identification is supported by the evidence here as far as males are concerned. They tend to perceive themselves like their father and they view their father as dominant. The pattern for women is less clear for although they do tend to see their father as dominant, they perceive themselves as like their mother. Same-sex identifications as far as perceived similarity is concerned appears to be the rule. However, the effect of these identifications on the formation of the power motive appears to be negligible if existent at all. The psychoanalytic emphasis on the influence of identification
processes on the development of personality may not apply as far as power motivation is concerned. However, the lack of corroborating evidence may be attributable to imperfections in the measuring instrument employed.

Of interest is the suggestive finding that high need power male subjects tend to have a dominant mother more often than low need power males. Though high power males do not identify with their mothers on the perceived similarity measure, they, like low power males, see themselves as more involved with the mother as a child. In the close mother-child relationship, it seems reasonable to expect a dominant mother to instill a strong power motive in her child. Males do not identify with their mothers and yet early training of mothers has a great effect on the formation of the achievement motive (Winterbottom, 1958). Mothers presumably could effect similar results with the power motive. No such results were found with the female sample but it was much smaller and possibly mothers would not be as interested in instilling such patterns in girls as in boys for a variety of reasons.

Sex Differences

The results of this investigation failed to confirm the findings of Lindzey and Silverman (1959). Males and females do not differ significantly in strength of power motivation. It is difficult to arrive at any conclusion when doubt exists as to whether fantasy measured need frustration or need strength. If it measures need frustration in part, then males and females
may have nearly equivalent amounts of frustration in this area. The possibility exists however that one sex may have more drive in this area than the other sex. Assuming that opportunity for expression of a motive reduces its effects in fantasy, then a high power need which has an outlet may not be revealed in very great intensity. Also assuming the greater availability of outlets for the expression of this motive in males, it is possible that males may express this need more often and more successfully in actual instrumental behavior than females. If this is so, males may have a higher need power than women, regardless of the findings evidenced by this research. In any case, it is difficult to imagine that women would have a higher need for power, all things considered. This is in agreement with common conceptions of female personality.

Parsons (1955) distinguishes between the instrumental or task role and the expressive or social-emotional role in social groups. He relates these roles to sex-role differentiations, with the male customarily taking the former role and the female the latter. All but one of the various subcategories on the power scale failed to differentiate males and females in the expression of power motivation. The finding that females showed significantly more imagery in the positive instrumental activity category is interesting. It is the opposite of what was predicted, i.e., that female imagery would include more failure experiences than male imagery. It is impossible to offer any sound interpretation of this result
without further investigation. Possibly female tendencies to express instrumental activity in fantasy as successful is a function of wish fulfilment. In any event, this finding cannot be interpreted to mean that women are empirically more optimistic than men. The absence of any sex differences in the overall category of instrumental activity (including positive, negative, and questionable instrumental activity) suggests that the instrumental or task basis for differentiating between the sexes suggested by Parsons (1955) should perhaps be re-examined.

The hypothesis that women would show more imagery containing failure to reach goals, obstacles, and affective states was not confirmed. When related to the area of power concern these expressive categories apparently fail to differentiate between the sexes. Veroff (1958) found that few males responded in these categories and concluded that possibly the power motive inhibits the expression of affect. Certainly, in the achievement and affiliation motives no such problem was encountered. Apparently the same factors which inhibit male responses in this area were also inhibiting female responses. Veroff's suggestion that the pictures used in eliciting power motivation might not be of the type to arouse associated affective thoughts must be discarded. A small study, described in Appendix 2, investigated the amount of affective imagery in the male and female protocols of the third year psychology group. It was found that female responses contained a significantly greater amount of affect than male responses.
The hypothesis presented in this research that females would show more affective concern in the power area was not upheld. However, the assumption that females do tend to be more affective in their perceptions appears to have been fairly well based. This finding also is in line with Parson's (1955) differentiation of the sexes on the basis of the expressive or social-emotional role.

From the failure to find evidence of obstacles or failure imagery to any extent, it must be concluded that the area of power concern is not one in which women experience more conflict than men. The relative homogeneity of the sample used may in part account for the failure to obtain any significant differences between the sexes. Results based on a sample of university students cannot be generalized to the entire population. Women university students may not reflect conflict in their fantasy because they have ample opportunity to express the power drive. Also, conflict in the power area may not become evident until the adult female role, which may be more restricted, is entered upon. In the university situation role difference between the sexes do not appear to be as exaggerated as they are at later periods.

Implications

The results of this investigation suggest that the fantasy measure of power does isolate a variable for study. Significant correlations between scores obtained through the use of fantasy materials and external criteria such as sibling
order provide a basis for this conclusion. However, the problem still exists as to whether a measure of need frustration rather than need strength is being obtained. Until this situation is clarified, it will be difficult to interpret the results obtained through fantasy used as a means of measuring motives. The fact that fantasy measures do correlate with some external criteria attests to the possible usefulness of this measure. Future research on the TAT could profitably be devoted to clarifying this area of confusion.

Evidence supporting the hypothesis that family structure is related to the development of power motivation is clear. Family structure may possibly be related to many aspects of personality. This appears to be a fruitful area of inquiry. In addition to the variables of spacing, ordinal position, and size of family, variables such as the sex of siblings could also be explored in greater depth than was possible in this study. It may well be that interaction between siblings is as important, and perhaps more important than interaction between the child and his parents, at least in the formation of some motives.
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APPENDIX 1

Stimulus Pictures

(In order of presentation)
APPENDIX 2

Family Structure and Identification Questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS

SEX: M ___ F ___
AGE: Yrs. ___ Mo. ___
Parents Are: (a) separated or divorced ____
(b) living together ____

Please try to answer all the questions below. Make a choice between alternatives even when this is difficult. There is no right or wrong way to answer, and your answers will be held in strict confidence. Circle the appropriate answer.

Indicate the number and ages of brothers and sisters in your family.

Example: 2 brothers --- 11 years, 13 years.
1 sister --- 16 years.

Questions Circle Answer
1. I would prefer to live in:
   (A) a big city
   (B) a suburban district
   (C) a small town A B C
2. When I disagree with my parents:
   (A) we usually compromise
   (B) they usually have the final say
   (C) I usually win out A B C
3. In the past I:
   (A) got along well with my brothers and/or sisters
   (B) quarreled frequently with my brothers and/or sisters
   (C) avoided all contact with my brothers and/or sisters A B C
4. Which parent plays the greatest part in making the important decisions in your household?

(A) Mother  
(B) Father  
(C) uncertain

5. Which parent do you feel you are most like at the present?

(A) Mother  
(B) Father  
(C) uncertain

6. (a) For girls: Would you like to marry someone:

(A) like your father  
(B) somewhat like your father  
(C) unlike your father

(b) For boys: Would you like to marry a woman:

(A) like your mother  
(B) somewhat like your mother  
(C) unlike your mother

7. I would prefer to have:

(A) a large family  
(B) a small family  
(C) no children

8. Which parent did you feel closer to as a child?

(A) Mother  
(B) Father  
(C) uncertain

9. I prefer:

(A) to live at home  
(B) to live close to home  
(C) to live far away from home

10. (a) for girls: I would like to have a husband who would:

(A) make all of the important decisions  
(B) let me have a say in all decisions
(b) For boys: I would like my wife (future) to:

(A) allow me to make all the important decisions  
(B) have some say in all decisions
APPENDIX 3

Description of the Study of Sex Differences
In Affective Imagery in Fantasy Stories

The object of this study was to determine whether or not there are sex differences in the amount of affective imagery manifested in fantasy stories. The imagery studied was not restricted to affective statements related to power concerns but rather included all statements or expressions thought to show affective states.

The study was done by three third year psychology students as a group project. The data used were the four stories of the third year students who were tested for the present research project. This group was made up of 37 males and 21 females.

Working independently the members of the project group wrote out any phrases which they thought denoted affective imagery. Upon completion of this task they met and attempted to standardize their results. They reported a high degree of correlation between their separate scorings. Unfortunately, the correlation figures were not stated. Of interest to the present research was their finding that females manifest a significantly greater amount of affective imagery than do men. This finding confirmed their prediction.
Subjects were designated as high or low in affective imagery on the basis of the number of instances in which the stories of each subject contained affective imagery. A subject whose stories contained only one or no instances of affect was placed in the low affect category. Scorers with two or more instances of affective imagery were placed in the high affect category. Chi square was established to be 3.9. Employing the one-tail hypothesis, p = .05.