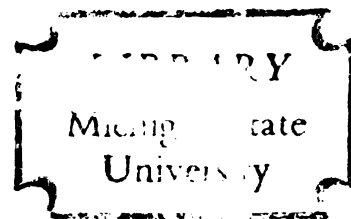


THE MOTIVES OF POLITICIANS
AND BUSINESSMEN

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ABSTRACT

THE MOTIVES OF POLITICIANS AND BUSINESSMEN

By

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Interview and TAT data on 94 businessmen classified as leaders, subleaders or inactives in party politics or in civic affairs were available from a previous study (Browning, 1960). The TAT's were scored for need for power (n Pow), need for Influence (n Inf), need for Achievement (n Ach) and need for Affiliation (n Aff). All motive scores were corrected for story length.

Analyses of variance and selected pairwise non-parametric tests were done. The results of the data analyses are as follows: There are no motivational differences between five of the six groups on the four motives: The Party Leaders, Party Subleaders, Party Inactives, Civic Subleaders, and Civic Inactives. Only the Civic Leaders differ from other groups. They have higher n Pow and lower n Aff than the Civic Subleaders and higher n Pow than the Party Leaders.

The fact that all men were businessmen was suggested as an explanation for the homogeneity of motives.

The Civic Leaders are unique in this sample and it was suggested that the position of Leader in Civic affairs allows a freer expression of n Pow strivings than a Party Leader position. Activity in this sample may simply be the result of a recruitment process by the Parties or Mayor. Methodological procedures which may have eliminated useful variance and arguments opposed to the story length correction were considered. Differences between Browning's conclusions and Szari's conclusions were resolved when the statistical bases were examined.

The results of exploratory analyses suggest that the Civic Group has higher n Pow than the Party group, that the Party group has higher n Aff than the Civic group and that a person with low n Inf and high n Aff will tend to be a Party member. An interaction between n Ach and n Pow suggested that activity is related to two combinations: (a) high n Pow and high n Ach and (b) low n Pow and low n Ach. Other results from the exploratory analyses were regarded as random effects.

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DEDICATION

To Allen, Mom and Dad

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INTRODUCTION

The motivations of persons entering politics has long been under the scrutiny of the general public and certain assumptions have become part of public lore: politicians are power-hungry, selfish, aggressive and unconcerned with others' welfare. Sampson (1965) feels that power and love are diametrically opposed capabilities and that developing one necessarily means weakening the capacity for the other. This of course is congruent with the image of the uncaring, selfish politician. A political scientist, Lasswell (1948) saw power as the cornerstone of politics, involving subordinates' expectations of the authoritative and controlling influence of the one-in-power. Lasswell believed that the political man demands power for himself and accentuates his expectations concerning power, often in order to compensate for low estimates of himself. Milbrath (1965) on the other hand, who studied various personality variables and political involvement, suggest that it is unlikely for persons with high power motivation to enter politics, or to be very successful in the political area if they do enter it. Lane (1959) agrees in part with both men. He agrees with Lasswell that the need for power is not expressed in

politics directly, but is expressed either in a sublimated or disguised form. He also agrees with Milbrath that it is not likely that a man would attain a high office if he were enamoured with power, but would rather fulfill minor roles in a democracy. One novel comment Lane presents is that it is just as likely for the man highly interested in power to be active in non-political areas as well as political areas.

Many studies have been undertaken in the area of the variables influencing political involvement and political behavior (Bell, 1967; Lindenfeld, 1962). One study dealing specifically with the motivations of politicians and attempting to answer the question of what kind of person becomes a politician is the doctoral dissertation of Rufus Browning (1960). It is the basis for the present paper and will be presented in detail.

Browning's Study

Browning, a political scientist, interviewed and administered a modified Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to 94 businessmen in a medium-sized eastern city. These businessmen had been rated as to leadership level in a previous study (Dahl, 1961) and were divided into six categories: Party leaders, Party subleaders, Party inactives, Civic leaders, Civic subleaders and Civic inactives. The Party leaders, Party subleaders, Civic leaders

and Civic subleaders were combined into an Active group, while the Party inactives and Civic inactives composed the Inactive sample (see Table 1). The Party leaders and subleaders were businessmen active in a major political party in either an elective, appointive or ward capacity. The Civic leaders and subleaders were those businessmen active in urban renewal policy-making or members of the mayor's advisory council. The Inactive sample was composed of men who were matched to the Party subleaders and Civic subleaders by Browning on the basis of ethnic and religious background, career level and specific occupation, type and size of business and residence. The Inactive samples were nearly identical in average age and education to the respective matched subleaders.

Interviews with the men were preceded by a letter and phone call of introduction. There was a standard interview procedure prepared, but in practice, infrequently followed. The modified TAT, a set of six pictures (No. 5, 28, 83, 9, 24 and 53 in that order, listed in Atkinson, 1958, p. 835) was given to the men in their offices or homes. They were given the six pictures one at a time and asked to take a "test of imagination . . . a test of the capacity to think on your feet." Their verbal responses to the standard four TAT questions (typed on a separate sheet) were taken down by Browning in shorthand and transcribed by him later.

Table 1.--Size and description of the sample used in the Browning study.

		Party	Civic
<u>Actives</u>			
Leaders		3	7
Subleaders:			
	Party {	Ward 7	
		Elective 11	
		Appointive <u>5</u>	
Total Subleaders		23	22
<u>Inactives</u>			
Inactives		18	21

The protocols were scored by Browning alone for the needs for power (n Pow), achievement (n Ach) and affiliation (n Aff) according to the scoring manuals developed by McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell (n Ach), Veroff (n Pow) and Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson (n Aff). These scoring manuals are given in Atkinson (1958). In addition to these scoring conventions, others were adopted for the three motives as noted in Browning's dissertation.

N Ach may be described as the concern over competition with a standard of excellence. N Aff may be defined as the concern over establishing, maintaining or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person. N Pow refers to affect concerned with the control of the means of influencing a person. This includes wanting to avoid weakness.

Browning's Results

Browning concludes from his non-parametric analyses that there are no differences attributable to the Civic vs. Party dimension; both groups are similar in motive scores. Leaders and subleaders are similar in n Pow and n Ach, differing only in n Aff: Leaders having less need for warm personal relationships than subleaders. The inactives are similar to the matched subleaders in n Aff, but have lower n Pow and n Ach.

From a further division of the Party subleaders into elective offices (11), ward offices (7) and appointive offices (5) Browning concludes that the ward officeholders are essentially identical to the inactives in motives (low \underline{n} Ach, low \underline{n} Pow, and high \underline{n} Aff). The elective politicians have higher \underline{n} Pow and \underline{n} Ach than the ward officeholders, but have similar high \underline{n} Aff. The elective group has higher \underline{n} Pow and \underline{n} Ach than its matched inactives. Browning finds that most of the ward politicians had a relative active in politics and were recruited by the Party for their position. Only four of the eleven elective politicians had relatives active in politics and five out of nine¹ self-initiated their entrance into politics.

Purpose of the Present Study

The present study began as an extension of Browning's study. The original data were to be reanalyzed in terms of the need for influence (\underline{n} Inf), a motive scoring system recently developed by Uleman (1966). \underline{n} Inf may be described as a need for some kind of interpersonal effectiveness. This scoring system is thought to measure a motivational complex separate from \underline{n} Pow. It was hoped

¹No Information is available on two men.

that analysis in terms of n Inf would aid in defining the boundaries of the two motive scoring systems.

However as the Browning study was more carefully investigated, questionable procedures in both collection and analysis of the data were discovered. Since the original interviews and TAT protocols were made available, it was decided to reanalyze the data revising the methodology where necessary (as described below) and then to study the effect of the new variable, n Inf.

One of the questionable procedures was the scoring of all the TAT protocols by one person. Each person tends to have scoring preferences and idiosyncrasies; this tends to be balanced out when there are more than one scorer. ¹⁷ The personal preferences of the one scorer in this study may have influenced the direction of the scores and therefore the results. There is a second possibility that the scoring was biased unintentionally since the person who scored the protocols had also collected the data and may have remembered the status of the respondents (See Atkinson, 1958, p. 691).

The major scoring systems used were those in Atkinson. However additional conventions were adopted for the three motives (described in the appendix in Browning's dissertation) which make comparisons with other studies using only one system difficult.

Another factor which may have influenced results was the significant correlations between length of the TAT protocol and each motive score, shown in Table 2. Since the conditions under which the data were gathered were not uniform, there is the possibility that the story length was in part due to factors other than motive strength. As stories become longer and more detailed, there is a greater possibility that subcategories of the scoring system would be included and thereby raise the motive score for that story. Therefore, higher scores might not be a true reflection of the strength of a motive, but may be the result of uncontrolled factors in the experimental design. Various methods have been used to correct this problem² (Walker and Atkinson, 1952; Child, Storm and Veroff, both in Atkinson, 1958; Veroff, Atkinson, Feld and Gurin, 1960), but no corrections were made in this analysis of Browning's data. (These corrections based on Browning's scoring were made in later journal articles.) It is possible that some of the Browning results may be attributable to differences in story length alone.

The present study attempted to correct the above problems in the analysis of the data and to investigate the effect of n Inf.

²All experimenters do not agree that the story length correlation is a problem. See the Discussion section.

Table 2.--Spearman rank order correlations between story length and Browning's Motive Scores.

Motive	Correlation
N Pow	.27**
N Ach	.43***
N Aff	.19*

*p < .10, two-tailed.

**p < .01, two-tailed.

***p < .001, two-tailed.

The analyses were guided by the following questions:

(1) Is there a difference in the strength of motives held by those in this sample active in civic affairs and those active in a political party?

(2) Are the leaders and subleaders similar in the strength of any of the four motives, n Pow, n Inf, n Ach and n Aff?

(3) Is there a motive combination which differentiates ~~the~~^{the} inactives from those who become active in these two areas?

In addition to tests related to the above questions, tests were done to verify Browning's findings on the subgroups and to investigate the possible relationships

of other variables (e.g., level of aspiration) with the motive scores. These analyses are considered secondary in importance to the goals of this study and are therefore presented in Appendix B.

Method

Subjects

The subjects are 94 businessmen in an Eastern city described as leaders, subleaders or inactives in the political and civic affairs of the community. A more complete description is given in the Introduction.

Procedures

The original interviews and TAT protocols were generously made available for the present study by Professor Browning. The protocols were scored for n Pow and n Inf according to n Pow manual in Atkinson (1958) and n Inf manual developed by Uleman (1966). No other scoring conventions were adopted.

N Pow was scored by two, and n Inf was scored by three different paid undergraduate experts who had completed training on the respective manuals and had obtained acceptable reliabilities (see Table 3). Each expert scored all protocols for one motive, without knowledge of the purpose of the study or of the status of the respondent.

The Spearman rank order correlations between the three n Inf scorers (FP, BG, LA) were .54, .58 and .77. The reliability of their average score as determined by

Table 3.--Reliability scores for the five undergraduate raters on the practice sets in Atkinson (1958): Rank order correlations between expert and raters' scoring and percentage agreement (%) between rater's and expert scores on the motive imagery category.^a

		N Ach Practice Sets		N Aff Practice Sets			
		C	D	A	B	C	D
<u>N Inf Scorers</u>							
FP	r_s	.94	.94	.87	.92	.92	.96
	%	97	100	96	100	100	98
BG	r_s	.94	.85	.59	.77	.77	.81
	%	100	94	96	98	98	98
LA	r_s	.86	.89	.84	.80	.79	.83
	%	97	97	98	100	96	100
		<u>N Pow Practice Sets</u>					
		C	D	E	F	G	
<u>N Pow Scorers</u>							
LM	r_s	.80	.69	.78	.66	.77	
	%	89	88	89	85	90	
JB	r_s	.59	.57	.21	.72	.61	
	%	74	78	56	77	80	

^aPercentage agreement scores equal the ratio of twice the number of times that the expert and rater agree in scoring the presence of motive imagery divided by the number of times the rater has scored motive imagery present plus the number of times the expert has scored motive imagery present. (Atkinson, p. 688)

the Spearman Brown prediction formula (Winer, p. 127) was .84, acceptable for research purposes. The correlation between the two n Pow scorers (LM, JB) was $\rho = .71$. Since the correlations between JB and Browning's scoring ($\rho = .71$) and between LM and Browning's scoring ($\rho = .76$) were almost identical, all three scorers were used in the present study. The reliability of their average score was .89 as determined by the above prediction formula.

Expert scorers were not available for n Aff and n Ach. Therefore, Browning's scoring of these two motives was used with the recognition of its possible research limitations (as described in the Introduction).

Story Length

Spearman rank order correlations between the motive scores and story length of the TAT protocols (which ranged from 128 to 1,678 words) were significant as shown in Table 4. Consideration was given to the effect story length itself might have had on the motive scores. As a story becomes longer and more detailed, there is a greater probability that a motive scoring subcategory would be applicable and raise the motive score. Since the data had been gathered under non-uniform conditions (see Atkinson, p. 837) it was possible that these conditions resulted in the varying story lengths and

consequently the higher motive scores. Could results later obtained from this data be an artifact of the length of protocol of these subjects or would results be true motive differences of the sample?

Table 4.--Spearman rank order correlations between story length and Szari Uncorrected and Corrected Motive Scores.

Motive	Correlations	
	Uncorrected Scores	Corrected Scores
N Pow	.37**	.12
N Ach	.43**	-.01
N Aff	.19*	-.16
N Inf	.67**	.10

*p < .10, two-tailed.

**p < .001, two-tailed.

To check if story length itself could differentiate between the groups, 2 x 2 analyses of variance (using the least squares solution with proportional cell sizes, see Winer, (1962) section 7.8) were run with the following two designs: (a) Civic vs. Party, Active vs. Inactive; (b) Civic vs. Party, Subleaders vs. Inactives. Story length was used as the dependent variable in both analyses. Both analyses indicated a significant main effect ($p < .05$) for Civic vs. Party with the Civic group

having longer stories than the Party group (see Table 5 for the cell means). There were no other significant effects or interactions. The cell means, F-values and probability levels of these analyses with story length are given in Appendix C.

To see if the results of the uncorrected motive scores would be similar to the results obtained from the story length analyses of variance, the same analyses were computed with the four motives as the dependent variables. The Civic vs. Party factor was significant for n Ach ($p < .05$) and n Inf ($p < .10$) in both analyses and for n Pow in the first (a) analysis ($p < .05$). In all these cases, the Civic group had higher motive scores than the Party group, the same direction as in the story length results. It was obvious that for these three motives n Ach, n Inf and n Pow, the results could just as easily be explained by the story length factor as by the true motive differences of the sample. Cell means are given in Table 5 and the F-values and probability levels are given in Appendix C.

Because of the above preliminary results it was deemed advisable to correct the motive scores for story length.

Correction for Story Length

Linear corrections determined by the regression lines of the four motive scores on story length were

Table 5.--Cell means of the motive scores found significant in the two analyses of variance using story length and uncorrected motive scores as dependent variables.

Dependent Variable	Civic Mean	Party Mean
<u>The Active vs. Inactive Analysis of Variance Results</u>		
Story Length	550.0	446.9
N Ach	9.1	6.6
N Inf	17.6	15.5
N Pow	6.5	5.2
<u>The Subleaders vs. Inactive Analysis of Variance Results</u>		
Story Length	562.6	438.9
N Ach	8.7	6.5
N Inf	17.7	15.5

performed on \bar{n} Ach and \bar{n} Aff to the nearest integer and on \bar{n} Pow and \bar{n} Inf to the nearest third. The means of the original scores were preserved in these calculations. This procedure successfully eliminated the significant correlations between motive scores and story length (Table 4) and these corrected scores were used in all succeeding data analyses.

One consideration concerning the story length corrections was its effect on the variance held in common by pairs of motives. If in eliminating variance attributable to story length, the variance common to the motives was increased considerably, we would be measuring in effect only one motivational state rather than four different motivational states.

One way to determine this is by looking at the variance held in common between pairs of motives. The correlations are shown in Table 6. The coefficients of determination, derived from the correlations, indicate the amount of variance accounted for by knowing one of the motives. The coefficients are given in Table 7. Looking at the variance held by each pair of motives, uncorrected and corrected, it is evident that the variance in common was reduced in all pairs excepting those with \bar{n} Aff. In each pair of motives with \bar{n} Aff, the variance in common increased in the corrected scores, although the greatest of these, 10%, is still a negligible amount.

Table 6.--Spearman rank order correlations among uncorrected Szari motive scores and correlations among corrected Szari motive scores.

	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach
<u>Uncorrected Scores</u>			
N Inf	.55***		
N Ach	.28***	.49***	
N Aff	-.22*	-.01	-.01
<u>Corrected Scores</u>			
N Inf	.47***		
N Ach	.16	.32***	
N Aff	-.31***	-.24**	-.18*

*p < .10, two-tailed.

**p < .05, two-tailed.

***p < .01, two-tailed.

Table 7.--The coefficients of determination between pairs of motives indicating the amount of variance accounted for by knowing one of the motives.

	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach
<u>Uncorrected Scores</u>			
N Inf	.30		
N Ach	.08	.24	
N Aff	.05	.00	.00
<u>Corrected Scores</u>			
N Inf	.22		
N Ach	.03	.10	
N Aff	.10	.06	.03

In summary, the variance in common between these motives \underline{n} Pow, \underline{n} Inf and \underline{n} Ach, decreased when the correction factor was applied to the motive scores. The variance in common with these motives and \underline{n} Aff increased with the corrected scores; but is still low, 10%. It can be stated with confidence then, that since the greatest amount of variance in common to the pairs of motives is 22%, four separate motivational states are being measured.

Considerations in Analyses of Variance

Unequal variances and small unequal sample sizes of the six groups (Party leaders, subleaders, inactives and Civic leaders, subleaders and inactives) made data analysis by the method of analysis of variance difficult. With these six groups only \underline{n} Aff motive scores did not satisfy the homogeneity of variance assumption as determined by the Cochran and F-Max tests (Winer, section 3.11). If the Party leader and Civic leader groups are entirely dropped or if they are combined with the Party subleaders and Civic subleaders, all four motive scores satisfy the variance assumption computed by the Cochran and F-Max tests.

It would appear that the Party leader and Civic leader groups have the largest variance, an artifact of the small numbers in each sample. It is obvious that the only case in which we should suspect the results of an

analysis of variance is if the Party leaders and Civic leaders are included in the analysis as intact groups.

As a result of the unequal sizes of the groups and the original design of the study, an analysis of variance with a least squares solution and proportional cell sizes was used (Winer, section 7.8). In order to obtain proportional cell sizes, it was necessary to eliminate some subjects from the analyses. This elimination procedure was carried out by a computer which directed subjects into the proper cells until the pre-assigned cell totals were reached. The remaining subjects were noted, but dropped from that particular analysis. Data cards were entered according to subject numbers which had been randomly assigned by Browning.³ No more than eight eligible subjects were dropped in the tests related to the hypotheses.

Data Analyses Used

The guiding questions of this study were investigated by means of analyses of variance and non-parametric tests with the four motives as the dependent variables in both cases. The analyses of variance used are described below and shown in Table 8. Three designs were used:

(a) 2 x 3 design using all six groups, $n = 86$, (b) 2 x 2

³An alternative method for data analysis is the least squares solution with unequal cell sizes (Winer, section 5.23).

Table 8.--Analyses of variance designs used in this study,
with the four motives as dependent variables.

Party Civic			
<u>Design I: Six Groups</u>			
Leaders	3	3	N = 86, 8 subjects dropped (4 Civic Leaders, 1 Party Sub-leader and 3 Civic Inactives)
Subleaders	22	22	
Inactives	18	18	The 3 Civic Leaders were chosen to represent the typical Civic Leader on the following criteria: age, education, salary, job and party affiliation.
<u>Design II: Four Groups</u>			
Subleaders	22	22	N = 80, 4 subjects dropped (1 Party Subleader, 3 Civic Inactives)
Inactives	18	18	
<u>Design III: Leaders and Subleaders Combined into Actives</u>			
Actives	26	26	N = 88, 6 subjects dropped (3 Civic Subleaders, 3 Civic Inactives)
Inactives	18	18	
In this analysis, the 3 Party Leaders' and 7 Civic Leaders' data cards were inserted in the computer first so that these small groups would not be eliminated.			

design with four groups, $n = 80$, and (c) 2×2 design combining the leaders and subleaders into the Active group, $n = 88$.

With these many analyses of variance there are 36 separate F-tests involved (3 designs \times 4 motives as dependent variables in each design \times 3 F-tests (A, B, AB) in each analysis). By chance it can be expected that 3.6 or 4 results will be significant at the 10% level. This should be kept in mind as the results are reported.

In the above analyses of variance it was not possible to adequately compare the Civic leaders and Party leaders with each other or with the other groups because of the necessity to eliminate over half of the Civic leader group to attain proportional cell sizes. Therefore in order to include all the leaders in the comparisons, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U Test (MWU) was used to compare Civic leaders vs. Party leaders, Civic leaders vs. Civic subleaders and Party leaders vs. Party subleaders.

With 12 non-parametric tests (3 comparisons \times 4 motives) it can be expected that there will be at least 1.2 or 1 significant result at the 10% level due to chance alone.

Additional Analyses

Exploratory analyses were computed which are not related to any stated hypotheses. Descriptions and results of these analyses are given in Appendix B.

RESULTS

Analyses of Variance

In the three analysis of variance designs (Table 8), there are no significant ($p < .10$) main effects or interactions. The cell means, F-values, degrees of freedom and probability levels are given in Table 9.

Non-parametric Tests

With 12 separate analyses, one could expect 1.2 results to be significant at the 10% level. In fact, three comparisons are significant, more than double the expected number. In this case there is more confidence that these three results are not random and are true differences of the sample. The Civic leaders have higher \underline{n} Pow ($p = .03$, two-tailed) and lower \underline{n} Aff ($p = .10$, two-tailed) than the Civic subleaders. The Civic leaders, when compared with the Party leaders, have higher \underline{n} Pow ($p = .06$, two-tailed). Means and probability levels for all comparisons are given in Table 10.

Table 9.--Analyses of variance with the four corrected motives as dependent variables.
Cell means, degrees of freedom (df), F-values and probability levels (p)
are given. These analyses are described in Table 8.

DESIGN I: ANALYSES WITH SIX GROUPS									
Source	df	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff	
		F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P
B - Party, Civic	1	1.191		0.638		1.093		0.676	
A - Lead, Sub, Inact.	2	0.434		0.328		0.780		1.579	<.25
AB	2	2.175	<.25	0.629		0.232		0.078	
Error	80								
Total df	85								
Cell Means	N	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff	
		F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P
Party leader	3	4.57		15.57		8.00		1.33	
Party subleader	22	5.98		16.75		7.50		3.46	
Party inactive	18	5.76		16.78		7.06		3.28	
Civic leader	3	9.67		18.53		11.00		1.00	
Civic subleader	22	6.10		17.93		8.68		2.77	
Civic inactive	18	6.29		16.46		7.50		3.06	
Marginals									
Leader	6	7.12		17.05		9.50		1.17	
Subleader	44	6.04		17.34		8.09		3.11	
Inactive	36	6.03		16.62		7.28		3.17	
Party	43	5.79		16.68		7.39		3.23	
Civic	43	6.43		17.36		8.39		2.77	
Total	86								

Table 9.--Continued

	df	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach	N Aff
Means with dropped observations included: Intact Groups					
Party leaders	3	4.57	15.57	8.00	1.33
Party subleaders	23	5.80	16.89	7.57	3.74
Party inactives	18	5.76	16.78	7.07	3.28
Civic leaders	7	8.54	17.51	10.29	1.00
Civic subleaders	22	6.10	17.93	8.68	2.77
Civic inactives	21	6.09	16.55	7.42	3.19

DESIGN II:
ANALYSES WITH FOUR GROUPS: SUBLEADERS ONLY (SL-I, P-C)

Source	df	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff	
		F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P
A - Party, Civic	1	0.458		0.228		0.766		1.391	<.25
B - Active-Inactive	1	0.019		0.745		0.694		0.080	
AB	1	0.025		0.561		0.143		0.547	
Error	76								
Total df	79								

Cell Means		N	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach	N Aff
Party - Active Mean	22		5.77	16.88	7.50	3.91
Party - Inactive Mean	18		5.76	16.78	7.06	3.28
Civic - Active Mean	22		6.10	17.93	8.68	2.77
Civic - Inactive Mean	18		6.29	16.46	7.50	3.06

Table 9.--Continued

		N	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach	N Aff			
Marginals									
Party		40	5.76	16.84	7.30	3.63			
Civic		40	6.19	17.27	8.15	2.90			
Active		44	5.94	17.40	8.09	3.34			
Inactive		36	6.03	16.62	7.28	3.17			
Total		80	5.98	17.05	7.73	3.26			
DESIGN III: ANALYSES WITH LEADERS AND SUBLEADERS COMBINED INTO ACTIVES									
Source	df	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff	
		F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P	F-Value	P
A - Party-Civic	1	2.721	<.25	0.522		1.910	<.25	2.567	<.25
B - Active-Inactive	1	0.205		0.761		1.821		0.474	
AB	1	0.392		0.854		0.549		1.015	
Error	84								
Total df	87								
Cell Means									
Party - Active	26	5.65		16.73		7.62		3.46	
Party - Inactive	18	5.76		16.78		7.06		3.28	
Civic - Active	26	6.95		17.95		9.42		2.08	
Civic - Inactive	18	6.29		16.46		7.50		3.06	

Table 9.--Continued

	N	N Pow	N Inf	N Ach	N Aff
Marginals					
Party	40	5.76	16.84	7.30	3.63
Civic	40	6.19	17.27	8.15	2.90
Active	44	5.94	17.40	8.09	3.34
Inactive	36	6.03	16.62	7.28	3.17
Total	<u>80</u>	5.98	17.05	7.73	3.26

Table 10.--Pairwise comparisons of party and civic leaders and subleaders.

Leaders vs. Subleaders Mann-Whitney U-Test, U-Value, p-Value, (Two-Tailed) and Means								
	Party 3 Leaders, 23 Subleaders				Civic 7 Leaders, 22 Subleaders			
Motives	U	p	Means		U	p	Means	
			PL	P-SL			CL	C-SL
<u>n</u> Pow	28	.60	4.57	5.79	35.5	<u>.034</u>	8.54	6.11
<u>n</u> Inf	28.5	.63	15.57	16.89	71.5	.78	17.51	17.93
<u>n</u> Ach	30	.72	8.00	7.57	57.5	.32	10.29	8.68
<u>n</u> Aff	20	.24	1.33	3.74	44.5	<u>.098</u>	1.00	2.77
3 Party Leaders vs. 7 Civic Leaders Mann-Whitney U-Test, U-Value, p-Value, (Two-Tailed) and Means								
Motives	U	p	Means					
			Party	Civic				
<u>n</u> Pow	2	<u>.058</u>	4.57	8.54				
<u>n</u> Inf	4.5	.23	15.57	17.51				
<u>n</u> Ach	9.5	.90	8.00	10.29				
<u>n</u> Aff	8	.67	1.33	1.00				

DISCUSSION

There were only three significant results in the analysis of this data, all involving the Civic Leader group: The Civic Leaders had higher \bar{n} Pow than both the Civic Subleaders and Party Leaders and the Civic Leaders had lower \bar{n} Aff than the Civic Subleaders. It would appear that the Civic Leaders are unique in this sample, while the other groups are similar.

It is surprising that the motives do not differentiate the Party sample or the Civic Subleaders and Civic Inactives according to levels of activity. It is possible that in fact there is no difference between these men, but there is another explanation which may be pertinent.

The implicit assumption underlying this study is that the motives of a person determine in part the level of activity he will attain and the area of this activity. This assumption finds little support in these results: considering the similarity of motives of five groups (excluding the Civic Leaders) it is obvious that the motives of a person in this sample do not make a substantial difference in the area or level of activity.

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An alternative to the view that the environment is a function of motives is the view that motives are a function of the environment. It must be remembered that all the men in this sample are businessmen-managers. If the "environment of a businessman" is a prime factor in the development of their motives and if this businessman factor overrides the effects of other influences, there should be no differences found in this sample. There are no differences found among five of the six groups, excluding the Civic Leader group.

A second possible explanation for the lack of differences between the five groups is that only men with a certain similar motive structure will enter the business field and become businessmen and managers in the first place. Both of these explanations have as their assumption that the effects of activity and differing areas of activity (Party or Civic) will not be major determinants in the development of motives, but will be secondary to other influences, either the "businessmen environment" or the influences which were responsible for the original development of the motive structure.

If the four motives do not distinguish active from inactive there still remains the question "why do some men remain inactive while others are involved in party or civic affairs?" In this sample the answer may be simple--recruitment is a major factor in determining

activity. All the Civic Subleaders were recruited by the mayor for their position. One-half of the Party Subleaders were recruited or appointed to work for the Party. For these men, it is an external event rather than their motivations which lead them into activity.

Only one group appears to differ in motivation from all others--the Civic Leaders. In comparison with both the Party Leaders and Civic Subleaders these Civic Leaders had higher n Pow scores. A plausible explanation for this effect is that a Civic Leader has reached an elevated position in which demonstrations of n Pow strivings do not carry the same strictures and harmful repercussions that they might bring to a person in a subordinate position. A Civic Leader may be praised for his strong, forceful leadership and effective management. A Party Leader in an equally elevated position is not in an equally impregnable position: he must be reelected periodically by constituents who can discipline him effectively for obvious n Pow strivings.

Additional Comments

Taking into consideration the common businessman background, it is still surprising that there were not more differences detected between groups which at face value appear to have differing positions of responsibility. Although a few differences were found, there are a few

methodological considerations in both data collection and data analysis which may have confounded the results.

Data Collection

One possibility why so few results were found may be the addition of unwanted variance from the nonstandardized data collection procedures. Some of the men had been in a previous extensive political science study and although it is not expected that they would be uncooperative with Dr. Browning, perhaps this previous experience did affect their attitudes toward subsequent political science studies.

The men were interviewed in various places, homes, private offices or public places of business. The time of the day varied and it was, of course, impossible to standardize the events preceding the interview. Phone calls, secretaries and customers disturbed the progress of the interviews. The length of interviews varied considerably (40 minutes to 3-1/2 hours) and the interview guide was not always followed. While it is understandable that many of the preceding occurrences were not under the experimenter's control, they may have introduced confounding variance into the motive scores.

Data Analysis

There are also some procedures in data analysis that may have resulted in the lack of more results. One

of these may have been the story length correction. Two arguments have been presented against correction. The first argument states that if a person has a strong motive, he will see more of those motive cues in TAT pictures and tell longer stories to include all the cues. The second argument refers to the action of telling the story as a manifestation of a motive. That is, those who told longer stories may have been using the situation to influence the investigator. And those who did not wish to influence the investigator, but merely wanted to cooperate, would not find it necessary to tell long stories. This would be reflected in story length correlations, the n Inf correlation with story length was .67, the largest of the correlations, and the n Aff correlation was .19, the smallest correlation.

Both arguments would agree that correcting for story length would eliminate useful variance directly related to the motivational states of the persons. There are valid arguments on both sides of the correction issue, and the decision becomes the preference of the investigator. The reasons justifying the correction factor in this study have already been presented in the Methods Section, but will be briefly summarized here. Atkinson suggests looking at the story length correlation when the data has been collected under non-standardized conditions (p. 837), as described in the previous section. The results of the

analyses of variance of these data with uncorrected scores were similar to those received when the story length was used as the dependent variable. One point worth noting is that the significant direction in the analyses with uncorrected scores (Civic is greater than Party on n Pow, n Inf, and n Ach) is retained in the analyses with corrected scores, although the differences are no longer significant. Although the story length correction factor may have eliminated useful variance, this investigator feels that the correction was necessary with these data.

A second factor already mentioned is the possibility of increased variance in common between the four motive scores caused by the story length correction. If this variance in common was increased greatly between the four motives, the scores could be strictly viewed as measuring only one motivational state. However as discussed in the Methods Section, the correlations and coefficients of determination indicate that this is not the case--the four scores do represent separate states since the variance in common between motives is low. Thus it can be reported with a greater degree of assurance that this sample was measured on four variables, and they did not differ in the four motive scores when they were corrected for story length.

Browning-Szari Differences in Conclusions

The Browning data were the bases for the Szari corrected data and therefore it could be expected that the conclusions of the two analyses would be similar. This is true in the majority of cases but there are five comparisons upon which the two studies disagree on the conclusions. However these discrepancies can be resolved when the analyses are compared (Table 11). One of the five contradictory Browning conclusions (Leaders vs. Subleaders, n Pow) is not based on any formal statistical analyses, but on visual inspection of tables. In three other comparisons (Leaders vs. Subleaders, n Aff; Subleaders vs. Inactives, n Pow; and Subleaders vs. Inactives, n Ach) a liberal interpretation of significance levels results in differing conclusions. The fifth contradictory conclusion (Civic Leaders vs. Party Leaders, n Pow) is based on the same non-parametric test, the Mann-Whitney U Test. However the most reasonable explanation for the differing results takes into account the scores used in the Szari analyses. These scores were the average of three raters scores (including Browning) and they were corrected for story length. The scores on which the tests were computed were slightly different, producing different results.

Table 11.--Browning and Szari conclusions compared.

Comparisons	Browning Conclusions	Szari Conclusions
Leader- Leader	Civic Leader = Party Leader \underline{n} Ach \underline{n} Pow \underline{n} Aff*	Civic Leader = Party Leader \underline{n} Ach \underline{n} Aff \underline{n} Inf Civic Leader > Party Leader \underline{n} Pow
Leader- Subleader	Leader = Subleader \underline{n} Ach* \underline{n} Pow* Leader < Subleader \underline{n} Aff ^a	Party Leader = Party Subleader all four motives Civic Leader = Civic Subleader \underline{n} Ach \underline{n} Inf Civic Leader > Civic Subleader \underline{n} Pow Civic Leader < Civic Subleader \underline{n} Aff
Subleader- Inactive	Subleader = Inactive \underline{n} Aff* Subleader > Inactive \underline{n} Pow ^b \underline{n} Ach ^c	Subleader = Inactives all four motives

*No tests indicated in Browning's dissertation.

^aBrowning's test results for this comparison, \underline{n} Aff.
Party Leaders vs. Party Subleaders,
p = .12, one-tailed, MWU
Civic Leaders vs. Civic Subleaders
p = .05, one-tailed, MWU

^bBrowning's test results for this comparison, \underline{n} Pow.
Party Subleaders vs. Party Inactives
p = .12, one-tailed, Wilcoxon
Civic Subleaders vs. Civic Inactives
p = .10, one-tailed, Wilcoxon

^cBrowning's test results for this comparison, \underline{n} Ach.
Party Subleaders vs. Party Inactives
p = .24, one-tailed, Wilcoxon
Civic Subleaders vs. Civic Inactives
p = .07, one-tailed, Wilcoxon

Legend: = is similar to __ in the following motive
> has higher scores than __ in the following
motive
< has lower scores than __ in the following
motive

Brief Summary

There are no differences in the four motives studied, n Pow, n Ach, n Inf, and n Aff, between five groups of men (Party Leaders, Party Subleaders and Party Inactives, Civic Subleaders, and Civic Inactives). The Civic Leaders appear to be composed of men who differ from the other men by having higher n Pow and lower n Aff. The fact that all are businessmen may explain the homogeneity of motives of the five groups; the relatively powerful protected position of Civic Leaders may explain their openness in demonstrating n Pow strivings in the TAT with higher n Pow scores. Activity in this sample may simply be the result of a recruitment process by the Parties or Mayor. Methodological procedures which may have eliminated useful variance and arguments opposed to the story length correction were considered. Differences between Browning's conclusions and Szari's conclusions were resolved when the statistical bases were examined.

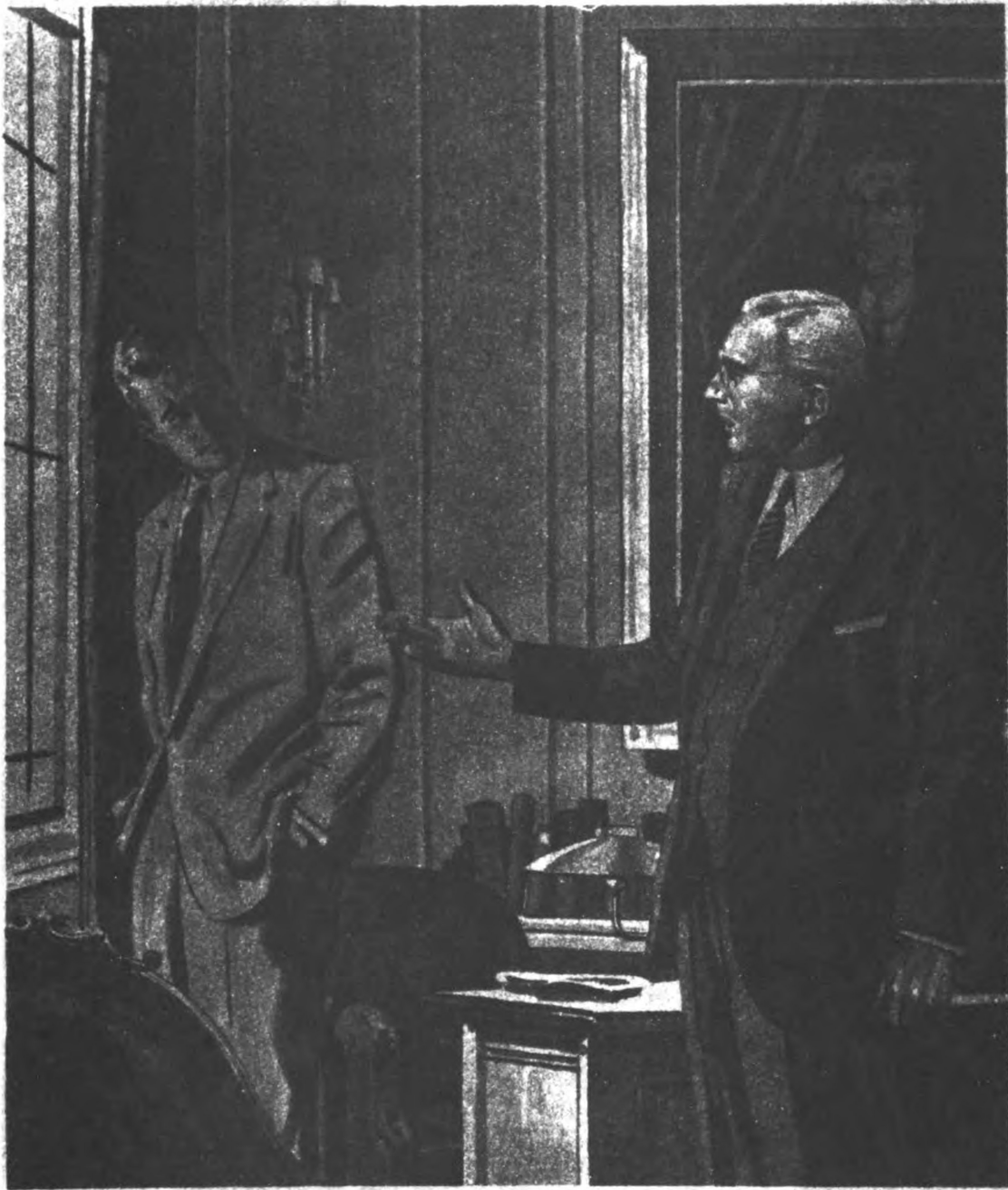
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APPENDIX A
COPIES OF THE SIX TAT PICTURES USED
IN THE BROWNING STUDY.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.



Just look at the picture briefly (10-15 seconds), turn the page and write out the story it suggests.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

EXPLORATORY ANALYSES AND RESULTS

Additional analyses not related to the guiding questions of this study were done by both analyses of variance and non-parametric tests. Possible differences in constellations of motives between Actives and Inactives were investigated by using an analysis of variance design with one motive as a dependent variable and a second motive as an independent variable. Also the subgroups in the Party sample and the matched subjects were compared to each other and to the inactive sample by Mann-Whitney U tests and Wilcoxon Matched Signed Ranks Tests. Other variables related to the Party Sample only were also investigated. Description of the tests performed and results are reported in the following sections.

Analyses of Variance

In these analyses, the motive scores were used as both dependent and independent variables. The distribution of one motive was divided as close to the median as possible to separate high and low scores. This division was used as an independent variable in addition to Party vs.

Civic and Active vs. Inactive in a 2 x 2 x 2 design. Each of the other three motives were then used as dependent variables.

In an attempt to refine the results obtained from the 2 x 2 x 2 analyses (given below) the same design was used with three motives as independent variables divided into high, medium and low scores rather than merely high and low. This analysis could not be done with the n Aff scores as an independent variable because of the impossibility of achieving proportional columns in the design. (See Table 12.)

With this many analyses of variance, there are 147 separate F-tests computed (7 analyses x 3 motives x 7 F-tests (A, B, C, AB, AC, BC, ABC) in each analysis). It can be expected that 15 results will be significant at the 10% level by chance alone. This must be kept in mind as the results are reported below.

Other Tests

The Mann-Whitney U Test and the Wilcoxon Matched Signed Ranks Test were used to compare subgroups which were not compared in the analysis of variance and to explore the relationships of motives to three additional variables in the Party sample.

Party subgroups compared by the Mann-Whitney U Test were the Elective (11), Ward (7), and Appointive (5)

Table 12.--Summary of the analyses of variance used in the exploratory phase of this study, including design, the number of analyses, the factors and dependent variables.

Design	No.	Factors			Dependent Variables
		A	B	C	
2x2x2	3	P-C	Ac-I	High-Low <u>n</u> Pow	Three other motives
2x2x2	3	P-C	Ac-I	High-Low <u>n</u> Inf	Three other motives
2x2x2	3	P-C	Ac-I	High-Low <u>n</u> Ach	Three other motives
2x2x2	3	P-C	Ac-I	High-Low <u>n</u> Aff	Three other motives
2x2x3	9	P-C	Ac-I	High-Medium-Low for each motive except <u>n</u> Aff.	Three other motives

P = Party

C = Civic

Ac = Active

I = Inactive

Subleaders. The following groups of Subleaders were compared with their matched inactives on the four motives by the Wilcoxon: Civic Subleaders (21), Party Subleaders (18), Electives (10), Ward (4) and Appointive (4).

The three variables used as independent variables in the analysis of the Party sample alone by the Mann-Whitney U were: (1) Mode of Recruitment (self-initiated vs. recruited), (2) Power potential of the office (high vs. low) and (3) Father active vs. inactive in party politics. A fourth variable, level of aspiration was tested by means of two one-way analyses of variance. This variable consists of three levels--no aspiration, indefinite aspirations and definite aspirations. One analysis used all three levels of aspiration (none, indefinite, definite) as the factor. The second combined the none and indefinite categories into one level and used the definite aspiration category as the second level. A summary of these analyses is given in Table 13.

These comparisons represent 52 separate tests (13 comparisons x 4 motives as dependent variables in each comparison). By chance alone we can expect 5 results to be significant at the 10% level. This expected number should be kept in mind as these results are reported in a later section.

Table 13.--Summary of the tests used in the exploratory phase of this study. The dependent variables in all analyses were the four motives, n Pow, n Inf, n Ach, and n Aff.

Comparisons		Ns
<u>Mann-Whitney U Tests</u>		
Elective vs. Ward		11-7
Elective vs. Appointive		11-5
Appointive vs. Ward		5-7
Self-initiated vs. Recruited		8-16
Office with High-Low Power Potential		10-13
Father Active-Inactive in Party Politics		10-34
<u>Wilcoxon Matched Signed Ranks Test</u>		
Civic Subleader vs. Inactive		21-21
Party Subleader vs. Inactive		18-18
Elective vs. Inactive		10-10
Ward vs. Inactive		4-4
Appointive vs. Inactive		4-4
<u>Simple Analyses of Variance</u>		
3 level	No aspirations-indefinite aspirations-definite aspirations	25-10-7
2 level	Indefinite and no aspirations combined-definite aspirations	35-7

Results

The analyses of variance are presented in Table 14 according to the motives used as the dependent variable. The significant results are underlined, and means of the groups shown.

It can be seen that the majority of the significant results occurred when n Pow and n Aff were the dependent variables, 11 and 14 results respectively. There are 32 results significant at the 10% level in these analyses, more than twice the number expected (15) if the results were random events.

However it must be realized that 32 significant results does not indicate 32 separate main effects or interactions. In the design of the analyses, with the dependent and independent variables reversed in various analyses, similar interactions can be discovered in three or four analyses (Independent variable X at two- and three-levels (except n Aff) with dependent variable Y; and Independent variable Y at two- and three-levels with dependent variable X). The same main effect can be discovered in five or six analyses in which a motive is a dependent variable: if n Aff is the dependent variable, there are six such analyses: the other three motives as independent variables at two- and three-levels. If one of the other motives is the dependent variable, there are

Table 14.--Active-inactive analyses of variance using one motive as an independent variable; analyses with the same dependent variable are presented in a group.

Independent Variables											
Inf-3			Inf-2			Ach-3			Ach-2		
df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P
<u>Source</u>											
A-Party-Civic	1	3.57 < .10	1	1.67 < .25	1	5.36 < .05	1	3.20 < .10	1	3.12 < .10	
B-Act-Inact	1	0.05	1	0.38	1	0.30	1	0.01	1	0.01	
C-Motive X	2	11.61 < .001	1	10.42 < .01	2	3.08 < .10	1	0.40	1	6.54 < .05	
AB	1	0.04	1	0.79	1	0.00	1	0.20	1	0.02	
AC	2	0.12	1	0.77	2	1.06	1	0.34	1	0.28	
BC	2	0.97	1	0.14	2	2.78 < .10	1	3.02 < .10	1	0.09	
ABC	2	0.84	1	0.14	2	2.59 < .10	1	0.74	1	1.16	
Error	54		64		54		56		60		
Total df	65		71		65		63		67		
<u>Means</u>											
Party-Act-Hi	8	8.46	8	7.34	6	6.88	7	5.49	10	4.78	
Party-Act-Med	8	4.84	8	4.18	10	3.95	7	4.96	10	6.48	
Party-Act-Lo	6	3.95			6	5.45					
Party-Inact-Hi	4	6.75	10	7.03	3	7.20	7	5.37	7	4.23	
Party-Inact-Med	4	6.58	10	4.83	5	4.32	7	5.94	7	7.04	
Party-Inact-Lo	3	3.87			3	6.00					

Table 14.--N Pow (Continued)

	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means
Civic-Act-Hi	8	9.16	8	7.98	6	8.95	9	8.16	10	5.83
Civic-Act-Med	8	7.31	8	6.46	10	5.77	9	5.53	10	8.05
Civic-Act-Lo	6	4.50			6	5.78				
Civic-Inact-Hi	4	8.08	10	7.00	3	4.23	9	6.14	7	6.63
Civic-Inact-Med	4	6.50	10	5.50	5	8.00	9	7.11	7	6.90
Civic-Inact-Lo	3	6.00			3	8.00				
<hr/>										
	Marginals			Marginals			Marginals			Marginals
Party	33	5.91	36	5.85	33	5.29	28	5.44	34	5.63
Civic	33	7.12	36	6.68	33	6.75	36	6.74	34	6.87
Active	44	6.57	32	6.49	44	5.90	32	6.13	40	6.29
Inactive	22	6.42	40	6.09	22	6.27	32	6.20	28	6.20
X-Hi	24	8.35	36	7.30	18	7.18	32	6.40	34	5.36
X-Med	24	6.23	36	5.23	30	5.29	32	5.94	34	7.14
X-Lo	18	4.46			18	6.08				
Total	66	6.52	72	6.27	66	6.02	64	6.17	68	6.25

Table 14.--(Continued)

Independent Variables											
Pow-3				Pow-2				Ach-3			
df	F-val.	P		df	F-val.	P		df	F-val.	P	
Source											
A-Party-Civic	1	0.28		1	0.03			1	2.16	<.25	
B-Act-Inact	1	0.15		1	1.22			1	0.06		
C-Motive X	2	4.34	<.05	1	12.23	<.001		2	1.32		
AB	1	0.08		1	0.23			1	0.32		
AC	2	0.58		1	1.80	<.25		2	1.84	<.25	
BC	2	0.40		1	0.78			2	0.02		
ABC	2	1.52	<.25	1	0.29			2	1.55	<.25	
Error	48			68				54			
Total df	59			75				65			
Means											
N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means
Party-Act-Hi	5	18.94		9	18.74	6	17.40	7	16.91	10	16.07
Party-Act-Med	6	15.57		9	15.82	10	14.90	7	17.49	10	17.45
Party-Act-Lo	4	14.93				6	17.85				
Party-Inact-Hi	5	19.28		9	19.46	3	18.43	7	17.37	7	13.43
Party-Inact-Med	6	16.10		9	14.10	5	15.52	7	16.71	7	18.61
Party-Inact-Lo	4	13.33				3	14.67				

N Inf as the dependent variable, in analyses with n Pow, two- and three- levels; n Ach, two- and three-levels and n Aff, two-levels as independent variables.

Table 14.--N Inf (Continued)

	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means
Civic-Act-Hi	5	18.46	10	18.33	6	18.43	9	18.74	10	19.00
Civic Act-Med	6	18.60	10	16.77	10	18.24	9	14.81	10	17.19
Civic-Act-Lo	4	14.00			6	14.72				
Civic-Inact-Hi	5	17.80	10	17.33	3	18.43	9	17.81	7	17.49
Civic-Inact-Med	6	15.33	10	15.14	5	17.94	9	16.86	7	17.94
Civic-Inact-Lo	4	17.25			3	18.00				
			Marginals		Marginals		Marginals		Marginals	
<u>Marginals</u>										
Party	30	16.47	36	17.03	33	16.28	28	17.12	34	16.46
Civic	30	17.00	40	16.89	33	17.58	36	17.06	34	17.94
Active	30	16.92	38	17.42	44	16.86	32	16.96	40	17.43
Inactive	30	16.54	38	16.49	22	17.09	32	17.21	28	16.87
X-Hi	20	18.62	38	18.43	18	18.09	32	17.78	34	16.68
X-Med	24	16.40	38	15.48	30	16.62	32	16.39	34	17.71
X-Lo	16	14.88			18	16.30				
Total	60	16.73	76	16.96	66	16.93	64	17.08	68	17.20

Table 14.-- (Continued)

N Ach as the dependent variable, in analyses with n Pow, two- and three-levels; n Inf, two- and three-levels; and n Aff, two-levels as the independent variables.														
Independent Variables														
Pow-3			Pow-2			Inf-3			Inf-2			Aff-2		
df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P	df	F-val.	P
<u>Source</u>														
1	0.45		1	1.08		1	0.03		1	0.52		1	1.00	
1	1.16		1	2.83	<.10	1	0.14		1	1.90	<.25	1	1.56	<.25
2	0.02		1	0.00		2	2.65	<.10	1	0.69		1	0.51	
1	0.37		1	0.55		1	2.29	<.25	1	0.09		1	0.10	
2	0.15		1	0.26		2	2.39	<.25	1	0.60		1	0.01	
2	3.09	<.10	1	5.65	<.05	2	0.96	≈.11	1	0.10		1	0.94	
2	2.26	<.25	1	0.01		2	0.07		1	0.00		1	0.11	
48			68			54			64			60		
59			75			65			71			67		
<u>Means</u>														
5	9.80		9	9.44		8	10.00		8	8.38		10	8.20	
6	7.33		9	6.44		8	5.00		8	8.00		10	7.90	
4	7.50					6	7.83							
5	7.20		9	6.11		4	9.75		10	7.00		7	5.86	
6	8.00		9	8.00		4	7.50		10	7.20		7	8.29	
4	7.75					3	9.33							

Table 14.--N Ach (Continued)

	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means
Civic-Act-Hi	5	10.80	10	10.60	8	10.50	8	10.25	10	9.30
Civic-Act-Med	6	11.33	10	8.80	8	8.63	8	8.25	10	9.40
Civic-Act-Lo	4	5.75			6	5.67				
Civic-Inact-Hi	5	6.00	10	6.00	4	6.00	10	8.20	7	7.00
Civic-Inact-Med	6	6.17	10	8.70	4	8.00	10	6.90	7	8.43
Civic-Inact-Lo	4	12.25			3	5.00				
	Marginals			Marginals			Marginals			Marginals
Party	30	7.93	36	7.50	33	8.00	36	7.58	34	7.65
Civic	30	8.70	40	8.53	33	7.82	36	8.31	34	8.68
Active	30	8.93	38	8.87	44	8.05	32	8.72	40	8.70
Inactive	30	7.70	38	7.21	22	7.64	40	7.33	28	7.39
X-Hi	20	8.45	38	8.05	24	9.46	36	8.36	34	7.79
X-Med	24	8.20	38	8.03	24	7.13	36	7.53	34	8.53
X-Lo	16	8.31			18	6.89				
Total	60	8.32	76	8.04	66	7.91	72	7.94	68	8.16

Table 14.--(Continued)

Independent Variables																								
Pow-3					Pow-2					Inf-2					Ach-3					Ach-2				
df	F-V	P	df	P	df	F-V	P	df	P	df	F-V	P	df	P	df	F-V	P	df	P					
Source																								
A-P-C	1	3.37	<.10		1	1.65	<.25	1	1.68	<.25	1	5.89	<.05	1	3.07	<.10	1	2.19	<.25					
B-A-I	1	2.19	<.25		1	3.94	<.10	1	0.63		1	5.07	<.05	1	0.40		1	2.56	<.25					
C-Mot-X	2	2.50	<.10		1	8.71	<.01	2	0.76		1	7.48	<.01	2	2.96	<.10	1	0.28						
AB	1	1.01			1	1.05		1	1.23		1	1.88	<.25	1	0.04		1	1.70	<.25					
AC	2	1.07			1	0.73		2	0.32		1	3.46	.10	2	0.07		1	2.07	<.25					
BC	2	0.28			1	0.23		2	1.93	<.25	1	5.99	<.05	2	0.52		1	0.41						
ABC	2	3.32	<.05		1	6.50	<.05	2	1.42		1	4.43	<.05	2	1.95	<.25	1	1.10						
Error	48				68			54			64			54			56							
Tot df	59				75			65			71			65			63							
Means																								
P-A-Hi	5	3.00			9	2.67		8	3.25		8	3.38		6	3.33		7	4.00						
P-A-Med	6	3.17			9	3.00		8	3.63		8	3.13		10	3.50		7	2.29						
P-A-Lo	4	3.25						6	3.67					6	3.67									
P-I-Hi	5	0.80			9	1.56		4	1.25		10	1.50		3	1.00		7	3.00						
P-I-Med	6	4.00			9	5.00		4	3.75		10	5.90		5	6.00		7.	3.43						
P-I-Lo	4	5.75						3	5.33					3	3.00									

Table 14.--N Aff (Continued)

	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means	N	Means
C-A-Hi	5	0.60	10	0.70	8	2.50	8	1.13	6	0.67	9	0.89
C-A-Med	6	1.67	10	2.70	8	1.00	8	1.38	10	3.30	9	2.11
C-A-Lo	4	2.50			6	3.00			6	2.00		
C-I-Hi	5	3.40	10	3.10	4	2.25	10	2.80	3	1.67	9	2.67
C-I-Med	6	2.67	10	3.20	4	5.25	10	3.40	5	3.00	9	3.56
C-I-Lo	4	2.75			3	2.67			3	3.67		
<hr/>												
Marginals												
Party	30	3.27	36	3.06	33	3.42	36	3.50	33	3.61	28	3.18
Civic	30	2.23	40	2.43	33	2.55	36	2.28	33	2.42	36	2.31
Active	30	2.33	38	2.24	44	2.80	32	2.25	44	2.86	32	2.22
Inact	30	3.17	38	3.21	22	3.36	40	3.40	22	3.32	32	3.16
X-Hi	20	1.95	38	2.00	24	2.50	36	2.19	18	1.78	32	2.53
X-Med	20	2.88	38	3.45	24	3.04	36	3.58	30	3.77	32	2.84
X-Lo	20	3.56			18	3.56			18	3.00		
Total	60	2.75	76	2.72	66	2.98	72	2.89	66	3.02	64	2.69

five such analyses; n Aff at two-levels as the independent variable, and the other two motives at two- and three-levels.

Thus the same interaction and main effect can be significant in a variety of analyses. This is the case in this analysis. The 32 significant results in reality represent 16 different effects. Six of these 16 effects represent interactions between two motives alone and account for 11 significant results. These two-motive interactions show essentially the same relationship as found by the correlations between the motives presented in Table 6: high n Pow is associated with high n Inf and low n Aff and vice versa, low n Pow is associated with low n Inf and high n Aff. These relationships are straightforward and will not be discussed here. The other ten separate effects are more interesting and present a problem in interpretation. If a similar main effect is significant in two out of five possible analyses, and a different main effect significant in four out of five possible analyses, can the same degree of confidence be placed in both results?

To resolve this difficulty, the following Acceptance Rule was used: In order to be reported, over one-half of the possible analyses relating to a main effect or interaction must be significant at the 10% level. If exactly one-half of the possible analyses are significant

at the 10% level, at least one result must have a probability level of 5% or less.

Utilizing this rule, five effects are eliminated for not satisfying the requirements; five effects remain as significant and will be reported. See Table 15 for a summary of the ten effects and analyses related to each effect.

Results Considered Significant by the Acceptance Rule

Analyses of Variance

In all the analyses related to Result No. 1, except the two-level n Inf, the Civic group has higher n Pow than the Party group.

The Party group has significantly higher n Aff scores than the Civic group in half of the analyses related to Result No. 2. Means are given in Table 15.

Result No. 3, an interaction between n Inf, Party vs. Civic and n Aff is significant in two-thirds of the analyses and is shown in Table 16. Inspection of cell means suggests that a person with low n Inf and high n Aff will be affiliated with a political party.

N Ach and Active-Inactive interact with n Pow in all analyses related to Result No. 4. Visual inspection of cell means (Table 17) indicates that two combinations of n Pow and n Ach are associated with activity (a) high

Table 15.--Summary of ten significant effects and the analyses relating to them, and probability levels of effects if appropriate.

Effects Reported in the Text of this Paper

1. Party vs. Civic, n Pow main effect (A)

Three level <u>n</u> Inf	as the independent variable	p < .10
Three level <u>n</u> Ach	" " " "	p < .05
Two level <u>n</u> Inf	" " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Ach	" " " "	p < .10
Two Level <u>n</u> Aff	" " " "	p < .10

2. Party vs. Civic, n Aff main effect (A)

Three level <u>n</u> Pow	as the independent variable	p < .10
Three level <u>n</u> Inf	" " " "	-
Three level <u>n</u> Ach	" " " "	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Pow	" " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Inf	" " " "	p < .05
Two level <u>n</u> Ach	" " " "	-

3. Party vs. Civic, n Inf, n Aff interaction (AC)

Two level <u>n</u> Aff	as the independent variable	p < .05
Three level <u>n</u> Inf	" " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Inf	" " " "	p < .10

4. Active vs. Inactive, n Pow, n Ach interaction (BC)

Three level <u>n</u> Ach	as the independent variable	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Ach	" " " "	p < .10
Three level <u>n</u> Pow	" " " "	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Pow	" " " "	p < .05

5. Party vs. Civic, Active vs. Inactive, n Pow and n Aff interaction (ABC)

Two level <u>n</u> Aff	as the independent variable	-
Three level <u>n</u> Pow	" " " "	p < .05
Two level <u>n</u> Pow	" " " "	p < .05

Table 15.--(Continued)

Effects Not Reported in the Text of this Paper

1. Active vs. Inactive, n Ach main effect (B)

Three level <u>n</u> Pow as the independent variable	-
Three level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Pow " " " "	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Aff " " " "	-

2. Active vs. Inactive, n Aff main effect (B)

Three level <u>n</u> Pow as the independent variable	-
Three level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	-
Three level <u>n</u> Ach " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Pow " " " "	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	p < .05
Two level <u>n</u> Ach " " " "	-

3. Active vs. Inactive, n Inf, n Aff interaction (BC)

Two level <u>n</u> Aff as the independent variable	-
Three level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	p < .05

4. Party vs. Civic, Active vs. Inactive, n Pow and n Ach interaction (ABC)

Three level <u>n</u> Ach as the independent variable	p < .10
Two level <u>n</u> Ach " " " "	-
Three level <u>n</u> Pow " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Pow " " " "	-

5. Party vs. Civic, Active vs. Inactive, n Inf and n Aff interaction (ABC)

Two level <u>n</u> Aff as the independent variable	-
Three level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	-
Two level <u>n</u> Inf " " " "	p < .05

Table 16.--Cell means of an interaction between Party-Civic, n Inf and n Aff when either motive is the dependent variable.

	Party	Civic
<u>N Inf as the Dependent Variable</u>		
N Aff		
High	14.8	18.2
Low	18.0	17.6
<u>N Aff as the Dependent Variable</u>		
N Inf		
High	2.4	2.0
Low	4.5	2.4

Table 17.--Cell means of an interaction between Active-Inactive, n Pow, and n Ach when either motive is the dependent variable.

	Active	Inactive
<u>N Pow as the Dependent Variable</u>		
N Ach		
High	6.6	5.8
Low	5.3	6.5
N Ach		
High	7.9	5.7
Med	4.9	6.2
Low	5.6	7.0
<u>N Ach as the Dependent Variable</u>		
N Pow		
High	10.0	6.0
Low	7.6	8.4
N Pow		
High	10.3	6.6
Med	9.3	7.1
Low	6.6	10.0

n Pow and high n Ach and (b) low n Pow and low n Ach. The other combinations, high n Pow-low n Ach and low n Pow-high n Ach are more often related to inactivity. These interactions suggest that n Pow and n Ach are positively correlated in the active group and negatively correlated in the inactive group. This is the case when rank order correlations are computed: the Active correlation is +.37 (n=55) the Inactive correlation is -.16 (n=39).

Result No. 5, a triple interaction between Party vs. Civic, Active vs. Inactive, n Pow and n Aff is significant in two-thirds of the analyses. Inspection of cell means shown in Table 18 suggest that the most unusual group regarding these two motives is the Party Inactives. The difference in n Aff scores across the n Pow levels is largest for the Party Inactives. The Civic Actives' group scores also change across n Pow levels, but not as much as the Party Inactives' scores. The Party Actives and Civic Inactives remain fairly consistent across all levels of n Pow and also are similar to each other when the means in Table 18 are considered. The uniqueness of the Party Inactives is also suggested by the large negative rank order correlation between n Aff and n Pow, -.66. The correlation between n Aff and n Pow for the other groups are: Party Actives, -.30; Civic Actives, -.23; and Civic Inactives, -.06.

Table 18.--Cell means of the interaction between Active-Inactive, Party-Civic, \bar{n} Aff and \bar{n} Pow when \bar{n} Aff is the dependent variable.

	High N Pow		Low N Pow	
	Party	Civic	Party	Civic
<u>Two-Level n Pow</u>				
Active	2.7	0.7	3.0	2.7
Inactive	1.6	3.1	5.0	3.2
	High N Pow		Medium Pow	
	Party	Civic	Party	Civic
<u>Three-Level n Pow</u>				
Active	3.0	0.6	3.2	1.7
Inactive	0.8	3.4	4.0	2.7
		Low N Pow		
		Party	Civic	
<u>Three-Level n Pow</u>				
Active		3.3	2.5	
Inactive		5.8	2.8	

Non-Parametric Results

By chance 5 results can be expected to be significant at the 10% level. As reported below, 7 results are significant, a number not much greater than that amount expected by chance. This many indicate that the following results are random and should be regarded only as suggestive.

When compared with the Ward group, the Electives have higher \underline{n} Pow ($p = .06$, two-tailed) and higher \underline{n} Inf ($p = .07$, two-tailed). Those Party Leaders and Party Subleaders who self-initiated their entry into politics have higher \underline{n} Pow ($p = .06$, two-tailed), higher \underline{n} Ach ($p = .02$, two-tailed) and lower \underline{n} Aff ($p = .02$, two-tailed) than those Party Leaders and Party Subleaders who were recruited by the Party.

When the party offices are categorized by the power potential of the office (described in Browning, 1964) those men who held offices with high power potential have higher \underline{n} Pow ($p = .03$, two-tailed) than those men holding offices with low power potential.

Those Party Leaders and Party Subleaders whose father was not active in politics had higher \underline{n} Pow scores than those with politically active fathers ($p = .08$, two-tailed).

Cell means of the significant results are presented in Table 19. The means and probability levels of all the subgroup comparisons with each other are given in Table 20.

Possible Interpretations

(1) One possible interpretation of Results No. 1, 2, and 3 given in Table 15, is in terms of the expectation of each office and the rewards contingent on the behavior of each man. The Party politician must be elected by and remain on good terms with his constituents to further his career. This involves campaigning, meeting the public, in general being a man of the people. Obvious attempts at influencing or pressuring the public are frowned upon by the public and may have consequences at the next election. A wise politician would not be likely to publically show or give any indication of n Pow or n Inf strivings, but would emphasize the n Aff strivings in all his relationships.

A businessman involved in urban renewal is not elected and is required and encouraged by his position to accentuate his power concerns in dealing with other businessmen and the "consumer." A businessman is rewarded for showing n Pow concerns but would infrequently be rewarded by his superiors for showing great concern with n Aff strivings in business deals. Here is a difference in the expected roles of a politician and businessman which could

Table 19.--Cell means of seven significant results computed by non-parametric tests.

<u>Elective Subleaders vs. Ward Subleaders</u>			
	<u>N Pow</u>	<u>N Inf</u>	
Elective	6.9	18.4	
Ward	3.7	14.8	
<u>Self-Initiated vs. Recruited Party Members</u>			
	<u>N Pow</u>	<u>N Ach</u>	<u>N Aff</u>
Self-Initiated	6.8	9.8	1.3
Recruited	4.7	5.9	4.4
<u>Power Potential of the Office, High vs. Low</u>			
	<u>N Pow</u>		
Low	4.5		
High	7.4		
<u>Father Active vs. Inactive in Party Politics</u>			
	<u>N Pow</u>		
Father Active	4.6		
Father Inactive	6.0		

Table 20.--Cell means and probability levels of the comparisons of subgroups among themselves, with the four motives as dependent variables.

Matched Comparisons including mean of inactive group, <u>n</u> of comparison, T-value, and two-tailed p-value of the Wilcoxon Matched Signed Ranks Test					
	Inactives				
	N	Mean	N	T	p
Ward 7Ac-4I					
<u>n</u> Pow	4	3.58	8	2.0	.27
<u>n</u> Inf	4	13.48	7	0.0	.11
<u>n</u> Ach	4	9.50	7	1.0	.29
<u>n</u> Aff	4	6.00	8	4.0	.72
Elective 11Ac-10I					
<u>n</u> Pow	10	6.33	20	22.0	.58
<u>n</u> Inf	10	17.61	20	20.0	.44
<u>n</u> Ach	10	6.20	20	11.5	.10
<u>n</u> Aff	10	2.40	18	13.5	.52
Appointive 5Ac-4I					
<u>n</u> Pow	4	6.50	8	4.0	.72
<u>n</u> Inf	4	18.00	8	3.0	.46
<u>n</u> Ach	4	6.75	8	5.0	1.00
<u>n</u> Aff	4	2.75	8	3.0	.46

Table 20.-- (Continued)

<u>Subgroup Comparisons by Mann Whitney -tests including mean of groups, U-value, and two-tailed probability levels</u>					
Groups	N	Mean	Comparisons	U	p
<u>N Pow</u>					
Ward	7	3.73	Elective-Ward	17.5	<u>.056</u>
Elective	11	6.89	Elective-Appointive	23.5	.65
Appointive	5	6.26	Ward-Appointive	9.0	.17
<u>N Inf</u>					
Ward	7	14.81	Elective-Ward	18.5	<u>.070</u>
Elective	11	18.39	Elective-Appointive	16.5	.21
Appointive	5	16.48	Ward-Appointive	13.0	.53
<u>N Ach</u>					
Ward	7	5.86	Elective-Ward	21.0	.110
Elective	11	8.27	Elective-Appointive	25.5	.82
Appointive	5	8.40	Ward-Appointive	15.0	.68
<u>N Aff</u>					
Ward	7	4.00	Elective-Ward	31.5	.55
Elective	11	3.55	Elective-Appointive	26.5	.94
Appointive	5	3.80	Ward-Appointive	13.3	.56

be the basis for the three results. The Party politician is rewarded for n Aff strivings and would be expected to continue them; a businessman active in civic affairs would be rewarded for n Pow concerns, which he would be expected to continue. These would be the motivations which each would be willing to demonstrate in contacts with the public and with the experimenter. These are then reflected in the TAT stories and scores.

One point to note concerning Results No. 1 and 2: These same main effects were not significant in the single motive analyses. In these designs, the addition of a second motive as an independent variable accounts for some variance previously labelled error variance. With some variance eliminated, effects previously hidden are significant.

(2) The n Pow-n Ach interaction (Result No. 4) is interesting in that activity appears to be the outcome of two different motive arrangements, either high n Ach and high n Pow or low n Ach and low n Pow. This would imply that two very different persons would be active in party or civic affairs. A possible link between n Ach-n Pow interaction and those persons who are recruited or self-initiate their entrance into politics is suggested by the Mann-Whitney U Tests in the exploratory analyses. It was tentatively found that those persons who self-initiate their entrance into politics have higher n Pow

and n Ach and lower n Aff than those recruited. This would correspond to the n Pow-n Ach interaction: the self-initiators may be those with high n Pow and n Ach, the recruits may be those with low n Pow and n Ach.

(3) Result No. 5 is difficult to interpret. It is obvious that the inactive group matched to the Party Sub-leaders contributes a great deal to the negative correlation between n Pow and n Aff found in the entire sample. The significance of this result is unclear and no explanation can be offered.

(4) Since the results gathered from the non-parametric tests must be regarded as random, they will not be considered further.

APPENDIX C

Cell means, F-values and probability levels for the analyses of variance computed with uncorrected motive scores and story length.

Table 21.--Analyses of variance with the four uncorrected motives and story length as dependent variables. Cell means, degrees of freedom (df), F-values and probability levels (p) are given.

Source	df	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff		Story Length	
		F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p
Analyses with Leaders and Subleaders Combined											
A-Party-Civic	1	4.317	<.05	3.405	<.10	5.525	<.05	0.983		4.312	<.05
B-Active-Inactive	1	0.375		1.202		2.471	<.25	0.004		0.367	
AB	1	0.052		0.022		0.011		1.471	<.25	1.442	<.25
Error	84										
Total df	87										
Cell Means											
Party-Active Mean	26	5.25		16.08		7.27		3.31		484.27	
Party-Inactive Mean	18	5.01		14.67		5.67		2.61		393.11	
Civic-Active Mean	26	6.69		18.01		9.88		2.12		537.73	
Civic-Inactive Mean	18	6.15		16.93		8.06		2.89		567.78	
Party-Wtd Marginal	44	5.15		15.50		6.61		3.02		446.98	
Civic-Wtd Marginal	44	6.47		17.57		9.14		2.43		550.02	
Active-Wtd Marginal	52	5.97		17.04		8.58		2.71		511.00	
Inactive-Wtd Marginal	36	5.58		15.80		6.86		2.75		480.44	
Total	88	5.81		16.53		7.88		2.73		498.50	

Table 21.--(Continued)

Source	df	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff		Story Length	
		F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p	F-value	p
Analyses with Subleaders only: Four Groups											
A-Party-Civic	1	1.580	<.25	3.324	<.10	4.016	<.05	0.335		5.186	<.05
B-Active-Inactive	1	0.006		1.340		1.340		0.645		0.457	
AB	1	0.166		0.002		0.008		0.831		0.722	
Error	76										
Total df	79										
Cell Means											
	N	N Pow		N Inf		N Ach		N Aff		Story Length	
Party-Active Mean	22	5.33		16.13		7.09		3.73		476.36	
Party-Inactive Mean	18	5.01		14.67		5.67		2.61		393.11	
Civic-Active Mean	22	5.93		18.27		9.27		2.82		558.27	
Civic-Inactive Mean	18	6.15		16.93		8.06		2.89		567.78	
Party-Marginal	40	5.19		15.47		6.45		3.23		438.90	
Civic-Marginal	40	6.03		17.67		8.73		2.85		562.55	
Active-Marginal	44	5.63		17.20		8.18		3.27		517.32	
Inactive-Marginal	36	5.58		15.80		6.86		2.75		480.44	
Total	80	5.61		16.57		7.59		3.04		500.73	

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