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Everyday Experiences of Power

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kelly E. de Moll

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Dedication

To my mother, Betsy de Moll, I give thanks for all her love, patience, and support. In many ways this doctoral degree is as much hers as mine.

Abstract

A hermeneutic phenomenological approach was used to investigate the meaning of everyday experiences of power. Twenty interviews were conducted wherein participants were asked to discuss situations where they were aware of power. They were asked one prompt question, "Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as fully as possible." Thematic analysis yielded a structure that consisted of four themes, position, control, respect, and prestige, all situated within a ground of hierarchy. The understanding of power revealed by the data analysis was discussed in light of both qualitative and quantitative studies of power, particularly those that addressed French and Raven's (1959) bases of power. French and Raven proposed that there were five forms of power: coercive, reward, legitimate, referent, and expert. Most experiences described within the current study can be classified according to their schema. Six situations, however, did not fit French and Raven's typology. The power possessed by electronic equipment and natural/chance occurrences was discussed and represents a non-social power type that is characterized by an utter lack of control on the part of the participant. Furthermore, the underlying mechanism via which various types of power occur and interact with each other is not often addressed in the literature. The current findings, thus, serve to provide some insight into how power forms are experienced and made meaningful to the individual. Current findings suggest that a hierarchical relationship is the primary setting wherein power is identified and understood. Within the hierarchical relationship, various forms of power are drawn upon in order to gain and/or maintain control. The type, intensity, and successfulness of the

type of power used is augmented by an individual's position within the hierarchical relationship and by the reciprocity of respect that exists within the relationship. The presence of respect and prestige as figural elements in the experience of power are unique in that many studies that seek to understand and define power look to the amount of control that is possessed and/or exerted by power holders and ignore the impact of the perceptions of non-power holders.

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

"Power is everywhere: not that it engulfs everything, but that it comes from everywhere."

Michele Foucault (1976)

Power is complex and ubiquitous. Not only is it a visible part of daily life, but its presence as a much studied social construct can be seen in the sheer variety of disciplines that deal with it: business, education, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology are but a few (McCall, 1978). Dahl (1957) states that despite power's focus as a variable of analysis since antiquity, our understanding of it is far from complete. Power is often thought of as something possessed and therein lies the tendency to view it as something tangible. Cohen and March (1974) demonstrated how wrong this idea is when they examined the office of college president:

> Nevertheless, presidents discover that they have less power than is believed, that their power to accomplish things depends heavily on what they want to accomplish, that their use of formal authority is limited by other formal authority , that the acceptance of authority is not automatic, that the necessary details of organizational life confuse power (which is somewhat different from diffusing it), and that their colleagues seem to delight in complaining simultaneously about presidential weakness and willfulness. (pp. 197-198)

Not only is power met with other forms of power that can be limiting and frustrate aims, but positions of power can themselves become constraining to the point that those in power are in a way powerless. In George Orwell's (1950, originally published 1936) essay, "Shooting an Elephant", he describes a British sub-divisional police officer's experiences of working in Burma. He mentions how the officer was forced to shoot an elephant that had ravaged a bazaar and several homes. The otherwise gentle elephant had done so while in a fit. Once found, the elephant had resumed its normal demeanor. Clearly to the police officer, the situation—though tragic—was over and the elephant was no longer a danger to anyone. However, an excited and expectant mob had formed and demanded that the elephant be shot. Orwell's main character, who desired not to harm the now peaceful creature, was in essence forced by his subordinates to shoot the animal or lose all face of legitimacy and virtually become impotent in his position.

Thus, it can be seen that the mercurial nature of power makes it difficult to grasp. It is not a thing possessed and used at will, but a phenomenon that is inherently situational and difficult to locate in absolute terms. This same difficulty can be seen in attempts to study power. As a concept, power's entrenchment in everyday vocabulary has made specifications and delineations of its basic aspects and meanings difficult in academic work (Cartwright, 1965; Collins & Raven, 1969; Kipnis, 1976; Kornberg & Perry, 1966; Pollard & Mitchell, 1972; Riker, 1964; Schopler, 1965; Shaw & Costanzo, 1970; Tedeschi, 1974; Tedeschi & Bonoma, 1972; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959; Van Doorn, 1963). Numerous social scientists have identified the concept of power as being an indispensable construct needed for the understanding of human interactions (Adams,

1975; Bierstedt, 1950; Blau, 1964; Cartright, 1959a; Clark, 1965; Dahl, 1957; Gamson, 1968; Lane, 1963; Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950; Tedeschi, 1972; Fiske, 2010), but what is actually meant by the term can vary depending upon the intent of the researcher. Those who have negative connotations of power often view it in terms of being solely aggressive and ultimately coercive in its use (Fried, 1967; Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950; Stotland, 1959). Others have sought to look at power in terms of willfulness—an overcoming of resistance to get another to do something they wouldn't choose to do otherwise (Etzioni, 1968; Mechanic, 1962; Minton, 1972; Weber, 1947/1964). Some researchers study power in terms of influence tactics (Aguinis & Adams, 1998; Ansari & Kapoor, 1987; Driskell, Olmstead, & Salas, 1993; Fu & Yukl, 2000; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Schriesheim & Hinken, 1990; Schmidt & Kipnis, 1984; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl & Tracey, 1992) while others have focused on examining types or forms of power (Astley & Zajac, 1991; French & Raven, 1959; Parker, Dipboye, & Jackson, 1995).

In 1993, Depret and Fiske's social-cognitive investigation of power led to a conclusion that social psychologists had provided little empirical knowledge about power relations due to a lack of a systematic integrative framework and confusion over the term. Being a central feature of society, however, power is still an important topic of study and has seen an investigative resurgence particularly in the realm of industrial/organizational psychology (Pfeffer, 1981, 1992). With an interest in developing assessment tools designed to classify supervisee power sources and summarize employee need for power,

much focus has been placed on a well respected, yet decades old typology for understanding power.

Developed in 1959, French and Raven's five bases of power is still referred to today in various studies of power and social influence and divides power into five different forms: coercive (a person's belief in another's ability to punish him or her), reward (a person's belief in another's ability to reward him or her), legitimate (a person's recognition of another's authority to make demands and decisions), referential (a person's respect for, identification with, or attraction to another who possesses influence), and expert (a person's belief in another's greater knowledge and/or technical abilities). To test French and Raven's bases of power, a number of psychometrically sound questionnaires have been developed. However, the majority of these questionnaires were constructed from and distributed to individuals having jobs in business and marketing. Asking participants to merely describe times when they were aware of power may result in an understanding of power that would involve more than just those aspects of life devoted to the workplace.

Study Rationale

Purpose and study objectives. To investigate what individuals are aware of and emphasize when asked to describe power, to examine the usefulness of French and Raven's much-used typology in light of everyday life experiences involving an awareness of power, to provide some meaning-oriented method that allows for some

definitional clarity, the following study employed a descriptive methodology in order to gain some insight into power.

Study Objectives

1) To phenomenologically interview people about their everyday experiences of power and determine how they make meaning of their experiences.
2) To examine the construct of power as it relates to everyday life and compare it to French and Raven's (1959) typology in order to see if the descriptions of power bases are relevant and relate to experience-derived themes that come from first hand accounts of power. The inclusion of gender as a variable in this study will perhaps yield themes or aspects of themes that may enrich the interpretation of the thematic data and allow for the expansion of any future power typologies.
3) To compare and contrast the thematic interpretation to other relevant literature involving the study of power and suggestions for future researchers will be made regarding the assessment of typologies of power as well as the understanding of the construct of power as it relates to everyday life.

Achievement of objectives: Utilizing a phenomenological method. In order to understand how individuals make meaning out of the things they experience, a phenomenological researcher elicits accounts from individuals who have had the

experience of interest and are capable of communicating a description of what that experience was like for them (Bogden & Biklen, 2007). Diverse descriptions of an experience eventually yield a structure of meanings that cross-cut the various accounts—these meanings are often referred to as themes. Themes are meanings that stand out in descriptions of the experience. They are what are most salient or figural to the person who has described his or her experience. Themes are embedded in an overall experience or ground that gives a situated, or contextualized, meaning to the themes (Thomas & Pollio, 2002).

The three objectives of this study entail trying to better understand a terminologically confusing subject, identify various situations of power, determine if an old typology is still reflective of current experience, and to suggest criteria for future assessments of power. As it stands, phenomenological methods have not been used to examine how individuals make meaning out of everyday experiences of power. With psychology's aim to understand human life, it is reasonable and appropriate to open up the door of inquiry for all nuances of human activity (Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997). Thus, the present study does not seek to constrain the experience of interest, but, rather, the aim is to let any and all experiences related to power unfold via the narratives that participants wish to provide.

Many avenues of research and theoretical backgrounds have been employed in the study of power, but the tendency in the literature is to observe behavior in a lab setting, assess first-person knowledge via questionnaires, or merely review previous work and explicate power on the basis of lab findings and philosophical musings. The present

study does not aim to negate the validity or usefulness of any of the previous findings, but its broad approach allows for a description of first-person, subjective accounts of power that are currently lacking in the research literature today. Lab settings necessitate some artificiality due to the contrived circumstances in which participants find themselves, and questionnaires are typically constructed from criteria that have been pre-selected by the researcher as representing the phenomenon. The sheer multiplicity of first-person perspectives (Pollio, Henley, Thompson, 1997) that are gleaned in a phenomenological study of everyday experiences allows for a unique, descriptive insight into an important topic that is found throughout human life. The gap in the literature that this study attempts to fill is, thusly, involved in trying to clarify power's meaning and to enrich, if not augment French and Raven's (1959) typology of power.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The following chapter reviews the main theories, issues, and influences surrounding the concept of power in the literature. Though some material from philosophy is presented, the majority of this chapter is devoted to research from the social sciences.

Defining Power

With the "anarchy of concepts and empirical data" (Tedeschi & Bonoma, 1972, p. 1), it is not surprising that definitions of power are fraught with differences in regards to formality, specificity, empirical support, trouble with synonymous words (i.e. influence, control, persuasion, authority, politics, threat, dependency, etc.) and overall general acceptance (Henderson, 1981). Tedeschi & Bonoma (1972), however, did manage to uncover a growing consensus among researchers among the terms power, influence, force, and authority. They distinguished social influence as being the most general concept. The other concepts are subsumed or are specifications of social influence. Power refers to the potential for social sanctions to be enacted. Force is the action of sanctioning nonconformity, and authority involves compliance based on another's perception of request legitimacy. Similarly, Collins and Raven (1969) distinguished social power from social influence. They maintained that social power involves potential

influence while social influence pertains to actual influence or the enactment of tactics of influence (specific strategies to achieve compliance). On the other hand, Salancik and Pfeffer (1977) simply define power as "the ability to get things done the way one wants them to be done" (p. 4), and Kanter (1977) describes power as the ability "to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (p. 166). For Salancik, Pfeffer, and Kanter, "power is influence over people, processes, and/or things" (McCall, 1978, p. 4), and the distinction between potential and actuality is blurred. More current research has connected power more directly with control. Galinsky, Gruenfeld, and Magee (2003) and Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson (2003) define power as the ability to control resources and people. Anderson, John, Keltner, and Kring (2001), likewise, maintain that some aspect of control must reside in a definition of power to distinguish it from the related concept of status.

With so much research devoted to "influence tactics" (Aguinis & Adams, 1998; Ansari & Kapoor, 1987; Driskell, Olmstead, & Salas, 1993; Fu & Yukl, 2000; Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980; Schriesheim & Hinken, 1990; Schmidt & Kipnis, 1984; Yukl & Falbe, 1990; Yukl & Tracey, 1992), power could be considered the broader term and influence subsumed under it as a specification of power's use. In the same article that Tedeschi & Bonoma (1972) distinguished influence, power, force, and authority from one another, they also acknowledged that "as a descriptive and explanatory construct [power] is utilized by social scientists from diverse disciplines because of its generic, intuitive appeal" (Tedeschi & Bonoma, 1972); cited in Henderson, 1981). Thus,

for a study involving everyday experiences of power, it seems correct that a term that carries so much "generic and intuitive appeal" should persist as the term of interest.

In the entire lexicon of social concepts, thus, it seems that none is more troublesome than the concept of power. We may say about it what Augustine said about time, that we all know perfectly well what it is—until someone asks us (Chadwick, 1991). The word is entrenched in everyday language and is seemingly well understood when it comes to day to day usage. However, psychology and the social sciences in general appear to lack a commonly accepted definition.

The word power comes from the French *pouvoir* which derives from the Latin *protestas* or *potential*, meaning *ability*. Ability derives from *potere*, which means in Latin *to be able* (Bonucchi, 1985; Miller, 1991). The definition seems far more complex than the simple ability to act, however. Power—originally derived from a verb—has, itself, no verb form. This lack of an English verb form is considered problematic to the attainment of a scholarly approved conceptualization of the term, power (Wrong, 1995).

As a noun, power has a number of definitions. In physics, power represents a force moving through a distance, and in the realm of the individual, power deals with the ability to do or act. Power gets associated with strength and use of force. Authority is also highly associated with the term, and, in general, most socially-oriented definitions of power are associated with control, ascendancy, and/or capacity (Pearsall & Trumble, 1996).

Researchers tend to define power in terms of some type of capacity (Cuming, 1981; Dilenschneider, 1994; Hillman, 1995; Hollander, 1985; Hoult, 1969; Karp; 1996;

Weber, 1947). Many look to what the individual can or cannot do. Indeed, many researchers choose, in their studies of power, to focus on the individual and what he or she is capable of doing or accomplishing. The ability to do or accomplish often involves being able to influence or control another, but some definitions of power are just as content to describe the ability of an agent to act on his or her environment—social or otherwise.

However, some scholars take power to be something that comes from the relationship of group members. Hannah Arendt (1970) discusses power by saying that it:

> "…is never the property of an individual: it belongs to a group and remains in existence only as long as the group keeps together…without a people or a group there is no power."

To confuse or diffuse matters even more, Michel Foucault (1980) said that power is a function of discourse. It is constructed and imbued with the meanings individuals in conversation ascribe to it. For Foucault, power:

> "…is not an institution, and not a structure: neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with: it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society."

Despite this attempt to define power, definitions can not be equated with understanding. Inconsistencies and terminology issues aside, Yoder and Kahn (1992) found a consistent theme in the power literature. They found a distinction in the social sciences and elsewhere that there are two types of power: *power-over* and *power-to*. Power-over encompasses the control that one person or group has over another. Power-to is "control over one's own thoughts, feelings and behaviors" (p. 384). Power-to is often

related to empowerment. Empowerment is a concept that essentially deals with helping other people experience more power-to so they can be less on the receiving end of power-over.

Griscom (1991) identified three trends in the psychology literature on power. First, psychologists moved from defining power in terms of control and coercion to using broader terms. Second, they moved from studying power at the individual level to studying it at the group and societal level. Third, psychologists moved away from the traditional split of person and society and moved toward an understanding of the interconnection of the two. Looking at how the literature on power evolves, one can see the progression of all the three trends.

Studying Power

Focusing on the Individual or Agent of Power. Popular literature has a tendency to focus on the individual and how to empower someone to be assertive, get what is wanted, and fulfill one's potential (Goss, 1996; Fast, 1977; Karp, 1996; Korda, 1975; Steiner, 1981). In terms of social science research, a similar trend can be seen, particularly in earlier work.

In 1924, Sigmund Freud posited that the striving for power was a feature of narcissism (Berger, 1985). Adler, however, was the first theorist to truly make power an overt part of psychological theory. Adler's definition of power rested on the desire to dominate and control. Like Freud, Adler's focus was largely on the individual, but his ideas put the drive for power at center stage within the human mind. Adler considered

that the striving for personal power was as key to psychodynamic functioning as the sexual drive (Griscom, 1992). Adler's (1927) theory has two central concepts: superiority, or power, and social interest. The theory replaces Freud's emphasis on the sex drive with emphasis on the drive for superiority/power. Adler conceives of striving for superiority as an attempt to compensate for inferiority. He distinguishes between healthy and unhealthy strivings for power. Unhealthy or neurotic striving is the product of an early inferiority complex. Unhealthy strivings come from attempts to gain strength and competence whereas healthy strivings come from attempts to rid the self of feelings of insecurity and weakness (Berger, 1985).

Beyond unconscious drives involving power or strivings for power, the work of McClelland (1975) and Winter (1973) described power in terms of motivation. McClelland (1975) linked power and social maturity and stated that there are stages of power that are directly related to different levels of maturity. Winter (1973) developed a measure that assesses need for power and that distinguishes a hope for power from a fear of power. An individual's active attempts to influence others express a hope for power while fear of power involves the avoidance of influence.

In addition to drives and motivational theories, some researchers have focused on cognition. Don Operario and Susan Fiske (2001) have addressed power in terms of its effects on perceiving others and classifying them into members of in-groups and out-groups. Perceived status or power is also a factor in the discrimination of others, specifically those considered subordinate to the self (Fiske, 2001).

In *Motivated Social Perception* (2003), Susan Fiske—in a chapter entitled "Five Core Motives, Plus or Minus Five"—discussed how control is a key motive that impels people to behave in ways that make them feel efficacious in their environment and able to perceive and induce a "systematic relationship between their actions and their social outcomes" (p. 239). Social influence or power, therefore, is a necessary element in maintaining a coherent, orderly worldview and sustains belongingness in groups which is vital for basic survival (Fiske, 2010).

Focusing on the Power Dynamic of a Relationship. Social exchange theories tend to explain relationships in terms of a kind of cost/benefits analysis. According to Thibaut and Kelly (1959), two individuals involved in a mutual relationship develop a configuration of outcomes (benefits minus costs) for both agents. Each individual in the relationship measures outcomes against an internal standard of needs and desires and compares the relationship to other competing alternatives including the option to be alone. Internal standards dictate relationship attractiveness and alternatives to the relationship determine relationship survivability. Where a particular relationship gleans more benefits than alternatives, individuals within the relationship are more dependent on the relationship. The greater the dependency, the less power the individual has.

Blau (1964) similarly looks at relationships in terms of dependence and independence. With regular benefits coming from the relationship, the more the relationship member/recipient depends on the other relationship member who is the source of those benefits. The recipient member is, thus, subject to the other member's

power. The discontinuation of benefits on the part of the source is considered punishment (p. 116).

Organizational theories posit that power is located in organizational configurations or structures (Mintzberg, 1983). Astley and Sachdeva (1995) discuss three specific sources of power in the form of hierarchical authority, resource control, and network centrality (p. 104). Hierarchical authority deals with the power that arises from formal decrees that arise inherently as a result of official positions within a hierarchy (p. 105). Resource control refers to power results from the ability to control resources and their supply to others (p. 106). Network centrality involves being located in an advantageous position within a hierarchy. This position puts more resources and information at the disposal of the centrally located individual. Their place in the organization is inherently linked to several others that share the same hierarchical system, and their disposability is generally diminished by their connections to others and their access to resources.

When thinking about the relationship of the individual to the group or the relationship of one individual to another, many individuals will cite the now classic studies of Asch (1951), Milgram (1963), Sherif (1936), and Zimbardo et. al. (1973). For Sherif and Asch, conformity—or the power of the group to induce norms on the individual (Brehm, Kasin, & Fein, 2002)—was of chief concern. In 1936, Sherif showed that norms develop in small groups. His study involving the autokinetic effect (in complete darkness, a stationary point of light appears to move, sometimes erratically, in various directions (Adams, 1912)) showed that when participants repeatedly sat in the

dark and viewed a small dot of light several feet in front of them and were asked to estimate how far the dot had moved, their reports settled in on their own stable perceptions of movement with most estimates ranging from one to ten inches. When in three-person groups, however, the participants would converge on a common perception of the dot's movement with each group establishing its own set of norms.

Asch (1951), likewise, showed the power of the group when he asked individuals to indicate which of three comparison lines was identical in length to a standard line. Participants that arrived to Asch's experiment found themselves seated in the next-to-last position at a table full of confederates. After a while, the confederates all started to give the same obviously wrong answer to the line discrimination task. Asch's participants were essentially caught between wanting to be right and wanting to be liked (Insko et al., 1982), and so about 37% of the time they went along with the incorrect majority.

Beyond sheer group dynamics, both Zimbardo et. al. (1973) and Milgram (1963) uncovered the overwhelming influence of social roles. Sixty-five percent of Milgram's (1963) participants threw a 450-volt switch in the belief that they were shocking another participant in an adjacent room for failing to properly answer a question all because the experimenter asked them. Zimbardo and his fellow researchers, in an attempt to ascertain if there was something about the federal prison system that leads to the dehumanization of prisoners and guard cruelty, constructed their own prison in the basement of a psychology building and randomly assigned participants to the role of either guard or prisoner without telling either group how to play out their roles. After six days, the "guards" developed such cruel and authoritarian roles that were so demoralizing to the

"prisoners" that the experiment had to be terminated to prevent further distress.

Focusing on the Power Dynamic of a Business Relationship. With power and its related constructs—influence, control, status, and politics—so closely intertwined with such things as group processes and leadership, it is no wonder that the study of power has become a recurring element in business-related studies. Kipnis, Schmidt, and Wilkinson (1980) classified the various influence tactics used in the workplace by having 165 lower-level managers write essays describing incidents in which they influenced their superiors, coworkers, or subordinates. The 370 tactics mentioned were classified and organized into eight categories: assertiveness, ingratiation, rationality, sanctions, exchanges, upward appeals, blocking, and coalitions. Schriesheim and Hinkin (1990) and Yukl and Falbe (1990) have separately supported the existence of the aforementioned categories in their research. Besides identifying categories of influence tactics, Kipnis et. al. also tried to identify sex differences when it comes to preference of tactic(s). The researchers found that choice of influence tactic was determined by situation and status of the individuals involved as well as characteristics of the organization such as size and the presence of unionization. It was found that men and women used the same tactics in the same ways with similar results (Aguinis & Adams, 1998; Driskell, Olmstead, & Salas, 1993).

How groups make decisions and how leaders work to empower employees and solve organizational problems and compete in the global marketplace is also of interest to researchers (Deming, 1993; Kirkman & Rosen, 1999). Industrial/organizational psychologists have found that many organizations fail to develop effective forms of

organizational participation. Mostly, this is due to win-lose views of power and an emphasis on tradition (Argyris & Schon, 1978, 1996; Coleman, 2000). More effective strategies of encouraging employee participation and work satisfaction involve leaders using their power to make employees feel valued and able to contribute (Arnold, Arad, Rhoades, & Drasgow, 2000; Liden, Wayne, & Sparrowe, 2000). Leaders should not view power as limited (Coleman, 2000). Power—when viewed traditionally as a way of getting others to do what one wants despite resistance (Dahl, 1957; Kipnis, 1976; Pfeffer, 1981; Weber, 1947)—is detrimental to the satisfaction levels of employees and the overall work output of the business. Instead of using a win-lose view of power that emphasizes scarcity and domination (McClellan, 1975) and is constrained to a fixed-sum way of thinking, power should be shared among managers and employees and should be seen as a growing, expandable resource (Argyris & Schon, 1996). This way of viewing power has been found to be vital for businesses to meet challenges of an international marketplace (Tjosvold, Coleman, & Sun, 2003).

Theories of Interconnection and Shared Power. Michele Foucault (1976) elucidated the link between power and knowledge. He saw knowledge as systematized ways of thinking about the world that develop over time into norms that become controlling, socially legitimized, and institutionalized (Appignanesi & Garrantt, 1995). For Foucault, knowledge and power were fundamentally dependent upon each other (p. 83). Foucault riled against views of power that posited it as centralized and ultimately coercive. In his conceptualizations (1976; 1980) power was viewed as something that "…is never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a

commodity or piece of wealth" (p. 98). As stated earlier, power was thought to exist as a result of discourse.

Qualitative Work in the Realm of Power. While many studies have presumed a definition of power, Lips (1985) has studied how women define power by asking them. Five hundred college students were asked three open-ended questions: (1) "Who is the most powerful person you know?" (2) "What do you think power is?" and (3) "When have you felt most powerful?" The results show that men and women are more likely to list a man (usually their father) as the most powerful person they know. Though they do not define power differently, men were more likely to list physical strength and possessions as sources of power.

More recently, Spears, Slee, Owens, and Johnson (2009) explored the human dimension of two subtypes of bullying in an Australian school. Adolescent students' experiences of covert and cyber bullying were explored through stories of what had been occurring at school. A thematic analysis revealed that covert and cyberbullying have much in common. Cyberbullying, however, evoked stronger negative feelings including fear and the disruption of participants' relationships. Participants indicated that a power differential was clearly understood and that they felt helpless to do anything against the cyberbullying.

Summary. Research on power has progressed from focusing on the individual to focusing on the relationships among individuals, groups, and societies. Discussions of power often begin with its definition, largely because the definition continues to change over time and varies between researchers. Those studies that focus on the individual

tend to look at power in terms of motivation and cognition. When examined from the perspective of relationship dynamics, studies have emphasized the overwhelming impact of authority roles and group pressure. Industrial/organizational psychology and studies in business have been particularly interested in power. The type of influence tactics used in the workplace as well as the conceptualizations of power maintained by business leaders have been shown to be key to assessing the health and efficaciousness of organizations. Qualitative studies of power are sparse. Only one of the two mentioned in this review dealt with power directly while the Spears et. al. (2009) study examined power but only within the context of experiences of cyberbullying.

Measuring Power

Power Types and Sources. Popular among assessment tools aimed at identifying and classifying forms or sources of power are those measures that hold as their inspiration or source French and Raven's (1959) chapter on bases of power in Cartwright's (1959b) influential book, *Studies in Social Power*. Social psychologists, John French and Bertram Raven (1959) developed their schema of sources of power so as to analyze how power plays work (or fail to work) in specific relationships. According to them, power is a state of affairs that exists in a relationship when one member's attempt to influence the other makes the desired change in the other more likely. Power is, at heart, relative and depends on the specific understandings that each member in a given relationship applies to each other as well as to the relationship itself. To achieve some end, member A's success in getting what he wants requires that member B recognize a

quality in A which would motivate B to change in the way A intends. A must draw on a 'base' or combination of bases of power appropriate to the relationship in order to achieve the desired outcome. Drawing on the wrong power base can have unintended effects including a reduction in A's own power.

French and Raven identified five bases of social power, essentially defining power by breaking it down into five distinct types. First, *legitimate power*, is that stemming from *internalized values* that dictate that one person has a right to influence the other. Those in positions of authority are deemed as legitimate based on the rights to influence/control that are conferred upon them due to their position within a social organization or hierarchy. Second, *reward power*, is based on one's ability to reward another by making something positive happen for that person, or by removing something negative. Third, *coercive power*, is the same as reward power, only by making negative consequences or punishments happen or removing something positive. Fourth, *expert power*, is based on one's attribution of knowledge and expertise to another person. Fifth, *referent power*, is the identification of one person with another and the increase in regard that such identification garners. Those with referent power are seen as more influential; others desire to please them simply because of their association with other well-respected or powerful people. In 1965, Raven has added a sixth basis of power, *information power*, which is the power one has in the information one possesses. Oftentimes, information power is collapsible under expert power, and, thus, most psychological measures that are derived from the bases of social power do not include or address information power as a sixth base.

French and Raven argue that there are five significant categories of such qualities, while not excluding other minor categories. More sources of power have been identified by other researchers. Morgan (1986), in particular, identified 14 while others have suggested simpler models for practical purposes—Handy (1993), for example, recommends three. In short, French and Raven's typology of power bases/sources has withstood the test of time. The number of bases is small enough to be efficient and yet large enough to be effective for the purposes of identifying and classifying power and understanding power's use in relationships. French and Raven's definition of social power is a descriptive analysis of the different types of social power. However, the definition is written from the perspective of those with authority, expertise, and information, not from the perspective of people over whom power is exercised.

The Need for a Phenomenological Approach

A general fault of psychology has been a desire to rush ahead in research in an attempt to emulate the harder sciences by emphasizing model-building and experimentation (Rozin, 2001). As Rozin (p. 3) states, "in social situations in which contextual effects are numerous and the organism is complex, the collection of findings that unambiguously support hypotheses is extraordinarily difficult." He further comments that "especially when dealing with persons as complete entities, the findings are particularly subject to limitations in generality" (p. 9). Not only are the typical methods of psychology not as useful as they might appear at the outset, but they are also the demarcation of an older science (Asch, 1952,1987). With psychology being

relatively young, it seems more appropriate to merely describe what people do or to let them describe themselves what it is they are experiencing rather than always hypothesizing about the functionality of their behaviors. To quote from Solomon Asch (1952/1987 pp. xiv-xv): "Because physicists cannot speak with stars or electric currents, psychologists have often been hesitant to speak to their human participants." It is in this vein that the present study seeks to acquire first-person descriptions of what it is like to experience power.

Few studies have dealt descriptively with power, and none to date have looked empirically at *everyday* experiences of power. Quantitative studies will often depend on questionnaires when gathering information on the topic of interest. Questionnaires typically constrain participants to a limited number of options for describing their experiences and can sometimes leave out important aspects. For example, questionnaires designed to measure stress are usually not gender and/or culturally sensitive (Thomas & Pollio, 2002). Vicarious stress—the top stressor for women as discovered by Thomas and Donnellan (1993)—is not assessed in any of the standard measures of stress. By asking women participants open-ended questions, Thomas and Donnellan (1993) found that "…women suffered empathically along with their loved ones but had little or no control over what was happening" (Thomas & Pollio, 2002, p. 5).

It has also been demonstrated by Thomas (2003) that men and women may experience the same theme differently. In Thomas's (1998, 2003) phenomenological investigations of anger, asserting or regaining power and control were significant themes for both men and women. For women, the experience of anger is often associated with a

feeling of being powerless to bring about relationship reciprocity. For men, the experience involves a feeling of having lost control in a situation that is "wrong" or "unfair". When men feel controlled both by the situation and their anger, they often report leaving the situation to regain control. Thus, the inclusion of gender as a variable of interest in this study seems to be a logical choice, and, therefore, an equal number of men and women have been included to allow for a cross-comparison of the emergent thematic structure.

In addition to examining any gender differences that may exist in regards to experiences of power, the themes of the data will be compared to French and Raven's (1959) classification system of power. Questionnaires have been constructed using French and Raven's (1959) bases of power schema to assess what bases or sources of power people typically draw from when in a supervisor—supervisee relationship. By comparing the themes of power as well as the situations described by participants to French and Raven (1959) derived questionnaires, an assessment can be made as to whether the descriptive data and its resultant thematic interpretation have anything to say in regards to sources or forms of power that are experienced in everyday situations.

With an analysis of gender differences and a cross-comparison of French and Raven's (1959) bases of power to participant perceived situations of power, it is likely that the thematic interpretation of the data will lend itself to the construction of a new questionnaire or provide recommendations for the refinement of questionnaires that are derived from French and Raven's (1959) classification system. Furthermore, where French and Raven's typology discusses the mechanisms of power, it is hoped that the

resultant thematic interpretation of the data will yield an understanding of how these mechanisms achieve effectiveness.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The present study falls under the qualitative research tradition. Whereas quantitative studies focus on the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, qualitative studies put an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative research has within it a variety of methodologies, each with its own research paradigm, traditions, and methods of inquiry. Boiled down into five traditions, Creswell (2007) identified narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study as the main types of qualitative research used today. The qualitative method used is the present study stems from the tradition of phenomenology—specifically existential hermeneutic phenomenology.

Origin of Phenomenology

Though later adopted by Heidegger, Sartre, and then Merleau-Ponty, phenomenology's true roots rest with William Dilthey and Edmund Husserl. Phenomenology stems from philosophy, but it developed into a method of inquiry into what is considered fact—i.e. the data of experience. Where the scientific approach tries to make generalizations and predictions through causal formulas, the phenomenological approach looks at phenomena from the standpoint of their psychological effect. In trying to study human beings, phenomenology is extremely useful. Trying to classify people

into broad categories and making generalizations and predictions about people gives a limited understanding about the nature of an individual's existence (Cogswell, 2008).

Established as a separate method of doing philosophy, Dilthey separated the kind of knowing found in the natural sciences with that kind of knowing that was appropriate to the human sciences such as psychology. He maintained that in any human science, one cannot be a detached observer because it is through participation that you discover the unique aspects of what it is to be human (Makkreel, 1993).

After Dilthey, Husserl took phenomenology from being a more philosophical and turned it into a systematic way of examining perception. In regards to Descartes and the attitude of the natural sciences, the statement, "I think therefore I am" is not wholly accurate in that one cannot separate the *I think* from the subject of thought. Phenomenology for Husserl should be used to describe what is given to us in experience without preconceptions. We should go back "to the things themselves" rather than attend to preconceptions through which we typically filter our experiences. Positivism centers on the idea that the only valid knowledge comes from scientific inquiry, but all of our knowledge of so-called objective phenomena is based on subjective experience. Thus, our subjective experience is really the more fundamental source and ultimately the most reliable. Husserl, therefore, maintained that philosophers should cast aside all systems and preconceptions that filter perception and focus on the phenomena themselves—the data of experience.

In trying to find a place of inquiry that was pre-systematic, pre-theoretical, Husserl stated that the first task of philosophy was to clarify the meaning of experience.

Our ordinary experience of the world is a fact among others and is worthy of analysis on its own terms. Husserl proposed that one should "bracket" experience in order to suspend judgment of whether your *interpretation* of your experience is "true," but yet not impose a theoretical filter over the experience. One does not presume that the world is just exactly as it may appear or feel, nor does one not accept those experiences as a valid part of that world. The world we experience, as a collection of meaningful, organized events depends on the mind for interpretation (Makkreel, 1993).

Existential-Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Hermeneutic phenomenology is a descriptive methodology because it attempts to examine how things appear. It is an interpretive—i.e. hermeneutic—method because it claims that no phenomenon is uninterpreted (van Manen, 1990). The focus of phenomenological inquiry is specific experience. Existential-hermeneutic phenomenology differs from other versions of phenomenology because it aims to understand how participants make meaning out of their experiences.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty's work focused on the analysis of perception and consciousness. Merleau-Ponty studied Husserl's phenomenology and used it as a starting point for a more existentially driven methodology. In 1952, Merleau-Ponty published *Phenomenology of Perception* wherein he critiques Husserl's phenomenology. The phenomenological objection to positivism centered on the idea that science can tell us nothing about human subjectivity or, in other words, the experience of being human. Merleau-Ponty asserted that life is not all about thinking—it is about acting and

experiencing. Our perception of the real world is our fundamental access to truth. The world of science cannot be given a greater reality than the world of our perceptions, because it too is based on our perceptions. Objectivity is not a perception-less, bias-free state as many commonly believe for it is a way of perceiving and is, thus, bias in that it directs perception and understanding in a way that may reject, disregard, or hold in lesser esteem other ways of perceiving and understanding the world. One perceives the world as they live it—they perceive it existentially (Matthews, 2006).

Selection of Participants

Thomas and Pollio (2002) enumerate the following criteria for selecting participants for a phenomenological study:

1. The participant must have had the experience.
2. The participant must be willing and able to describe the experience.
3. The confidentiality of the participant must be protected.

In open-ended interviewing studies within the phenomenological tradition, the typical practice is to interview 8-12 participants to achieve sufficient variability in the experiential accounts provided. Due to gender being a possible influential variable in this study, an equal number of males and females were solicited from a couple of psychology classes to participate. Each participant's involvement in this study was rewarded with extra credit in a psychology class. The primary investigator sought permission from the director of undergraduate studies in psychology to recruit participants from the undergraduate student population enrolled in psychology classes.

Description of Participants

Twenty individuals participated in this study. All were college students and tended to be Caucasian and come from middle-class backgrounds. To investigate the possibility of sex difference in regards to experiences of power, an equal number of males and females were sought out for participation. Prior to the interview, participants were informed of their rights and were asked to read and sign a statement of informed consent entitled (Please see Appendices A and B for a copy of the institutional review board application and a copy of the informed consent sheet, respectively). Participants were also asked a few questions concerning demographics as part of the informed consent form. Demographic information for the participants is summarized in Appendix C.

Prompt Question Development

According to investigative procedures described by Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1997), Thomas and Pollio (2002) and Pollio, Graves, & Arfken (2005), the first step in a phenomenological study is to develop an interview question that is relevant to the experience of interest. The interviewing procedure used in this study was open-ended and began with a single question or, in this case, a directive statement ("Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as completely as possible."), that meets the following criteria:

1. *Clarity and Specificity*: The question uses clear, everyday language to specify a particular personal experience and to focus participants on providing an account

of their own life experience.

2. *Parsimony*: The question contains no extraneous information that could bias or confuse how a participant responds.

3. *Openness to Dialogue*: The question allows for open discussion between the participant and investigator, with the participant in the *expert position* of determining the topics and meanings to be discussed.

Data Collection and Analysis

Twenty participants (10 males and 10 females) described experiences where they were aware of power. The descriptions that were gleaned came from an open-ended dialogue between the researcher and the participant. Interviews lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to little over two and a half hours. Shorter interviews tended to center on one specific instance of power whereas longer interviews entailed descriptions of at least three to five different situations. Typically, interviews lasted an hour and involved the description of two different situations of power. The overall length of the interview was primarily determined by the participant who discussed experiences of power until they felt like they had nothing else to say about the subject. Please see Appendix D for a sample interview with a participant.

Prior to data collection, the investigator engaged in a bracketing interview. Bracketing interviews are usually done in phenomenology so that associations and biases towards the subject of study—in this case, power—can be identified. In other words, the investigator's personal meanings are thematized from her own interview in order that she

may keep herself from pursuing her own perspective during interviews, and so she may be able to be more open to the meanings that emerge from participant interviews (Van Manen, 1990). The bracketing interview was done by a colleague who had graduate-level training in conducting phenomenological interviews as well graduate-level counseling skills in clinical psychology.

Participants were asked to "Think of a time in your life when you were aware of power and describe that experience as fully as possible." All following questions centered on a detail mentioned by the interviewee and merely asked for more description concerning the detail. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and were transcribed using software designed for use with the recorder.

Analysis of transcribed interviews involved both the investigator working on her own and the use of two interpretive groups at the University of Tennessee. The first which was located in the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research aided the investigator in interpreting her bracketing interview. The second group, located at the University of Tennessee's Nursing College, helped her with reading and interpreting four transcribed interviews (Janet, Sam, Tommy, and Wendy) and also provided insight and suggestions during a presentation of a preliminary thematic interpretation. Each member of the two interpretive groups signed a statement of confidentiality (See Appendix E) prior to the dissemination of interview transcriptions.

Procedures

This existential-hermeneutic phenomenological study used an open-ended interviewing method. The investigator solicited participants from psychology classes at the University of Tennessee. Participants then contacted the investigator via email and expressed their wish to participate in the study. A total of 20 interviews were conducted. A point of saturation was reached after seven interviews were analyzed for clusters of meaning. A full set of 20 interviews, however, were conducted so as to ensure an equal number of males and females (10 males; 10 females) in the study so that rigor could be maintained in the search for sex differences across themes. Procuring 20 interviews also ensured that the data analysis became redundant despite a broad range of described experiences (i.e. reached a point of saturation).

The Bracketing Interview. Besides being a hermeneutic-existential phenomenological study, the current research employs a method from the University of Tennessee that requires that a bracketing interview be done prior to data collection (Thomas & Pollio, 2002). After developing a prompt question, the next step is to try to understand one's own presuppositions and biases about the topic of investigation. Whatever the investigator's understanding of power, her biases and presuppositions could affect her elicitation of participant accounts and their subsequent interpretation. To reduce the influence of her understandings as much as possible, a bracketing interview was performed.

Theoretically, bracketing takes place in two parts: (1) a suspension of the natural scientific attitude toward the phenomenon of interest together with a refocusing on the

immediacy of life experiences, and (2) an engagement in free imaginative variation to explore all the possible situations in which the phenomenon has been experienced (Wertz, 2005). To suspend the natural scientific attitude, one abstains from explaining the phenomenon of interest and tries instead to merely describe it as it unfolds within one's experience of it. Furthermore, bracketing is a matter of "abstaining from incorporating natural scientific theories, explanations, hypotheses, and conceptualizations of the subject matter into the research process" (pg. 168). As Hein and Austin (2001) point out, there is no completely bracketed investigator. Bracketing is an ongoing process. Bringing an investigator to an awareness of biases and presuppositions is the primary purpose of bracketing procedures in hermeneutic phenomenology. Rather than putting these biases and prejudgments completely out of consideration, they may be used to make sense of how one is coming to an understanding of the phenomenon of interest (Hawthorne, 1989)

Interview Procedure Section. Participants were asked to come to a quiet, secure office on the University of Tennessee's campus so that the interview could be conducted. Once the participant arrived at the interview location, he or she was asked to read and sign an informed consent document that described the study. The participant then completed a short demographic questionnaire before the phenomenological interview began. To begin the interview, the following question was asked: "Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as thoroughly as possible." The investigator asked follow-up questions for the purposes of gleaning more detail and clarifying particular statements that came up during the dialogue. Interviews continued

until the participant felt like they had provided a complete account of their experience(s) of power. Interviews tended to last about an hour though some were as short as 30 minutes whereas others were over two hours.

All interviews were audio recorded using a digital recorder and transcribed using transcription software. All identifying information regarding specific people or places was removed from the transcripts. Audio recordings of the interviews were kept in a password-protected file on the investigator's computer. As part of this methodology, the investigator transcribed many of the interviews though assistance was received from a transcriber local to the area. The transcriber signed a pledge of confidentiality to ensure participant identities were protected. Please see Appendix F for a copy of the transcriber's pledge.

Preliminary Data Analysis

Thematization and Bracketing. All essays were individually read for clusters of meaning which were then pared down to basic themes. A phenomenological group within the psychology department also thematized some of the essays in order to check the work of the investigator. Working with the phenomenological group insured that the investigator did not reach faulty conclusions regarding the presence and nature of themes. After thematization was finished by both the investigator and the group, quotes were isolated from the text to support each theme and a narrative structure describing the connections between the themes developed.

Transcripts of the interviews were read line by line and the reading was stopped at

various times by group members who wished to comment on a particular portion of the text, propose a theme, etc. This process of reading aloud and stopping to discuss at various points divides a text into units that are meaningful for the group. Each of these units was thematized in the process, and, as reading progresses, themes that come up repeatedly are noted and discussed.

After data collection was completed, transcripts of the interviews were interpreted and thematically analyzed in an interpretive group, consisting of the primary investigator, a committee member (Sandra Thomas), and various other faculty and graduate students who are familiar with interpretive methodology. Approximately 10 to 20 professors and graduate students belong to and attend this group. The themes that resulted from these readings and discussions were reported in aggregate with supporting quotations from the interview transcripts. No personally identifying information was included in the quoted material. Participant identities were further protected via the assignment of pseudonyms.

After thematization was finished by both the researcher and the interpretive group, quotes were isolated from the text to support each theme and a narrative structure describing the connections between the themes was developed. Any differences in the themes that presented themselves as being gender related were noted. Also, the themes were compared to French and Raven's (1959) power typology in order to see if there is anything obviously lacking in how French and Raven-derived measures construed and assessed power.

Rigor

An interpretive group at the Nursing College at the University of Tennessee assisted in group interpretation of transcribed interviews. Also, the primary investigator analyzed and thematically interpreted each interview by reading interview transcriptions. During group readings, one member read aloud the part of the investigator while another member read the part of the participant. Readings were stopped periodically by group members to discuss portions of the interview and possibly propose themes. The interpretive group is composed of 10 to 20 faculty and graduate students from disciplines such as experimental psychology, sports science, clinical psychology, education, geography, nursing, and child and family studies. All members have an interest in the method of phenomenological inquiry and have presented a vast array of research topics (the experience of disabled human service workers in Hurricane Katrina, the use of imagery in competitive gymnastics, working as a coach for disabled cheerleaders, the experience of Freemasonry, etc.). The variety of perspectives that are present in the interpretive group allow for a number of different interpretations to be presented when transcriptions are being analyzed for clusters of meaning and then later, themes. The phenomenological group ensures the rigor of the investigative process.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Appendix G provides a summary of the situations discussed by each participant. This appendix also includes a brief demographic description of the participant. A wide range of situations were described by participants. Some discussed being in a position of power in the form of being a teacher, coaching football, managing employees, leading a high school sports team as team captain, working as a child care provider, or simply being financially independent and secure. Some participants talked about being under power. Examples of which ranged from being a student, being in line at the DMV, working in human resources under corporate, working a summer job, dealing with parents, feeling nervous around the police while driving a motor vehicle, and being in jail. A couple of participants described power from the viewpoint of being a witness to it. While one participant talked at length about watching Donald Trump on TV, another described being in the audience of now President Obama's Dallas campaign speech.

Thematic Structure of Everyday Experiences of Power

Hermeneutic analysis of the interviews produced a structure for everyday experiences of power that consists of four figural themes—*Position*, *Control*, *Respect*, and *Distance*— all of which emerge against a ground of *Hierarchy*. The concept of ground derives from the Gestalt concept of figure/ground; the figure being what a person

is aware of at some time and the ground, the setting or context in which that awareness emerges (Pollio, 1982). The figure/ground relationship is fundamental to awareness and highlights the contextual nature of human experience. The figure in Appendix H is a graphical representation of the themes and ground.

Hierarchy. Participants are most keenly aware of power when they focus on human relationships. These relationships typically connote a sense of there being a "big guy" and a "little guy" or that there exists levels with someone or something being in a position above or below another. Being in a higher position is seen as more advantageous and affords the individual control over the self, environment, and others despite being quite fluid and contingent upon the themes of role, control, respect, and prestige. Those above are not always seen as better particularly if the individual's higher position is perceived as unearned (i.e. it is completely role-based) and is not conferred on an individual due to his or her possession of some special quality such as good leadership skills, expertise, physical prowess, experience, etc. Lack of respect for those beneath can also reduce the amount of influence an individual of higher rank has and, thus, the control that they may have and/or exercise. One's position or role within the hierarchical relationship may be highly structured and rule bound such as when it exists within a business, government, or educational setting or again it may be based on the possession of valued qualities such as leadership skills, physical prowess/strength, expertise, experience, age, etc. Most participants are very aware of and very concerned about their place in hierarchical relationships. Having and/or being in a higher or better position

typically garners more responsibility as well as privilege. The following quotes are examples of the contextual ground of *hierarchy*:

> Geena: "Many times you have a supervisor and then you have the manager, people around you that are above you giving instructions on how to do things, how to complete your work or like giving orders and you know as far as talking to the patient."
>
> Tommy: "The hierarchy of it, just in the simplest terms is the way people are going to see power in day-to-day life would be from a job. I guess the hierarchy of it is just constantly wanting to work your way up the ladder."
>
> Janet: "…experienced power with me being the powerful person because I was a section leader for two years and I was also under the director person, band person."
>
> Chett: "Power with me comes from the authority of being involved with the players and I guess the power we have over the kids…"
>
> Helen: "The governor, I think, was there or … No, let's see. It may not have been that hierarchy. Anyway, it was some … Maybe I'm questioning exactly which political person was there, but it was someone high up because I can't think of who the Governor of Texas was or is at that time, but anyway."
>
> Helen: "Oh, it always feels like it's going to negatively affect and I may have used the term "little guy" meaning the people at the bottom."
>
> Helen: "I appreciate there are different levels within the corporation…"
>
> Sam: "It was a whole different group of people so I was definitely subservient there where I was not subservient in the real camp proper."

Position. Being in a hierarchical relationship establishes a position for the individual. Positions within the hierarchy are typically described in terms of the responsibilities and expectations that define them. The theme of position entails an understanding of fit as well. Most participants are very aware of whether or not an individual they are describing is "fit for a position." When they describe themselves in a position, participants often describe what it is they do, their interactions with others, and how they maintain respect and control for themselves and/or their role. A position

confers authority that an individual might not otherwise have on his or her own. Whereas the ground of hierarchy sets the backdrop for the key elements of power, position is a specification of one's place within that hierarchy. With one's position often comes a title and with a title comes the right to exercise control, expect a certain amount of respect, and the possession of at least a certain amount of prestige.

> Swoosie: "I guess kind of the ring leader in a way, but I don't really think that I fully stepped up to the position of being the ring leader because I felt so comfortable with all the people around me that I would feel weird if I … I wouldn't feel completely right if I was saying, kind of acting like I was bigger and better just because of the power I was given being the senior class president."

The above quote by Swoosie illustrates that she was in a position of leadership (senior class president). She felt like she fit the role of "ring leader" that the position bestowed upon her. Her position is tempered, however, by a sense that she herself is not better than anybody else. Chip, on the other hand, was in a leadership position that he did not fully enjoy. The stress and responsibility that the position entailed reduced the sense of fun he experienced regarding his lacrosse games:

> Chip: "I mean I definitely think I would have had a lot more fun if I wasn't the captain, but I still had fun. I just think it would have been a lot less stressful. Not only did I have stress with worrying about whether we won or lost, I had stress of making sure that everything was prepared right for the game and that everything after the game that we didn't leave anything at another school or any one."

The following quotes illustrate how aware Tommy is of position. He sees others in positions that are above his own as well as above other people. He tends to emphasize the benefits that follow being in a higher position in the hierarchy.

> Tommy: "You always see the people that are telling you what to do sitting in the air conditioning, chairs and everything and you're just sitting there sweating. You kind of realize, "How do you put yourself in a position to be that way?""

> Tommy: "I guess I can go from seeing my dad work behind the desk and answering all the phone calls and all the things that go along with his job being the IT director of it. He doesn't get out there and do the physical stuff anymore. He has people who do that for him, but I see that all the stresses and all the responsibilities that come along with that and I realize that those responsibilities are more than what a physical laborer would have and whether you rate how much the job's value is on sweat or how much it is on actual value to the company, you have to decide the actual value to the company that person provides."

The following quote by Chett acknowledges an awareness of how different positions require different skill sets and attributes. There is a tendency towards higher or better positions requiring more special skills.

> Chett: "This person may be more dexterous with their fingers and we need them over here maybe doing a more dexterous task of sawing or cleaning something. This person is sort of a dope. We are going to put him in the lowest position where you have to think. Your role won't be over here with the blow torches doing a lot of craftsmanship work. Your job will be standing here putting things on a rack. Just a lot of finding their skills and then give them their role based on those skills with it. You can translate that into sports, either generically or specifically. He is a larger kid so put him in a role where we need bigger kids, maybe up front. Oh he is really athletic so make him a wide receiver type. Or you can do it even more specific. This kid is tight in the hips, can't really move, he doesn't really get it, so put him in a certain position. This kid has great hips, great feet, he is real fluid - we have another role for him to help us with it. Just find the skill set that they have and base their role upon that."

Wendy's quote that follows connotes some consternation. Her brother started a corporation where he gathered together researchers, technology, and investors. However, it is the men with money who back his business that seem to retain the most power. In her words, they are "in charge" though she feels that they shouldn't be—they did not really earn the "in charge" position.

> Wendy: "He got all of these researchers and all these people, but it's funny. In my opinion, shouldn't he be one in charge, right? Because he thought of it, but it's the investors who really have the final say which I would never have known that."

Mike's quotes demonstrate how several instances of power can be discussed in a single interview. The first quote discusses his time as a teacher in Morocco. There he was

mainly in a position of power. He elaborates on this position by mentioning that he, as a person, is no better than the students beneath him. With the position of teacher, he discusses the boundaries associated with it and how they (the boundaries/rules) are there to facilitate the aim of the position—teaching English. Mike's second and third quotes describe him as being just a member of a sports teams or just a student—he holds no special position or degree of power. He is not distinguished from anyone else. His final quote mentions that he is security guard or bouncer for a theatre. His position there is one that is subordinate to another position described as the "the main one" or the main/lead security guard.

> Mike: "The only boundaries were just teacher/student and I don't think a teacher is better than a student or a student better than a teacher, but just the rules. I guess the boundaries that I set were so that in the classroom setting we could be as efficient as possible with our shared purpose there, which is for me to teach English and for them to learn English."
>
> Mike: "You know, I was not the captain of any teams. I was just on the team. I was a student in my classrooms just like everybody else."
>
> Mike: "We were all security guys but he was like the main one…"

Control. Management of others or the environment is a key feature of this theme. Being able to do what you want and get what you need/want from others in an efficient and efficacious manner characterizes this theme. Sam, for example, was a summer camp counselor who taught archery. The duties of his position also maintained that he get his campers to exercise as well as carry water bottles. The following quote illustrates how Sam was able to fulfill both goals.

> Sam: "I started introducing water bottle for exercises because a heavy water bottle has some heft to it. Water weighs 8 pounds a gallon or something like that so the kids would all line up and have to do exercises with their water bottles. If you didn't have a water

> bottle, if your water bottle wasn't full enough, I had a nice selection of rocks that they could do it with."

For Mike, managing the environment comes in the sense that he has the ability to allow unauthorized individuals into a back door of a theatre. His job as bouncer or security guard for the theatre carries with it the responsibility of only allowing select individuals through certain doors. However, being the gatekeeper, so to speak, gives him a kind of control or influence over others who want to get into a show for free. Even in his subordinate position (he is one of several security guards/bouncers—he is not the "main one."), he has some power because of the control he has.

> Mike: "…it was a door that the artists came in and out of, so it was just a door, so if I had wanted to let somebody in there I could and they would get in free and that was the only power I had…"

Tommy uses the word control several times when describing his experiences of power. He finds that he is often controlled by others—he is in a lesser position that permits others to have power over him. First he mentions being under his parents and how they control him in terms of driving. Then he discusses being a student. Finally, he mentions merely that others have control but in smaller ways.

> Tommy: "As far as being controlled, when you're little or you're first starting to drive you parents always control the hours that you get to drive your automobile. In school you're controlled by doing your school work first. There are just small things of other people controlling you."

Sometimes those in a higher position exercise control to get what they personally want/need, but typically control is exercised to ensure the interests of the hierarchical system in general. For example, those in school may have the role of teacher and exercise control by enforcing rules such as "don't talk when I'm talking", "these

assignments will be turned in on this particular date", etc. so that the expressed purpose of the hierarchical system—education—may be met. Here Chett discusses how others get what they want. They are in power, and so they have control over him. He packages hams at a meat packing plant, and, in the following quote, control is illustrated in that his supervisor has a certain way that he wants the meat handled or else the job is not considered properly done.

> Chett: "Certain supervisors know there is a certain order that you have to do this in and there is a certain matter in which I want you to do this in. You can't do it your way. Do it my way and do it in this order and do it in this time period."

To facilitate learning, Mike has to restrict the amount of time that students can go to the bathroom. In his position as English teacher, Mike exercises control in a very basic way by regulating his students' bodily functions.

> Mike: "A very common one [rule] was that they wanted to go to the bathroom they had to raise their hand and ask me. You know, the class was about two hours so the excessive use of the bathroom was no more than two times."

Participants may assess the amount of control an individual has in comparison to his or her role. They may ask if the control that is possessed and/or exercised is logical given the position that is held (i.e. is it too much? (micromanagement), too little? (ineffective/weak), or just right? (the system I'm in is working). In the following quote, Chett elaborates on the lack of control he has over how he handles the hams he has to prepare for sale. The range of detail shows that some supervisors are very picky and exact about how they like the work done while others don't care and do not exert as much control.

> Chett: "A lot of that control I guess comes from making an order of operations with it and maybe your own personal – I was a meat cutter for years and there is a certain style to the way you do it. There is a certain dexterity in the way you cut things and present things to it and some people don't want that. They would rather have you cut things their way with it, present it their way, even something as minute as that. Putting it in a tray a certain way. Putting the label on it a certain way. Putting the right stickers on it in a certain spot. Some people don't care, they just cut it, put it out there and some people are very specific as to know it goes in the tray this way, that side will be facing here, that side will be facing there. You don't have a lot of control over it."

Control is understood as being less than absolute. Acquiescence by those in a lower position is often seen to be a function of monetary need, the desire to keep one's job, the desire to gain/keep respect of those higher up, and/or the desire to attain a higher position. The quote below deals with Tommy's job as an assistant physical therapist. He describes this job in terms of the control he has over patients and how he gets them to do specific exercises they may not otherwise do on their own. However, he acknowledges some limitations to the control that he has.

> Tommy: "If somebody really, really says no – because you really can't make anybody do anything. At no point in time can you make them work out, but you have to be able to convince them and say this is the best. There's a lot of arguing going on with that on time and how much they do, but it comes down to it that deep down they understand they have to get it done. It's just a matter of being able to put in the right set of words to convince them to do it."

Participants express an allowance on the part of those beneath to let those in higher positions exercise control over them. Sometimes participants in powerful positions will acknowledge their lack of absolute control due to the existence of rules that are preventative. The existence of respect is also key. If those in lower positions do not respect those higher up, the capacity of those higher up to exercise control and, thereby retain more power, is diminished. Mike, in the following quote, expresses the respect

that his students had for him due to his position which, in turn, allowed him to have control over the class.

> Mike: "I was in control of three classes that I was teaching, and so power to me for that was I was the teacher there and they were all paying attention to me, you know what I said about English, which is what they were learning they took it down. They took my word for it."

Prestige. The theme of prestige speaks to the separateness that participants feel when it comes to being powerful or experiencing powerfulness in others. Being in power carries the likelihood that one will be noticed. Tommy's quotes below center on a time when he was involved with a winning sports team. The success he had on the team led to some local notoriety.

> Tommy: "We went to the state tournament a few times and just seeing how all the other people gravitate around a good sports team in a small town is somewhat power."

> Tommy: "It's just good to have the attention put on you somewhat, to be put in the spotlight."

> Tommy: "The attention that you would not normally be accustomed to and people that you would not normally come in contact with or talk to are paying attention to you. I guess the attention part and just the overall attitude that people portray to you is part of the power. I guess somewhat of being kind of looked up to in a way."

Those beneath know who is above even if those above do not always know who is beneath. Prestige takes into account a kind of special-ness or importance that is brought on by being in a position that is higher than others and that is in some ways more exclusive. The following quote of Helen's demonstrates how an extremely high position such president of the United States—or, in this case, potential president—garners a high degree of separateness. In attending president Obama's Dallas campaign speech, she is struck by the awesomeness that comes with being so very close to someone so powerful.

> Helen: "Wow, I am so close to this person who I'm so out of touch or out of reach from." And that was probably why it stood out to my mother and me so much because what are the possibilities that this will ever happen again? I won't probably ever be 25 rows from President Obama now. So at that moment in time that was, I guess that's what made it powerful."

Prestige involves the visible trappings of power. For Wendy, the "red carpet" signifies an expression of power. However, the visible vestiges of power, the separateness, and the special-ness that is tandem with powerful positions seems undeserved.

> Wendy: "Most powerful business people become arrogant—a lot of them do, but to take it to the whole TV level and walking red carpets for not doing anything except for building a building. I don't know why a powerful person needs to be walking a red carpet, but then again, I don't think red carpets—anyway that's a whole new subject."

The responsibilities that are inherent to a higher position/role endow the powerful individual with a kind of separateness that makes them different from others—particularly those beneath. Rachelle's quote below again emphasizes how positions of power maintain some distance from those beneath. In this instance, her secretarial position at a boy's summer camp was, for her, a powerful role because of the responsibilities and control she had over day to day operations. Her position was essential to the camp's smooth functioning and, yet, she was literally out of the view of those she controlled.

> Rachelle: "Yeah, kind of like behind the scenes because there was a program director and everything so the kids saw them and they thought – and I'm not saying that we were like the boss or anything – but the kids would see the program director and him being in charge of things but really the office workers did a lot of planning for things and making sure that everything was setup right and stuff like that."

For Sam, his position as a camp counselor and archery teacher physically separated him from the rest of the camp.

> Sam: "Within my little corner of camp and you couldn't come to the corner unless you were trying to find the archery range. There was like a little trail that was inaccessible."

Sometimes the position can be so high in the hierarchy that the individual is so separated from those he or she controls that he or she can be out of touch with them and can lack an understanding of what they want or need. Helen's two quotes below demonstrate that her managers—who set policies that affect her and those beneath her—maintain very little contact with the actual stores that make them money, and, in some instances, they are never seen at all.

> Helen: "You know, it's almost like they don't even see the real world when they do come down to the store level when they fly the jet in and come and make their 15 minute walk through the stores. They still don't get. It gives them the warm and fuzzies that yeah, they're a part of us, but they really don't. They jump back on the plane and go back to the home office and …"

> Helen: "Literally, you never see these people. I get constant e-mails from people, but I couldn't put a face with a name. There's never been any contact with any of these people."

Respect. The theme of respect deals with the presence or absence of authentic caring within a hierarchical relationship. Positive experiences of power yielded a portrait of respect that was colored by reciprocity of opinion, concern and an acknowledgment of each other's humanity. Participants often discuss that those with respect really listened to them or invested time in them. Thoughtfulness is involved. Helen's description of her father illustrates how respect is given to those who, likewise, show respect.

> Helen: "When I think about respect for my dad, I think about that he took the time or that he had the time … it felt, that he did care about me and my brother and my sister. So if I'm talking about respect … he respected us and therefore, we respected my father. He always had time for us. That's my fondest memories. We lived on a farm and you know, he always had time to teach us things and took the time with us to do things which a lot of people …"

Those with respect pay attention and understand the wants, needs, and concerns of those to which they attend. Those who have respect for others appreciate and understand the variety of perspectives they encounter. Chett's work as a football coach brought him into contact with a variety of different players. In his position of power, he respected his players and aimed to really work with them and explain things to them on their own terms.

> Chett: "Every kid is different and has a different background. They have gone through different things and see the world differently and has different views of it and trying to juggle all of the kids views and make things make sense to a lot of different people with it. It may the way I explained to one kid, he understands, and try to make another child with a different view sort of see the same thing is a whole different process with it."

Expressing gratitude, making others feel valued, and earning one's place in the hierarchy fosters respect and makes for a more beneficial environment. For Rachelle, the Ethiopians to whom she ministered respected her because her race—Caucasian—indicated to them that she had more money than them and, thus, more power. From the start of their relationship, the Ethiopians gave her much regard and made her feel that she was important. Her next quote shows that a reciprocal relationship of respect between her and a particular Ethiopian individual spawned a spontaneous display of care and affection.

> Rachelle: "Then they would get off of their bus and we would all stand in two lines and the campers would come though us and they would all shake our hands, but they would put their left arm over – kinda like this; I know you are taping and can't really – and that is a sign of respect in Ethiopia. That means that they are being respectful to you and we had no clue. We had to have somebody tell us what that meant. That was like the first instance of respect when they – and they all did that no matter where they were from in Ethiopia."

> Rachelle: "But in Ethiopia it is a sign of respect – its called agortia – they grab the food and they feed you and that is a sign of respect. So one of the campers toward the end of

> the month that I was there and I was – the food there like to have made me sick so I didn't like it in terms of taste, but also it made me sick so I had to get a translator and tell the translator I can't eat the food but I respect him for doing that – because that is kind of like a special thing, they don't do that for everybody they meet – that's another thing that we don't really feed each other here in America."

Helen's quote below emphasizes her belief that listening to one's subordinates is good for the workplace in general.

> Helen: "I think a manager within the store needs to respect, to listen to their associates as well. It just builds a good relationship with your associates. Yeah, to respect your associates and then they're going to respect you and it just makes for a better working environment."

Negative experiences of power—discussed particularly by those who described times when they were under another's power—occurred in situations where those above treated those below as though they did not matter or like they were incompetent. Because of Tommy's age and the fact that his boss was also his father led others to believe that he did not actually earn his position and, thus, that he really did not know what he was doing in his job fixing computers.

> Tommy: "It was more of a demanding job with less respect for what you could do. I didn't fix the big problems by any means, but just being young and everybody else working around you is at least 10 years older than you doing basically what you're doing. People don't always respect or believe that a youth can do that. You just constantly have to prove that you didn't get the job just because your dad is the boss. Plus there's the fact that working for your dad is probably the worst boss you could have."

Participants felt as though their opinions meant nothing. Often they felt helpless about this situation as is the case with Helen and the retail store where she works.

> Helen: "I think although we may not agree with the power that the executives have, we do respect it, maybe. Yeah, I was going to follow up with that. We know we can't do anything about the power that they have so we might as well just respect for the short amount of time that they're there and then move on with our lives after they leave."

Likewise in his job packing meat, Chett experiences a lack of gratitude and personal value, about which he can do nothing.

> Chett: "Yes, you asked to help us and for that we thank you, but other than that there is not going to be a lot of "good job Jerry, that's excellent. I like what you do here. You are a valued member of the team". No there is not a lot of personal feedback with it. "Thanks for showing up today, glad you showed up". That is really about it. Then you have the people that if they make it through the whole process and are there. We are glad you stuck with us. A lot of people quit."

Respect is often given to those who manage their power fairly and exercise control effectively but within limits that are considered justified given their respective roles. Many individuals may be able to exercise control due to their specific role or position and, thus, have power over others, but if they do things in an ineffective manner or they go beyond the bounds of their authority, they either lose or never earn respect from those beneath them. Despite the overall lack of respect that is displayed by her superiors, Helen acknowledges that their place in the hierarchy alone demands that she show, at least, some respect.

> Helen: "The position is to be respected."

Themes and Gender

During the process of thematic interpretation, it was noted that there were no outstanding differences in how themes were expressed or experienced between males and females. Only one participant, Wendy, addressed the issue of a power differential between men and women. Her interview was largely abstract in nature and tended to stray from personal experience. That too distinguished Wendy's interview from the rest of the dataset. Ultimately though, her experience of position, control, respect, prestige

and its contextual ground, hierarchy, was not any more or less variable than the experiences of the other participants.

Situations of Power and Their Relation to the Five Bases of Power

Appendix G lists situations of power per participant. In order to address the relevance of French and Raven's (1959) typology, the 67 separate situations—where participants mentioned anything from being in power, being under power, having power over the self, or being in a position that was mutually superior and inferior within the context of a hierarchical relationship—were examined to see who the power holder in the situation was. Since French and Raven's typology is based on what kind or type of power source is utilized by those in a position of power, it was necessary to read accounts and determine who was in or had power within the situation(s) mentioned. Within the 67 situations discussed, a main power holder was discovered. Some similarities between the different power holders were found, and, thus, in an effort of efficiency the power holders were organized into 21 general categories based on their positional similarities within the hierarchical relationship. For example, teachers in high school, college professors, and coaches all tended to have the same duties and drew on the same power bases. Therefore, the number of power holders that could be collapsed into the category of *Instructors/Teacher* is 10. Though it seemed desirable to have as few categories of power holders as possible, it was also the goal of the investigator to not deny the uniqueness of certain positions. Many of the interviews brought to light several unexpected positions of power. The control, prestige, and respect gleaned from being an

archery teacher at a Jewish summer camp, for example, was not what the investigator expected to find when the participant, Sam, discussed a time when he was in a position of power. Secretarial work, which, at first, seems unglamorous and inherently subordinate was described by Rachelle as being powerful because of the amount of control and knowledge she had over the inner workings of the camp. Similarly, Fran's work as a nanny came across as very powerful because of the amount of knowledge she had over her young charge.

Power, it seems, can be found everywhere just as Foucault (1976) posited. The large number of categories was also developed with a desire to present the sheer variety of power holders present in accounts of everyday experiences of power. The table in Appendix I shows the 21 categories of power holders and the frequency of power holders that are in each category. An 'X' is placed in each column to represent which power base(s) the power holders of that category draw from. This table gives a profile of power bases for each category of power holders. About Sixty-two percent of the categories of power holders draw on legitimate power. Seventy-six percent of the 21 categories draw on reward power. Approximately 52 percent of the categories of power holders draw on coercive power, roughly 29 percent draw on expertise, and 19 percent have referent power.

To glean an even better understanding of how often the power holders discussed in the interviews draw on different power bases, the table in Appendix J displays the frequency of total power holders that have legitimate, reward, coercive, expert, and/or referent as their source of power.

Conclusions

In the accounts described, participants talked about being in power as well as being under power. Their experiences were analyzed for clusters of meaning. This analysis led to the development of four themes: position, control, prestige, and respect. All themes were contextualized within a ground of hierarchy. For every situation described, participants resided in some sort of hierarchical relationship as either power holders or individuals over which power was held. This relationship was characterized by a stratification whereby one was very aware of their position within the hierarchy. Their position garnered a certain amount of control over themselves, the environment, and/or others. This control was augmented by the amount of respect that was both demonstrated and received from others. Likewise, the amount of prestige or separateness that was held by the position made the position more visible and, in some instances, out of touch with those beneath. When thematic differences were sought on the basis of gender differences, none were found.

Classification of the power holders described by the participants into French and Raven's (1959) typology demonstrated that indeed the vast majority of situations could be described in terms of the five bases of power. Most power holders drew from more than one base or source of power. The discussion and implications of these findings will be presented in the next chapter. In regards to French and Raven's (1959) typology and gender differences, a couple of significant differences are of note. To assess if males and females drew from different power sources, a series of nonparametric goodness of fit tests were performed. Please see Appendix K for these tests.

After 20 participants (10 males and 10 females) were interviewed in regards to times in their lives when they were aware of power, a total of 67 situations were described. In each situation, a power holder was identified. Sometimes the power holder in the situation described was the participant, but more often the power holder was someone else. In Appendix I, the table—"Power Holders and the Five Bases of Power"—the 67 situations are categorized into 21 general types. Of the 67 separate situations, 61 involve a person as the power holder. The other six situations involve electronic equipment or instances of nature and/or chance. In other words, there are six instances where the perceived power holder could not be classified as either male or female. Thus, only 61 situations (61 power holders) are involved in the goodness of fit tests because the test is being used to find differences in the distributions of the use of power bases based on the variable, gender.

Looking at the 61 power holders, 40 were found to be male and 21 were found to be female. In regards to the bases of power, one hundred and eighty-four power bases were utilized in total. Legitimate power was used 45 different times—31 times by males and 14 times by females. Reward power was used 59 different times but only 53 of those times involved a person as the power holder. Thus, 33 males and 20 females used reward power. Coercive power was drawn from 45 different times. Again, situations involving a person as the power holder reduce that number to 40 with 31 males and nine females using coercive power. Expert power was utilized 32 times (17 times by males and 15 times by females, and referent power was drawn from only five times (two times by males and three times by females). After analysis was complete, only two of the tests

resulted in significant findings. Based on the descriptions told by participants, it appears that men utilize legitimate (formal authority) and coercive power more often than women do. Please see Appendix K for the math behind the separate goodness of fit tests.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to ascertain how participants make meaning out of everyday experiences of power. Participants were not constrained as to how they should describe their experiences nor were they asked to describe a specific type of power. Participants were free to discuss situations where they had power as well as times when they did not. In addition to describing the essential elements of power, another aim of this study was to assess the utility of a decades old typology. All of the situations described by participants were categorized according to French and Raven's (1959) bases of power typology. The power holders who were mentioned in each situation of power were seen as drawing on one or more of the following bases or sources of power: coercive, reward, legitimate, referent, and/or expert. The present chapter aims to discuss the results, and explicate implications for future.

An existential-hermeneutic phenomenological approach was used to explore the thematic meaning of everyday experiences of power. For the participants, situations of power exist within a context of a hierarchical relationship. Within this relationship or contextualizing ground—hierarchy—four themes emerge: position, control, respect, and prestige. These themes—including the ground, hierarchy—are interrelated and serve to structure power's meaning within day to day life. It appears that power is the control of others within a hierarchy that is dependent upon one's position and linear distance (prestige) tempered by respect. The variability within the themes is dependent on the

nature and type of hierarchical context in which one finds oneself. Everything is colored by hierarchy—who is below me, who is above me. Sometimes, in the case of independence where participants mention being financially independent and able to live alone away from friends or parental influence, the power that is felt exists due to a state of not having any one above or below when previously one had been influenced by the control of a parent, roommate, friend, etc. Thus, power can exist as a state of independence, but the acknowledgement of power tends to come when one clearly exists in hierarchical relationship where one's position affords them control over one or more persons. The control one has may increase or decrease depending on the amount of respect one earns. Respect is inherent to the position, but an increase in respect from one's subordinates comes from being, likewise, respectful to the other and understanding the position and perspective of the other.

Where respect may augment control, not exuding the control expected of one's position lessens the respect that those beneath on the hierarchical ladder have for the person in power. An ineffectual leader does not deserve their position and if they cannot be removed, then at least their opinion will not be as adhered to as much. Thus, they will not have as much respect and thereby have less control whether they realize or not (if one does not act to control, then one may not understand that they are not in control of those who perceive and exist under their position within some hierarchical context).

To feel like they have power, participants have to have control over the environment, themselves, or another. Powerlessness or being in a position that feels more or less *limited*, on the other hand, is constituted by reminders that one is lower than

or beneath another. Some participants were fine with not being in a position of power or, rather, in a position that did not have more power. As long as those above were respectful, acted within the bounds of their position and were neither ineffectual nor over controlling, then all was well in the relationship. However, if there was a serious lack of respect, if too much control was exuded, or if the controlling behavior(s) seemed out of touch with the participant and the participant's positional role, then, frustration and unhappiness with others, the specific hierarchy under discussion, and their place in it became key features of the account(s).

Themes, Power Bases, and Gender

As stated in the results section, no differences were found in the themes across the sexes. Being that this is a hermeneutic study that is subject to interpretation and is contingent upon the accounts of the participants therein, it must be acknowledged that this is one and only one interpretation of everyday experiences of power. Another study with different participants may come up with an interpretation that is somewhat different and indicates sex differences.

Past literature has presented an ambiguous picture in regards to gender differences and power. Goodwin and Fiske (2001) state that men have more structural power than women, and that differences in the amount of power possessed persists "despite the narrowing of gender gaps and changes in attitudes that have characterized the past century" (p. 358). Eagly (1999), likewise, states that women are not often seen in the highest tiers of business, and the United Nations Development Program (1998) shows

that women face the losing end of power differentials when it comes to the legal system and political power. Regardless of the differences in amount of power possessed, the current thematic interpretation of first-person accounts seems to imply that the *perception* of power remains similar across the sexes. Also, the participants in this study were all college students who, for the most part, were in their early 20s. Their exposure to and opportunities to use different kinds of various types of power may, at this point, be limited. Regardless, it is interesting to note that Spears, Slee, Owens, and Johnson (2009) mentioned in Chapter II have shown a similar lack of sex differences. Their qualitative study studies showed that men are often found in powerful positions, but the way in which power is defined across the sexes is similar.

The two sex differences that were found in this study—the increased use of legitimate and coercive power by males—flies in the face of Kipnis, Schmidt, and Williamson (1980) who showed a lack of sex differences in relation to the use of influence tactics. Again it may be that the age of the participants is a factor. At this point in their lives, most participants have encountered a male face when dealing with legitimate, formal positions of power or, at least, they more often recognize males as being in formal positions of power. Similarly, those that have been seen to punish or take away desired resources (coercive power) have been mostly male. In comparison to Spears, Slee, Owens, and Johnson (2009), there is support in that males are described by participants in their study as possessing legitimate authority and having recognized positions of power more often than women.

French and Raven and Thematic Interpretation

As can be seen from the tables Appendices H and I, French and Raven's (1959) bases of power typology is still useful and relevant. Most of the power holders in the various situations described could be seen as drawing from one or more power bases. In fact, most power holders drew from several bases as posited by French and Raven (1959). However, six situations did not easily lend themselves towards the bases of power classification scheme. The identification of a power holder was made difficult in that the situations were not obviously social. These situations concerned the categories of *Nature/Chance* and *Electronic Equipment*.

The bases of power typology was developed from a relational/social standpoint. In other words, the definitional thinking surrounding power from French and Raven's theoretical standpoint stems from power being hallmarked by *social* influence and control. Power is conceived of only in terms of social relationship. However, participants can have relationships with things as well as people. The accounts where nature and/or chance held positions of power and were for all intents and purposes controlling agents in the situations being described exhibited themes similar to those where people were the power holders. Nature and sheer chance often get personified or are imbued with some kind of mystical aura. It is acknowledged by the participant that they are powerless with respect to nature and chance, and sometimes this acknowledgement is accompanied by a participant's first brush with death/mortality. It is clear that nature/chance exists with the participant in a hierarchy where there is little to no mobility—there is no working harder and getting promoted to some position that will

allow one to escape nature's control and outwit death. A great deal of respect is shown for nature/chance and the distance or prestige that is held by this category of power holder is expressed as being beyond the comprehension of the participant. Ultimately, with a focus on French and Raven's (1959) typology, nature and chance are powerful because they exhibit qualities of being able to give life and/or control to the participant or take it away—sometimes with great finality. This is why this particular class of power holder is deemed to—if not draw, which has an air of intent behind it and is, thus, meant for and relevant to social situations—be simply the opportunity or denial of opportunity to live, choose, and be.

In regards to the other non-social power holder, electronic equipment—which was only mentioned by one participant in an account of power—likewise, affords opportunity. It does not so much take away and is, therefore, not coercive as nature and/or chance can be. The hierarchical relationship that is seen is one where the participant, Mike, could only give access to a person in line at a theatre by scanning their ticket through a kind of computer device. He expressed a personal lack of control in this situation, and described the machine as the thing with the power. He did not so much express respect for the machine outright. Rather, the machine was a necessary and vital part of being able to do his job, and he, himself, felt rather powerless without it. The base of power most relevant to this particular power holder is reward. However, once again it is interesting to note that power may be found in some unexpected places and may exist outside of a strictly social situation.

Overall, French and Raven's (1959) typology is relevant given the support of the present experience-driven interview data. The power holders within each account can be examined and organized in terms of source of power. No specific power holder seemed to present a truly different class of power outside of the bases of power typology. Power though is a complex phenomenon, and the bases of power can sometimes seem to be a simplistic presentation of power source. The data show how French and Raven's (1959) mechanisms (rewards and punishments) achieve effectiveness, but they go no further in describing just how this effectiveness is achieved. The thematic structure found in this data, however, gives some insight into how power is used effectively as well as describes the mechanisms of power.

The data supports the finding that power holders typically draw from multiple bases of power. These bases or sources of power exist as a function of the position held within the specific hierarchical relationship in which the participants find themselves. The position—such as an instructor—lends itself towards certain types of control. These types are logical given the responsibilities of the position. Where an instructor is there to teach and the student is there to learn, certain rules or expectations must exist whereby an instructor is free to promote an environment where he or she talks (i.e. provide instruction) and students listen and/or write down what is said. A certain amount of order must be kept within the classroom. The instructor is, in fact, allowed power in the form that it is acceptable for him or her to tell a student what to do—to a certain acceptable degree—and expect the student to comply. For example, an instructor can tell a student to read a chapter of a text and express memorization of that textbook chapter on a quiz

the following day. If the student does not comply, a reasonable form of control (coercive power) exists in the form of a failing grade. If the student does comply—say satisfactorily—then a form of control (reward power) that reinforces the behavior (i.e. extends future compliance) exists in the form of giving a passing grade. The position legitimizes (legitimate power) the use of the other sources of power—reward and coercion. Furthermore, respect and even more control is exhibited on the bases of the instructor utilizing expertise in that the students understand and acknowledge that the instructor has knowledge about the subject being taught. This expert power further legitimizes the instructor's power and solidifies justification for the position within the hierarchical relationship: student/teacher.

Results versus past literature: A comparison. The present data help to somewhat clarify the definitional issues that plague the study of power. After organizing the various situations into French and Raven's (1959) typology, it was found that definitions that constrain power solely into the enactment of social sanctions (Tedeschi & Bonoma (1972) are too strict while definitions that tend to see power in terms of potential instead of actual influence (Collins & Raven, 1969) are too loose. Studies that tend to define power in terms of influence over the environment/other people or in terms of influence tactics, specifically, are closer to the definition presented here, but they simplify power somewhat by ignoring how those over which power is exerted can likewise influence the power that is exerted over them. Respect and prestige exist in tandem with each other—where prestige increases, so too does respect and vice versa. The amount of respect someone has for another individual can augment the amount of power one has by

changing the amount of control one is able to exert. Where respect and/or prestige are lacking, control is diminished. In this case, the position may be the only thing that maintains the power differential. The individual without the title may, thus, find themselves without power totally once they are removed from a specific hierarchical relationship. Thus, the context in which power exists is of utmost importance. Power, as it has been thematically interpreted here, resembles Foucault's (1980) description—"…it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society."

Aside from power's definition, the literature discussed in earlier chapters is not negated in any way. Rather, past literature has been enriched by the current findings. Much work has been devoted to identifying types of power, influence tactics, motivations to gain, maintain, and exert power/control, and analyzing cost/benefits analysis of relationships whether they be personal or strictly organizational. All of this previous work is still very valid and the present study describes more how power comes about and how its essential elements work together to bring about an experience of power. What has been lacking in the literature is the presence of subjective, first-person accounts of what it is like to experience power. Whereby past research has emphasized typing and organizing power, the current study elucidates power's meaning.

Suggestions for Future Research

Power holders on French and Raven-derived questionnaires are asked to indicate on which bases of power they draw. How they actually use these bases or sources of power is typically not addressed. A power holder may acknowledge that they have or

think they use a particular source of power, but power is really demonstrated in the effects it has on others and/or the environment. In the accounts described, participants could talk about being in power as well as being under power. Thus, the data herein gives a portrait of power and power bases from the perspectives of both power holders and those over which power is held.

Position within the hierarchy is important and dictates the amount, type, and intensity of control that a power holder may exhibit. However, this means that control is contingent on position and the position itself is very much augmented by the amount of respect that is earned and given. Therefore, reciprocity of respect needs to be assessed in questionnaires—how selfish a power holder tends to be and how little a superior is able to or willing to understand a subordinate's position and thereby perspective are important factors to maintaining and enforcing control and stability within the hierarchy. The amount of prestige or separateness a power holder has also needs to be addressed. This inherently affects how accessible he or she is to those lower down in the hierarchy and affects both the power holder's understanding of the other and the other's inherent respect for the power holder and, thus, the amount of inherent control the power holder is expected to have and exert. In short, the more distance there is in terms of their relative positions in the hierarchy, the more respect is due the power holder and given by individual over whom power is held.

Also, more emphasis needs to be placed on whether or not a power holder actually bothers to use and—in some cases—even realizes the amount of control he or she has. As demonstrated in participant accounts, some individuals in a position of

power do not always exercise the control they could and, perhaps, should. Many researchers characterize power as a dark aspect of society. Control over others tends to be frowned upon because there is constant drive in Western culture to seek individuality, empowerment, freedom, etc. It is true that a need for control/power is often a hallmark of narcissism. However, those power holders who do not exercise the full measure of control that is expected of their position may be perceived as being lazy and/or ineffectual. This reduces the amount of respect they get from those beneath them which, likewise, lessens their prestige and diminishes the amount of inherent control they have. Overall, future assessments should include items that measure level of respect, the amount of respect that is typically shown the power holder, believed and actual prestige/distance from subordinates, and the need for and willingness to exercise control.

Conclusions and Limitations

Since phenomenology attempts to explore the meaning of experience through understanding a participant's own perceptions and interpretation of an experience, it is to be understood that this study seeks to understand not explain. Both a strength and a limitation of phenomenology is the use of interpretation. There are many different ways of interpreting experience, and these interpretations stem from interactions with a world that both influences and is influenced by the individual who subjectively chooses what is meaningful and, reflexively, most salient about his or her experience. At heart, "…it is the meaning of our experiences that constitutes reality" (Bogden & Biklen, 2007, p. 26). Therefore, reality is in essence the conceptual world of the individual. Existentially

speaking, these conceptual worlds and the realities they create are specifically related to the individual who experiences them, and sharing one's world or the meanings that one creates of experience results in cultures and societies that inherently transmit socially constructed meanings from one generation to the next (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Future qualitative research on power might employ other theories in interpreting interviews or other forms of data. Results in phenomenological studies are co-constructed in dialogue with participants who hold differing perspectives, so the findings of this study might be somewhat different if a different set of individuals are interviewed. Thus, a limitation of the present study is that the findings only represent one interpretation of the data.

In conclusion, this study had three aims: to understand how participants make meaning out of their everyday experiences of power, to classify the power holders described in each situation according to French and Raven's (1959) bases of power typology, and to compare the current findings to previous research and discuss implications for future studies.

Overall, the present findings serve to enrich the plethora of conceptualizations of power. Based on the descriptions provided by participants, power is defined as the control one has within a hierarchy dependent upon position and distance to subordinates (prestige) tempered by respect. Power is complex, and when described further in terms of French and Raven's (1959) bases of power, it was found that individuals with power often utilize more than one type of power in order to gain/maintain control. The decades old typology is still vital, though the way in which power develops and is maintained has

not yet been examined. The current study is, thus, important in its presentation of power's essential elements. By looking at subjective experience, power can be described in terms of a relationship that is greatly impacted by both the motivations of the power holder as well as the individual over whom power is held.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
INTERNAL REVIEW BOARD APPLICATION

FORM B
APPLICATION

FORM B

IRB# _____

Date Received in OR _____

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE, KNOXVILLE

Application for Review of Research Involving Human Subjects

I. IDENTIFICATION OF PROJECT

1. **Principal Investigator**

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Appendix A: Continued

2. Project Classification: Dissertation Research

3. Title of Project

A Phenomenological Investigation of Everyday Experiences of Power: A Comparison of French and Raven's Five Bases of Power to Thematic Interpretations of Interview Data

4. Starting Date: Upon IRB Approval

5. Estimated Completion Date: August 2010

6. External Funding

Not applicable

II. PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Developed in 1960, French and Raven's five bases of power is still referred to today in various studies of power and social influence and divides power into five different forms: coercive (a person's belief in another's ability to punish him or her), reward (a person's belief in another's ability to reward him or her), legitimate (a person's recognition of another's authority to make demands and decisions), referential (a person's respect for, identification with, or attraction to another who possesses influence), and expertise (a person's belief in another's greater knowledge and/or technical abilities). To test French and Raven's bases of power, a number of psychometrically sound questionnaires have been developed. However, the majority of these questionnaires are constructed from and distributed to individuals having jobs in business and marketing.

Thus, it is an aim of this study to phenomenologically interview people about their everyday experiences of power and not directly relate power to a business context (unless the participant initially makes the connection and wishes to discuss it in the interview). A phenomenological interview is being done specifically to see how participants make meaning out of their experiences of power. The experiences they will describe will help the primary investigator to see how power is defined, understood, and classified by the participant. A more structured interview would constrain the participant to certain situations of power and unnecessarily influence the participant to discuss things in terms of how the primary investigator sees and understands power.

A second aim of this study is to compare a thematic interpretation of the interview data with two French and Raven-derived questionnaires to see if the quantitative descriptions

Appendix A: Continued

of power bases are relevant and relate to experience-derived themes that come from first hand accounts of power.

A third aim is to ascertain any differences that may arise both in the questionnaires and the thematic interpretations of the interview data that may exist between the men and women that volunteer to participate for this study.

III. DESCRIPTION AND SOURCE OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

The primary investigator will seek permission from the director of undergraduate studies in psychology (Dr. Rich Saudargas) to recruit participants from the undergraduate student population enrolled in psychology classes. Students enrolled in undergraduate psychology classes will be granted extra credit for participation at the discretion of Dr. Saudargas and the students' psychology instructors. This will allow the investigator to draw participants between the ages of 18 and 25.

Participants will be asked to describe particular life experiences in which they were aware of experiencing power. Approximately 14 to 20 interviewees will be needed to complete data collection. All participants will be adults and no potential participants will be excluded because of race, sex, handicap status, etc.

IV. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This is a phenomenological study using an open-ended interviewing method to address the human experience of power. Participants will contact the primary investigator either by phone or email and express their wish to participate in the study. Prior to the participant's arrival, a coin will be flipped to determine which aspect of the study will be done first, questionnaires or the phenomenological interview. If the coin comes up heads, the questionnaires will be given first and the interview will follow. If the coin comes up tails, the phenomenological interview will be done first and the questionnaires will follow. This serves to counterbalance any effects the interviews and questionnaires might have on one another (it could be that the questionnaire content could influence the experiences that are discussed and vice versa). A statistical check will be done by the researcher after data completion to see if there is any influence one way or another. The primary investigator has a minor in statistics and available statistical software so no outside statistical consultation will be needed. Thus, the confidentiality of the participants and their responses to both the questionnaires and the interview prompt question will be maintained.

Once the participant arrives at the primary investigator's office in Walters Life Science, he or she will be asked to read and sign an information sheet that describes the study.

Appendix A: Continued

The participant will be given a copy of the information sheet for his or her records. After the participant is through reading the information sheet, he or she will fill out questionnaires either before or after the phenomenological interview depending on the outcome of the primary investigator's coin toss. For the interview portion of the study, the investigator will ask the following question to begin the interview: "Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as thoroughly as possible."

The transcripts used in this study will be based on recorded interviews using an open-ended interviewing technique. Each interview will begin with the question, "Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as thoroughly as possible." The investigator will then ask follow-up questions to clarify particular topics and themes that come up in the dialogue. Interviews will continue until the respondent feels satisfied that they have provided a complete account of their experience(s) of power. Generally, this type of interview takes 1 to 3 hours. The interviews will be audio recorded using a digital recorder, transcribed, and all identifying information regarding specific people or places will be removed from the transcripts. Audio recordings of the interviews will be kept in a password-protected file on the investigator's computer and will be deleted upon completion of the study. As part of this methodology and to protect confidentiality, the primary investigator will be transcribing the audio-recorded interviews.

After data collection is complete, transcripts of the interviews will be interpreted and thematically analyzed in an interpretive group, consisting of the primary investigator, a committee member (Sandra Thomas) and various other faculty and graduate students who are familiar with interpretive methodology. Approximately 10 to 15 professors and graduate students belong to and attend this group. The themes that result from these readings and discussions will be reported in aggregate with supporting quotations from the interview transcripts. No personally identifying information will be included in the quoted material. Participants will not be identified in any publicly available articles, reports, or books resulting from this research, except in terms of general demographic characteristics, such as "sex" or "age." Participant identities will be protected by assigning a pseudonym or participant number to their records and transcripts. Each respondent will be given an email address and phone number to contact Kelly De-Moll (PI) if they have any further questions or concerns about the study.

Interpretive Group readers who assist in this research by analyzing the transcribed interviews will be asked to sign a confidentiality form pledging not to not discuss any specific details of the transcripts presented to the group with anyone who is not involved in the Interpretive Group (see Appendix C). General discussion of emerging themes and ideas about the research will be allowed outside the group, as long as these discussions do not potentially jeopardize the anonymity of participants.

Appendix A: Continued

After group interpretation and discuss, the primary investigator will compare each participant's interview to that same participant's questionnaire responses to assess if there is anything that the interview touches upon in relation to power that is not found in the content of the questionnaire items and vice versa. The interviews for each participant

will also be compared to French and Raven's five power bases without reference to the questionnaires to see if there are situations or classes of situations that the interviews discuss that could lend themselves to being made items in an altogether new questionnaire on power that is derived from first hand accounts and yet takes French and Raven's power classifications into account. Validation for this new measure will not be sought during the course of this study. Any differences between themes in terms of number, structure, and/or sheer expression for men and women will also be examined. Trends between the males and females in regards to questionnaire responses will also be noted and examined.

V. SPECIFIC RISKS AND PROTECTION MEASURES

Protection of Participants from Harm. There is minimal risk for participants. Participants will be asked to indicate their consent to participate in the study by signing the information sheet. The information sheet will be kept in a file folder in a locked drawer in the primary investigator's office which is also kept locked from the rest of Walters Life Science. The investigator will be the only one to see these information sheets so confidentiality will be maintained. All questionnaires and transcribed interviews will be kept in the same locked drawer, and all audio interviews will be downloaded onto the investigators computer and deleted from the digital tape recorder. Once downloaded, the audio interviews will be kept in a password protected file on the primary investigator's personal laptop computer. The laptop computer is only used by the primary investigator, and it travels between the investigator's place of residence and her office in Walters Life Science. Only she has access to its contents as the machine itself is password protected. The participants will be able to withdraw at any time during the study, and they also reserve the right to withdraw their data even after data collection is complete. This study does not utilize experimental manipulation, deception, or assignment to treatment or control conditions. The investigator does not anticipate that this research will cause harm to the participants, as they will choose the specific situations and what they discuss concerning these situations. While recalling and describing situations of power will likely not be a problem for most participants, the subject matter and interview situation may elicit strong emotions for some. Following the interview there will be a debriefing period in which participants may discuss their emotional reactions to the interview and the questionnaires and the investigator will provide contact information in case they experience subsequent emotional distress. If a

Appendix A: Continued

situation arises in which a participant becomes emotionally distressed during the interview, the investigator will remind them of their right to terminate participation at any time and, if necessary, will offer to assist them in seeking counseling services at The University of Tennessee.

VI. BENEFITS

There are several benefits to participating in this study. Participants will have the opportunity to discuss an interesting topic one on one with a researcher. They will be allowed to know what their questionnaires say about them and may contact the primary investigator to discuss their interview even after data collection is complete. Participants will have the opportunity to participate in the development of a questionnaire based on their own data that has the potential of being used in later studies to describe power in terms of everyday—rather than strictly business—situations. Most participants in phenomenological interviews express enjoyment in getting to talk about their experiences at length with an interested yet objective party.

VII. METHODS FOR OBTAINING "INFORMED CONSENT" FROM PARTICIPANTS

Prior to the beginning of the study, the participant will be given an information sheet that explains the purpose of the study and discusses the participant's rights. After reading the information sheet, the participant will sign to show his or her consent, and they will be given a copy of the information sheet for his or her records.

VIII. QUALIFICATIONS OF THE INVESTIGATOR(S) TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

The primary investigator is a doctoral student in Experimental Psychology at the University of Tennessee. She has already conducted IRB-approved phenomenological research in the area of aggression, and she has participated in interpretive research groups on campus with Dr. Howard Pollio and Dr. Sandra Thomas. She has been a research fellow at the Center for Applied Phenomenological Research at the University of Tennessee since 2003. The primary researcher has taken classes in research design and has aided Dr. Pollio in some of his pilot studies involving personal accounts of 9-11. The primary researcher has also successfully completed an Educational Seminar on Human Subjects sponsored by UT's Institutional Review Board.

Appendix A: Continued

IX. FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT TO BE USED IN THE RESEARCH

All interviews will be conducted in the primary investigator's office which is located in 308A Walters Life Science. This location is near to classrooms and other offices and should provide a comfortable environment that is easily accessible, quiet, and private.

The interpretive group that will aid the researcher in thematic analysis of the transcribed interviews is located in a secure room in the Nursing building near Claxton.

A digital tape recorder will be used to record the interviews, and a password protected laptop computer will be used as a transcription device and storehouse for all interviews. Only the primary investigator will have access to both the laptop and tape recorder. All transcribed interviews that are printed from the laptop will be kept by the primary investigator in a locked drawer in her office.

X. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRINCIPAL/CO-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR(S)

By compliance with the policies established by the Institutional Review Board of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, the principal investigator(s) subscribe to the principles stated in "The Belmont Report" and standards of professional ethics in all research, development, and related activities involving human subjects under the auspices of The University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The principal investigator(s) further agree that:

1. **Approval will be obtained from the Institutional Review Board prior to instituting any change in this research project.**

2. **Development of any unexpected risks will be immediately reported to the Compliances Section.**

3. **An annual review and progress report (Form R) will be completed and submitted when requested by the Institutional Review Board.**

4. **Signed informed consent documents will be kept for the duration of the project and for at least three years thereafter at a location approved by the Institutional Review Board.**

Appendix A: Continued

XI. SIGNATURES

Principal Investigator _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Student Advisor _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Dept. Review Comm. Chair _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Dept. Head _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

XII. DEPARTMENT REVIEW AND APPROVAL

The application described above has been reviewed by the IRB departmental review committee and has been approved. The DRC further recommends that this application be reviewed as:

[ ] Expedited Review – Category(ies): _____

OR

[ ] Full IRB Review

Chair, DRC _____

Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix A: Continued

Dept. Head _____ Date _____

Protocol sent to Compliance Section for final approval on (Date) _____

Approved: Compliance Section
Office of Research
404 Andy Holt Tower

Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX B
STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

A Phenomenological Investigation of Everyday Experiences of Power: A Comparison of French and Raven's Five Bases of Power to Thematic Interpretations of Interview Data

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to better understand the human experience of power. You will be asked to describe a particular life experience(s) in which you experienced power between yourself and another person. You will have as much time as you need to respond. By participating in this research, you will be contributing to a better understanding of power, a topic that is relevant to psychology, sociology, political science, law, business and many other academic and applied disciplines. This study is being conducted to fulfill the requirements of the investigator's doctoral work.

PROCEDURE:
During the course of this study you will be asked to fill out a couple of questionnaires regarding experiences involving social power. In addition to the questionnaires, an audio-taped open-ended interview will be conducted wherein you will be asked the following question: "Think of a time when you were aware of power and describe that experience as completely as possible." Any questions asked of you thereafter will be follow-up questions that are prompted by the experiences that you relate to the researcher. It will take approximately half an hour to fill out the questionnaires, and the interview will last as long as you want though many individuals that have participated in these types of open-ended interviews have spent anywhere from one to three hours discussing the topic. Your data will be transcribed by the researcher and both she and a research group that specializes in interpreting interview data will analyze your interview data for themes or those aspects of your experience(s) that are repeatedly emphasized. The research group meets on Tuesdays from 2:30 to 4:30 at the Nursing Bldg. and is comprised of professors and graduate students. Your questionnaire data will be analyzed by the researcher alone and will be compared to your interview data. Fourteen to twenty participants are needed for this study, and your participation is greatly appreciated. No deception or experimental manipulation is present in this study.

CONFIDENTIALITY:
Any personally identifying information you provide will be kept confidential. Data will be stored securely and will be made available only to persons conducting the study, unless you specifically give written permission to do otherwise. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could identify you as a participant in the

Appendix B: Continued

study. You will be given a pseudonym to be used in this research. The audio recordings of your interview will be stored in a password-protected file on the investigator's computer and will be destroyed upon completion of this study.

CONTACT:
If you have questions about the study, you may contact Kelly de Moll via phone (865)604-4934 or by email at **kdemoll@ utk.edu**. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Compliances Section of the Office of Research at The University of Tennessee at (865)974-3466.

RISKS:
This study should present minimal risk to you. If, however, you experience emotional distress during or after this interview, you reserve the right to withdraw your consent to participate. Please feel free to contact me if you experience emotional distress because of the experiences you discussed. If you experience extreme distress following the interview and feel that you would benefit from counseling services, I will assist you in securing these services at the University of Tennessee.
Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate at any time. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is complete, your data will be destroyed. You will indicate your consent to participate by signing a copy of this form.

BENEFITS
There are several benefits to participating in this study. You will have the opportunity to discuss an interesting topic one on one with a researcher. You will be allowed to know what your questionnaires say about you provided you send an emailed request to the researcher asking for such information. You will also have aided the researcher in the development of a questionnaire based on your own (and other's) data that has the potential of being used in later studies to describe power in terms of everyday—rather than strictly business—situations.

CONSENT

I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I have received a copy of this form.

Participant's name (print) _____

Participant's signature _____

Date _____

Appendix B: Continued

Demographic information:

All of the following information is requested but optional. You may fill out all or part of the following. If you would like to provide some information regarding your age, ethnicity, and/or current job but you don't want to be too specific for purposes of confidentiality, you may provide a generality—ex. Instead of saying you are 27 years of age, you write down 26-28 or, alternatively, you say you are in your late 20s.

Age: _____

Sex: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Current Job Title or Type: _____

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Demographic Characteristics		**Number of Participants (N = 20)**
Gender		
	Men	10
	Women	10
Age		
	18-21	10
	22-25	7
	26-30	1
	31-35	1
	36-40	1
Race		
	African-American	3
	American Indian	1
	Caucasian	16

APPENDIX D
SAMPLE INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANT

Participant: Sam
Sex: Male
Age: 21
Race: Caucasian

Interviewer: Please describe some times in your life when you were aware of power.

Sam: Sure thing. So, for the past 4 years I've worked at a summer camp. It's in northwest Smallville. For the first 3 years of my employment there I taught archery. This was a Jewish kid summer camp and I terribly enjoyed teaching Jewish boys and girls how to shoot things. I started the summer between my senior year of high school and first freshman year of college at the summer camp as part of sport staff and this is a really big summer camp. We had about 250 people on staff because summer camp is on the higher end of things. So I was on sport staff and all the different staff seemed to have different personalities. The art staff is very artsy people obviously. The camping and nature staff are very environmental people. The sport staff is made of jocks so I didn't fit in being not your typical jock. I did not enjoy sports. Archery isn't a real sport anyway. It kind of is, but not really. All of the various people have had ball sports like football, baseball, tennis, volley ball, basketball. They were all pretty interchangeable and would teach for each other and stuff like that. The martial arts teacher, the yoga teacher and I were in different parts of the sports complex so we hung out in our different little areas. Occasionally we associated among ourselves. They weren't particularly sports-like either. I don't know why that happened, but it's interesting now that I think about it. I had never taught archery and I figured being a young teacher of such that the best way to gain the respect of my children was to be extremely stern. I never yelled, but I talked very softly and in a deepish voice on my register of voices. I spoke slowly and without any humor whatsoever because my sport was the most dangerous of all of them. If I lost control, there could be injuries or deaths. That was a big fear of mine that something would happen and I would relax near the end of every single session of kids. The kids switched after 2 weeks or 4 weeks and in some rare cases 8 weeks, but I would relax at the end of each period so they could have more fun. After impressing upon them how serious I was, I let down. Other methods I used were timing kids. This comes as a shock because I never really cared about that for some reason. I viewed my time teaching them about archery as a way of teaching them about life lessons and what not. One of those life lessons was coming to things on time. I would literally time it to the second of what time they got to my class. It was one class that kids would never ever skip and they would never be late to it which I think this was important because now they have a better appreciation of if there's an appointment, you should show up on time. Otherwise it's

Appendix D: Continued

disrespectful and you lose out. You create a disturbance and it's not the appropriate thing to do. I mean, there are different cultures that do it differently, but in our western culture there are certain times. When my bosses used to call meetings for a certain time and she would show up for 5 minutes after and the meeting wouldn't start for 15 minutes later that really pissed me off. I could be doing something else for these 15 minutes other than waiting for you. So that was one method.
Another type of thing I tried teaching them that's not particularly related to archery was good posture. Even though I'm slumping right now mildly, I have a firm belief that good posture is very important in life particularly when striving for elegance. I tried to teach the kid this i.e. I made them have good posture. It's difficult to have a bunch of other kids ranging from age 10 to age 16-17 and any kid who was fortunate to walk inside my room or my area had good posture and they were on time. I wouldn't let them in my own territory, but anywhere I saw them on campus I made them have good posture and they would start correcting each other to have good posture. They would start correcting their friends who didn't have good posture. It got to be that when kids would see me, I didn't have to say anything, they would straighten up and because I was on staff too. I was very happy about this as its good for your body. It's better for your spine pressure and you have better self confidence and what not all with good posture, alignment and what not. When I was in Prof. Plum's class we had to do another research experiment. I made a study correlating posture and intelligence. It was very fun. The main thing was teaching them archery and that's why they were there. Well, for the first year anyway. After the first year, people were coming back to my classes not for the archery, but because they wanted to see what else would happen. Like, I had a kid sign up for 8 sessions in a row which is 2 one year, 2 the next and 2 the next year. Well not 8, 6, I guess. The last year I stepped out from archery and just hung around to cook so I was making several meals at a time which was terribly, terribly fun.

Interviewer: When you were cooking were you teaching the cooking?

Sam: No, no I was just cooking, but that would fall under a completely different area of power because I was no longer in (?) which is interesting. It was also interesting because I had lots of power in camp when I went to the kitchen. It was a whole different group of people so I was definitely subservient there where I was not subservient in the real camp proper. Other things from my archery experience – we would do exercises before we shot because archery was listed as a sport and archery is not that strenuous comparatively and I made sure the kids got exercise. I believed it was important they carry a bottle of water at all times. This is, in fact, a camp policy, but a lot of kids didn't do it. I started introducing water bottle for exercises because a heavy water bottle has some heft to it. Water weighs 8 pounds a gallon or something like that so the kids would all line up and have to do exercises with their water bottles. If you didn't have a water bottle, if your water bottle wasn't full enough, I had a nice selection of rocks that they could do it with.

Appendix D: Continued

You had kids struggling to lift rocks while their peers were lifting water bottles instead and soon enough, kids were arriving on time, never skipping, with good posture and carrying water bottles. It became sort of a badge of pride to have survived my class. We had all sorts of random, fun exercises not involving water bottles. Also in the quest to improve the youngsters of my tribe, we worked on improving vocabulary and creative thinking skills. We would sit down and form a circle every day or an avocado shape if that was more fun and we would create puns of our own. Every single day each kid had to make a pun or they had to make a creative sentence. So I would say, "The word of the day is flip-flop or this phrase was flip-flop." They would have to go over and make a sentence involving the word flip-flop or flip-flops and it had to be as interesting as possible and you couldn't have done one that someone said before. My personal favorite sentence was, "Flip-flops flip-flop." I also created a word of the day. If the kids figured out what the word meant, the first kid to tell me exactly would receive a favor. This could be anything the kids asked for within reason. It could be anything from an extra arrow the next day they were shooting to extra time shooting to a candy bar the next time I had day off – whatever the kids had the guts to think about to ask for. I figured if I could do it, I would do because these were not easy words: anatine, flapdoodle – these are not easy words to pick up. Due to various games I had played, I had a ready supply of them. We would play again and see how it turns out. I'm trying to think of other interesting events of my several years of teaching. I'm not sure this relates to power, but camp had a rule where you couldn't wear flip-flops because we got hurt. I thought this was a pretty silly rule because for my sport the kids were standing still. Most of the kids would shelf them whatever so they didn't get to wear shoes that they wanted. I'm a very oddball person. I tried making the class oddball as well. This was my area and I'd been doing it for several years and each year I relaxed more and more. To the end it was a very, very relaxed class because I had some of these kids for 3 years in a row. They knew me and I knew them very well. We also had other innovative exercises. I started taking Capoeira at school.

Interviewer: Capoeira?

Sam: Capoeira. It's a Brazilian martial art. We use lots of jumps and flips and stuff. It's very fun. You might be good at it. I can't imagine you trying it. If you did try it, I'm sure you would be very good at it.

Interviewer: Okay.

Sam: Interesting. I haven't done it in awhile. I need to get back into that. But, one move is a head stand. So I figure learning to do a head stand is an important thing that every person should know how to do. So I made my poor children learn how to head stands. Some of them could already do head stands and that was good. For some of our

Appendix D: Continued

daily exercises I insisted they try to do head stands. You didn't have to succeed, but you had to try a number of times. If you succeeded, that means that was one less time you had to try. That's something else that I hope my kids took away from my time in power.

Interviewer: You mentioned earlier when you described the camp and archery and you mentioned that it was different in different sections. There were 250 staff, thereabouts, and that different staff had different personalities and your section where you were at--the people in the sports section tended to be jocks and you said that you didn't really fit in.

Sam: Of course not. Do I look like a jock? Umm, I don't like sports. I am not going to the football game tomorrow. At that point I didn't drink. I don't like loud music and loud rowdy events. I tell puns. They didn't get puns. Yeah, they were popular kids. I wasn't a popular kid. It was not particularly a big problem, but you know.

Interviewer: Could you talk more about being stern?

Sam: Part of our before shooting ritual of class, this really only took up about half the class time. I mean there's also a lesson notes the technique of the day, various ways of holding the bow or the arrow or what not. All of these fairly ridiculous things would be done at least in the first week or two. It would be done in a slow, quiet, stern voice which kind of added to the whole thing because you can imagine someone telling to tell you to stand on your head in a humorous voice, but it's harder to associate that with someone talking like this. I'm not sure what else to tell you about the sternness. Oh, when we were in the avocados and spoke the sentences we also spoke a rule of archery. I actually didn't care how serious the rules were as long as it was rule. If it was a rule I hadn't though of, but it was good rule – for example don't throw grenades at the targets – this is not a rule that would happen too often, but indeed it's something they should not be doing. Included with the kooky ones there were stern things about don't dry fire which is where you release the bow string without an arrow in the bow. That can cause problems in the bow and problems in you. I can't really think of the right answer to give you right now for more sternness. We did spend lots of time on the rules and how to make it safer and why it was important not to and just focus on reverence for our life. There were wild animals that were nearby our archery range. I talked about why it was not appropriate to hurt them or why it was not appropriate to hurt each other. Like I said, I didn't view my time teaching archery as a time to teach archery. It was more of a time to teach these younger people things that I thought were important.

Interviewer: Could you say more about that?

Sam: Things that I think were important were having a flexible, creative mind. I did lots of the rules and I accepted silly rules like don't throw grenades at the target because

Appendix D: Continued

they're thinking of things within the limits I gave them also being interesting. Things like showing up on time and having good posture and reverence for life and I love that one. That one kind of faded.

Interviewer: The reverence for life? When you say it faded are you saying you just stopped emphasizing that or how did that fade?

Sam: I think they might have gotten it and so I stopped emphasizing it. Important things like the empty bow. So part of the word of the day things the kids figured it out. They would get the favor, but they had to figure it out first. They didn't have access to computers. So some kids started bringing dictionaries to the camp. What I hoped they would do was run around and ask people what these things meant. So you have like an 11-year-old kid running up a senior staff member and say, "What does this mean?" That way they're overcoming shyness and they're meeting new people and increasing networks of contacts and understanding it's okay to talk to people you don't know because even if they're strangers, they're still people just like them. That's something that was important I thought. I tried thinking of activities that I would have liked to have been taught or rather that I should have been taught or that I had enjoyed being taught as a kid or as a young child myself. The kids certainly enjoyed it. I only had 8 slots in my archery class. One year I had like 76 kids try to get into those 8 slots which I think is the highest ratio of any single sport class in the entire camp history. I would be teaching 5 different classes a day. Each time slot had a different age group. Sometimes there would be 2 age groups combined like 4 ninth graders and 4 eight graders. It worked out well. I also tried to encourage fraternization within the archery ranks in a sense. The 11-year-olds who were in archery class, I tried to have them get to know the 14-year-olds who were in archery class and the 16-year-olds. I would have the older archery kids come in and help teach the younger archery kids. This way they would learn methods of teaching skills and by teaching the art, they would become better at it themselves. I had received very little training in how to teach archery. It was part of the reason I did that way, I suspect and so I tried teaching. I know I succeeded in teaching some of the older kids how to teach archery so hopefully if they're interested in it and many of them are, they'll be able to step into my spot next year. It also got to be nice so that when they would teach at their own camp and this is a really big camp, the archery kids would maybe hang out with each other. If a 15-year-old archery kid saw a 9-year-old archery kid, they would start talking. So that was very unusual in the camp. They were pretty stratified ages. Even if they were in archery one year and not in archery another year, they would still remember each other. I viewed it kind of as they all got through a traumatic experience together. They had all tried archery or at least they all started archery training which is a lot different than archery. We weren't actually shooting at the kids.

Appendix D: Continued

Interviewer: Earlier in your time out, did you have some joking rules or fun rules that were kind of the important rules or safety rules? Did you ever have an instance where you had to discipline someone who didn't follow them?

Sam: I have to go back a couple of years for this because I was much bigger in discipline my first 2 years than my last year. I would discipline kids for not obeying even the slightest request of mine. This was on purpose. I knew that if I wanted to get kids obedience for the big things, I would get the kids to immediately anything I would say and make it pass using the archery teacher. Even for very slight infractions such as not coming on time or not sitting up straight the kids would be disciplined with just sitting on

a bench outside of the main group for 10 seconds, 15 seconds to doing 5 push-ups or 6 push-ups. They could (?) about something else on their lesson. It was 10 push-ups for swearing which is a pretty standard punishment for that camp. The punishments themselves weren't important. It was the fact that they were separated from the group for a small period of time. Usually if they were late, the punishment was they would have to sit out of the group for however long they were late. If the kid is 5 minutes late, they would sit out for another 5 minutes. They could still see the group and hear the group, but they just couldn't participate. I tried to make the punishment fit the crime. Although being late is very rarely considered a crime. There were serious even with everything with the kids who were more familiar me, there were problems. Once 2 kids started scuffling – it wasn't too serious – but, they were sat down. They were told to think about what they had done wrong, etc., etc. Then they had to tell the class what they had done wrong because they had disrupted the class. Then the most serious thing that had happened in all 3 years was one girl just had not followed the whistle commands for the archery range. Part of every class was a mass recitation of whistle commands. I could blow 2 blasts on the whistle and they would tell me what it meant. These were strictly safety related things like shoot, don't shoot, pick up your arrows, that sort of thing.

Interviewer: Kind of like calling "fore" when you golf.

Sam: Yeah, I guess. Again, I'm not a very sporty person.

Interviewer: Yeah, I'm not either.

Sam: Anyway, everyone else had gone to pick up arrows and the girl took a bow without hearing the proper command and shot without hearing the proper command. She hit a kid. Fortunately, she was not a very good shot and even more fortunately she was using a weak bow and even more fortunately she missed the kid. She wasn't aiming at the kid, she wasn't paying attention, she just wasn't thinking about it and she shot when she

Appendix D: Continued

shouldn't have shot. It's not just that she shot, she picked up the bow when she shouldn't have picked up a bow and she shot when she shouldn't have shot and she hit a kid. Fortunately she hit his foot and he was in a sneaker. He didn't know what happened. It just bounced off and he wasn't even bruised. I was very unhappy about it. This is how the range would look. The targets are over here. The kids are over here. The kids were all picking up arrows. The next bunch of kids were about to shoot because only 4 kids could shoot at a time. He was over here next to his target picking up his arrows. She shot the target. She tried shooting the target, she missed. She was a good kid. She did not mean maliciousness. She just wasn't paying attention. One year previously a kid had shot when I was standing in the middle. She was also a good kid. She just wasn't thinking, but their punishment was the same. They were told to sit out from the group and think about what they had done wrong and which rules they had broken and how to obey the next time. Neither times did I shout. I just resumed the cold persona that I had when I started and the kids sat on the bench. Of course, with a kid shooting another kid,

that was a more serious problem than the kid who was shooting at me because she was shooting and I happened to be in the way. Is that more accurate? In that case, I had to call in the kid's section head of the kids because the kids were in the same age group. I was taken aside the next hour by 2 of the camp administrators and we had to fill out an extended report. That was fun.

Interviewer: Can you talk more about – you know, you said that you didn't ever shout at them and you had a cool persona.

Sam: Oh yes, it was much more effective.

Interviewer: Can you talk more about that?

Sam: First, it's a lot of work for the shouter. Kids are used to hearing shouts. People are not used to hearing someone talk to them softly in a cold manner. Also, if you're shouted at you're not likely to feel guilty. A common defense mechanism is to shout back or to get angry instead. If someone talks to you softly, coldly and gets your attention that way, you don't have a mechanism in place for it typically. I mean, do you think that you would? Do you think there's a mechanism?

Interviewer: I end up just being stern when I have to discipline or there's somebody I don't like. I don't yell.

Sam: And I think there's something genetic with the lower registers. I know that's often (?) for me. I definitely get the kids' attention. I kind of like the persona I had assumed

Appendix D: Continued

when I was teaching archery. The almost militaristic, almost a prototype of a military persona although the military does not measure up to it that's for sure. Kind of like a mean Prof. Plum. It was a very comforting persona in the sense that these were all the things that I was not ordinarily doing in my daily life. I had the kids come on time because in real life I was not always coming on time to things. That was the best way for me to come on time is to make that a rule and start enforcing it so that way the kids would come on time and I would be forced to be there before them. Not only that, I had to use this my whole daily life because I'm re-enforcing this rule it would wear off on me. It's the same thing for the posture. I had bad posture and I wanted to have better posture. The persona I had was very different from my life. It's a very cold, very non warm, very non-gregarious persona. It was a nice thing to have. Sometimes I miss it. I'm not sure if I could call it back if I needed it now.

Interviewer: Could you say more about missing it?

Sam: Yeah. It was a very confident persona. I'm not saying that it was like, I'm not advocating that I have a split personality here, but it was a facet that I felt was a very nice costume. Oh, something else that not about the persona, but about the teaching method

and power. I would accept no excuses. I would tell the kids, "I don't care why you're late. You're late. It doesn't matter. If you were late helping a friend, that's good and admirable, but you're still late." Because it doesn't matter why they were late. If you're helping a friend that's good, you're a good person, but you're still late and you're going to suffer because of that. If you are sick and were at the infirmary, that's good, you were sick, you were absent or you were late and you're going to suffer because of that. There's a consequence for your actions. That was one of the most important things I taught the kids. It doesn't matter your reasoning why. This is what happened. Now figure out your next, what you could give them next so no excuses whatsoever. Another phrase I would use would be, "Whose problem is this?" because that's another lesson. If a friend of yours is having a problem, yes, you're they're friend. You want to care, but ultimately it's not your problem. If you're suffering or if it's affecting the way you act in a negative way, you have to realize that this is not you're problem. You can choose to be their friend, but can't suffer too much on your friend's behalf. My sister is currently a sophomore here at college and her roommate's having lots of problems. She and I have had certain talks about how her roommate is her best friend. Yes, this is true, but you can't let yourself be dragged down by her problem. If your school work is suffering, you have to think of another way to deal with it. That wasn't the question you wanted me to answer was it?

Appendix D: Continued

Interviewer: I asked you about the persona and in relation to power you were talking about you accepted no excuses. Could you say more about how you want to care, but it's really not your problem? You can't suffer too much on a friend's behalf. Can you say more about that?

Sam: I tried teaching the kids that selfishness is not a bad thing and when you're part of a group especially in this camp. This is a religious camp and Judaism is very based on community and tribal feelings although we don't use the term tribal feelings. I liked it though because we're all one big family and one of our guiding sayings is that all Jews are responsible for another. We just buy the (?) thing because that's so hard. I don't know, I guess I came to that realization after I had already starting my whole no excuses thing and the whole whose problem is that thing. If you choose to help someone else, there are consequences for you and you should accept those consequences. By coming to this interview, there are good things and bad things happening from it and I'm going to the interview just knowing that these are going happen. I can't know the effects. I'm not at my work place right now, so I'm pretty much (?) and that's a negative effect. Positive effects: I'm getting more rapport with you. I'm also gaining more insight in to knowing how to do research by doing this so these are positive things. There is a negative thing and by not showing up at my work there are negative consequences for it and as a person I have to accept that. I have to make my choice and I can't complain about it. I also can't blame you for it. If a kid helps another kid out in the road and is late to class, that kid should not blame his friend for making him late. I can't blame you for me not being at work. Another big one is similar is responsibility for your own actions – responsibility for your own choices. The problem is I should have said, "Who is responsible for that?" But, I think they're very different questions though. Whose problem is that and who's responsible for that because ultimately I'm responsible for my choices. As a kid you don't get told you're responsible for your choices. Even as college students, we don't really think about this. I did badly on a test because I was hungover. What does that mean? You would do badly if you say, "I did badly on that test because I was hungover." You shouldn't have been drinking that evening. You should have allowed time or what not. Or you should just stay drunk and taken the test that way. What a useful finding that was. All of these stern rules, these codes – not the rules of archery, but the codes of the no excuses, you're responsible, have good posture, be on time – these are all parts of that persona that I really liked. I thought that with these I would be a better person. Even as the deliverer of the rules to these kids, these were also ingrained in me, but it took me an hour of talking about them to even remember some of them because I hadn't assumed them for so long, I guess. That's one of the reasons I like philosophy class groups because in philosophy classes, I also assume this persona.

Appendix D: Continued

Interviewer: The same persona?

Sam: Yes, the same very judgmental, very stern, very this is how it is sort of thing. I don't think it's terribly against the whole flexibility thing I was championing earlier because you can be flexible within your rules. I don't know. Maybe that's just an excuse. I'm taking Jimmy Neutron's class on test and assessment and this is interesting seeing about how I'm studying up on all of these various tests like the Myers-Briggs and the Big Five personality test. Apparently, my judgmental score was the highest in the class. We got that after the Big Five score. Apparently my agreeableness score was pretty low. I was surprised. I was very disappointed how un-agreeable I was because it was because I was a critical thinker so I don't think I should be too upset about it.

Interviewer: Were you disappointed about the judgmental score or are you pleased by that?

Sam: Oh, heck no. I think some things are appropriate and still some things are not appropriate to do. It all ends up with consequences and if you do something that's inappropriate, – well if you're in your own privacy that okay – things work better if everyone is following certain rules. What these rules are I don't really know about. I know what my rules should be. That's my point anyway. I'm only mildly neurotic, mildly extroverted, not very open and agreeable was all the way down here. I'm not terribly disappointed although I wish I was kind of more open. It's highly correlated with IQ and what not. Interestingly, I was not very high in conscientiousness which you normally expect after hearing that talk. I was only in the middle of the road there because these things like deliberation, self discipline and order and these are things that I want. I mean, these are ideals of mine, but I don't necessarily follow through with them.

Interviewer: Would you say the persona, the kind of the cold and stern persona, is that sort of an ideal?

Sam: I wish it would blend better with my other ones. If I were one persona at all, there's very little (?) with that persona, but it's extremely competent and it's very good for what I need it to do. It wasn't fun though. It was cold. In real life, I tend to be extremely fun with my own boring self limits. The cold persona would not be talking to random strangers or if so, it would only threaten them. It was just a vehicle if that makes sense. I did usually say, "You, little John, find a random person and talk with him and tell me how it went." If someone randomly, in a cold manner, started talking to you that you didn't know in real life I would (?). The cold persona would not do that. On the other hand, when you're studying it, you don't want it to be fun. You want to have that

Appendix D: Continued

cold deliberation. Confidence. I can't imagine the other person only being very artistic or if so, it would only be according to stark theatrical lines.

Interviewer: Could you say more about the cold persona being threatened the deliverer of rules?

Sam: Did I use those terms?

Interviewer: Yeah, you said that.

Sam: Did I say that? I really used those words? I usually use the word vehicle. Wow, in what context?

Interviewer: We were talking about – I think I asked you something about the stern persona again and then you said that there were parts of that persona that you really liked and if you followed those rules, you felt that you too would be a better person. Kind of a reason for why you picked certain rules and somewhere in there you mentioned the deliverer of rules. I can't remember how you finished out that sentence, but from there we kind of went on to it took awhile to even to remember all of them now.

Sam: I feel that a lot of this conversation's been – a lot of things that I've been saying have been just repeating myself and I guess that's how it goes – so it goes. That's not a good phrase, "so it goes." Are you familiar with that phrase and where it comes from and all of that? It's from the best things from (?). If you can't get that, what ever happens happens. Which is awesome that lends to the whole consequences and the no excuses. What ever happens happens and you have to recognize that and thinking of pleading rarely makes a difference and they're undignified. Deliverer of rules. I guess the obvious answer is I would think of these rules, try to espouse them and deliver them to the kids. I guess that's what teachers do though. That's all that teaching is, right? Delivering things? You bring them from within yourself so you're delivering them.

Interviewer: And you were the archery teacher.

Sam: Yes, the archery and the other useful things teacher. It was also very different between when I would teach archery classes versus staff members. I would teach that for staff members. I would have like the climbing staff come and shoot versus the Hebrew staff and I would permit no whatchamacallit, no shenanigans because there are still safety rules you had to follow in the archery range. Within my territory at the end this is what the rules are. It was just kind of a whole narcissistic thing which is, I'm sure, a complete non-factor for what this whole thing is about. Within my little corner of camp and you

Appendix D: Continued

couldn't come to the corner unless you were trying to find the archery range. There was like a little trail that was inaccessible.

Interviewer: So you had to make a point.

Sam: You had to make a point to get there. I cleaned that thing several times a day. It got dirty pretty easily and part of the cold persona involved I had a regard for cleanliness. That's also good. Like, even if other staff members came, they would come at my invitation usually and they would follow the rules especially if kids were there. If the kids were there and a staff member would wander by in their free time to watch us shoot, if they were a really close friend, I would treat them like another kid. They would sit down in a circle, in the avocado of teachings. I would answer all their questions because that's my main mission. It also sounds dogmatic. My task was for that 45 minute class to teach that class and if a staff member comes by at this time, they become part of my class. When it was just all staff members, the rule was if you wanted to shoot you would listen to what I said. You would follow the rules and the rules were my rules which sounds very narcissistic.

Interviewer: Well, how did the staff take to it?

Sam: You mean in those circumstances?

Interviewer: Yeah, I mean if the staff came in and you treated them like that.

Sam: They would totally listen. The staff was mostly between the ages of 18 and 21.

Interviewer: How old were you?

Sam: First, 18 to 19 and then 20. So, first this helps – the lack of hair. Within my persona even though I was only – well, first I look and act older than my age. We always have, I guess, to a certain limit. I mean, by we I mean my siblings and I. So there's that there. Second, until the last year I was the only person who knew anything about archery in camp and I was following these rules and if they had screwed with the rules, they would have been banned from the archery range and possibly even kicked out of their

jobs. If they were acting irresponsibly, I probably could have made that happen. That never came to a matter where that would have to be said, but it was a sense that this was my territory and none them had any knowledge of the area. With the cold persona, I was not particularly friendly. It was not actually armor, but it was a uniform that I was not only wearing, but being friendly decreases the effect of this uniform. It was a costume

Appendix D: Continued

that when I wore it, they responded a certain way. I mean, I don't think that's necessarily a factor of their age though. Their age is a factor, but if you respect people. If someone is stern and someone doesn't say much and someone talks slowly in a non-frivolous manner, people are more likely to listen to them.

Interviewer: What was it like, I mean, did you ever go to anyone else's territory?

Sam: Yeah, but it was different with them because they were all in the same area. There was a main sports complex where all the courts were and you know, there was a common sports shed. My equipment was kept separate. Only I knew the combination and the sports director because these were dangerous weapons. I didn't get along for the first couple of years with the other members of the sports staff. They would help each other out teaching and I had my own rigorous schedule and my own protocols and manned everything else by myself. I knew their code for their sports shed. They did not know my code. When staff members would come by, I would warn them that I will treat you differently when you're in the archery range than if I see you around camp somewhere. If I see you at meal time, I'll be different than when I am teaching. Staff members would hear from the kids about all these things I had made them do and they wouldn't believe it because their only experience with me was a very friendly, warm person who gave back massages and told jokes. When their 8th grade girls that I made them lift rocks today, they just wouldn't believe it and they would come up here for verification and I would say, "Yes, that happened." There were some hurt feelings amongst some staff members when I treated them like they were nothing special when they were in the range. By treating them like nothing special, there were some very good benefits of that. There were kids of vastly different abilities in the same age group so I treated them equally badly in a sense that I was just stern with all of them and made them all do the same number of push-ups and same number of rock lifts. The kids really blossomed under it. Just because a kid was smart or popular, it didn't matter at archery really. There was one girl who had a disability. There was something wrong with her, but I didn't know exactly what it was. Nobody could explain it to me. I cannot think of what it is now. It was some neuromuscular one. Nobody told me about this. Some of the effects of the disability was scatter brained. She would show up late, but since I took no excuses, I told the whole class they would all show up on time. She was scared as were all of them. They all showed up on time and she performed just as well. I found out that people were very surprised that she was doing anything at all in that class because she had very poor physical skills and a very poor track rate. I think because everyone expected her to do badly she did. But, I didn't care. I didn't know for one thing and second I didn't care and she did the same as everyone else which is one of my better seasons, I think, even if it wasn't on purpose. That was a good thing. It got to the point where I would start asking for the problem kids – kids that would act out and stuff because they wouldn't do

Appendix D: Continued

it in archery. If they went to shoot, they wouldn't act out. I would beat them down just like I beat everyone down. Not physically of course. That was not appropriate. I would talk to them all in the same way and they would all follow the same commands. They would all jump when I said to jump. They would all sit in the avocado with good posture and show up on time.

Interviewer: Could you tell me more about the kids blossoming under your rules?

Sam: Yeah. It was summer camp. This was pretty lackadaisical. If they just showed up, there's no enforcement. From me, there was definitely enforcement. If you didn't show up and you showed the next day, well you missed a whole day of class. I would devise some suitable punishment. I don't remember what I used to do. You had missed a day of lessons and the lessons were very progressive. They started with how to hold the bow, how to hold arrow, different shooting techniques and aiming techniques. If you missed a foundation step, you were out of luck. I would tell the kids that I would not re-teach them. They could ask one of their partners to teach them, but the partner didn't have to. What was your question? Oh, the blossoming. I had all of these rules and standards and the kids rose up to them. They were not usually hard standards. Things like come to class on time, but, by golly, every kid did and the kids started having better posture which I think is kind of blossoming not just in my class, but around camp and even at home. I had one kid come back the next year and tell me that her parents noticed a difference. There's a girl in Knoxville who I had at summer camp and whenever she sees me she has good posture. Actually she often slumps down when she sees me, but that's different. It also helps that I used to babysit her.

Interviewer: You mentioned much earlier in the interview drawing a line when you were helping cook and there you were an underling.

Sam: Ah, yes. That was this last summer. It's a Jewish camp, but the cooking is all done by gentiles, non-Jewish people. These are locals or people who were brought in by a contractor. These were all cooks who work for a catering company. They were all gentiles except for the guy in charge who was Jewish, the guy who had the contract. They were all his crew. They worked together for many years and they were not paid by camp directly. Their boss, who was Jewish, had been given the contract and he paid for them. They were housed off campus. I was on campus. I was paid by the camp and I had a different reporting system than they did. They were hourly with wages and I was not, that sort of thing. I was a beginner to the kitchen. For my limited experience, the cooking is hectic, it's crazy. It's full of insane people. Drug use was extremely prevalent. Drug abuse was prevalent. Most of the people who went to this camp, they were good people, most of them. There was like, one of the guys got arrested during the

Appendix D: Continued

thingy, during the camp session. I went from being at the top of my game. Most staff members stayed for like 1 or 2 years. I was there for 4 years. I would be back again except I'll be hopefully leaving the country and I don't want to commute back for summer camp. Every year you get another level of status in the position kind of and your pay goes up and stuff like that. We're not talking large sums of money here, but something. So I was at the top of my game pretty much in the real world camp but instead of working in archery, I working in an area where I was a new person and not well thought of. I made mistakes. It's a new environment and I worked a lot. I worked a lot. That's really why I did it this summer, but I had very little status in the kitchen. It was interesting. I got to learn about some mixed managerial styles.

Interviewer: Can you say more about that?

Sam: No. Pardon me. I don't remember much of them thankfully. Telling other people that they're liars is not a good way to make them want to work for you probably would be a good one. Also, some things I feel were factors like if you have someone stand for a long time on a hard surface, there was pain. That was interesting. It's helped this year. I don't have a meal plan this year so I'm using some of my skills.

Interviewer: So you're cooking again.

Sam: Yes, I am. I'm cooking, but not at summer camp. You know, instead of cooking for 700 people and I have to cook for one person. I'm no longer making 3,000 chicken wings in one night. It was fun too. Just thinking that's 1500 chickens. In a day you have to clean and prepare 48 dead ducklings. That was a fun day too. I considered becoming vegetarian.

Interviewer: Would you like to talk about the Brazilian martial arts? You brought that up and then you changed.

Sam: That was one of the exercises I had the kids do.

Interviewer: Oh, I thought that was something separate from the camp.

Interviewer: Are there any other episodes related to power?

Sam: I'm sure I'll think of some afterwards. I can't think of much.

Interviewer: Well, thank you for your time.

APPENDIX E
PLEDGE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Pledge of Confidentiality

Outside of lab, I will not discuss any details that could jeopardize the confidentiality of this transcript, i.e., any details that would not become part of a published document or that could be used to identify a participant. General themes, theories and ideas about the research may be discussed with discretion outside of the group setting.

Interview # _____

Date:_____

_____ _____

_____ _____

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_____ _____

_____ _____

APPENDIX F
TRANSCRIBER PLEDGE OF CONFIDENTIALITY

Everyday Experiences of Power: Pledge of Confidentiality

I swear not to discuss the interview I am transcribing to anyone other than the primary investigator, Kelly de Moll.

Interview # _____

Signature: _____

Name (Printed): _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX G
SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS BY PARTICIPANT

Participant	Situation(s) Described
Charles Male Age: 31 Race: Caucasian	*Teaching English as an adjunct instructor *Dealing with fair and unfair college professors as a student * Being a high school student in a creative writing class *Having a parent help out during a serious illness that kept him from being able to work long enough to pay the bills
Chett Male Age: 29 Race: Caucasian	*Coaching football * Being at the DMV * Working as a supervisor/manager at a meatpacking plant * Trying to graduate from college
Chip Male Age: 25 Race: Caucasian	*Leading a high school varsity lacrosse team as captain * Working a summer job interning at an engineering company
Craig Male Age: 23 Race: Caucasian	*Being head of a volunteer construction crew that went down to New Orleans to help rebuild * Being a member of a fraternity and watching some of the other members perform crazy stunts to gain notoriety
Fran Female Age: 21 Race: Caucasian	*Working as a nanny * Being in a relationship with her first serious boyfriend * Taking care of her older sisters
Frida Female Age: 21 Race: African-American	*Working as an after school provider for elementary aged children * Feeling nervous about the police when she sees them while driving her car
Helen Female Age: 39 Race: Caucasian	*Working as a human resource manager and having to deal with corporate * Attending Obama's Dallas campaign speech * Feeling respect for her dad

Appendix G: Continued

Participant	Situation(s) Described
Janet Female Age: 20 Race: Caucasian	*Being demoted from section leader of the French Horn section in a high school marching band * Interacting with the high school band director
Kevin Male Age: 21 Race: Caucasian	*Protesting at a G-8 Summit * Protesting at a nuclear power plant * Waiting for release from jail * Surfing and getting taken down by a strong wave
Geena Female Age: 22 Race: African-American	*Working as a certified nursing assistant/technician * Being president of the student body in high school
Greg Male Age: 23 Race: African-American	*Getting out from under parental influence by going to college * Dealing with roommates * Worrying about a sick grandmother
Mike Male Age: 21 Race: American-Indian	*Teaching English in Morocco * Dealing with the director of the Moroccan school * Working as a bouncer at the theatre *Working as a bouncer at a music festival
Quin Female Age: 22 Race: Caucasian	*Coaching 2nd grade volleyball * Visiting a stern grandmother * Joining a sorority and getting yelled at for no reason * Being a warden in a sorority *Getting in trouble as a child for talking in class *Watching roommate pull strings with a cheating boyfriend *Not being able to search for her lost dog because she was away at college *Having an extremely rich friend and enjoying the benefits *Being stuck in a traffic jam during the winter and coming home to a house with no electricity

Appendix G: Continued

Participant	Situation(s) Described
Rachelle Female Age: 20 Race: Caucasian	*Working as a secretary at a boy's summer camp * Working with cousins who are missionaries in Ethiopia
Sam Male Age: 21 Race: Caucasian	*Teaching archery at a Jewish summer camp * Working as a cook at a Jewish summer camp
Swoosie Female Age: 21 Race: Caucasian	*Being senior class president in high school * Being captain of the girl's soccer and basketball teams * Going to class/doing homework as a nursing student *Getting to be a debutant
Tina Female Age: 20 Race: Caucasian	*Being the captain of her high school basketball team * Respecting her hardworking father * Having family swindled out of land after father is hurt
Tommy Male Age: 20 Race: Caucasian	*Moving boxes and seeing the boss sit an air conditioned room * Rehabbing geriatric patients at a physical therapy technician *Working for his father in a computer repair company
Wendy Female Age: 23 Race: Caucasian	*Watching Donald Trump on TV * Watching her brother start up his own business * Watching her brother have to deal with his financial backers *Seeing Senator Clinton and Governor Palin get smeared during elections *Working as a child to earn an allowance from her parents

Appendix G: Continued

Participant	Situation(s) Described
Will Male Age: 24 Race: Caucasian	*Getting in a car accident * Getting accepted to West Point * Seeing his father fired from a company after having worked there for 26 years *Getting the highest score in class on a calculus exam

APPENDIX H
GROUND AND THEMES FOR EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF POWER

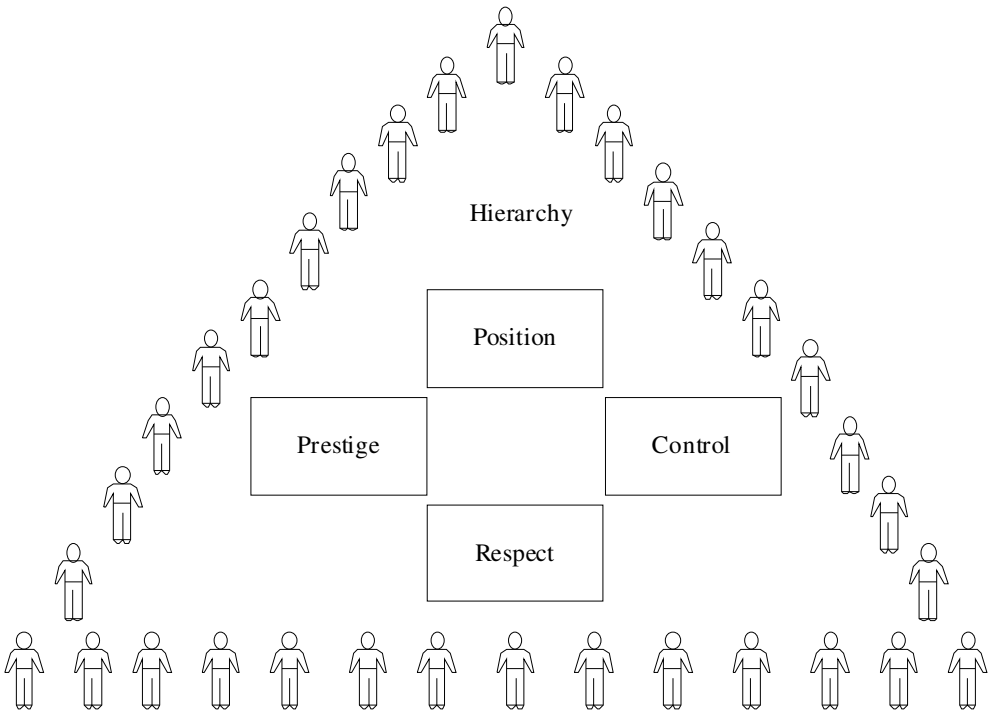


Figure H: Ground and Themes for Everyday Experiences of Power

APPENDIX I
POWER HOLDERS * AND THE FIVE BASES OF POWER **

***Power holders are those individuals who may be classified as having power over another or who are simply powerful because they are independent and uninfluenced by anyone other than themselves.**
****Power holders can hold more than one type of power. Thus, the frequency total for the power bases and total number of situations/power holders described by the participants are not the same.**

Power holder(s)	Frequency	Power Bases				
		Legitimate	Reward	Coercive	Expert	Referent
Instructor/Teacher (Males = 7; Females = 3)	10	X	X	X	X	
Parent/Grandparent/ Older Sibling (Males = 4; Females = 2)	6	X	X	X	X	
Manager/Supervisor/ Boss/Corporate (Males = 10; Females = 0)	10	X	X	X		
Secretary/Clerical Worker (Males = 0; Females = 3)	3		X		X	
Debutante (Males = 0; Females = 1)	1	X				X
Bouncer (Males = 1; Females = 0)	1		X	X		
Nanny/Child Care Provider (Males = 0; Females = 2)	2	X	X	X	X	
Rich People (Males = 2; Females = 1)	3		X			
Romantic Partner Males = 2; Females = 0)	2		X	X		

Appendix I: Continued

Power holder(s)	Frequency	Power Bases				
		Legitimate	Reward	Coercive	Expert	Referent
Captain of Sports Team (Males = 1; Females = 2)	3	X	X		X	
Police/Judicial System (Males = 4; Females = 0)	4	X		X		
U.S. President (Males = 1; Females = 0)	1	X				X
Notable Fraternity Member (No Rank) (Males = 1; Females = 0)	1	X	X			X
Medical Personnel (Males = 2; Females = 0)	2	X	X	X	X	
President of High School Organization (Males = 0; Females = 2)	2	X	X			X
Nature/Chance (Males = NA; Females = NA)	5		X	X		
Sorority Member of Rank (Males = 0; Females = 2)	2	X	X	X		
Electronic Equipment (Males = NA; Females = NA	1		X			
Self (Living Alone/ Financially Secure/ Working Hard) (Males = 3; Females = 3)	6		X		X	

Appendix I: Continued

Power holder(s)	Frequency	Power Bases				
		Legitimate	Reward	Coercive	Expert	Referent
Thief (Males = 1; Females = 0)	1			X		
Men (Males = 1; Females = 0)	1	X				
Total	**67**	**13**	**16**	**11**	**7**	**4**
Total Males = 40; Total Females = 21						

APPENDIX J
FRENCH AND RAVEN'S (1959) FIVE BASES OF POWER

Bases	Frequency	Power Holder Sex
Legitimate	45	Males = 31; Females = 14
Reward	59 (53 people)	Males = 33; Females = 20
Coercive	45 (40 people)	Males = 31; Females = 9
Expert	32	Males = 17; Females = 15
Referent	5	Males = 2; Females = 3
Total	**186 (175 people)**	**Males = 40; Females = 21**

APPENDIX K
GOODNESS OF FIT TESTS: POWER BASES AND GENDER

Goodness of Fit Test for Legitimate Power

Legitimate (Total = 45)		**O**	**E**	**(O – E)**	**$(O - E)^2$**	**$(O - E)^2/E$**
Males		**31**	**22.5**	**8.5**	**72.25**	**3.21111**
Females		**14**	**22.5**	**-8.5**	**72.25**	**3.21111**
∑		**45**	**45**	**0**		**6.42222**
α = .05	**df = 2 – 1 = 1**		**X^2_{cv} = 3.841**		**X^2_{obs} = 6.42222**	**Significant**
p-value = 0.01						

Goodness of Fit Test for Reward Power

Reward (Total = 53)		O	E	(O – E)	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2/E$
Males		33	26.5	6.5	42.25	1.59434
Females		20	26.5	-6.5	42.25	1.59434
∑		53	53	0		3.18868
α = .05	df = 2 – 1 = 1		X^2_{cv} = 3.841		X^2_{obs} = 3.18868	Insignificant

Goodness of Fit Test for Coercive Power

Coercive (Total = 40)		**O**	**E**	**(O – E)**	**$(O - E)^2$**	**$(O - E)^2/E$**
Males		**31**	**20**	**11**	**121**	**6.05**
Females		**9**	**20**	**-11**	**121**	**6.05**
∑		**40**	**40**	**0**		**12.10**
α = .05	**df = 2 – 1 = 1**		**X^2_{cv} = 3.841**		**X^2_{obs} = 12.10**	**Significant**
p-value = 0.000504						

Goodness of Fit Test for Expert Power

Expert (Total = 32)		O	E	(O – E)	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2/E$
Males		17	16	1	1	0.0625
Females		15	16	-1	1	0.0625
∑		32	32	0		0.125
α = .05	df = 2 – 1 = 1		X^2_{cv} = 3.841		X^2_{obs} = 0.125	Insignificant

Goodness of Fit Test for Referent Power

Referent (Total = 5)		O	E	(O – E)	$(O - E)^2$	$(O - E)^2/E$
Males		2	2.5	-0.5	0.25	0.1
Females		3	2.5	0.5	0.25	0.1
∑		5	5	0		0.2
α = .05	df = 2 – 1 = 1		X^2_{cv} = 3.841		X^2_{obs} = 0.2	Insignificant

VITA

Kelly de Moll earned the distinction of "Most Valued Student in Psychology" and graduated *magna cum laude* in 2003 from Carson-Newman College. After graduating, she entered the Experimental Psychology program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. There she intended to study memory formation and cognition but was exposed to social construction, existentialism, and phenomenology by Dr. Howard Pollio and, thus, she changed her research foci to hermeneutics and social psychology. She has been a research fellow at the University of Tennessee's Center for Applied Phenomenological Research since 2003, and, in 2008, she presented a paper entitled "Getting want you want: A phenomenological analysis of everyday experiences of aggression" at the 7th Biannual Qualitative Research Conference at Bournemouth University, Bournemouth, United Kingdom.