A FOCUS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF

POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS

By

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

The concept of power has historically been one of interest to
those intrigued with human behavior. Every discipline interested in
human behavior, whether individual, group, or institutional behavior,
has historically demonstrated an interest in the concept of power and
the operationalization of power. Great thinkers in the social sciences
wrestled with the concept. Early in psychology Freud (1922) was not
unaware of power operating in the psychotherapeutic relationship.
Similarly, in another discipline, Russell (1938) viewed power as the
production of intended effects and discussed the bases of power.

Later, as interest increased in the social sciences, two different
perspectives of viewing power emerged. One perspective focused upon
power in institutions and small groups. The first perspective has been
exemplified by examination of power as an abstract notion (Shils, 1965),
as a system of control within a country (Mills, 1956), and operationally
as focused on national groups (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950) among others.

The second perspective from which power has been viewed thrived
during World War II with the copious research which focused upon
leadership in individuals. Male members of the Armed Forces were used
as subjects in such research which sought to relate various personality

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characteristics to the prediction of leadership (Winter, 1973). The results of these studies were varied and inconclusive (Gibb, 1969). Problems plagued this approach. Winter (1973) commented that by about 1950 more variation was explained by the situation in which the behavior was exhibited than by an individual's traits. Hollander and Julian (1969), discussing research interests about leadership, pointed to a redirection from examining traits and characteristics of the individual to examining the inherent power and authority relationships. With greater significance attached to the interrelationship of leader, follower, and situation, the study of leadership was recognized as a more formidable problem than had been assumed earlier. Finally, as students of the concept of power have realized that power also depends upon emotions, attitudes, and motives, they have returned to psychology for clarification (May, 1972).

The study of power and leadership by psychologists coincided with an increased interest within the field of psychology in motivational aspects of individual behavior. The assumption underlying motivational research was that motivation or drive could be equated with behavioral change, such change occurring from experimental manipulations (Winter, 1973). For example, research concerning achievement motivation presumed that the strength of the achievement motive could not be directly inferred from existing behavior (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953). Actual achievement was not a safe index of the achievement motive. Achievement motivation was experimentally aroused in subjects and then measured by behavioral change. Alternatively, achievement motivation was assumed from the subject's responses to projective material. Such procedures for obtaining measures of achievement motivation have been described by McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell (1953).

Attempts to isolate and measure the power motive were patterned methodol-
ogically after the achievement motive paradigm. The literature is exten-
sive. Books by Veroff and Feld (1970), McClelland, Davis, Kalin, and Wan-
ner (1972), Winter (1973), and McClelland (1975) dominate the literature.

The school of thought in psychology that placed emphasis upon moti-
vation and drives as the determinants of behavior has ceased to dominate
psychological research. A more contemporary view focuses upon the be-
havior itself. An alternative approach to the classical motivational
paradigm would focus upon the direct measurement of existing behavior,
rather than first attempting to arouse the motive and then assessing the
behavioral change. Such a contemporary approach, if used to measure power
behavior, is consistent with a conception of power as the ability or
potential to influence or control the behavior of another person (May,
1972; Rollins and Bahr, 1976) and is consistent with the thinking of
well-known sociologists (Wolf, 1959), research psychologists (French and
Raven, 1959), and theorists (May, 1972), in addition to having a base in
actual behaviors.

Since it is beyond the scope of this paper to review all material
published in all disciplines interested in such behavior, this review
will confine itself to power as discussed in the psychological litera-
ture, including social psychology and its interface with sociology. A
review of the literature on power discloses conflicting information and
can best be summarized by a discussion of the major definitional, theo-
retical, and methodological problems with research generated in the area.

Definitional Problems

The literature yields numerous definitions of power. Power is seen
by Cartwright (1959) as the amount of tension toward the production of

changes which one person can bring to bear on another's "life space."
French and Raven (1959) defined power in terms of social influence and
social influence in terms of resultant psychological change. Such change
is then defined at a level of generality which includes behavior, opinions,
attitudes, goals, needs, values, and all other aspects of an individual's
psychological field. DiAntonio and Form (1965) view power as being com-
posed of two related phenomena: authority, based on a person's position
in a formal hierarchical structure, and influence, a more subtle aspect
manifested by the willingness of others to obey. May (1972) described
power as the ability to cause or prevent change. Power is seen as having
two dimensions: one is power as potentiality, or latent power; the other
dimension is power as actuality (May, 1972).

The literature has not only yielded many definitions of power, but
has also failed to discriminate power from other related concepts. Rose
(1967) pointed to a failure to distinguish clearly among several closely
related phenomena such as "power," "influence," "control," "authority,"
and "leadership." Several examples of such confounding of terms and
concepts are evident in the literature. The literature has also failed
to discriminate between the definition of power and the situations in
which it occurs or whom it affects. Weber's (1946) definition of power
included the "chance" of a man to realize his own will (realization was
incidental to the basic notion of power). Later writers have substituted
"ability" or "potential" for Weber's "chance," as in the ability to con-
trol others or the potential to set conditions, make decisions, and take
actions which are determinative for others. Mills (1963) defined power
by its association with decision making processes. He proclaimed, "Power
has to do with whatever decision men make about arrangements under which

they live . . . insofar as such decisions are made, the problem of who is involved in making them is the basic problem of power" (p. 23).

The definition to be used in this study is that proposed by Winter. In developing a useful definition of power, Winter (1973) proposes three conditions that must be considered. First, power must be social power-- an individual has an effect on the behavior or emotions of another person(s) rather than over objects. Second, the individual must exhibit the ability or intention to produce an effect: accidental effects are excluded. Finally, social power can be considered a capacity as well as an action. For the purpose of the present study power will be defined as summarized by Winter as "the ability or capacity of an individual to produce intended effects on the behavior or emotions of another" (p. 5).

Theoretical Problems/Classification Systems

A second problem with the literature on power is the varying and often inadequate and incomplete theories that form the basis for much research. A theory, by definition, must be applicable in a wide variety of circumstances and either analytical, predictive, or explanatory in nature. Early attempts at developing theories of power and social influence resulted in what could be more accurately described as systems of classification. A notable example is that of French and Raven (1959) who systematically categorized five different types of power according to the influencee's perceptions of the influence attempt. These five types were reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert power. The various labels reflect the basis from which its power is derived. Subsequently, Raven (1965) further developed French and Raven's earlier analysis of social influence and power and used the word "power" to

denote potential influence. The influencing agent (in Raven's defini-
tion, the source of power) is often responsible for social influence
changes which occur. These changes may be either dependent or indepen-
dent of the influencing agent. Raven added independent power to those
five types of power discussed by French and Raven above and defines the
six kinds of influence (power). Independent power evolves from informa-
tion whereby the content of the communication, not the influencing agent,
is of importance. Coercive power results from the ability of the
influencing agent to mete out punishment. Reward power stems from the
same ability to mediate rewards. Coercive and reward power are both
mediated by the influencing agent. Expert power is derived from super-
ior knowledge or ability of the influencing agent. Referent power is
that accorded an individual as viewed against the background of his/her
reference group. Legitimate power evolves from broad, general norms
surrounding the appropriateness or propriety of behaviors, beliefs,
opinions, and attitudes in a given situation.

Another effort to elucidate a theory of power motivation was
attempted by Veroff and Veroff (1971). Research using the apperceptive
measure of power motivation was summarized in an earlier article
(Veroff and Veroff, 1970). Five conclusions were drawn which concerned
power motivation. Power motivation occurs in status groups concerned
about weakness, is correlated with positive social performance and ad-
justment, can lead to avoidance of the power situation, can exist in
both successful and conflictual life styles, and can be found in combi-
nation with other motives.

Accordingly, the goal of power, i.e., the power incentive, is freedom from constraints in the decision process. Additionally, successful power can be defined in terms of a person's own standard of control in the decision process (1971), even though a latent disposition to be power-motivated does not lead to overt power behavior.

A third effort to elucidate a theoretical framework is that developed by May (1972) in his book Power and Innocence. In contrast to Raven's view of power as a potential influence, May views power as actuality; power means the individual's ability to affect, to influence, and to change others. His perspective was from the source, not the target, of the influence attempt. May differentiates five kinds of power: exploitative, manipulative, competitive, nutrient, and integrative. His exploitative power is the simplest and most destructive kind of power and is equated with brute force, violence, or threats. Manipulative power is power over another individual. Operant conditioning of animals and small children is a good example of such power. Competitive power is power against another. In May's system manipulative power is viewed as less destructive than exploitative power while competitive power is viewed as even less destructive and can be viewed as constructive, depending on the situation. (McClelland, according to May, has emphasized the presence of competitive power in the business world in the achievement situation.) Nutrient power, May's fourth type of power, is power for another. Utilization of such power is best illustrated by parental care given one's children. Fifth is integrative power, power with another person. One'e own power, when juxtaposed with that of his/her

friend's power, enables his/her friend's power to grow through the process of confrontation and change. May's five kinds of power would appear to be all-inclusive since they are all present in each individual to some degree and cover the breadth of power in which one person is able to engage.

Winter (1973) represents a broad definition of social power as semantic space with three continuous dimensions. Included in his semantic space are not only power concepts, but also power-related concepts. The first of these dimensions involves the relative inequality of status or strength between the source (influencer) and the target of the influence. The second dimension is the location of the action within a moral framework. One such framework may be a society's legal system. Winter's third dimension revolves around the degree of resistance with which the target meets influence attempts. With these three dimensions any power-related word descriptive of behavior can then be fit into this cube of "semantic space." After a word has been determined to fit Winter's broad definition of power, further labelling of the word with regard to these three dimensions depends upon the perspective, knowledge, and values of the observer. Hence, Winter chooses not to distinguish among the different kinds of power, but rather to use his concept of power motive to empirically discover natural boundaries of power within the entire vast concept. (See Figure 1 for a diagram of his dimensions.)

A somewhat simpler definitional system, having only two dimensions, has been outlined by McClelland (1975). He has taken studies and materials discussed in The Drinking Man (McClelland, Davis, Kalin, and Wanner, 1975) and The Power Motive (Winter, 1973), integrated it with his own life experiences, and incorporated all into a book entitled
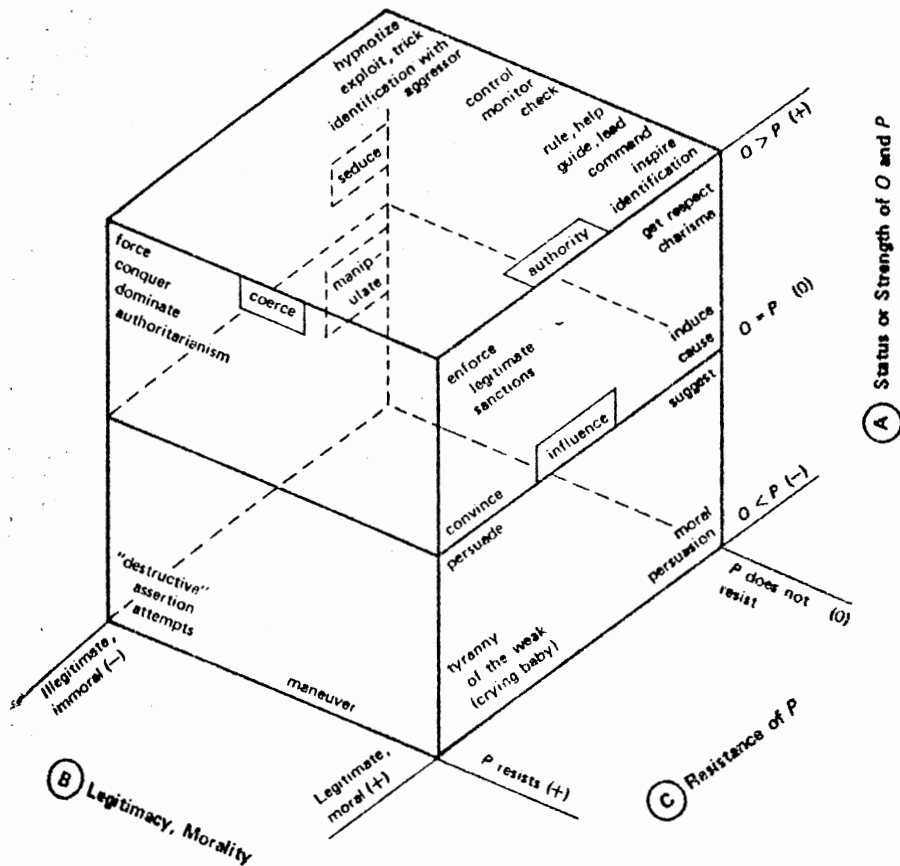
Figure 1. The Semantic Space of Power-Related Concepts

Power: The Inner Experience (1975). The theory evolved by McClelland
has two bipolar dimensions. The first dimension focuses upon the source
of the power--either inside or outside the self. The second dimension
focuses upon the target--either the self or something (body) external
to it. These two dimensions produce a design with four quadrants, each
quadrant representing a modality of experience.

These various classification systems are quite diverse and are
difficult to integrate. The task was difficult to manage until the
various systems were fit into an arrangement which visually demonstrated
where and how the systems overlapped each other. (See Figure 2 for a
depiction of this arrangement.) The types of power described by May
appeared to be broad in scope and were the initial basis of the figure.
French and Raven's types of power were correspondingly added to this
arrangement, overlapping those of May. Similarly, McClelland's theory
was examined for correspondence and placed into the visual arrangement.
Only one aspect of Winter's system could be categorized, that being
the dimension of inequality between source and target. Neither Winter
nor Veroff and Verhoff explained their respective systems sufficiently
such that they could be incorporated into the arrangement other than in
a general fashion. Achieving visual order among the systems facilitated
the informational aspects of correspondence among the various notions.

Methodological Problems

Methodological problems generated by research on power are varied
in nature. Such problems as the assumption of arousal of power motiva-
tion, the appropriateness of the use of projectives in motivational
research, the potential male bias in the projectives used, the use of

THEORISTS	CLASSES OF POWER WITHIN EACH SYSTEM			
McClelland	Source	Within	Within	Without	Without
	Target	Within	Without	Within	Without
French & Raven			Independent	Referent	Coercive
			Expert	Legitimate	Reward
May		(+) Integrative	Competitive	Manipulative (−)	
		(+) Nutrient	(+/−)	Exploitative (−)	
Winter		←———————— Relative inequality between ————————→			
		Source and Target			
Veroff & Veroff		Situational Arousal of Power Motivation			

Figure 2. Continuum Arrangement of Various Classification Systems

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predominantly male subjects, and the applicability of earlier research to females and to diverse ethnic populations are included in the discussion which follows.

According to McClelland (1975), attempts to study the behavior of power by arousing the power motive were instigated around 1950. Veroff (1957) utilized the type of experimental procedure found in achievement motivation studies (see McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953, for a thorough explanation of the procedure). Motivational arousal was presumably induced by many experimenters in a variety of ways, both in the laboratory and in natural settings, and was followed by the subjects' being asked to produce stories in response to Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) or TAT-like cards, sentence stems, or brief story beginnings (Veroff, 1957; Uleman, 1966; Winter, 1967; Winter and Wiecking, 1971; Kolb and Boyatzis, 1970; Stewart, 1975; and Stewart and Winter, 1976). The outcome of such studies was a measure of the motivation for power (n power).*

In spite of widespread use, there are two major difficulties with this research paradigm. The first difficulty is the assumption of the existence of a drive or motive and the assumption that a projective measure, such as the TAT, will accurately reflect motivation. Murstein (1963) raised the question of whether need states are in fact expressed in a fantasy and what implications this has for power motivation research. There is no assurance that the TAT does in fact produce stories based in reality as opposed to wishful fantasy, and in so doing accurately

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*Most of these findings and others are fully discussed in such books as The Drinking Man (McClelland, Davis, Kalin, and Wanner, 1972), The Power Motive (Winter, 1973), and Power: The Inner Experience (McClelland, 1975).

reflects the power motive. Lazarus (1966) argued that another dimension-- that of time relationship--is needed to determine when the contents are directly or substantially related to motivated behaviors. He saw both primary fantasy and secondary process problem-solving at work in the telling of TAT stories (Lazarus, 1966).

A second major difficulty with the McClelland paradigm is the probability of antifemale bias in the TAT. Potkay and Merrens (1975) investigated this question of antifemale bias in the TAT. Two sources of biases were seen. One is the inherent bias in the clinician or experimenter. This bias has been confirmed by Masling and Harris (1968) as having a significant effect, notably that female experimenters were extremely task oriented while male experimenters were distracted by personal considerations. It has been further confirmed by Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkranz and Vogel (1970), who examined the clinical judgements of mental health professionals and found both male and female clinicians held differing standards of mentally healthy behavior for males and females. The other source of bias is the anti- female bias inherent in the instrument itself. Murstein (1963) con- cluded that the TAT stimulus itself is the most important determinant of the content of TAT responses. Potkay and Merrens (1975) found that the sex of the TAT stimulus figure was a significant factor on four of the five dimensions they rated: cultural favorability, identification, mental health and intelligence. On the cultural dimension male and female subjects both agreed that male TAT figures were more favorably portrayed. There was a marked disinclination for male subjects to iden- tify with opposite sex figures, while females were comparatively tolerant.

An unexpected finding was that female TAT figures were rated higher than male figures in intelligence.

In addition to the antifemale bias inherent in the TAT there is a question of applicability for the methodology to males. Skolnick (1966) reported a longitudinal study of TAT protocols of 44 men and 46 women. Her results suggest that it is not possible to make a statement about the relation between TAT fantasy and behavior that will hold for all motives, ages, and both sexes. In women the relationships between power imagery and relevant behavior are few but those present suggest an inverse relationship. "Power" appears to have a different meaning for males and females. It is particularly salient for the masculine sex role and tends to be stable in males over time. In a discussion of Skolnick's work McClelland (1966) suggests a redefinition of projective "testing" as a study of the relationship between thought and action. In his discussion he pointed out instances of positive and negative relationships between the two and, because of the definition of conditions, considers this an important study. It is very obvious to any reader that the problems inherent in the use of projective measures to assess aroused motivation and the reported antifemale bias in the use of the TAT renders generalizations from studies on males and females invalid.

The power motivation literature is predominantly focused upon males. Only three of the references mentioned above included females and the results are inconsistent. Two studies utilized male and female subjects: Kolb and Boyatzis (1970) had 111 subjects (2 females); Winter and Wiecking (1971) had 19 males and 13 females (which examined conservatism-radicalism rather than male-female differences). The third focused upon females. Stewart and Winter (1976) attempted to determine whether the power motive could be aroused in

females by the same experimental procedures that had worked with males. In one study the cards used contained all male stimuli. The results indicated that females were aroused by need for power to almost the same extent as males. In a second study a female experimenter used cards that contained predominantly female stimuli. In this study the arousal procedure also resulted in an increase in n power for females. Stewart and Rubin (1975) had earlier been unable to achieve confirmation of the male results with females and had suggested that the problem may be due to the measure derived from and used with research almost exclusively with males.

Wanner, as cited in McClelland et al. (1972), suggested that power needs were essentially masculine and that female orientations would be negatively associated with any factor presumed to measure power. Durand (1975) was interested in generalizability to women of the findings on the effects of alcohol on the power needs of males as reported by McClelland et al. (1972). Durand designed a study to compare with the McClelland et al. findings utilizing a female population. Females' need for power decreased significantly after three or four drinks, contrary to the McClelland et al. findings that males drink to feel more powerful. Durand (1975) summarized his study by stating that his results support Winters (1970, p. 446) belief that power motivation among women "should be studied separately and not generalized from men."

Several studies have examined sex differences in power not utilizing the traditional projective paradigm. Freese (1974) examined the influence of various demographic characteristics (such as age, sex, race, occupation, and educational level) in dyadic interactions. He

found that in a dyadic interaction between females of unequal status

subjects with high status are less likely to be influenced than those

with low status, but that they became increasingly more likely to be

influenced with the addition of one or more subjects to the original

dyad. Lockheed and Hall (1976) classified sex as a status characteris-

tic, presented supportive data, and offered suggestions for remedying

imbalances of power and prestige in work groups. Nacci and Tedeschi

(1976) examined power and liking as two factors which affected the

formation of coalitions. These two variables were examined in a labora-

tory setting with both sexes participating. Females were not affected

by power in their choices concerning coalitions, their predictions

about coalition formation, or their expectations about bargaining

outcomes. However, females were quite sensitive to liking relationships.

Awareness of interpersonal attraction did not affect female expectations

that the bargaining situation was an egalitarian one. On the other hand,

males behaved somewhat irrationally. They were aware of power and its

contrived illusory quality in this particular study, but the males

insisted upon using this fleeting power to seek advantage. Females

disregarded the contrived illusion of power, keyed in on affective

relationships, and in so doing were more successful in increasing their

probability of being included in a coalition and in winning. Also

investigating theories and processes in the formation of coalitions,

Komorita and Moore (1976) found significant interactions between sex

of subject and holding a power position in the game situation. Aries

(1976) hypothesized that men and women would display a different

interpersonal style when interacting with members of the same sex as

compared to members of the other sex. She found such differences did

occur and accurately reflected the sex role demands of our society,
either same or opposite sex.

A more contemporary examination of sex differences in power can be
found in Polk's (1974) treatise "Male Power and the Women's Movement."
The power relationship between males and females is explored in terms
of male and female sex roles, masculine and feminine cultural differences,
male-female power relationships, and economic relationships. Polk pro-
posed that males have normative power, institutional power, control of
options through reward power, the power of expertise, psychological
power and brute force, and that females have been oppressed by such
male power. Polk discussed strategies for change which included a
resocialization of oneself and of others.

Rather than advocating a complete resocialization, Johnson (1976)
proposed a reexamination of the application of sex-role standards to
males and females. She studied the influence of sex-role stereotypic
behavior in common human interaction patterns and specifically focused
on where power was utilized in social interactive situations. Previous
research has shown that both sexes are stereotyped by individuals of
both the same and the other sex (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson,
and Rosenkranz, 1972). In such sex-role research, Broverman et al.
(1972) found a strong concensus exists regarding the differing
characteristics of men and women across groups which differ in sex, age,
religion, marital status, and educational level. It was also found that
characteristics ascribed to males are more positively valued than charac-
teristics ascribed to females. These sex-role standards are found to be
incorporated into the self-concepts of both men and women.

Johnson (1976) examined the relationship of sex-role stereotypes to social relationships and social position in situations where power was utilized. Influence attempts were seen to be a function not only of the mode or style of interacting, but also of societal sex-role expectations of behavior of that individual's sex. Males and females were expected to exhibit power styles differentially, and females especially were expected to suffer negative consequences for such differential use of power. Johnson posited the following three dimensions of power styles: indirect versus direct power, personal versus concrete power, and helplessness versus competence. She operationalized these three dimensions of power using the six sources of power proposed by Raven (1965) into questionnaire form. Sex differences were found in the sixty males and females in the dimensions of power. Coercion, legitimate, expert, and informational power were bases of power for males; personal reward and sexuality were the only significant bases of power for females. Johnson stated that only males were expected to exhibit strong, aggressive types of power and additionally were found to use other power bases. Additionally, females were severely limited to the exhibition of less powerful bases by the expectations of society.

In summation, a number of methodological problems are evident in the literature on power. Use of the TAT procedure assumes both the arousal of a need for power and the capability of the procedure to accurately reflect such a need. Additionally, the TAT procedure introduces bias exemplified by both the experimenter and by the instrument. Such bias is usually anti-female, thus casting doubt upon the validity of results generalizing to females. Further doubt is

cast upon generalizability of findings by the fact that most studies have utilized white middle-class males as subjects. A few studies have focused upon both sexes in laboratory settings or theoretical explications. Results of studies using females as subjects or comparing females and males have been inconsistent. Given these methodological problems, a novel approach to the study of power seems appropriate.

A novel approach to the study of powerful behavior in individuals would be direct (rather than inferential), would be equally appropriate for both sexes and various ethnic minorities, and would be reflective of actual behaviors. A direct approach should include either behavioral observations or reports of subjects perception of power. The instrument utilized should be such that any bias introduced by subjects or experimenter randomly affects the outcome. A direct nonsystematically biased approach would thus reflect actual behaviors or opinions held by the subjects. Such an approach to the study of the concept of individual power has not been found in the literature. However, in related topic areas, a methodology has been used which appears to fulfill these conditions. Self report questionnaires and checklists have been used successfully in two contemporary investigations which studied sex differences in role behavior. Bem (1975) and Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp (1975) utilized adjective checklists to assess personality characteristics of the subject.

The instrument developed by Bem (1975) appears especially appropriate as a model for an instrument to study powerful behavior. The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was developed using masculinity and femininity as two orthogonal dimensions, each representing positive domains of behavior, rather than two ends of a single continuum. The

BSRI is a paper and pencil instrument which has 20 adjectives descrip-
tive of masculine personality characteristics, 20 adjectives descriptive
of feminine personality characteristics, and 20 neutral adjectives
descriptive of socially desirable personality characteristics in either
sex. These 60 adjectives were derived by having white middle class
college students rate 400 personality characteristics as being more
desirable for either males or females. The twenty adjectives most agreed
upon as being more appropriate for males and the twenty adjectives
agreed upon as being more appropriate for females were selected for the
Masculinity and Femininity Scales. Ten positive and ten negative items
were selected for what Bem termed the Social Desirability Scale, which
was comprised of the neutral items. Given such an instrument, subjects
were asked to indicate on a seven-point scale how well each of the
adjectives were descriptive of themselves. Masculinity and Femininity
scores were computed. Psychometric analyses (Bem, 1974) have revealed
that the Masculinity and Femininity Scales are empirically and logically
independent. By balancing the difference between the Masculine and
Feminine Scores, Bem computed an Androgyny Score, the degree of sex
role stereotyping in the person's self concept.

In a similar fashion, a unidimensional instrument examining powerful
behavior could be developed using adjectives descriptive of powerful
behavior. Such adjectives are readily available in the literature on
power. The most commonly noted adjectives could be assembled into a
checklist format. Subjects of various ethnic groups and ages would
be asked to rate the applicability of the adjectives to their behavior,
thereby indicating the degree of power sterotyping in their self concept.

Rather than setting limits, subjects would then have the opportunity to name additional adjectives which, in their view, are descriptive of powerful behavior.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Problems inherent in research studying power lead one to question the validity and generalizability of such studies. One such problem is the almost exclusive use of white male subjects, first in leadership studies (Gibb, 1959) and later in studies of power motivation (Stewart and Rubin, 1974). Generalizability of such studies to females is unfounded. Winter (1970, p. 446) has stated that power motivation among women "should be studied separately and not generalized from men". The present study examined power in both sexes.

If generalizability to females is untenable, generalizability of such studies to individuals of diverse ethnic groups is also untenable. Nowhere in the literature were studies found that examined power in individuals from different cultures, with the exception of McClelland (1975). Additionally, no study compared power as exhibited in various ethnic groups. If sex roles affect the exhibition of power, it is also likely that cultural roles affect the exhibition of power. The present study examined power in four ethnic groups: Black, Caucasian, Native American, and Hispanic.

A second problem inherent in previous studies concerns the instrument most frequently utilized in power motivation studies, the TAT. An inherent sex-role bias is operating in the TAT which emanates both from the experimenter (Masling and Harris, 1969) and from the

stimulus cards or verbal stimuli (Potkay and Merrens, 1975). In addi-
tion, the TAT and other projective measures are assumed to elicit
responses reflecting underlying motivation. However, the value of
projective techniques for eliciting internal or underlying states is in
question (Murstein, 1963), as is the value of their prediction of
behavior (Lazarus, 1966).

A third problem inherent in the power literature centers around
the various theoretical notions or systems of classification. The
situational manifestation of power behavior appears to be an accepted
concept. The correspondence of various notions to actual behaviors is
not clear. The examinations of various situations in relation to vari-
ous theoretical classes might evolve similar concepts and lend clarity.

A fourth problem revolves around the approach to data collection,
most specifically laboratory data versus field study data. Researchers
have used contrived situations (Stewart and Winter, 1976; Aries, 1978;
Nacci and Tedeschi, 1976), have relied on natural events (Veroff, 1957;
Potkay and Merrens, 1975; Masling and Harris, 1969; Durand, 1975), or
have collected data with questionnaires (Stewart and Rubin, 1975; John-
son, 1976; Kipnis, Castell, Gergen and Mauch, 1975). The proposed
study will avoid a contrived setting and will utilize both a checklist
questionnaire and an open-ended structured interview administered in a
natural setting.

The checklist questionnaire to be utilized was developed using the
Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) as a format guide (Bem, 1975). The for-
mat of the BSRI appears well-suited to an examination of adjectives
descriptive of powerful behavior. The adjectives utilized in the
present study were selected after a search of the power literature as

being typical of powerful behavior. These were arranged in a format similar to the BSRI to be rated on a 7-point Likert scale.

The present study examined the perception of power by those individuals considered to be in positions of power (powerful) and those who were not considered to be in positions of power (apowerful) as a first step in developing an adjective checklist (similar to the BSRI) descriptive of power behavior for males and females of different ethnic groups. Subjects were asked to evaluate existing adjectives by using power descriptive adjectives (those found in the power literature) in describing themselves and in describing powerful men and powerful women. Additionally, subjects were asked to generate additional adjectives descriptive of themselves and of powerful men and powerful women.

As the power-descriptive adjectives for this study were obtained from the existing power literature which is generally based upon studies of males, and as there is no indication of the generalizability of such results to females, it is hypothesized that:

1. Males, as compared to females, will use the power-descriptive adjectives to describe themselves to a greater extent.

2. Males, as compared to females, will utilize the power-descriptive adjectives to a greater extent in describing powerful males.

3. Both males and females will generate a greater number of additional adjective-descriptors to describe power-ful females than powerful males.

As the adjectives were obtained from a literature that focuses upon one cultural group, Caucasians, and as the probability is

questionable of this literature's generalizing to other groups, it is

hypothesized that:

4. Compared to non-Caucasians, Caucasians will use the

   power-descriptive adjectives to describe themselves

   to a greater extent.

5. Compared to Caucasians, non-Caucasians will generate

   a greater number of additional adjective-descriptors

   in describing themselves.

As the adjectives were selected from a literature descriptive

of powerful behavior, and as that literature is presumed to be valid

in its description of powerful individuals, an additional hypothesis

was tested:

6. As compared to apowerful persons, those persons

   designated as powerful will use the power-descriptive

   adjectives to describe themselves to a greater extent.

Additionally, the present study examined the subject's perception

of situations in which power behaviors are exhibited for oneself and

for powerful males and powerful females and the subjects' perceptions

of cultural differences in the exhibition of powerful behavior. Descrip-

tive data of powerful situations were obtained in the form of responses

to open-ended questions. The content of this material was examined for

the following:

1. Definitions of power spontaneously offered by the

   subjects and the degree of correspondence between such

   definitions and the definition accepted for this study.

2. The types of power used to describe situational use of powerful behavior and the matching of these types with the systems of classification outlined earlier.

3. Similarities in mode of thinking or reported observations which reflected either ethnic status or sex differences.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of three powerful and three apowerful persons of
each sex in each of four ethnic groups (Black, Caucasian, Native American,
and Hispanic) for a total of 48 subjects. Subjects were selected by a
panel of three judges well acquainted with the professional, ethnic, and
political leaders of the state. Two of the judges specialize in ethnic
minorities and women's affairs. The third judge has actively observed
and participated in state politics over a twenty-five year period. The
three judges agreed unanimously on the selection of the twenty-four
powerful people who were selected by utilizing the following operational
definition of a powerful person. A powerful person was one viewed as a
leader and recognized as such by members of his/her ethnic group and/or
one who held a position which ascribed power. A wide age range from
early twenties to mid-sixties was sought in each sex within each ethnic
group to avoid confounding power with age. Although the careful selection
of subjects severely limited the generalizability of results, powerful
subjects were deemed necessary for feedback on the adjectives selected.
An equal number of subjects in the apowerful group were matched to those
in the powerful group by approximate age, sex, and ethnic origin, but not
by occupation or socioeconomic status. An apowerful person was one who
was unrecognized, who was of lower economic or occupational status, or

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who had not assumed a legitimate leadership position. Persons who exercised hiring and firing power in their jobs were not included in the apowerful group. All subjects were residents of a Southern, midwestern state.

Materials

A behavioral checklist which consisted of 62 different adjective descriptors was constructed after a search of the power literature. The adjectives were arranged in a format similar to the BSRI utilizing a seven-point Likert-type scale. One point meant "never or almost never true" in the subjects' opinion, while seven points represented "always or almost always true". (See Appendix A for a copy of the checklist.) A structured interview consisting of six questions was developed for the experimenter's use in eliciting information from the subjects regarding additional adjectives descriptive of oneself, of powerful males, and of powerful females; situations deemed power-producing for those three categories of persons, and cultural differences noted in the expression of power. (See Appendix B for a listing of the questions.)

Procedure

The subjects were contacted by telephone, at which time the experimenter introduced herself, gave her credentials, and explained the nature of the study. Care was taken to use the words "influence" or "influential" instead of "power" in all conversations. Appointments were set up for interviews. The subjects were guaranteed confidentiality for all information they communicated. All of the powerful persons were interviewed in their offices or in their work setting. Due to the nature of the employment of some apowerful subjects, interviews occurred either in their homes or in a neutral setting.

The interviews began with a brief introduction to the study that indicated a focus upon developing an adjective checklist which would be descriptive of people's behaviors. Subjects were then asked to rate themselves on the adjective checklist, next to rate powerful persons of the same sex as themselves, and finally to rate powerful persons of the opposite sex. A structured interview followed the completion of the checklists. Subjects were first asked to describe themselves and to think of possible additional pertinent adjectives. Next they were questioned about the process by which their judgment had been made on the adjective "powerful". Subjects were then asked to discuss situations that they considered as power-producing for themselves. Subjects were asked to suggest additional descriptions and adjectives descriptive of powerful men and of powerful women as well as those situations deemed as power-producing. Finally, subjects were asked for their views of the cultural differences between men and/or women.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In order to have a simple reliability check on the responses of the subjects, two words on the checklist were used twice. One adjective was used on both the first and second pages and the correlation between the ratings was .558 ($p < .0001$). Another adjective was offered twice on the same page and produced a correlation of .887 ($p < .0001$).

Scores were derived by computing the average of the scores for the adjectives rated on each completed checklist. Thus, three scores were generated for each subject. A 4 (ethnic) x 2 (power) x 2 (sex) fixed effects analysis of variance* was used to examine differences in mean adjective ratings independently for each of the three checklists. The test on adjective ratings describing oneself was significant for the independent variable of power, $F (1, 32) = 13.98$, $p < .0007$ (See Table I for a summary of these results). Compared to apowerful subjects, powerful subjects rated the adjectives as being more true in describing themselves. Thus, hypothesis six, which proposed greater use of the adjectives by the powerful group, was supported. Neither the test of the adjective ratings describing powerful males nor the test of the adjective ratings describing powerful females yielded significance.

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*Due to the selected nature of the subjects, no legitimate F test is available for the effects in this design. The within subjects variance was used as a "conservative" error term.

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TABLE I

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SELF RATINGS

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	PR>F
Between	15	7.467	0.498	1.50	0.163
Sex	1	0.149	0.149	0.45	0.5065
Power	1	4.636	4.636	13.98	0.0007
Sex*Power	1	0.009	0.009	0.03	0.8714
Ethnic	3	1.253	0.414	1.26	0.3046
Sex*Ethnic	3	0.553	0.184	0.56	0.6481
Power*Ethnic	3	0.024	0.008	0.02	0.9948
Sex*Power* Ethnic	3	0.842	0.281	0.85	0.4785
Error	32	10.610	0.332		
TOTAL	47	18.077			0.5758

(See Table II for a summary of these results.) No difference by sex was found in the use of the adjectives to describe oneself, powerful males, or powerful females, thereby disconfirming hypotheses one, which proposed that males would find the power-descriptive adjectives more useful than females in self-description and two, which proposed that males, as compared to females, would utilize the adjectives to a greater extent in describing powerful males. No significant ethnic differences were evident on any rating; therefore hypothesis four, which proposed that Caucasians would use the power-descriptive adjectives to a greater extent than would non-Caucasians, was not supported. (See Table III for a summary of the mean scores for each cell.)

Both the powerful and apowerful groups were able to generate a large number of additional adjectives descriptive of themselves, of powerful males, and of powerful females. (See Table IV for a summary of the number of additional adjectives suggested by males and females in the two groups.) However, there were significant differences in the quantities generated for the three categories of self, powerful males, and powerful females, $F (2, 64) = 33.97$, $p < .0001$. (See Table V for a summary of the ANOVA on the additional adjectives.) Tukey's HSD method of comparisons was used to test differences between the means of the three categories. When the mean of adjectives for self (8.04) was compared to that for males (2.71) and that for females (4.0) it exceeded the HSD value ($p < .01$) for both comparisons. The difference between the means for females and males approached the HSD value at the .05 level but was not great enough to reach significance. Thus, the subjects (powerful and apowerful combined) generated a significantly greater number of adjectives for self-description than to describe powerful others. Neither hypothesis three, proposing a greater number of

TABLE II

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON RATINGS OF MALES AND FEMALES

MALES

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	PR>F
Between	15	4.209	0.281	0.67	0.7937
Sex	1	0.297	0.297	0.71	0.4064
Power	1	0.002	0.002	0.00	0.9448
Sex*Power	1	0.004	0.004	0.01	0.9262
Ethnic	3	0.741	0.244	0.59	0.6263
Sex*Ethnic	3	0.909	0.303	0.72	0.5456
Power*Ethnic	3	0.432	0.144	0.34	0.7940
Sex*Power* Ethnic	3	1.824	0.608	1.45	0.2464
Error	32	13.411	0.419		
TOTAL	47	17.619			0.6473

FEMALES

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	PR>F
Between	15	2.428	0.162	0.56	0.8808
Sex	1	0.229	0.229	0.77	0.3861
Power	1	0.009	0.009	0.03	0.8643
Sex*Power	1	0.019	0.019	0.04	0.8405
Ethnic	3	0.318	0.106	0.37	0.7761
Sex*Ethnic	3	0.276	0.092	0.32	0.8109
Power*Ethnic	3	1.176	0.392	1.36	0.2714
Sex*Power* Ethnic	3	0.417	0.139	0.48	0.6959
Error	32	9.194	0.287		
TOTAL	47	11.622			0.5360

TABLE III

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON SELF RATINGS
MEANS

| | Powerful | | | |
	Black	Caucasian	Hispanic	Native American
Male	5.005	4.297	5.360	5.108
Female	4.796	5.024	4.920	4.692
	Apowerful			
	Black	Caucasian	Hispanic	Native American
Male	4.253	4.220	4.618	4.301
Female	4.182	3.984	4.439	4.231

TABLE IV

TOTAL NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES
LISTED BY SUBJECTS

| | Powerful | | | Apowerful | | |
	Self	Males	Females	Self	Males	Females
Females	101	33	57	83	32	32
Males	99	26	60	97	43	43
TOTALS	200	59	117	180	75	75

TABLE V

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES

Source	Degrees of Freedom	ANOVA SS	Mean Square	F Value	PR>F
Between	47	943.666	20.078	.90	
Power	1	16.000	16.000	.71	.4045
Sex	1	5.444	5.444	.24	.6255
Power*Sex	1	13.444	13.444	.35	.7898
Ethnic	3	23.500	7.833	.60	.4444
Power*Ethnic	3	30.167	10.056	.45	.7200
Sex*Ethnic	3	100.056	33.352	1.49	.2365
Power*Sex* Ethnic	3	37.722	12.574	.56	.6447
Sub (Power* Sex*Ethnic)	32	717.333	22.417		
Within	96	1685.334	17.556	1.61	
Rate	2	743.167	371.584	33.97	.0001
Power*Rate	2	30.500	15.250	1.39	.2554
Sex*Rate	2	1.722	.861	0.08	.9244
Power*Sex*Rate	2	1.556	.778	0.07	.9314
Ethnic*Rate	6	23.833	3.972	0.36	.8995
Power*Ethnic* Rate	6	32.167	5.361	0.49	.8134
Sex*Ethnic* Rate	6	47.278	7.880	0.72	.6346
Power*Sex* Ethnic*Rate	6	105.111	17.519	1.60	.1612
Sub*Rate (Power*Sex* Ethnic)	64	700.000	10.938		
TOTAL	143	2629.000	18.385	9999.00	.000

additional adjectives to describe powerful females nor hypothesis five, predicting a greater number of additional adjectives listed by non-Caucasians in self-description, was supported. Refer to Appendix C for a list of the additional adjectives generated by the subjects.

An examination of the interview data revealed that six females and nine males in the powerful group were each able to generate a definition of power. Eight of the fifteen definitions focused upon decision-making or effecting change. Another four of the fifteen definitions focused upon personal, inner resources. The other three varied in theme. In the apowerful group, six females and five males generated a definition of power. Six of these definitions revolved around the notions of change, influence, or control. The remainder were diffuse and difficult to classify. No notable patterns were observable for ethnic groups or sexes.

The interview data were examined further to categorize and sort the situations discussed into the possible classification systems outlined in the literature review. Only three of the five classification systems were useful with the current data. No one system encompassed all of the situations discussed by the subjects. The systems of French and Raven and of May were functional for 84.15% of the situations cited. This 84.15% could additionally be explained by McClelland's theory since the aspect of McClelland's classification scheme that encompassed power directed outward overlapped both May and Raven's systems. The aspect of McClelland's scheme that encompassed power originating within the individual (the source) and directed inward accounted for 14.02% of the situations cited with no overlap with the other classification systems.

McClelland's unique category of power towards oneself was especially notable and essential in describing some of the cases. There were six situations for which none of the systems seemed appropriate (1.83%).

Of the 48 subjects, 43 addressed cultural and sex differences in the expression of power. Two of the three subjects who did not perceive differences were Hispanic. Rather than discussing ethnic differences, per se, power differences to Caucasians (with one exception) were discussed as sex differences within the Anglo culture. Non-Caucasian subjects noted differences between cultural groups as well as differences between the sexes within their particular ethnic reference group.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

As hypothesized, powerful subjects, both male and female, rated them-
selves to a significantly greater degree using the adjective ratings
than did apowerful subjects. As the adjectives comprising the check-
list were drawn from the literature on power, these words were presumed
to be more applicable and would seem to be more descriptive of power-
ful individuals than of apowerful persons. In addition, the finding
substantiates the supposition that the sample of subjects in the
powerful group were, in fact, powerful individuals, suggesting corre-
spondence between the judges' view of powerful persons and the self
view of powerful persons. Not only did white, male powerful people
describe themselves utilizing the adjectives presented, but so did
females and persons from different ethnic groups. Those powerful
individuals of either sex and from any of the four ethnic groups des-
cribed themselves equally well by the adjectives found on the checklist,
as no significant differences were found between the sexes or by racial
groups.

When the subjects were asked to generate additional adjectives,
both the powerful and apowerful groups generated large numbers of
additional adjectives. While a large number of additional adjectives
were offered to describe powerful men and women, a significantly greater
quantity were used to describe themselves. This finding could be

interpreted as an indicator that the literature on power is possibly
lacking in sufficient or appropriate descriptors of power behavior. An
additional explanation is that the powerful group was more readily ac-
quainted with the power behavior of themselves and was, thus, better able
to describe such behavior verbally.

The kinds of additional adjectives listed by the subjects were quite
variable and difficult to categorize. They seemed, in many cases, to
reflect the subject's idiosyncratic view of the world and of power,
rather than actual behaviors perceived as powerful in others. Although
some individuals did not discriminate between powerful males and females
by the use of specific additional adjectives, others did. The corre-
spondence or divergence between the subject's view of powerful males and
females appeared to be reflective of the subject's personal stance
toward sexual equality in contrast to traditional societal role models.
The words used uniquely to describe females emphasized both cognitive
and noncognitive skills. The general expectation that powerful females
had to be "more intelligent" ("brighter"), "more capable," and "more
competent" than men was often indicated. In general, females were
expected to be exemplary of ideal behavior while a less rigid standard
was operable for males. Additionally, adjectives used to describe
powerful women were closely tied to a societal view of appropriate
female characteristics. Powerful females were described by adjectives
indicating more expressive attributes (i.e., compassionate, revered,
altruistic, patient) and by others that are usually sex-linked (i.e.,
lovely, family-oriented, lady-like, gentle, charming, and non-
stereotypical). It would appear that powerful females are expected to

fulfill an expressive function even though, by the very nature of being considered powerful, they serve an instrumental function. Furthermore, in light of the use of sex-linked descriptors, it appears that powerful females are viewed as females first and as powerful individuals second.

The definitions of power generated by the subjects in both groups were similar to Winter's definition of power used in the present study. Although Winter's is a scholarly definition that covered a wide range of powerful behavior, the definitions offered by subjects in both groups closely approximated the substance of his definition by emphasizing power as effecting change. Although similar in content, the definitions were neither as clearly defined nor as broad in application as that used in the present study. In general, some pertinent aspect of a complete definition was missing. A definition generated by one subject will serve as an example. The definition, as stated, was "power is when one has within his direct charge the means to effect change." In order for this statement to match Winter's definition, an additional phrase concerning the effect upon another (the target) is necessary.

The majority of definitions offered by individuals from the power-ful group focused upon decision-making or effecting change and were common across ethnic groups and both sexes. For example: a black female subject depicted a powerful person as "one who has the last word, who makes things move." A Native American male subject similarly stated that being a powerful person "connoted pushing a button and things happen." The majority of definitions offered by individuals from the apowerful group, regardless of sex or ethnic status, centered upon control, or being "over" other people. A Caucasian female stated that "power is control over other's actions." Definitions of power quite

similar in flavor were generated by the powerful and apowerful groups of subjects. In fact, a black apowerful female and a black powerful male proposed nearly identical definitions, to-wit: "power is being able to get what one wants," and "power is getting the things you want," respectively.

Four of the definitions given by powerful individuals focused upon personal or inner resources, an aspect of power not covered by Winter's definition. By delineating this aspect, the subjects appear to have a broader definitional sense of power than does Winter. McClelland's theory covers this aspect of power, the aspect of personal power utilized for oneself (i.e., "a personal thing," "inner strength," "on one's own motion"), thus credence is given to his classification system. Credence is also given to May's classification system in that definitions offered by the subjects could be described by his system. Four of the five types of power described by May were relevant to subjects' definitions. Those types were: manipulative, competitive, nutrient, and integrative. Only the exploitative type was not offered in a definitional sense.

The situations seen as powerful, elucidated in the interview data, were examined for correspondence with the systems of classification presented previously. Two striking facts became evident in this process. First, no one system was adequate to cover all situations discussed by subjects. Examples that fit French and Raven's classification were: the editor of a newspaper will certainly possess independent power (based on information), a doctor will possess expert power (based on his special skills and abilities), while the wife of a politician clearly possesses referent power (based on her husband's position). Examples that fit May's system were: counselors and others in the

helping professions have nutrient power, revolutionaries have exploitative power, and athletes in action have competitive power. McClelland's system was the only one that recognized power, or power-inducing behaviors, that both originate within the self and are directed toward oneself. An example that fits this system, taken from the interview material, is "inner strength that can't easily be overridden."

Second, much overlap occurred between systems. The majority of the situations discussed by the subjects could readily be placed into one or more categories of either May's or French and Raven's systems. For example, any situations described in which the powerful individual used either rewards or punishment as a control device in French and Raven's system would be categorized as manipulative in May's system. Examples suggested by the subjects which could be so categorized were: a teacher with her students, a judge in the courtroom, and employers in hiring and firing. Situations classified by these two systems could also be classified by McClelland's system as utilizing a source of power external to the actor and directed toward a target external to the actor. For example, in the previous examples, rewards and punishments would be external to the powerful individual (source) and yet directed toward someone else (target). Extra recess time from the teacher, a heavy fine levied by the judge, or extra fringe benefits from the employer might be some cogent instances of external rewards and punishments evolving from the actual situation described.

Having considered the utilization of these systems, consider the relative merits of the various systems of classification. The system of classification proposed by French and Raven has both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, the system makes good intuitive

sense, is well-defined, is backed by a body of literature, and is readily applied to the situations generated in the present study. There is substantial validation for this system, as all six of French and Raven's types of power were noted by powerful and apowerful respondents of both sexes and in all ethnic groups. On the negative side, the system does not describe all situations discussed. For example, the kind of power described by subjects as that used by some people for "altruistic, group-oriented goals" is not encompassed by their system. Furthermore, French and Raven's singular concept of an actor directing his/her efforts toward one other person is only one possible way in which power operated in human interactions.

A more encompassing system of classification than that of French and Raven is presented by May. Like the system proposed by French and Raven, May's system also has positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects of May's system include complete and adequate descriptions of his five classes which aided utilization, the ready applicability and easy generalizability of these various classes within the system to the data, the wider scope of behavior which the system encompasses, its relative parsimony (as compared to French and Raven), and May's conception of both positive and negative uses of power. May's work is described in sufficient detail such that its applicability is readily tested. The situations described by subjects in the current study ranged from May's integrative power to exploitative power. The three types of power found in the middle ranges of May's spectrum--nutrient, competitive, and manipulative--were extensively noted in the data. Examples offered by the subjects included: Nutrient power--"altruistic, group-oriented goals," competitive--that exercised by politicians, and manipulative--

using one's position to have an impact on hiring practices utilized by

employers. The end types received much less comment. An example of

integrative power described by several subjects were "serving on

committees and commissions." An example of exploitative power described

by another subject was the "violent power" of revolts. Situations that

could be classified as exploitative power were given by only two respon-

dents. It is possible that this minor mention of situations that can

be classified as exploitative power was due to the nature of the sample.

Individuals or groups who experienced much oppression or tended to be

aggressive—ghetto inhabitants, juvenile delinquents, or bands of revolu-

tionaries—would likely describe a greater number of situations which

were descriptive of that category. Although situations descriptive of

integrative power were described more than those descriptive of

exploitative power, the relative use of this category was also small. It

is possible that the small number was again due to the nature of the

sample. Integrative power would more likely be of interest to a sample

of individuals who have an esoteric, ascetic, or socratic approach,

such as philosophers, priests, or scholars. An additional attractive

aspect of May's system is its relative parsimony; fewer categories

manage to describe and convey more information about human behavior

than do other systems. Two negative aspects of May's system are apparent.

One, power is described in his system solely from the point of view of

the actor without consideration or classification of the object of the

power behavior. Two, no body of literature exists to support his system.

The McClelland system of classification is more global than that

of either May or of French and Raven. It, too, has both positive and

negative aspects to it. Positive aspects of McClelland's system include his unique manner of categorizing the source and the target, the ease with which a reader can understand his system, the relative simplicity of his system, and the breadth of human behavior that can be described by his system. The really distinct feature of McClelland's system is that power is classified according to its direction of movement, rather than by any qualities of either the source or the target. Hence, this system includes an unusual category in which the direction of the power flow lies solely within the actor (toward him/herself). Although no other system found in the literature encompassed this type of power, subjects in this study described situations using power in this sense. Confirmation for McClelland's concept of personal power was verbalized by several of the subjects. Examples encompassed the idea that power emanated from "motivating energy," being "self-starting," an "honest nature," "strength of character," a "sense of integrity," and the respect that is accorded to a direct, sincere person. This type of power was described by subjects as being in contrast to the type which is acquired by the person due to wealth, financial leverage, or political patronage. The first type is a kind of internally acquired power, while the second type requires that power be acquired from external circumstances. A subject who recognized these differences in a pragmatic fashion said, "The vast majority of people in powerful positions are not powerful people." One of the most controversial, powerful, and wealthy men in the sample said, "True power is the ability to be satisfied with oneself." Although McClelland's system is parsimonious, utilizing only four categories, a positive aspect is its coverage of a wide range of human behavior. However, on the negative side, its

parsimony does not allow precise descriptive explanations of situations surrounding these same human behaviors.

The two remaining classification systems initially appeared to be as broad in scope as that of McClelland (1975). However, upon examination of the interview data, it became apparent that both of these systems were of a theoretical nature and neither was described or defined in sufficient detail to be pragmatically useful with the current data. Veroff and Veroff's (1972) concept of the situational arousal of power motivation would seem to mesh quite logically with the current study. However, in order to be functional, it would have to be extended definitionally. Additionally, their concept of the arousal of power motivation to avoid vulnerability is a negative approach. Such a view of power was not depicted by subjects in the current study. Rather, most subjects viewed power as a manifestation of strength. Examples of this type of strength are: a "sense of presence" or a "charismatic character" or a motivating personality. Specific examples mentioned by subjects were: Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, Mahatma Ghandi, John F. Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, or Coretta King.

Winter's (1973) system was not functional with the current data either. Even though Winter suggested a conceptualization of power behavior falling on a continuum for each of his dimensions, no discrete end points were noted and no methods were suggested to operationalize his proposed continuum and relate it to observable behaviors. The researcher is given only a general conceptualization of Winter's system rather than specifics. As a result of such general diffuseness, Winter's system was found to be inoperable.

In order to examine cultural differences in the expression of power, subjects were asked whether there are cultural differences in the expression of power in men and/or women. Most of the subjects responded positively to the question, noting differences or similarities between the two sexes. Interestingly, the Anglo subjects (with only one exception) answered the question only in terms of sex differences within the Anglo culture and did not specifically address cultural differences among diversified groups. In contrast, many of the subjects in the other three ethnic groups noted sex differences within their individual cultures and additionally were able to compare their culture to the Anglo culture.

Sex differences within the Anglo culture were noted by both powerful men and powerful women. Among powerful Anglo male subjects there was diversity in the specifics used to describe sex differences. An articulate Anglo newspaperman was quite adversarial in his position toward the double standard. He noted that females in our society are "raised to be polite and nonassertive," have an "almost inbred inferiority," and have to be "twice as good" as males in similar situations. The message he communicated was that females are not considered equals with males by society and that extremely positive qualities are necessary for a woman to acquire power similar to that of a man. Another powerful Anglo male subject took a less positive view toward powerful female attributes and described powerful females as being domineering, cutting, and using their influence and prestige for a "cause." A commonly cited view of powerful women was to attribute their power to appearance or sex appeal.

Powerful Anglo females were also cognizant of the differential treatment accorded the two sexes in this society. Two major themes emerged. The first theme parallels the thinking of powerful males and focuses upon the exhibition of greater competency by females in power. One of the most striking similarities among these powerful females is that they view powerful women as "considerably more competent than males" and that powerful women "control themselves and their own destinies . . . as an expression of competencies." While discussing females in general one powerful female subject stated "the greatest handicap females have is in their own minds." Implicit in this statement was the notion that more females have the capacity to be powerful but have been socialized to be unaware of or not confident of their maximum capacities. The second major theme which emerged was that powerful females do not achieve power as a result of having or in order to acquire wealth or a status position. Nor do they seek power for personal gain. Rather, when females are powerful, they have achieved it due to hard work or to internal resources. One powerful female subject indicated that for females to be powerful, it is "not necessary to have money;" for males to be powerful the opposite is true, as "most powerful males are rich." This subject further stated, "most powerful females don't abuse their power or use it for personal gain," but are more "noble" than powerful males are. Females use power for the benefit of others. A related aspect to these themes is the idea that the competent, noble female must be pleasant and assertive, but not aggressive. A powerful female attorney was especially attuned to the differential treatment that was accorded to her in the courtroom, particularly with juried cases. She stated, "Female jurors like female lawyers, but only if they smile and are not bitchy."

Sex differences in the black culture were noted by powerful black men and powerful black women. Powerful males, while discussing powerful females, incorporated into their statements descriptions of stereotyped male-female differences operating within the black culture. Power in black females was seen as manipulative power. A powerful black male stated that "females historically have had to manipulate through the kitchen and the bed" and that "females try to identify and use power wherever they can . . . manipulatively." Powerful black females agreed that stereotypical roles were incorporated into use of power by both males and females. However, their view emphasized the role-related characteristic of inadequacy for females. For example, a powerful black female stated that "females are brain-washed into (the use of) less aggression and assertiveness. After they're grown and mature, females learn, (to do so) where males learned as kids."

Sex differences in the expression of power were also noted by powerful Hispanic subjects. The female subjects were most cognizant of the sex-role determinants of the expression of power. According to powerful Hispanic females, females occupy a stereotyped position within the culture. One such subject emphasized the importance of eliminating seductiveness in the female's behavior; if the female did not do so, she would lose respect and be considered as a prostitute. She stated, "You can't be constructive if you are using your sexuality." It is hard to be "a eunuch, but you have to be in a work situation." She stated that the Hispanic female has "to watch working late at night, smoking and drinking," and that "respect prevents the sexual overtones." In her words this prevailing view of women flows out of a culture in which the "matriarchal system is predomiant." Additionally the culture maintains a view that "virgins are highly prized" even to the

extent that the "Virgin Mary is more important than Jesus Christ" and is the "focal point of the churches." Such views were reinforced by another powerful Hispanic female. She stated "A sexy female is not powerful but . . . derogatory." A double bind is evident, however. The same subject emphasized that Spanish women who are powerful are isolated and labeled derogatorily. "In the Spanish world a powerful female is no like--called mari-macho--similar to a tomboy and not acceptable." According to this subject, the Hispanic woman's role has been "to be at home, to be submissive, and to build the man's ego. She wants him (the man) to feel important and superior and (she is) to enjoy his protection." The subject indicated that a common dilemma for Hispanic females is to achieve while not adversely affecting their marital family. "We're in a period of evolution right now." The female is attempting to act independently, to take care of herself, while keeping the family atmosphere. This is difficult. Hence, the Hispanic female is seen in conflict "trying to realize herself and keep her home and family." The concept of the female being more capable than the powerful male was also addressed by the powerful Hispanic subjects. A powerful Hispanic female states "women have to be convincing and capable to be powerful. Power just doesn't come as easily. Women can't make the same mistakes as men."

In contrast to the conflictual view of the powerful female presented by the Anglo, black or Hispanic subject, the view expressed by powerful Native American subjects is that females of their culture exhibit either equal or greater power when compared to males in the culture. Females are described as more potent, stronger, more aggressive and frequently the moving force of the community, especially given

the matriarchal forms of some tribal governments. According to a
powerful Native American male, the traditional attitude toward females
has never been "demeaning" or "unimportant," but rather one of respect.
In contemporary times females have "better opportunity" than they have
had in earlier times and their talents are viewed as quite valuable
in today's society. A second powerful Native American male from a
different tribe described similar attitudes. He perceived power,
influence, and respect operating in the same fashion for both males
and females within the culture. Both male and female leaders would
"not be considered powerful by ordinary, white standards." Another
powerful Native American male noted that females are very esteemed in
his tribe and that they have the power of making policy. Although his
tribe was traditionally matriarchal, he perceived "the (current)
imbalance of roles (for males and females) came out of the change from
the traditional Indian culture" and was " imposed by the dominant
society" (Anglo). A powerful Native American female subject noted
that "Indians have a matriarchal form of government;" it is "not
proclaimed; it is just their way." This is viewed as a direct result
of the extended family situation which operates in most Indian tribes.
This respondent stated, "A powerful woman is one who has ties not only
to her own family, but also to other clans. She influences others
decisions."

Theories concerning sex differences in the acculturation process of
Native Americans to Anglo culture were developed by several of the
subjects. One powerful Native American male respondent developed his
"own sociological theory" about the adjustment process of American
Indians to the Anglo culture. In his view the Indian males have "lost
their roles as "hunter, warrior, and home provider." In contrast the

females had "greater decision-making abilities within the tribal struc-
ture." Their roles were least affected by the dominance of white culture,
thus they had less adjusting to make to Anglo culture. A second
American Indian subject, a powerful female, acknowledged this concept.
She stated that American Indian men are not "very aggressive" and the
women "came through" to "work for survival" and to "keep the family
going." According to her, this historical situation "forced females to
be stronger" while males have been "crippled and impeded" in adjusting
to Anglo society. Compounding this problem is the strong traditional
sense of group acceptance and approval operable within the Native
American culture. This acceptance of individuals as they are creates
the situation in which males are comfortable as they are and reluctant
to change their power status.

In addition to the differential description of powerful men and
women within diverse cultural groups, cultural differences in the
expression of power were described by the subjects interviewed. These
differences were noted occasionally by Anglos, but were described by
the majority of subjects in the other three ethnic groups. Anglos were
only able to allude to possible ethnic differences, while subjects in
the three other ethnic groups were able to more clearly describe the
phenomenon or to comprehend an underlying process. For example, only
one powerful Anglo--a female--commented about cultural differences and
then only to label black women as "different" and Hispanic women as
"really down." A powerful black woman was better able to describe the
difference with the statement "black females are feeling more insecure
than their white counterparts." They are the "last hired and the first
fired." Hence, they "feel superior" since they "had to be more prepared
to get the same job." This same powerful black female extended her

observation to males. She noted, "Black males are more intimidated by females with the same capabilities who work for them" than "white males (who) don't feel as threatened." Another contrast offered compared black males with white males and that on the same job black males "don't have the same authority" as white males. In other words, black males are perceived to have less power and authority than white males who hold identical occupational positions.

One issue, voiced repeatedly by powerful subjects, was the supremacy of the Anglo male as compared to females or persons from diverse ethnic groups. One black powerful male stated that "there are cultural differences in the ways blacks and females are treated (compared) to the way white males are treated." This supremacy is noticed in subtle actions. For example, one powerful black female noted that her colleagues (all males) and the public address her as "Mrs." rather than by her legitimate title as an elected official. She is also expected to behave differently than her colleagues. She complained that she has "to be a lady and can't roll up my sleeves and fight or use expletives." Her perception of the situation is one in which she is in a "Madonna" role, placed there by the males in order to keep her impotent. A powerful black male agreed, indicating that "the black female has had to struggle to buck the same odds" and that "females in general have to buck odds that males wouldn't." Additionally the same subject indicated a differential acceptance of power exhibited among white and black women. He stated "power is very positive in black females and is more prevalent among black females than among white females."

An examination of the interview material with the apowerful subjects pertaining to sex and cultural differnces in the expression of power revealed four trends. The first two trends were similar to those found with powerful subjects: (1) a focus on male/female differences within a cultural context, and (2) ethnic differences were by and large noted only by non-Anglo subjects. The third trend noted by the interviewer was a focus upon the joint possession of wealth or money and economic power. The fourth trend noted by the interviewer was that the apowerful subjects demonstrated less ability to express their thoughts verbally and to lend credence to their ideas with examples than did the powerful subjects. The first trend—male/female differences—was of most concern to the subjects. The Anglos reaffirmed the existence of differential treatment of the sexes in the society. The apowerful Caucasian females were more aware of this treatment than were powerful females or Caucasian males. They noted that females are reared to be less aggressive, more submissive, and more aware of husband and children's needs and feelings (inferring neglect of their own). The apowerful Caucasian males did not deal with these differences at any length with one notable exception. One of the Caucasian males stated that he has observed "powerful home-makers who held together families with schizy men and sociopathic kids without much recognition." He added that "this may be a more subtle and a more forceful form of power." A lady can have "strength through gentleness and power through sensitivity" to other people and their needs.

The second trend—ethnic differences—indicated an awareness of the inequality of power among ethnic groups. As noted by a black apowerful male, "a black male on an equal basis with a white male educationally and economically could not be as powerful because he is black."

Two apowerful females were quite insightful. One noted that "racially different people with the same cultural environment will react more alike." The second subject stated that the "differences are a product of the society, rather than of the culture." The members of a minority group were perceived to be more limited by societies rules and prejudices than by actually belonging to a certain cultural group.

The third trend observed focused upon the relationship betwen wealth, status, and economic power. Such a focus might be expected as the apowerful subjects were not in as powerful, nor as economically rewarding occupations. Many factors could be the basis for such a focus. One factor could be a concern with economic security for one's self and family. An apowerful Caucasian female was quite candid in expressing her view toward wealth. She stated, "The only way I can feel powerful about myself is to have money behind me where I once didn't." This subject viewed "money as power" and recognized that individuals are able to control others with it. An apowerful Hispanic female subject confirmed this view that money is power. She noted that one who has "cold, hard cash is a powerful man". Several other subjects equated being powerful with acquiring wealth or being successful in business. Compounding the problem and emphasizing this view is the fact that the apowerful individuals frequently have to deal with those occupationally above themselves who are more powerful. An apowerful Hispanic male stated that "money can make people do strange things, even to killing." Particularly for the apowerful subjects it seems a necessity that the individual be able to recognize and adjust to the impact which financial power may exert.

The fourth trend was an observation by the examiner during the interviews. Most of the apowerful subjects could relate to the topics of discussion, but had difficulty in verbally describing differences or situations and difficulty in citing examples. For example, an apowerful black male could only relate to power as strength, primarily as a physical manifestation in gripping or lifting items. He stated that he could perceive cultural differences but he could only produce two sentences to describe such differences. An apowerful Caucasian male was equally non-productive. He too was only able to relate power to possessing physical strength and was not able to describe powerful females. Another apowerful Caucasian male was similarly at a loss for words. He was only able to describe powerful females as "powerful" in family and home-making activities, using no additional adjectives.

In summation, the current study was interested in an examination of powerful behavior, and the generation of additional adjective descriptors. A search of the literature revealed numerous definitions regarding the operation of powerful behavior and a variety of theoretical approaches to the study of power. A search of the literature also revealed that most research dealing with power has been focused upon motivation. Such a motivational focus has not been successfully generalizable to females and to diverse ethnic groups with similar consistent results.

As a result of the theoretical and methodological problems, the current study used both an adjective checklist and an open-ended interview. The power literature was searched for adjectives used in describing powerful white, middle-class males. Sixty-two of these adjectives were assembled in a check-list format to be rated with a Likert-type scale. Subjects of both sexes and from diverse ethnic groups were asked to rate themselves, powerful males, and powerful females using the checklist.

The adjectives were more descriptive of persons in the powerful group. During the subsequent interview subjects were asked for additional adjectives descriptive of themselves, of powerful males, and of powerful females and for descriptions of the situational use of powerful behavior. Subjects offered a significantly large number of additional descriptors for themselves, were able to spontaneously submit definitions of power similar to the one accepted for the current study, and offered a multitude of situations in which they perceived powerful behavior operable. Such situations confirmed three of the five systems of classification summarized in the first chapter. Subjects were attuned to male-female differences within their own ethnic groups. Black, Hispanic, and Native American subjects were able to contrast their cultures with the dominant Anglo culture.

The findings presented above have implication for future empirical research as well as for the establishment of new conceptual systems. Further exploration of the theoretical basis of power is called for. No theory--neither old nor new--differentiated between males and females. Perhaps a novel system of classification is necessary to both explain and encompass the various powerful situations. Additionally, considerable research is needed to explore the operationalization of power behavior and the appropriate descriptors of that powerful behavior. Further research should utilize both sexes and several ethnic groups to ensure that those theoretical notions and research findings would be applicable to a variety of persons, behaviors, and situations concerning power.

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APPENDIX A

ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST

DESCRIBE YOURSELF

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never or Almost Never True	Usually Not True	Sometimes But Infre- quently True	Occasionally True	Often True	Usually True	Always or Almost Always True

Powerful	
Dominant	
Manipulative	
Motivated	
Aroused	
Self-reliant	
Esteemed	
Dynamic	
Argumentative	
Helpful	
Self-confident	
Political	
Virile	
Convincing	
Influential	

Capable	
Inspirational	
Demanding	
Forceful	
Superior	
Sociable	
Recognized	
Satisfied	
Aggressive	
Strong	
Charismatic	
Confident	
Resourceful	
Prestigious	
Competitive	

1		2		3		4		5		6		7

Never or | Usually | Sometimes | Occasionally | Often | Usually | Always or
Almost Never | Not | But Infre- | True | True | True | Almost
True | True | quently True | | | | Always True

Impulsive		Possessive	
Sexy		Seductive	
Assertive		Organizational	
Physical		Compulsive	
Ritualistic		Sly	
Mature		Mature	
Egotistical		Autonomous	
Heavy-drinker		Capable	
Lethal		Potent	
Receptive		Protective	
Resistant		Exploitive	
Authoritative		Benevolent	
Expressive		Emotional	
Energetic		Attractive	
Secure		Celestial	
Supreme		Ruling	
Honorable		Respected	

APPENDIX B

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

NAME: _____ DATE: _____

** Be sure to ask if it's all right to take notes.

   I.   Five minute introduction on the study and its purpose.

  II.   Fill out forms immediately to avoid contamination, always giving
        the "DESCRIBE YOURSELF" questionnaire first.

 III.   Ask for adjectives other than those on the present inventories
        that describe powerful people.

  IV.   Begin the interview...

        A. Describe yourself

        B. Do you feel that you are a powerful person?

        C. Describe yourself as a powerful person (Adjectives and
            situations)

        D. Describe powerful women. (Adjectives and situations)

        E. Describe powerful men. (Adjectives and situations)

        F. Do you think that there are cultural differences in the
            expression of power in men and/or women?

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES OFFERED BY SUBJECTS

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES OFFERED BY

SUBJECTS TO DESCRIBE SELF

Above-average	Contributor	Giving	Loyal
Accepting	Controlling	Goal-directed	Managerial
Accessible	Cooperative	Goal follower	Mobile
Accountable	Coping	Good-natured	Moderate
Achievement-	Creative	Gourmet	Motivative
oriented	Credible	Gracious	Naive
Active	Curious	Guarded	Neat
Adaptable	Cynical	Gullible	Non-competitive
Administrative	Debater	Happy	Non-directive
Afraid of power	Decisive	Happy-go-lucky	Not demanding
Ambitious	Dedicated	Hard	Not emotional
Apprehensive	Deferred to	Hard-working	Not greedy
Athletic	Dependent	Honest	Not meddling
Attention-getter	Determined	Hospitable	Not naive
Authoritarian	Dictatorial	Humanistic	Not satisfied
Average	Direct(ive)	Humble	Not self-confident
Aware	Disciplined	Humorous	Not trusting
Balanced	Disorganized	Iconoclastic	Not vulnerable
Biased	Distant	Idealistic	Open
Calculative	Dogmatic	Impatient	Open-minded
Calm	Domineering	Inconsistent	Opinionated
Caring	Down-to-earth	Independent	Optimistic
Catalytic	Eager	Industrious	Organizing(ed)
Cautious	Easy	Informative	Ornery
Charitable	Easy-going	Initiator	Other-directed
Circumventive	Effective	Inquisitive	Out-going
Civic-minded	Efficient	Instinctual	Out-spoken
Closed	Empathetic	Intellectual	Over-protective
Cold	Ethical	Intelligent	Paranoid
Comfortable	Fair	Intense	Participator
Commanding	Family-oriented	Interested	Patient
Common-sensical	Financially	Involved	People-oriented
Community-	independent	Irrascible	Perceptive
oriented	Forgiving	Jealous	Perfectionistic
Competent	Fortunate	Kind	Persistance
Concerned	Forward	Knowledgable	Persuadeable
Confrontive	Freedom of	Lazy (slightly)	Persuasive
Conscientious	speech	Leader	Philosophical
Conservative	Friendly	Likeable	Poised
Considerate	Frustrated	Listener	Poor loser
Content	Fun-loving	Logical	Private
Contributing	Generous	Loving	Procrastinator(ting)

Productive	Revered	Smart	Trusting
Punctual	Risk-taker	Spend-thrifty	Unafraid
Questioning	Romantic	Spiritual	Unagressive
Quiet	Ruthless	Sports-minded	Uncomplicated
Rational	Scatter-brained	Stability	Uncompromising
Realistic	Scholarly	Stable	Undeferring
Reasonable	Self-aware	Status-seeking	Understanding
Reclusive	Self-determinded	Stick-to-itive	Unsatisfied
Relaxed	Self-esteemed	Strong-willed	Unselfish
Religious	Self-started	Stubborn	Variable
Repentful	Sensitive	Successful	Violent
Reserved	Sensuous	Surviving	Visible
Resistant	Sentimental	Task-oriented	Volatile
Respectful	Serious	Tender	Warm
Responsible	Sharing	Thick-skinned	Well-organized
Responsive	Shrewd	Thinker	Well-read
Restless	Shy	Thrifty	Witty
Retiring	Sincere	Thoughtful	Worrier
	Slow	Tolerant	Young
		Traditional	Zestful

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES OFFERED BY

SUBJECTS TO DESCRIBE MALES

Able	Deserving	Inaccessible	Rational
Accomplished	Destructive	Initiator	Reasonable
Acquisitive	Determined	Insecure	Resilient
Action-oriented	Devious	Integrity	Responsive
Adaptable	Dictatorial	Intelligent	Revered
Admirable	Direct	Intelligible	Rich
Amoral	Dishonorable	Intimidating	Rigid
Apolitical	Doers	Involved	Selfish
Arousing	Domineering	Jealous	Shakers
Arrogant	Effectual	Judgmental	Shrewd
Bright	Equanimitous	Just	Sincere
Calm	Expedient	Keeps word	Sophisticated
Caring	Extremist	Knowledgable	Square-shooter
Change-agent	Fair	Married	Successful
Cold	Family-oriented	Mobilizing	Temperate
Comfortable	Financially	Monied	Thoughtful
Compromising	wealthy	Motivative	Tit-for-tat
Confidential	Financially	Movers	Trusted
Controlling	powerful	Non-violent	Truthful
Credible	Free	Open	Two-faced
Cultural	Friendly	Opinionated	Tyrannical
Cunning	Goal-directed	Organized	Unreceptive
Deceptive	Go-getter	Ornery	Unselfish
Dedicated	Hard-working	Overbearing	Unyielding
Delegatory	Honest	Persistent	Use others
Demogogic	Humble	Persuasive	Vociferous
	Hypocritical	Positive	Wealthy
	Impactful	Professional	Wise

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ADDITIONAL ADJECTIVES OFFERED BY

SUBJECTS TO DESCRIBE FEMALES

Able	Defensive	Interfering	Revered
Accessible	Designated	Interruptive	Sensitive
Accountable	Dictatorial	Intuitive	Showy
Active	Dignified	Justifying	Sincere
Adaptable	Disadvantaged	Knowledgeable	Skilled
Admirable	Domineering	Lady-like	Smart
Altruistic	Easy to work with	Leader	Smarter
Aloof	Educated	Leadership	Straight
Arrogant	Effective	Likeable	Straight forward
Articulate	Efficient	Lovely	Straight-talking
Biased	Empathic	Magnetic	Strength of
Brash	Even-keeled	Mean	character
Bright	Experienced	Mobile	Strength through
Brilliant	Family-oriented	Non-assertive	gentleness
Business-like	Feeling	Non-distractible	Strong
Calculating	Financially inde-	Not ego-involved	Structured
Calm	pendent	Not stereotypical	Stubborn
Candid	Firm	Objective	Successful
Careless	Flexible	Optimistic	Supervisory
Caring	Forward	Outspoken	Supportive
Catalytic	Friendly	Over-possessive	Tactful
Charming	Gentle	Patient	Talented
Circumventive	Giving	Perceptive	Talkative
Cohesive	Goal-directed	Persevering	Tender
Cold	Hard	Persistent	Threatened
Compassionate	Hard-working	Personable	Tolerant
Competent	Honest	Persuasive	Trustworthy
Confrontive	Humble	Physically	Uncompromising
Conscientious	Impressive	imposing	Undeterred
Controlled	Independent	Positive	Unreasonable
Controlling	Informed	Productive	Unselfish
Cooperative	Inner strength	Professional	Up-front
Credible	Insensitive	Purposeful	Verbal
Cunning	Integrity	Open-minded	Visible
Cutting	Intelligent	Qualified	Vital
	Intelligible	Reasonable	Vocal
		Responsible	Well-prepared
			Wise

VITA

Betty Mitchell Cartmell

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: A FOCUS ON THE BEHAVIOR OF POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS

Major Field: Psychology

Biographical:

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   Education: Graduated from Pawnee High School, Pawnee, Oklahoma,
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      Psychology at Oklahoma State University, September, 1976;
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