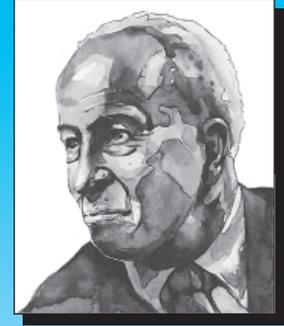


Henry Murray: Personology



For me, personality is [a] jungle without boundaries.

—HENRY MURRAY

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Henry Murray designed an approach to personality that includes conscious and unconscious forces; the influence of the past, present, and future; and the impact of physiological and sociological factors. The influence of Freudian psychoanalysis can be seen in Murray's recognition of the effect on adult behavior of childhood experiences and in his notions of the id, ego, and superego. Although Freud's imprint is clear, Murray gave unique interpretations to these phenomena. His deviations from orthodox psychoanalysis are so extensive that his system must be classified with the neo-Freudians rather than with the Freudian loyalists.

Two distinctive features of Murray's system are a sophisticated approach to human needs and the data source on which he based his theory. His proposed list of needs is still widely used in personality research and assessment and in clinical treatment. His data, unlike those of theorists discussed in earlier chapters, come from so-called normal individuals (undergraduate male students at Harvard University) rather than from patients undergoing psychotherapy. Also, some of the data were derived from more empirically based laboratory procedures rather than from case histories.

Because of his long affiliation with a major university instead of relative isolation in a clinic or private practice, and because of his personal charisma, Murray gathered and trained a large number of psychologists, many of whom have since achieved prominence and carried on his teachings.

The Life of Murray (1893–1988)

Childhood Depression and Compensation

Henry Murray's childhood contained maternal rejection, elements of Adlerian compensation for a physical defect, and a supernormal sensitivity to the sufferings of others. Born into a wealthy family, Murray grew up in New York City, in a house on what is now the site of Rockefeller Center. His summers were spent on a Long Island beach. As a child, he accompanied his parents on four long trips to Europe. For the Adlerians among you, Murray reported that some of his earliest recollections focused on his privileged background (Triplet, 1993).

Another significant early memory is more intriguing. Murray called it "the marrow-of-my-being memory" (Murray, 1967, p. 299). At about age 4, he was looking at a picture of a sad woman sitting next to her equally sad son. This was the same kind of gloomy picture Murray later used in his Thematic Apperception Test. Murray's mother told him, "It is the prospect of death that has made them sad" (Murray, 1967, p. 299). Murray interpreted the memory as indicating the death of his emotional ties to his mother because she had abruptly weaned him when he was 2 months old, preferring, he believed, to lavish her affection on his siblings. He insisted that his mother's actions led to his lifelong depression, a condition that formed the core of his personality.

Murray referred to his depression as a source of "misery and melancholy" and he attempted to mask it in everyday behavior by adopting an ebullient, cheerful, and outgoing manner (Murray, 1967). This lack of a childhood attachment to his mother later led Murray to question Freud's Oedipus complex because it did not coincide

with his own experiences. Another factor that made Murray sensitive to emotional problems and sufferings was his relationship with two emotionally disturbed aunts.

Murray was afflicted with crossed eyes, and at the age of 9, he underwent an operation that was performed in the dining room of his home. The condition was corrected, but a slip of the surgeon's blade left Murray with no stereoscopic vision. No matter how hard he tried, he was never able to succeed at games such as tennis or baseball because he could not focus both eyes on the ball. He remained unaware of his visual defect until he was in medical school, when a physician asked him if he had had trouble playing sports as a child.

Murray's physical ineptness and a speech impediment (a stutter) drove him to compensate for his limitations. When he tried to play football, he had to be quarterback, and when he was calling plays, he never stuttered. After being bested in a schoolyard fight, Murray took up boxing and won the local featherweight championship. He later agreed that "an Adlerian factor was at work" in these childhood efforts to compensate for his disabilities (Murray, 1967, p. 302).

Education

After attending Groton, a preparatory school, Murray enrolled at Harvard University. He studied history but earned mediocre grades because he preferred "the three Rs—Rum, Rowing, and Romanticism" (Robinson, 1992, p. 27). His career followed a devious route to the study of personality. He disliked the psychology course he took in college and dropped out after the second lecture. He did not attend another psychology course until years later, when he taught one himself.

In 1919, Murray graduated from Columbia University Medical School at the top of his class. He also earned an M.A. in biology from Columbia and taught physiology at Harvard. He served a 2-year internship in surgery at a New York hospital where he helped care for a future U.S. president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was suffering from polio. Following the internship, Murray spent 2 years at the Rockefeller Institute conducting biomedical research in embryology. He went abroad for further study and in 1927 received his Ph.D. in biochemistry from Cambridge University.

The Influence of Carl Jung

Murray's sensitivity and empathy toward others were reinforced during his internship, when he became interested in the psychological factors in his patients' lives. In 1923, he read Carl Jung's book *Psychological Types* and found it fascinating. "I found this book at the medical school bookstore on the way home one night, and I read it all night long and all the next day" (Murray quoted in Anderson, 1988, p. 147).

A few weeks after finishing the book, Murray was faced with a serious personal problem. He had fallen in love with Christiana Morgan, a beautiful, wealthy, depressive married woman who was also impressed by Jung's work. Murray did not want to leave his wife of 7 years—he claimed to abhor the idea of divorce—but neither did he want to give up his lover, whose spirited, artistic nature was the opposite of his wife's. Murray insisted he needed both women.

He lived with the conflict for 2 years until, at Christiana Morgan's suggestion, he went to Zurich to meet with Carl Jung. The two men spent a month together, and Jung was able to resolve Murray's difficulty by instruction and example. Jung was also having an affair with a younger woman, a relationship he maintained openly while living with his wife. Jung counseled Murray to do the same, and Murray did so for the next 40 years.

But first, the principal actors in this drama all found themselves in Zurich, with Jung in the role of director. He decreed that Christiana Morgan's husband should be analyzed by Toni Wolff, who was Jung's mistress. In addition, Jung spent many hours with Christiana, analyzing her bizarre dreams and visions. Murray's wife, Josephine, was reluctant to play her part. She spent 20 minutes listening to Jung insist that Murray needed to live with both his wife and his mistress and quickly decided that Jung was a dirty old man (Robinson, 1992). In time, however, both Murray's wife and Morgan's husband were persuaded to accept the affair.¹

The experience with Jung and the resolution of Murray's marital dilemma turned Murray toward a career in psychology. He had sought help for a personal problem, and psychology had provided an answer (Anderson, 1988). Thus, Jung did more than resolve Murray's personal and career dilemmas; he made Murray aware of the breadth and impact of unconscious forces. Murray wrote, "The great floodgates of the wonder-world swung open. I had experienced the unconscious" (1940, p. 153).

Murray's attitude toward the man who helped him through his early crises changed dramatically over the years. His initial acceptance of Jung's views turned to scathing dismissal. Murray later said that Jung would "believe anything I told him that was along the lines that he liked, but he would overlook what did not fit his theories" (quoted in Anderson, 1988, p. 155).

The Harvard Psychological Clinic

In 1927, psychologist Morton Prince at the new Harvard Psychological Clinic, established specifically to study personality, offered Murray an appointment. A former student described the clinic as "wisteria on the outside, hysteria on the inside" (Smith, 1990, p. 537). As part of his training, Murray underwent orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis and reported that his analyst became bored by the phlegmatic nature of his childhood and his lack of complexes. Murray recalled that the analyst had little to say. The analyst's stomach rumbled, and his office was "depressing, the color of feces, [a] miserable room ... enough to send a patient into a morbid phase" (quoted in Anderson, 1988, p. 159).

In the 1930s, Murray and Morgan developed the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), still one of the most widely used projective measures of personality (Morgan & Murray, 1935). For many years, it was thought that the TAT was primarily Murray's work, but in 1985, Murray revealed that Morgan had done most of the

¹ Christiana Morgan, who at age 63 was described as "attractive, sultry, and mysterious," drowned in 2 feet of water off an island in the Caribbean. By that time, Murray was reported to be "rather disgusted with her seemingly incurable alcoholism" and was already dating the woman he would marry after his first wife died (Schneidman, 2001, pp. 291, 294).

work to develop the test. Further, the original idea for the test had come from one of his women students (Bronstein, 1988, p. 64).

The TAT became a best-seller for Harvard University Press. Despite the magnitude of Morgan's contribution, her name was dropped from the publication, leaving Murray as sole author, an action taken with Murray's agreement (Douglas, 1993). This decision seems inexcusable, given her importance in the development of the test and in much of Murray's subsequent work. At age 94, long after Morgan's death, he acknowledged that she was "part of every paper he wrote and every lecture he gave, and that her very presence at the clinic raised the caliber of his thinking" (Douglas, 1993, p. 297).

In 1938, Murray published *Explorations in Personality: A Clinical and Experimental Study of Fifty Men of College Age*. This book assured his almost instant success as a leading personality theorist. Now considered a classic, it boosted the effort begun by Gordon Allport the year before to make the study of personality an academically respectable part of American psychology.

During World War II, Murray joined the U.S. Army and became director of assessment for the Office of Strategic Services (the OSS, a forerunner of the CIA), screening candidates for dangerous assignments. He maintained an interest in literature, especially the work of Herman Melville, and in 1951 published an analysis of the psychological meaning of Melville's novel *Moby-Dick*.

Murray remained at Harvard until his retirement in 1962, conducting research, refining his personality theory, and training new generations of psychologists. He received the American Psychological Foundation's Gold Medal Award and the American Psychological Association's Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award.

Although Murray lived to the age of 95, the debilitating effects of a stroke marred the last decade of his life. He came to view the sum of his career as a "series of failures and unfulfilled promises [and] could not escape the feeling that he had not quite made the grade" (Triplet, 1993, p. 386). At the end, as a biographer noted, Murray was

certainly willing to be done with life, though never to the point of losing his sense of humor. "I am dead," he announced to his nurse. "No," she replied, pinching him gently on the cheek; "see, you're alive." "I'm the doctor," [he] snapped back, not without the hint of a smile—"I'm the doctor; you're the nurse; and I'm dead." Just days later, on Thursday, June 23, he had his way. (Robinson, 1992, p. 370)

Principles of Personology

personology
Murray's system of
personality.

The first principle in Murray's **personology**, his term for the study of personality, is that personality is rooted in the brain. The individual's cerebral physiology guides and governs every aspect of the personality. A simple example of this is that certain drugs can alter the functioning of the brain, and so the personality. Everything on which personality depends exists in the brain, including feeling states, conscious and unconscious memories, beliefs, attitudes, fears, and values.

A second principle in Murray's system involves the idea of tension reduction. Murray agreed with Freud and other theorists that people act to reduce physiological

and psychological tension, but this does not mean we strive for a tension-free state. It is the process of acting to reduce tension that is satisfying, according to Murray, rather than the attainment of a condition free of all tension.

Murray believed that a tension-free existence is itself a source of distress. We need excitement, activity, and movement, all of which involve increasing, not decreasing, tension. We generate tension in order to have the satisfaction of reducing it. Murray believed the ideal state of human nature involves always having a certain level of tension to reduce.

A third principle of Murray's personology is that an individual's personality continues to develop over time and is constructed of all the events that occur during the course of that person's life. Therefore, the study of a person's past is of great importance.

Murray's fourth principle involves the idea that personality changes and progresses; it is not fixed or static.

Fifth, Murray emphasized the uniqueness of each person while recognizing similarities among all people. As he saw it, an individual human being is like no other person, like some other people, and like every other person.

The Divisions of Personality

The Id

Murray divided personality into three parts, using the Freudian terms id, superego, and ego, but his concepts are not what Freud envisioned.

Like Freud, Murray suggested that the **id** is the repository of all innate impulsive tendencies. As such, it provides energy and direction to behavior and is concerned with motivation. The id contains the primitive, amoral, and lustful impulses Freud described. However, in Murray's personology system the id also encompasses innate impulses that society considers acceptable and desirable.

Here we see the influence of Jung's shadow archetype, which has both good and bad aspects. The id contains the tendencies to empathy, imitation, and identification; forms of love other than lustful ones; and the tendency to master one's environment.

The strength or intensity of the id varies among individuals. For example, one person may possess more intense appetites and emotions than another. Therefore, the problem of controlling and directing the id forces is not the same for all people because some of us have greater id energy with which we must cope.

The Superego

Murray defined the **superego** as the internalization of the culture's values and norms, by which rules we come to evaluate and judge our behavior and that of others. The substance of the superego is imposed on children at an early age by their parents and other authority figures.

Other factors may shape the superego, including one's peer group and the culture's literature and mythology. Thus, Murray deviated from Freud's ideas by allowing for influences beyond the parent-child interaction. According to Murray, the superego is not rigidly crystallized by age 5, as Freud believed, but continues to

id

To Murray, the id contains the primitive, amoral, and lustful impulses described by Freud, but it also contains desirable impulses, such as empathy and love.

superego

To Murray, the superego is shaped not only by parents and authority figures, but also by the peer group and culture.

develop throughout life, reflecting the greater complexity and sophistication of our experiences as we grow older.

The superego is not in constant conflict with the id, as Freud proposed, because the id contains good forces as well as bad ones. Good forces do not have to be suppressed. The superego must try to thwart the socially unacceptable impulses, but it also functions to determine when, where, and how an acceptable need can be expressed and satisfied.

While the superego is developing, so is the **ego-ideal**, which provides us with long-range goals for which to strive. The ego-ideal represents what we could become at our best and is the sum of our ambitions and aspirations.

ego-ideal

A component of the superego that contains the moral or ideal behaviors for which a person should strive.

ego

To Murray, the conscious organizer of behavior; this is a broader conception than Freud's.

The Ego

The **ego** is the rational governor of the personality; it tries to modify or delay the id's unacceptable impulses. Murray extended Freud's formulation of the ego by proposing that the ego is the central organizer of behavior. It consciously reasons, decides, and wills the direction of behavior. Thus, the ego is more active in determining behavior than Freud believed. Not merely the servant of the id, the ego consciously plans courses of action. It functions not only to suppress id pleasure but also to foster pleasure by organizing and directing the expression of acceptable id impulses.

The ego is also the arbiter between the id and the superego and may favor one over the other. For example, if the ego favors the id, it may direct the personality toward a life of crime. The ego may also integrate these two aspects of the personality so that what we want to do (id) is in harmony with what society believes we should do (superego).

Opportunity exists in Murray's system for conflict to arise between the id and the superego. A strong ego can mediate effectively between the two, but a weak ego leaves the personality a battleground. Unlike Freud, however, Murray did not believe that this conflict was inevitable.

Needs: The Motivators of Behavior

Murray's most important contribution to theory and research in personality is his use of the concept of needs to explain the motivation and direction of behavior. He said that "motivation is the crux of the business and motivation always refers to something within the organism" (quoted in Robinson, 1992, p. 220).

A need involves a physicochemical force in the brain that organizes and directs intellectual and perceptual abilities. Needs may arise either from internal processes such as hunger or thirst, or from events in the environment. Needs arouse a level of tension; the organism tries to reduce this tension by acting to satisfy the needs. Thus, needs energize and direct behavior. They activate behavior in the appropriate direction to satisfy the needs.

Murray's research led him to formulate a list of 20 needs (Murray, 1938, pp. 144–145). Not every person has all of these needs. Over the course of your lifetime you may experience all these needs, or there may be some needs you never experience. Some needs support other needs, and some oppose other needs (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Murray's list of needs

<i>Abasement</i>	To submit passively to external force. To accept injury, blame, criticism, and punishment. To become resigned to fate. To admit inferiority, error, wrongdoing, or defeat. To blame, belittle, or mutilate the self. To seek and enjoy pain, punishment, illness, and misfortune.
<i>Achievement</i>	To accomplish something difficult. To master, manipulate, or organize physical objects, human beings, or ideas. To overcome obstacles and attain a high standard. To rival and surpass others.
<i>Affiliation</i>	To draw near and enjoyably cooperate or reciprocate with an allied other who resembles one or who likes one. To adhere and remain loyal to a friend.
<i>Aggression</i>	To overcome opposition forcefully. To fight, attack, injure, or kill another. To maliciously belittle, censure, or ridicule another.
<i>Autonomy</i>	To get free, shake off restraint, or break out of confinement. To resist coercion and restriction. To be independent and free to act according to impulse. To defy conventions.
<i>Counteraction</i>	To master or make up for a failure by restriving. To obliterate a humiliation by resumed action. To overcome weaknesses and to repress fear. To search for obstacles and difficulties to overcome. To maintain self-respect and pride on a high level.
<i>Defendance</i>	To defend the self against assault, criticism, and blame. To conceal or justify a misdeed, failure, or humiliation.
<i>Deference</i>	To admire and support a superior other. To yield eagerly to the influence of an allied other. To conform to custom.
<i>Dominance</i>	To control one's environment. To influence or direct the behavior of others by suggestion, seduction, persuasion, or command. To get others to cooperate. To convince another of the rightness of one's opinion.
<i>Exhibition</i>	To make an impression. To be seen and heard. To excite, amaze, fascinate, entertain, shock, intrigue, amuse, or entice others.
<i>Harmavoidance</i>	To avoid pain, physical injury, illness, and death. To escape from a dangerous situation. To take precautionary measures.
<i>Infavoidance</i>	To avoid humiliation. To quit embarrassing situations or to avoid conditions that may lead to the scorn, derision, or indifference of others. To refrain from action because of the fear of failure.
<i>Nurturance</i>	To give sympathy to and gratify the needs of a helpless other, an infant or one who is weak, disabled, tired, inexperienced, infirm, humiliated, lonely, dejected, or mentally confused.
<i>Order</i>	To put things in order. To achieve cleanliness, arrangement, organization, balance, neatness, and precision.
<i>Play</i>	To act for fun, without further purpose.
<i>Rejection</i>	To exclude, abandon, expel, or remain indifferent to an inferior other. To snub or jilt another.
<i>Sentience</i>	To seek and enjoy sensuous impressions.
<i>Sex</i>	To form and further an erotic relationship. To have sexual intercourse.
<i>Succorance</i>	To be nursed, supported, sustained, surrounded, protected, loved, advised, guided, indulged, forgiven, or consoled. To remain close to a devoted protector.
<i>Understanding</i>	To be inclined to analyze events and to generalize. To discuss and argue and to emphasize reason and logic. To state one's opinions precisely. To show interest in abstract formulations in science, mathematics, and philosophy.

Types of Needs

primary needs

Survival and related needs arising from internal bodily processes.

secondary needs

Emotional and psychological needs, such as achievement and affiliation.

reactive needs

Needs that involve a response to a specific object.

proactive needs

Needs that arise spontaneously.

Primary and secondary needs. **Primary needs** (viscerogenic needs) arise from internal bodily states and include those needs required for survival (such as food, water, air, and harmavoidance), as well as such needs as sex and sentience. **Secondary needs** (psychogenic needs) arise indirectly from primary needs, in a way Murray did not make clear, but they have no specifiable origin within the body. They are called secondary not because they are less important but because they develop after the primary needs. Secondary needs are concerned with emotional satisfaction and include most of the needs on Murray's original list.

Reactive and proactive needs. **Reactive needs** involve a response to something specific in the environment and are aroused only when that object appears. For example, the harmavoidance need appears only when a threat is present. **Proactive needs** do not depend on the presence of a particular object. They are spontaneous needs that elicit appropriate behavior whenever they are aroused, independent of the environment. For example, hungry people look for food to satisfy their need; they do not wait for a stimulus, such as a television ad for a hamburger, before acting to find food. Reactive needs involve a response to a specific object; proactive needs arise spontaneously.

Characteristics of Needs

Needs differ in terms of the urgency with which they impel behavior, a characteristic Murray called a need's prepotency. For example, if the needs for air and water are not satisfied, they come to dominate behavior, taking precedence over all other needs.

The need for affection is expressed in cooperation, loyalty, and friendship.



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subsidiation

To Murray, a situation in which one need is activated to aid in the satisfaction of another need.

press

The influence of the environment and past events on the current activation of a need.

thema

A combination of press (the environment) and need (the personality) that brings order to our behavior.

Some needs are complementary and can be satisfied by one behavior or a set of behaviors. Murray called this a fusion of needs. For instance, by working to acquire fame and wealth, we can satisfy the needs for achievement, dominance, and autonomy.

The concept of **subsidiation** refers to a situation in which one need is activated to aid in satisfying another need. For example, to satisfy the affiliation need by being in the company of other people, it may be necessary to act deferentially toward them, thus invoking the deference need. In this case, the deference need is subsidiary to the affiliation need.

Murray recognized that childhood events can affect the development of specific needs and, later in life, can activate those needs. He called this influence **press** because an environmental object or event presses or pressures the individual to act a certain way.

Because of the possibility of interaction between need and press, Murray introduced the concept of **thema** (or unity thema). The thema combines personal factors (needs) with the environmental factors that pressure or compel our behavior (presses). The thema is formed through early childhood experiences and becomes a powerful force in determining personality. Largely unconscious, the thema relates needs and presses in a pattern that gives coherence, unity, order, and uniqueness to our behavior.

Personality Development in Childhood

Complexes

Drawing on Freud's work, Murray divided childhood into five stages, each characterized by a pleasurable condition that is inevitably terminated by society's demands. Each stage leaves its mark on our personality in the form of an unconscious **complex** that directs our later development.

According to Murray, everyone experiences these five complexes because everyone passes through the same developmental stages. There is nothing abnormal about them except when they are manifested in the extreme, a condition that leaves the person fixated at that stage. The personality is then unable to develop spontaneity and flexibility, a situation that interferes with the formation of the ego and superego. The stages of childhood and their corresponding complexes are shown in Table 5.2.

complex

To Murray, a normal pattern of childhood development that influences the adult personality; childhood developmental stages include the claustral, oral, anal, urethral, and genital complexes.

Table 5.2 The childhood stages and complexes in Murray's personology

Stage	Complex
The secure existence within the womb	Claustral complexes
The sensuous enjoyment of sucking nourishment while being held	Oral complexes
The pleasure resulting from defecation	Anal complexes
The pleasure accompanying urination	Urethral complex
Genital pleasures	Genital or castration complex

Stages of Development

The claustral stage. The fetus in the womb is secure, serene, and dependent, conditions we may all occasionally wish to reinstate. The *simple claustral complex* is experienced as a desire to be in small, warm, dark places that are safe and secluded. For example, one might long to remain under the blankets instead of getting out of bed in the morning. People with this complex tend to be dependent on others, passive, and oriented toward safe, familiar behaviors that worked in the past. The *insupport* form of the claustral complex centers on feelings of insecurity and helplessness that cause the person to fear open spaces, falling, drowning, fires, earthquakes, or simply any situation involving novelty and change. The *anti-claustral* or *egression* form of the claustral complex is based on a need to escape from restraining womblike conditions. It includes a fear of suffocation and confinement and manifests itself in a preference for open spaces, fresh air, travel, movement, change, and novelty.

The oral stage. The *oral succorance complex* features a combination of mouth activities, passive tendencies, and the need to be supported and protected. Behavioral manifestations include sucking, kissing, eating, drinking, and a hunger for affection, sympathy, protection, and love. The *oral aggression complex* combines oral and aggressive behaviors, including biting, spitting, shouting, and verbal aggression such as sarcasm. Behaviors characteristic of the *oral rejection complex* include vomiting, being picky about food, eating little, fearing oral contamination (such as from kissing), desiring seclusion, and avoiding dependence on others.

The anal stage. In the *anal rejection complex*, there is a preoccupation with defecation, anal humor, and feces-like material such as dirt, mud, plaster, and clay. Aggression is often part of this complex and is shown in dropping and throwing things, firing guns, and setting off explosives. Persons with this complex may be dirty and disorganized. The *anal retention complex* is manifested in accumulating, saving, and collecting things, and in cleanliness, neatness, and orderliness.

The urethral stage. Unique to Murray's system, the *urethral complex* is associated with excessive ambition, a distorted sense of self-esteem, exhibitionism, bedwetting, sexual cravings, and self-love. It is sometimes called the Icarus complex, after the mythical Greek figure that flew so close to the sun that the wax holding his wings melted. Like Icarus, persons with this complex aim too high, and their dreams are shattered by failure.

The genital or castration stage. Murray disagreed with Freud's contention that fear of castration is the core of anxiety in adult males. He interpreted the *castration complex* in narrower and more literal fashion as a boy's fantasy that his penis might be cut off. Murray believed such a fear grows out of childhood masturbation and the parental punishment that may have accompanied it.

Questions About Human Nature

Although Murray's personality theory is similar to Freud's in several ways, his image of human nature is quite different. Even the ultimate and necessary goal in life—which, like Freud's, is the reduction of tension—is considered from a different

perspective. According to Murray, our goal is not a tension-free state but rather the satisfaction derived from acting to reduce the tension.

On the free will versus determinism issue, Murray argued that personality is determined by our needs and by the environment. He accorded us some free will in our capacity to change and to grow. Each person is unique, but there are also similarities in the personalities of all of us.

Murray believed we are shaped by our inherited attributes and by our environment; each is of roughly equal influence. We cannot understand the human personality unless we accept the impact of the physiological forces and the stimuli in our physical, social, and cultural environments.

Murray's view of human nature was optimistic. He criticized a psychology that projected a negative and demeaning image of human beings. He argued that, with our vast powers of creativity, imagination, and reason, we are capable of solving any problem we face. Also, our orientation is largely toward the future. Although Murray recognized the imprint of childhood experiences on current behavior, he did not envision people as captives of the past. The childhood complexes unconsciously affect our development, but personality is also determined by present events and by aspirations for the future.

We have the ability to grow and develop, and such growth is a natural part of being human. We can change through our rational and creative abilities and can reshape our society as well.

Assessment in Murray's Theory

Murray's techniques for assessing personality differ from those of Freud and the other neopsychoanalytic theorists. Because Murray was not working with emotionally disturbed persons, he did not use such standard psychoanalytic techniques as free association and dream analysis.

For his intensive evaluation of the normal personality, Murray used a variety of techniques to collect data from 51 male undergraduate students at Harvard University. The research participants were interviewed and given projective tests, objective tests, and questionnaires covering childhood memories, family relations, sexual development, sensory-motor learning, ethical standards, goals, social interactions, and mechanical and artistic abilities. This assessment program was so comprehensive that it took Murray's staff of 28 investigators 6 months to complete. We discuss these data in the section on research in Murray's theory.

The OSS Assessment Program

During the World War II years (1941–1945), Murray directed an assessment program for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a forerunner of the CIA. His goal was to select people to serve as spies and saboteurs, operating behind enemy lines in hazardous situations. Potential candidates for OSS positions were interviewed and given the Rorschach and the TAT projective tests and questionnaires covering a variety of topics. In addition, candidates participated in situational tests, which

were stressful situations that simulated experiences they could expect to encounter on the job. Their behavior in these tests was closely observed (OSS Assessment Staff, 1948).

One such test required the candidate to build a bridge across a stream in a fixed period of time. No plans were provided, but the person was assigned a group of workers to assist him. In this way the candidate's ingenuity, ability to improvise, and leadership skills could be assessed in a realistic setting. To determine the candidate's reaction to frustration, the assistants included some stooges—people instructed to do everything possible to prevent the building of the bridge. Many candidates became enraged, and some were even reduced to tears, when faced with the lack of cooperation and the mounting frustration at being unable to complete the task.

This pioneering attempt at employee selection through large-scale personality assessment has evolved into the successful assessment-center approach widely used in business today to select promising leaders and executives. The OSS program provides a striking example of the practical application of assessment techniques originally intended purely for research.

The Thematic Apperception Test

The assessment technique most often associated with Murray is the Thematic Apperception Test. The TAT consists of a set of ambiguous pictures depicting simple scenes. The person taking the test is asked to compose a story that describes the people and objects in the picture, including what might have led up to the situation and what the people are thinking and feeling.

Murray derived the TAT, which is a projective technique, from Freud's defense mechanism of projection. In projection, a person attributes or projects disturbing impulses onto someone else. In the TAT, the person projects those feelings onto the characters in the pictures and thereby reveals his or her troubling thoughts to the researcher or therapist (see Figure 5.1). Thus, the TAT is a device for assessing unconscious thoughts, feelings, and fears.

Interpreting the responses to the TAT pictures is a subjective process, as Murray admitted in an interview. He referred to the TAT as

a kind of booby trap which may catch more embryo psychologists than patients. The patient reveals parts of himself when he composes a story to explain the picture. Then the psychologist may reveal parts of himself when he composes a formulation to explain the patient's story. (quoted in Hall, 1968, p. 61)

In the hands of a trained clinician, the TAT can reveal considerable useful information. Because of its subjectivity, however, the information obtained should be used to supplement data from more objective methods rather than as the sole means of diagnosis. Yet despite the TAT's lack of standardized procedures for administering, scoring, and interpreting it, as well as its low criterion-related validity, the test continues to be used frequently for research, therapy, and assessment (see Kaplan & Saccuzzo, 2005).



Figure 5.1 The Thematic Apperception Test

A typical picture contained in the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). In describing a TAT picture, people may reveal their own feelings, needs, and values.

Typical Responses to TAT Card:

1. This is the picture of a woman who all of her life has been a very suspicious, conniving person. She's looking in the mirror and she sees reflected behind her an image of what she will be as an old woman—still a suspicious, conniving sort of person. She can't stand the thought that that's what her life will eventually lead her to and she smashes the mirror and runs out of the house screaming and goes out of her mind and lives in an institution for the rest of her life.
2. This woman has always emphasized beauty in her life. As a little girl she was praised for being pretty and as a young woman was able to attract lots of men with her beauty. While secretly feeling anxious and unworthy much of the time, her outer beauty helped to disguise these feelings from the world and, sometimes, from herself. Now that she is getting on in years and her children are leaving home, she is worried about the future. She looks in the mirror and imagines herself as an old hag—the worst possible person she could become, ugly and nasty—and wonders what the future holds for her. It is a difficult and depressing time for her. (Pervin, 1984, p. 110)

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Research on Murray's Theory

Murray's original research program involved the intensive study of the personalities of 51 male undergraduate students undertaken by a staff of psychiatrists, psychologists, and anthropologists. Thus, specialists with different training observed each subject using various techniques, in much the same way a complex medical diagnosis is prepared. Each observer presented his or her diagnosis to the Diagnostic Council, a committee of the five most experienced staff members. The council met with each subject for 45 minutes and rated the subject on several variables. As the data accumulated, the council reassessed its ratings, reviewed the information, and arrived at a final determination.

So much information was collected on each person's life that the data had to be divided into time segments; these were called proceedings and serials. The basic behavior segment, the **proceeding**, was defined as the period of time required for the occurrence and completion of a pattern of behavior—from beginning to end. A proceeding involves a real or fantasized interaction between the person and other people or objects in the environment. An imaginary interaction is called an internal proceeding; a real interaction is called an external proceeding.

Proceedings are linked in time and function. For example, on Monday a man may meet a woman (an external proceeding) and ask her for a Saturday night date. He may daydream about her throughout the week (internal proceedings) and may have his hair styled or wash his car (external proceedings) in preparation for the date. Each of these actions is a proceeding. Taken together, because they relate to the same function or purpose, they are called a **serial**.

Considerable research has been conducted on several of the needs Murray proposed, notably the affiliation and achievement needs.

The Need for Affiliation

The need for affiliation is strong in many people, particularly in stressful situations. In a classic experiment, research participants who knew they were going to receive an electric shock in an experiment were much more likely to prefer waiting in the company of others than were research participants who were not facing the stress of a potential electric shock (Schachter, 1959). Apparently, the presence of other people helped allay the anxiety associated with the stress of the anticipated shock. Another study found that people who had experienced severe effects of a thunderstorm, such as property damage, were much more likely to seek the company of others than were those who had experienced no such harmful effects of the storm (Strumpfer, 1970).

A study of 212 children and 212 parents in Israel showed that when they faced the possibility of a wartime rocket attack, their tendency to affiliate with other people rose significantly. The affiliation need during this stressful period was apparent with both children and adults (Rofe, 2006).

A group of college students kept a daily log of their stressful experiences and social interactions for 2 weeks. The results showed that the students were much more likely to want to affiliate with others after stressful events than after non-stressful periods (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

proceeding

A basic segment of behavior; a time period in which an important behavior pattern occurs from beginning to end.

serial

A succession of proceedings related to the same function or purpose.

A study of 176 people in Sweden who were alcoholics showed that those who demonstrated a higher likelihood of affiliating with a support group were far more likely to abstain from drinking than were those who did not have the tendency to affiliate (Bodin & Romelsjo, 2006).

Additional research has found that people who score high in the affiliation need are unpopular, apt to avoid interpersonal conflicts, and likely to be unsuccessful as business managers. These tendencies may be due to their high level of anxiety about whether other people will like them. They may act in an overly assertive manner to avoid any possible rejection (McClelland, 1985; McClelland & Boyatzis, 1982).

What impact does the Internet age have on the need for affiliation? Can this need be satisfied by virtual interactions or does such satisfaction require the presence of other people? Research on 687 teenagers in the Netherlands found that those with a higher affiliation need preferred to communicate through the Internet rather than in person. The virtual social setting allowed them to be more honest, open, and intimate with others than they thought they could be in a face-to-face situation (Peter & Valkenburg, 2006). This suggests that for people with a strong need for affiliation, Internet contacts can be more satisfying and less threatening than actual contacts.

The Need for Achievement

need for achievement
The need to achieve, overcome obstacles, excel, and live up to a high standard.

The **need for achievement**, which Murray defined as the need to overcome obstacles, to excel, and to live up to a high standard, has been studied extensively by David McClelland (1917–1998), using the Thematic Apperception Test.

In the initial research, McClelland and his associates asked groups of male college students to write brief stories about the TAT pictures (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953). To vary the experimental conditions, the researchers gave different test-taking instructions to different groups, urging a high achievement need in one condition and a low achievement need in the other. The results showed that the stories written under the high-achievement condition contained significantly more references to attaining standards of excellence, desiring to achieve, and performing well. For example, one picture showed a young man sitting at a desk with an open book in front of him. Stories from high-need-achievement research participants involved working hard, striving for excellence, and doing one's best. Stories from low-need-achievement research participants dealt with sedentary activities such as daydreaming, thinking, and recalling past events. Later analyses have confirmed the validity of the TAT as a way of measuring the need for achievement (see, for example, Spangler, 1992; Tuerlinckx, DeBoeck, & Lens, 2002).

A great deal of research has been conducted on the differences between people who measure high in the need for achievement and people who measure low. Research participants testing high in the need for achievement were found more often in middle and upper socioeconomic classes than in lower socioeconomic groups. They demonstrated a better memory for uncompleted tasks and were more likely to volunteer to serve as research participants for psychological

research. They were more resistant to social pressures and less conforming than were research participants testing low in need achievement. Young people high in the need to achieve were more likely to attend college, earn higher grades, and be involved in college and community activities. High-need-achievement people were also more likely to cheat on examinations in certain situations. They got along better with other people and enjoyed greater physical health (McClelland, 1985; Piedmont, 1988).

Do people high in achievement motivation perform better in every situation? No. Only when high-need-achievers are challenged to excel will they do so. From these findings, McClelland predicted that people with a high need to achieve will seek life and career situations that allow them to satisfy this need. They will set personal achievement standards and work hard to meet them (McClelland, Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989).

People high in the need for achievement more frequently hold high-status jobs. They work harder, have a greater expectation of success, and report more job satisfaction than do people low in the need for achievement. High-need-achievers choose jobs that provide personal responsibility, in which success depends primarily on their own efforts, and they are dissatisfied with jobs in which success depends on other people or on factors beyond their control (Reuman, Alwin, & Veroff, 1984).

Because high-need-achievement people prefer jobs with considerable responsibility, McClelland suggested that they prefer to be entrepreneurs, to operate their own business and be their own boss. This kind of work situation provides optimal challenge and authority. In a follow-up study of male college students 14 years after their achievement-motivation scores had first been measured, it was found that 83 percent of those who had become successful entrepreneurs had scored high in the need to achieve. Only 21 percent of those who had become successful in non-entrepreneurial jobs had scored high in the need to achieve. Research in several countries supports the finding that high-need-achievement people are more attracted to entrepreneurial jobs (McClelland, 1965a, 1987).

These early workplace studies were conducted only with male research participants. To determine whether women entrepreneurs were also high in achievement motivation, psychologists studied 60 female business owners in Australia. Approximately 82 percent of these entrepreneurial women showed moderate to high levels of the need to achieve, a finding similar to McClelland's research with entrepreneurial men (Langan-Fox & Roth, 1995).

High-need-achievers even prefer different kinds of vacations. A study of American tourists showed that those scoring high in the need to achieve preferred adventure tourism with travel to remote or exotic places and challenging activities such as white-water rafting, mountain climbing, or scuba diving. People high in the need for affiliation, in contrast, seemed to prefer cultural tourism involving museums, concerts, and tours of famous writers' houses (Tran & Ralston, 2006).

Cultural factors can influence a person's need for achievement. A cross-cultural study compared need achievement among 372 male and female high school and college students living in Hong Kong. Some of the students were from England (children of British parents working in Hong Kong); other students were native Chinese. The British students focused on individual achievement in competitive

situations, that is, what they could accomplish for themselves. The Chinese students, with the stronger sense of collectivism fostered by their culture, focused more on affiliative achievement (family and group achievement) rather than acting to satisfy personal goals (Salili, 1994). An analysis of later research provides support for these cultural differences between European-American and Asian subject samples. Studies show the first group to focus more on individualistic striving for personal goals and the second group more on group, community, and family goals (Church & Lonner, 1998).

The need for achievement is affected by child-rearing practices. Early research identified the parental behaviors likely to produce a high need for achievement in boys. These include setting realistic and challenging standards of performance at an age when such standards can be reached, not being overprotective or indulgent, not interfering with the child's efforts to achieve, and demonstrating genuine pleasure in the child's achievements (Winterbottom, 1958).

Studies of adolescent emigrants to the United States from Vietnam showed that family and cultural values emphasizing education resulted in high levels of achievement motivation (Nguyen, 2006). Research with U.S.-born Latino teenagers found that parental involvement was positively related to the need to achieve. The more the parents stressed the value of education, the higher the measured achievement motivation among their children (Ibanez, Kuperminc, Jurkovic, & Perilla, 2004).

In a longitudinal study, 89 men and women in their early 40s responded to stimulus pictures similar to those of the TAT. Their responses were coded for the presence or absence of TAT imagery. What makes this research unique is that their mothers had been interviewed many years earlier when the subjects were 5 years old and questioned extensively about their child-rearing practices. Thus, it was possible to compare differences in maternal behavior with the need-achievement levels of the children when they became adults. The results showed that parental pressure to achieve during the first 2 years of life led to higher levels of need achievement in adulthood, whereas pressure to achieve during later childhood years was not related to a high need achievement in adulthood. McClelland concluded from this research that parental behaviors during the first 2 years of life were crucial to the formation of a high level of need achievement in adulthood (McClelland & Franz, 1992).

Although need achievement apparently is established in childhood, the possibility exists that it could be enhanced or suppressed, strengthened or weakened, by expectations of caregivers in day-care centers or teachers in schools. If these adults do not expect a high level of performance and set challenging standards, the way parents of high-need-achievement children were found to do, then they may be depriving children of an incentive to continue to achieve at a high level.

Some evidence suggests that this may operate with members of some minority groups. For example, when 392 White college students were asked to provide feedback on poorly written essays prepared, they were told, by Black or by White fellow students, the feedback was consistently less critical of Black writers than of White writers. Indeed, the comments were lenient and supportive of the work of the Black students whereas the comments offered to the White students were often harsh. Such

inflated praise and gentle criticism in this example could deprive Black students of the high expectations and challenges provided to White students. That, in turn, could reduce the amount of effort and striving needed to maintain high achievement and result in lowered performance (Harber, 1998).

Gender is another factor that has an impact on the need to achieve. Studies of children and adolescents suggest that some girls and young women experience conflict between the need to do their best and achieve at a high level versus the need to appear feminine, empathic, and caring. These research participants feared that achieving at too high a level would lead to unpopularity, especially with boys. A study of gifted third- to sixth-grade girls revealed several concerns they saw as barriers to achieving at a level appropriate to their abilities (Eccles, Barber, & Jozefowicz, 1999, p. 179):

- Concern about hurting other people's feelings by winning
- Concern about being seen as a show-off by expressing pride in one's achievements
- Concern about reacting negatively to situations in which one is not successful
- Concern about physical appearance and standards of beauty
- Concern about being seen as too aggressive in classroom situations

Another area of investigation deals with the distinction between the achievement need as an *approach* motive and that need as an *avoidance* motive. The question is whether behavior in achievement settings such as school or place of employment is directed primarily toward attaining success or toward avoiding failure. In other words, are we driven to win, or are we motivated instead to avoid losing? Perhaps it is some combination of the two and depends on the situation.

Studies of college students in the United States found that pursuing avoidance goals over the course of a semester led to a decline in self-esteem and in feelings of competence and control, as well as reduced vitality and overall life satisfaction. The researchers suggested that satisfying the achievement need by striving for success rather than acting to avoid failure is vital to subjective well-being (Elliot & Church, 1997; Elliot & Sheldon, 1997). A study of 93 German university students found that success-motivated students performed significantly better and persisted more in achievement-related tasks than did students whose motivation was to avoid failure (Puca & Schmalt, 2001).

Other research has shown that simply recalling a previous episode of achievement was associated with a variety of positive emotions including surprise, happiness, and excitement (Zurbriggen & Sturman, 2002). A study of college students in Israel demonstrated that those high in need achievement tended to be more extraverted and conscientious than those low in need achievement (Roccas, Sagiu, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002).

Finally, research suggests two types of goals in achievement motivation, *mastery* and *performance*, or two ways of satisfying the need to achieve. Mastery involves developing competence through the acquisition of knowledge and skills to satisfy oneself. Performance goals involve acquiring competence with a view toward performing better than other people (Barron & Harackiewicz, 2001).

Research conducted in the Netherlands involving more than 600 college students found that the majority (two-thirds) preferred the mastery instead of the performance goal attainment approach, which was associated with greater subjective well-being, more positive emotional states, and higher levels of perfectionism. In other words, it seemed preferable to these students to be motivated to achieve for self-satisfaction rather than to show that they could do better than other people (Van Yperen, 2006).

Reflections on Murray's Theory

Murray has exerted an impressive and lasting influence on the study of personality. Of particular importance is his list of needs, which is of continuing value for research, clinical diagnosis, and employee selection, and his techniques for assessing personality. Overall, these innovations, and the personal impact he made on at least two generations of personology researchers at Harvard, have had a more lasting effect than the details of his theory.

Murray's theory is not without its critics. One problem in evaluating his position is that only some portions of it have been published. His ingenuity and full range of thought were not widely revealed. Those who worked with him and had access to his broad speculations, which he offered in almost casual conversation, felt Murray's influence most keenly. Although students and colleagues have pursued some of these ideas, others have been lost to view.

Research has been conducted on some of Murray's ideas, particularly the achievement and affiliation needs, and the assessment techniques, but only limited portions of his theory have been put to experimental test. Of course, as we have seen in previous chapters, this criticism is not unique to Murray.

Murray's research method in the study of Harvard undergraduates has also been questioned. The Diagnostic Council may have been laudably democratic, but it was hardly scientific; to reach a scientific conclusion by majority rule is not the most objective procedure. In addition, some concepts, such as proceedings and serials, are defined too vaguely. What constitutes an important pattern of behavior? What happens to those judged insignificant? How long is a proceeding? These questions have not been answered satisfactorily.

Murray's classification of needs may be overly complex and a great deal of overlap exists among the needs. It is unclear how the needs relate to other aspects of personality and how the needs develop within an individual. However, the list of needs has had considerable impact on the construction of psychological tests. Further, the concept of need and the importance Murray placed on motivation in his system have influenced the modern study of personality.

Chapter Summary

Murray's childhood was characterized by maternal rejection, Adlerian compensation, and depression. The major principle of Murray's work is the dependence of psychological processes on physiological processes. Altering the level of need-

induced tension is vital to the personality. We generate tension to have the satisfaction of reducing it.

Three basic divisions of personality are the id, superego, and ego. The id contains primitive, amoral impulses as well as tendencies to empathy, imitation, and identification. The superego is shaped by parents, peer groups, and cultural factors. The ego consciously decides and wills the direction of behavior.

Needs are physiologically based hypothetical constructs that arise from internal processes or environmental events. Needs arouse a tension level that must be reduced; thus, they energize and direct behavior. Needs may be primary (viscerogenic), arising from internal bodily processes, or secondary (psychogenic), concerned with mental and emotional satisfaction. Proactive needs are spontaneous and do not depend on environmental objects; reactive needs involve a response to a specific environmental object. A need's prepotency is its urgency or insistence. The fusion of needs refers to needs that can be satisfied by one behavior or set of behaviors. Subsidiation involves a situation in which one need is activated to aid in the satisfaction of another need.

Press refers to the pressure, caused by environmental objects or childhood events, to behave in a certain way. Thema is an amalgamation of personal factors (needs) and environmental factors (presses).

Complexes are patterns formed in the five childhood stages of development that unconsciously direct adult development. The claustral complex involves the secure existence within the womb. The oral complex involves the sensuous enjoyment of sucking nourishment. The anal complex involves the pleasure resulting from defecation. The urethral complex involves the pleasure accompanying urination. The castration complex involves genital pleasure and the fantasy that the penis might be cut off.

According to Murray, the ultimate goal in life is to reduce tension. Although we have some free will, much of personality is determined by needs and by the environment. Each person is unique yet shares similarities, which are determined by inherited and environmental forces, with other people. Murray held an optimistic view of human nature, which is oriented toward the future and grants us the ability to grow and develop.

Murray and Morgan developed the TAT, based on the Freudian concept of projection. Considerable research has been conducted on Murray's proposed needs for affiliation and for achievement. Those found to be high in the achievement need are typically middle-class, have a better memory for uncompleted tasks, are more active in college and community activities, and are more resistant to social pressures. People high in need achievement are more likely to attend college and do well, to take high-status jobs with a great deal of personal responsibility, and to expect to be successful. They often succeed as entrepreneurs or managers. Parental behaviors likely to produce a high need for achievement in children include setting realistically high performance standards, not overprotecting or indulging, not interfering with the child's efforts to achieve, and showing pleasure in the child's achievements. Parental authoritarianism tends to lower a child's need for achievement. Gender and cultural factors can influence the need for achievement. Both mastery goals and performance goals can satisfy the achievement need. In summary, Murray's importance lies in his list of needs and his techniques for assessing personality.

Review Questions

1. Explain how Murray's childhood provided a good background for him to become a personality theorist.
2. How did Jung influence Murray's personal life and theory of personality?
3. What is the relationship between physiological processes and psychological processes?
4. Describe the role of tension in the development of personality. Is our ultimate goal a life free of tension? Why or why not?
5. How do Murray's views of the id, ego, and superego differ from Freud's conception of these structures of personality?
6. What factors and influences shape the superego? Explain Murray's view of the relationship between the superego and the id.
7. From what sources do needs arise?
8. Describe ways of classifying needs, and give examples for each category.
9. Define the concepts of subsidiation, thema, and press.
10. What are the five childhood stages of personality development and the complexes associated with each stage?
11. Describe the behavior of a person suffering from the egression form of the claustral complex, the anal rejection complex, and the urethral complex.
12. How does Murray's image of human nature differ from Freud's?
13. How is the Thematic Apperception Test used to assess personality?
14. What criticisms can be made of projective techniques for personality assessment?
15. Distinguish between proceedings and serials, and between internal and external proceedings.
16. What type of data did Murray collect in his study of Harvard undergraduate students?
17. Is Murray's view of human nature optimistic or pessimistic? Why?
18. Describe the differences between high and low achievers in terms of college and career performance.
19. How may gender and culture affect the need for achievement?
20. What parental behaviors can influence the development of a child's need for achievement?
21. Explain the difference between performance goals and mastery goals in achievement motivation. Which would you say is the more desirable? Why?

Suggested Readings

- Anderson, J. W. (1988). Henry A. Murray's early career: A psychobiographical exploration. *Journal of Personality*, 56(1), 139–171. An analysis of Murray's life through his early 30s, examining his decision to become a psychologist, his involvement with psychoanalysis, and the impact of his personal and academic experiences on his work.
- Douglas, C. (1993). *Translate this darkness: The life of Christiana Morgan*. New York: Simon & Schuster. A biography of the codeveloper of the Thematic Apperception Test, describing her career and her personal relationship with Murray.
- McClelland, D. C. (1961). *The achieving society*. New York: Free Press. A classic work that applies psychological methods to the evaluation of economic, historical, and social forces that explain the rise and fall of civilizations.
- McClelland, D. C., & Winter, D. G. (1969). *Motivating economic achievement*. New York: Free Press. Describes psychological training programs to increase achievement motivation among business leaders in order to accelerate a nation's economic development.
- Murray, H. A. (1938). *Explorations in personality*. New York: Oxford University Press. Murray's classic work on personology that includes the evaluation of a typical subject by the Diagnostic Council, the list of human needs, and the advantages of projective techniques for personality assessment. The 70th anniversary edition,

- published in 2007 with a foreword by Northwestern University professor Dan McAdams, provides a contemporary evaluation of Murray's achievements.
- Murray, H. A. (1967). Autobiography. In E. G. Boring & G. Lindzey (Eds.), *A history of psychology in autobiography* (Vol. 5, pp. 283–310). New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Murray's reflections on his life and work.
- Murray, H. A. (1981). *Endeavors in psychology: Selections from the personology of Henry A. Murray*. New York: Harper & Row. A collection of Murray's writings on personality theory, creativity, and the Thematic Apperception Test. Edited by Edwin S. Schneidman.
- Robinson, F. G. (1992). *Love's story told: A life of Henry A. Murray*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. A biography that relates some of the more sensational aspects of Murray's marriage and love affairs.
- Schneidman, E. S. (2001). My visit with Christiana Morgan. *History of Psychology, 4*, 289–296. An interview with Morgan describing her life and work and her influence on Murray's ideas.
- Smith, M. B. (1990). Henry A. Murray (1893–1988): Humanistic psychologist. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 30*(1), 6–13. A biographical sketch relating Murray's work to the humanistic psychology movement.
- Triplet, R. G. (1992). Henry A. Murray: The making of a psychologist? *American Psychologist, 47*, 299–307. Assesses the impact of Murray's work at the Harvard Psychological Clinic and recounts personal and academic disputes between the clinic and the college's psychology department.

