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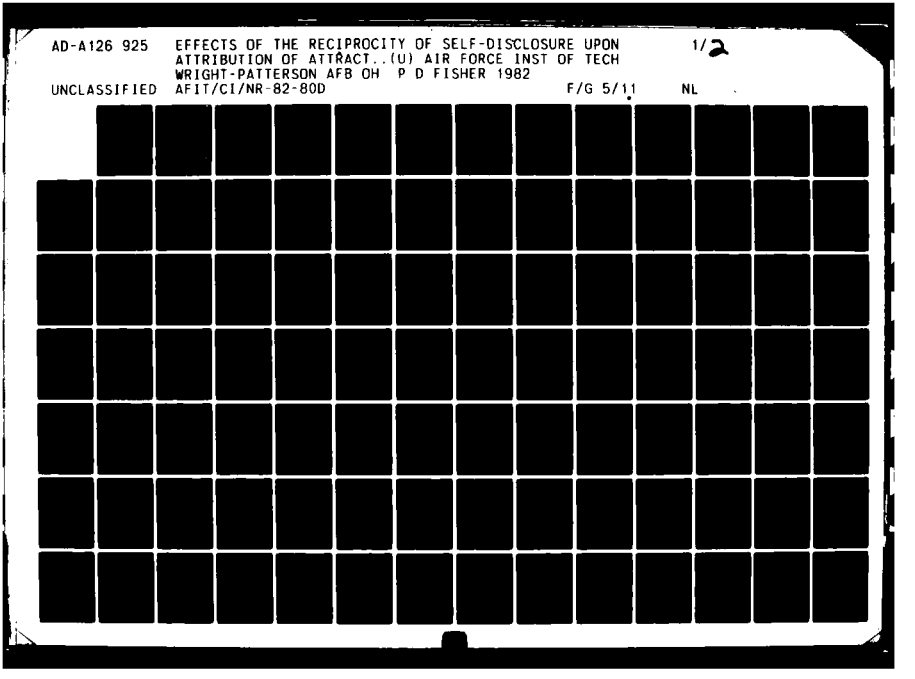

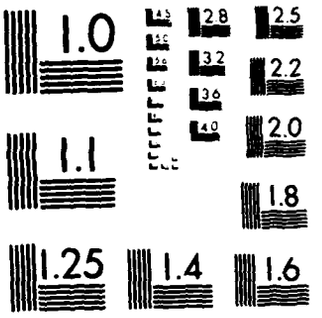

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

The University of Alabama Graduate School

Degree Doctor of Philosophy Major Subject Psychology

Name of Candidate Paul Douglas Fisher

Title of Dissertation Effects of the Reciprocity of Self-Disclosure Upon Attribution of Attractive Qualities to the Ingratiation Target

Little research has investigated the role of self-disclosure in interpersonal manipulation. Although disclosure appears to be important in such interactions, prior researchers have paid it scant attention. This study examined the effects of self-disclosure by the ingratiation target (O) in response to self-disclosure by the ingratiator (P). The attribution of attractive qualities to the former by the observer was the dependent measure. A 2 x 2 x 2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) format was employed. Disclosure and nondisclosure levels were presented for O and P in both the ingratiation and the noningratiation situation. Eighty undergraduate subjects, randomly assigned to eight groups were exposed to an audiotaped "conversation reenactment," which portrayed one of eight combinations of the three independent variables. They were then requested to rate the two taped persons by completing a 33-item

Abstract Approved by: Chairperson of Dissertation Committee_____

Head of Department or College_____

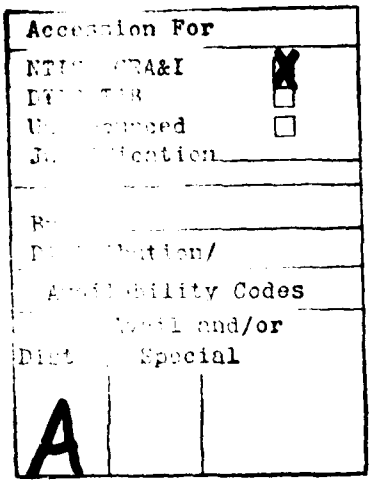
Date_____ Dean of Graduate School_____

questionnaire consisting of the following subscales: attraction, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence.

Two separate 3-way MANOVA tests were run and then followed by univariate analysis for each significant source of variance. Univariate analysis of P's disclosure indicated that O is given more attractive ratings on all five subscales when P discloses. Univariate analysis of O's disclosure revealed that O is seen as more dependent and less confident when disclosing. Univariate analysis of the interaction between P and O's disclosure revealed that all subscales, excepting attraction, were significantly affected. O is given the most attractive attributes when he reciprocates P's disclosure, moderately attractive attributes when either disclosing or nondisclosing to P's nondisclosure, and the least attractive attributes when disclosing in response to nondisclosure. A significant interaction was also found between P's self-disclosure and ingratiation. On the significantly affected attractiveness subscale, O is seen as: most attractive when P is disclosing in the noningratiation situation, moderately attractive when P is disclosing or nondisclosing in the ingratiation situation, and least attractive when P is nondisclosing in the ingratiation situation.

It was tentatively concluded that ingratiation does not automatically alter the norm of disclosure reciprocity. O is seen negatively when disclosing to a nondisclosing P.

Due to interactions among some of the independent variables, future research partitioning their effects is recommended.



EFFECTS OF THE RECIPROCITY OF SELF-DISCLOSURE UPON ATTRIBUTION OF ATTRACTIVE QUALITIES TO THE INGRATIATION TARGET

by

PAUL DOUGLAS FISHER

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate School of Experimental and
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1982

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Effects of the Reciprocity of Self-Disclosure Upon Attribution of Attractive Qualities to the Ingratiation Target

Ingratiation and self-disclosure are two ubiquitous social phenomena. Indeed, these phenomena are often intimately intertwined in human interactions. One particular subarea, the perceived appropriateness of self-disclosure to the ingratiator, has never been investigated in any published research. Therefore, this paper proposes an attempt to answer the questions; what do bystanders judge to be the appropriate and attractiveness enhancing (Wortman, 1976) response to an obvious ingratiator? Is one who does or does not obey the norm of reciprocity given more attractive attributes? Though the parameters relating self-disclosure to ingratiation seem important, little empirical investigation has been done in this area. Indeed, little research has been conducted in the general areas of self-disclosure or ingratiation that is not highly specific in nature. Therefore, it is the intent of this paper to augment understanding of the phenomena and their interrelation. The current study also includes an extensive pilot investigation (Appendix J).

Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure, defined as the verbal communication of information about one's self (Chelune, 1975), is an intimate component of the social penetration process. Altman and Taylor (1970) introduced the social penetration model to explain the development of self-disclosure in human relationships. According to this model individuals disclose with increasing intimacy as they come to know one another. This increased intimacy occurs as they disclose in broader areas, with greater depth, and at greater length.

The development of relationships, according to the social penetration model, may be represented by a wedge (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974b). This analogy is appropriate because greater amounts of information are disclosed at nonintimate levels than at intimate levels (Appendix A). Accordingly breadth of disclosure diminishes as depth (or intimacy) increases. As a relationship becomes closer both the breadth of disclosure and the intimacy of disclosure increases. Disclosure typically moves into intimate areas slowly because many persons fear that their disclosures could be used by others to hurt or embarrass them (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974b).

To test the wedge model proposed in the social penetration theory Taylor (1968) conducted a study of how college roommates become acquainted. The subjects were fifteen pairs of roommates who were not initially acquainted. On

the first, third, sixth, ninth, and thirteenth weeks of the semester questionnaires measuring the intimacy and content of disclosure were administered to the subjects. The finding that the breadth of disclosure was greater for nonintimate than intimate disclosures, and that intimacy increased with time, supported the wedge model of disclosure.

Chaikin and Derlega (1974b) argue that, though typical, the wedge model is by no means the only common pattern for the development of self-disclosure in a relationship. They use the example of a summer romance, in which breadth is approximately the same at every level of disclosure, as an alternate possibility. In this case two lovers might disclose equally in intimate and nonintimate areas due to temporal constraints.

Sidney Jourard (1964), perhaps the earliest and most influential self-disclosure researcher, considered self-disclosure to be one of the most important human behaviors. Jourard saw the choice of disclosure or nondisclosure to be an almost constant issue in social interactions. A particularly salient variable issue is trust. Jourard reflected that persons are often skeptical of disclosure. This is particularly true when one suspects manipulation or ingratiation by the other party. This lack of trust and the desire for safety from others are prime motivators

for our attempts to hide feelings and leads to either non-disclosure or to misleading disclosures.

Self-concealment contributes to our difficulty in determining the motives and predicting the behaviors of others. This vicious circle of mistrust and nondisclosure creates ambiguity which a manipulative, ingratiating person may use to his/her advantage. The ingratiator or manipulator may press this advantage by making misleading disclosures and/or disclosures designed to curry favor. As Jourard (1964) stated, "Man perhaps alone of all living forms, is capable of being one thing, and seeming from his talk and actions, being something else" (p. 3).

Jourard (1964) felt that the inaccurate image persons often project to others is a ploy that is overlearned early in life. Many people are reinforced in early childhood for censoring disclosures and projecting an image assumed to please others. Jourard referred to this behavior as the selling of the self for popularity, promotion, and social advantage.

Self-disclosure is an especially important behavior to the social scientist. As Jourard (1964) reflected, "Much of social science is founded on a persons willingness to reveal himself to researchers" (p. 3). Thus, the dynamics and conditions of self-disclosure have a direct bearing on the validity of much psychological research.

Self-Disclosure Reciprocity

The reciprocity of self-disclosure is one of the most reliable findings in social psychology. According to Archer (1979), "without question the most frequently demonstrated determinant of disclosure is disclosure itself" (p. 46). This reciprocity is not, as was once proposed, a function of attraction for the conversation partner, but rather the perceived cost of the reciprocation (as well as other factors) (Altman, 1973). Numerous investigators (e.g., Chaikin & Derlega, 1974a; Derlega, Harris, & Chaikin, 1973; Goffman, 1963) have found "normative demands of reciprocity" to be the most important determinants of self-disclosure in early interactions. Even if a conversation partner is judged to be unattractive or inappropriate, one is still given unattractive attributes by the bystander if one does not reciprocate self-disclosure.

Such findings are counterbalanced by others which indicate that reciprocity may not be forthcoming in instances where the subject sees the potential cost of reciprocity as too great. Kleinke (1979) discussed the importance of attribution in the reciprocity of disclosure. He stated that the attribution of ulterior motives to one's conversation partner may cause reciprocity to break down. Two investigators have demonstrated that in situations where high potential costs are perceived, such as women disclosing to men (Certner, 1971) and blacks disclosing to

whites (Chaikin & Derlega, 1974b) reciprocity typically fails to occur. It appears that when trust is lacking, reciprocity of self-disclosure serves as a boundary setting devise.

Archer (1979) presents a study conducted by Ehrlich and Graeven (1971) as the archetypal disclosure reciprocity experiment. According to Archer the laboratory experiment is characterized as:

> Typically the subject is in a disclosure exchange situation ostensibly to study conversation, acquaintanceship, or first impressions. The subjects' partner is an experimental confederate who starts the exchange by making either a high or low intimacy disclosure from memory or a script. The subjects' own disclosure after listening to the confederates is the dependent variable. Measures of attraction and of formation of impressions are also frequently obtained. The results of this manipulation are as robust and reliable as any found in social psychology literature. Subjects disclose more intimately after hearing an intimate confederate. (p. 49)

Three separate theories have been offered as explanations for the disclosure reciprocity effect. The first and oldest theory is the trust-attraction hypothesis (Jourard, 1959). The basic assumption of this hypothesis is that intimate disclosure causes the receiver to feel

trusted. This sign of trust, in turn causes the receiver to like and trust the discloser. The receiver is therefore willing to reciprocate disclosure. Empirical research investigating the trust-attraction hypothesis has yielded both supporting and nonsupporting results: however, according to Archer (1979) a definitive experiment has dismissed this theory as an explanation of disclosure reciprocity.

The experiment which established that attraction was not necessary for disclosure reciprocation was conducted by Derlega et al. (1973). In this study a female subject was paired with a nondeviant high discloser, a deviant high discloser, or a nondeviant low discloser. The deviant high discloser revealed a homosexual love interest, as opposed to a heterosexual love interest revealed in the nondeviant disclosure condition. Results indicate that although the confederate in the deviant high disclosure condition was liked less than the confederate in the other two conditions; disclosers received greater disclosure from their partner than confederates in the low disclosure condition.

A second theory, the social exchange hypothesis, is based on the assumption that receiving self-disclosure serves as a reward. The recipient of this reward feels that he/she is obligated to return self-disclosure to restore equity to the social situation (Worthy, Gary, & Rahn, 1969). Adherents to this theory feel that one is

uncomfortable in most social situations where one's conversation partner is contributing much more or much less disclosure.

In an attempt to empirically verify the social exchange theory Chaikin and Derlega (1974c) had observer subjects rate the appropriateness of two characters in a written script. The experimenters found that the character who reciprocated his conversation partners' level of self-disclosure was seen as most appropriate. Archer (1979) cautions that this finding only provides tentative support for the social exchange theory because research (i.e., Chaikin & Derlega, 1974a) has shown that:

> A show of sympathy or concern after hearing an unpleasant disclosure was preferred to any reciprocating disclosure of personal information and was considered more appropriate. (p. 50)

This finding demonstrates that disclosure reciprocation is not always considered the most appropriate response.

The most recent theory developed to explain the reciprocity of disclosure is the modeling hypothesis. This hypothesis is based upon the vicarious reinforcement and imitation components of Bandura's (1977) social learning theory. Proponents of this hypothesis hold that when in an ambiguous situation, such as an experiment, subjects, in their attempt to be good subjects, look to the confederate

for behaviors to imitate. Some proponents of this stance have gone so far as to claim that self-disclosure reciprocity is merely an artifact of the laboratory.

The modeling hypothesis has found little empirical support. Several researchers (Simonson & Bahr, 1974; Thase & Page, 1977) have demonstrated that disclosure reciprocity takes place outside the laboratory, especially in ambiguous situations.

In analyzing the current status of the three hypotheses Archer (1979) considers the social exchange hypothesis to be the best supported. He considers the modeling hypothesis to be under heavy attack, though not totally refuted. Archer believes the trust-attraction hypothesis to be virtually disconfirmed. He adds that the relative current status of these hypotheses does not mean that any or all of them do not act to produce reciprocity in some situations.

Self-disclosure reciprocity appears to be the norm in early stages of relationships or in relatively superficial relationships. Morton (1978) in investigating disclosure patterns between spouses found that, because of the longevity of the relationship and supposed trust in eventual parity of disclosures, intimates are much less likely to be on a quid pro quo basis than are disclosers in less intimate relationships.

Evaluation of the Self-Discloser

Numerous researchers have demonstrated that people typically find those who engage in moderate self-disclosure more attractive than those who are either low or high disclosers (Kleinke, 1979). Cozby (1972) asked female subjects to rate the likability, honesty, and intelligence of an experimental confederate as a function of her level of disclosure. The high discloser was given the least positive attributes, while the moderate discloser was given the most. The low disclosing stimulus person was rated between the two extremes.

A major factor in the evaluation of a discloser is his/her appropriateness. Numerous studies have investigated the influence of several factors upon the attribution of appropriateness to disclosers. Chaikin and Derlega (1974c) asked subjects to evaluate a female confederate who disclosed personal information to a friend, an acquaintance, or a stranger. It was found that the more intimate the relationship the more likely disclosure was judged to be appropriate. In a second part of this study it was found that disclosure was considered most appropriate when it was targeted at a member of one's own age group rather than one much older or much younger.

Derlega and Grzelak (1979) analyzed the appropriateness of self-disclosure using two approaches. The functional approach encompasses situations in which both the

discloser and the disclosure target see the disclosure as being instrumental to the satisfaction of some goal. A second approach is the normative, in which the social norms inherent in a particular situation encourage self-disclosure. Within these two frameworks disclosure can serve several functions (Derlega & Grzelak, 1979) including: (a) expression in which an individual communicates feelings or attitudes, (b) self-clarification which occurs when one discloses to make one's position clear, (c) social validation which is apparent when feedback from others reinforces one's social position, (d) relationship development occurs when one uses disclosure to become more intimate with another, and (e) social control is the motive of disclosure when one uses disclosure to control or manipulate others. These functions of disclosure are a component of the judgment one makes regarding the appropriateness of a disclosure. A discloser is considered appropriate if his/her disclosure fulfills its function.

A second determinant of disclosure appropriateness is the type of relationship extant between the discloser and the disclosure target (Brundage, Derlega, & Cash, 1977). According to these researchers, observers consider the discloser more appropriate if he/she discloses to a target with whom he/she wishes to form a relationship, or discloses to a current intimate.

In early ambiguous stages of social penetration one assesses the discloser and determines how to return that disclosure (Taylor, 1979). According to Taylor one analyzes the cost/benefits ratio and then makes a forecast regarding how returning disclosure will affect this ratio. Upon completing this evaluation the disclosure target is likely to use this ratio in predicting the future course of the relationship between him/her and the discloser. This extrapolation is "essentially a projected guess about what the quality of interaction or experience will be at a more intimate level of exchange in the future" (p. 116). In the Taylor model this evaluation, in turn, leads to a decision. A decision which reflects a negative prediction about the future of the relationship yields low disclosure or nondisclosure. Conversely, a positive decision yields a higher level of disclosure which should serve to foster a potential relationship. The evaluative component which affects this decision consists primarily of the memory of past situations, similar to the one at hand, and their reinforcement value.

Taylor stresses that as a relationship proceeds, one revises his/her forecast of the relationship. In light of new data one reanalyzes the cost/benefits ratio and then decides whether the relationship is worth continued pursuit. This continued pursuit is often in the form of more intimate

self-disclosures which should result in a more intimate relationship. A negative reanalysis is likely to cause the relationship to be terminated.

According to Taylor the motivation for self-disclosure seems to depend upon the stage of an interpersonal relationship. Taylor states that in early phases disclosure occurs primarily as a function of similarity, biography, and propinquity. In later phases of a relationship, continued self-disclosure is more likely to result from compatibility which is based on personal similarities that have been discovered through earlier disclosures.

Taylor's (1968) investigation of disclosure patterns between homogeneous pairs of either low or high disclosing roommates examined the development of their relationships. These pairs, who were strangers at the beginning of the study, were interviewed and given self-disclosure measures five times during a thirteen week period. Both high and low disclosers adjusted their rates and level of disclosure to accomodate their partners. Taylor argued that this accomodation was an example of interpersonal tuning designed to improve compatibility. Taylor goes on to cite evidence which indicates that individuals who disclose much more or much less than their usual pattern often experience interpersonal difficulties.

Taylor (1979) states that a major assumption in the attributional analysis of self-disclosure is that

disclosure recipients typically assign attributes of the disclosers that will lead them to trust and like the disclosers. This trust and liking both increase the probability that reciprocation of disclosure will occur. In his review Taylor cites evidence which indicates that nondisclosing individuals are typically viewed as unlikeable, threatening and untrustworthy, when compared to disclosing and disclosure reciprocating individuals.

Ingratiation

Ingratiation is an important social device. Indeed, this tactic for smoothing social interactions is so salient to interpersonal relations that one author refers to ingratiation as being an overlearned, unconscious reaction on the part of some persons to a dependency situation (Jones & Wortman, 1973). The ingratiator (sometimes referred to as "P" in the literature) may be defined as one who manipulates social interactions to gain attraction that will be instrumental to him/her at some future date. It has been demonstrated that when the target of ingratiation (sometimes referred to as "O" in the literature) or the observer of ingratiation detects this manipulative intent, ingratiation backfires yielding a negative view of P (Lowe & Goldstein, 1970).

Several studies have investigated the behavior of those subjects instructed to ingratiate. It has been found that one instructed to ingratiate may: (a) present himself

in a positive light (Pellegrini, Hicks, & Myers-Winton, 1978), (b) often engage in greater self-disclosure (Pellegrini et al., 1978), (c) attempt to conform to O's behavior on numerous dimensions (Schneider & Eustis, 1972), particularly to O's expressed opinions (Jones, Gergen, Gempert, & Thaibut, 1965), (d) attempt to enhance O (Jones & Wortman, 1973), and (e) make longer utterances than control groups (Rosenfeld, 1966). Kleinke (1975) has investigated the use of increased immediacy as an ingratiation tactic. This increased immediacy was achieved via the use of O's name in conversation (as recommended by Dale Carnegie).

In the natural environment, ingratiation consists of an admixture of these and other elements. True ingratiation can occur only in a situation in which P is dependent upon O. Jones and Wortman (1973) have stated that dependency is by definition a necessary condition for ingratiation.

Goffman (1963) states that an implicit contract exists in interpersonal communication; that is, each party will assist the other in maintaining face. Jones and Wortman (1973) call this social phenonenon "facework" or activities which smooth over social situations and potential threats to prestige. The ingratiator is one who exploits this contract to achieve some future end beneficial to him/her. One characteristic common to one wishing to achieve this end skillfully is that he/she behaves in an

inoffensive, nonchallenging manner. The difference in the temporal perspective of the ingratiator is a second characteristic discussed by Jones & Wortman (1973). Rather than focusing upon the present interaction the ingratiator is focused upon future favors that may be bestowed by the ingratiation target. Therefore, one of the major goals of the ingratiator is to use an interaction to gain attraction useful at a later date.

A third characteristic of the ingratiator is that he/she has less power, in the ingratiation situation, than does the ingratiation target (Jones, 1965). The ingratiator is one attempting to gain clout in a relationship by becoming more attractive to the more powerful ingratiation target. If the ingratiator becomes attractive to the ingratiation target he/she will presumably be likely to receive fewer negative outcomes and more likely to receive positive outcomes from the ingratiation target. According to Jones this constitutes an increase in power for the ingratiator.

Jones and Wortman (1973) discuss several attributions the ingratiation target may give the ingratiator. The first is the attribution of manipulative intentions. This will cause the ingratiation attempt to backfire leaving the ingratiation target with a less positive opinion of the ingratiator than before the attempt. A second attribution the ingratiation target may make is that the

ingratiator is always making positive, flattering comments to others. In such a case the ingratiation target is not likely to take the flattery seriously or personally. O is likely to consider flattery to be a mere verbal mannerism of the ingratiator. In this case the ingratiation attempt is likely to have little effect on the interaction.

A third attribution the ingratiation target may make is that the situation in which the target and the ingratiator found themselves served as a stimulus for the positive comments; thus, the positive comments would be considered normative. This interaction could be considered "routine facework" by the ingratiation target. In this instance too, the ingratiation attempt is likely to have little effect.

A fourth attribution the ingratiation target may make is that the ingratiator is being dishonest but with benign motivation. The phrases "just being nice" or "trying not to hurt my feelings" are typical cognitions when this attribution is made. This attribution may result in slightly increased attraction for the ingratiator.

The fifth attributional set, discussed by Jones and Wortman (1973), is the belief by O that the ingratiator is sincere in his/her flattering behavior. This is the goal of the ingratiator because it leads to increased attraction.

The Effective Ingratiator

According to Jones and Wortman (1973), to be effective as an ingratiation technique, self-disclosure must convey to the ingratiation target the impression that the ingratiator likes and trusts him. This disclosure should also appear personalistic. If the ingratiation target decides that P is responding to the situation, rather than to the person, attraction for P will not be increased.

Jones and Wortman (1973) also admonish that in giving compliments to the ingratiation target the ingratiator should strive to keep the former from feeling uncomfortable. This end may be effected by complimenting O individually rather than in a group and by keeping compliments specific and discerning.

Jones and Wortman's (1973) review further states that if the ingratiator does favors as an ingratiation technique he/she should avoid circumstances where such favor would seem inappropriate. The ingratiator may also choose to present himself in a light that he/she thinks will attract the ingratiation target. However, such presentation must avoid being labeled as an attempt to impress the ingratiation target. One further tactic often employed by the effective ingratiator is opinion conformity. Agreeing with a target of ingratiation is a frequent ploy to increase one's attractiveness. Jones, Jones and Gergen (1963), however,

cite evidence that under some circumstances it is best for the ingratiator to avoid servile conformity.

Motivational Bases for Ingratiation

In their review of ingratiation literature Jones and Wortman (1973) discuss five factors that may serve to motivate the potential ingratiator or to mediate his/her behavior. The first factor is the incentive based determinants which act on the ingratiator. Basically, the potential ingratiator should believe that ingratiating behavior will yield positive consequences. The question asked is what is the nature of the reward? The second factor is the incentive magnitude. In this phase of cognition the ingratiator weighs the potential costs and risks of ingratiation against the potential magnitude of the reward.

A third factor mediating the ingratiation situation is the uniqueness of the ingratiation target. The consideration here is whether one other than the present target could satisfy the goals of the ingratiator. If other potential targets are more amenable to ingratiation the ingratiator may well approach another, rather than the present target, with his ingratiation attempts. A fourth consideration of the ingratiator is whether his chances of reaching a desired outcome are high enough to justify expending the energy necessary to ingratiate. A final factor considered is the perceived legitimacy of ingratiation. Numerous potential

ingratiators consider the ethics of using a situation to gain instrumental attraction before acting.

Attribution

Social attribution is the inference of particular qualities, characteristics, or motivations to an observed person, based on incomplete data (Mischel & Mischel, 1980). Attribution is a subclass of social inference, which is a subclass of the category social cognition, or how we know and understand social stimuli.

According to Wyer and Carlston (1979) research on attribution has focused on either the individual's attribution for his own behavior or on the external judges attribution for an observed individual's behavior. Wyer and Carlston reflect that attribution researchers have also considered two types of attributional judgments. The first is trait attribution, which is an inference based on the characteristics of the observed person and on the situation. The second type is causal, which is "an inference of the extent to which these characteristics are responsible for the actor's behavior" (p. 17). Evidence suggests that when observing the behavior of the individual, the external judge frequently attributes internal traits to be causal of that individuals behavior (Ross, 1977). The external judge is likely not only to assign such attributes to the observed but also to generalize them to other characteristics of the observed (Wyer & Carlston, 1979). Thus those who attribute a positive characteristic such as

handsomeness to an observed individual are also likely to attribute other positive characteristics such as intelligence to that individual.

Attraction

Interpersonal attraction has been defined as a positive attitude toward another individual (Berscheid & Walster, 1978). According to Berscheid and Walster's review, there exist numerous operational definitions of attraction as well as numerous methods of measuring this construct. Such measures as paper and pencil scales, favor doing, physical distance, and eye contact have all been investigated as measures of attraction. Probably the most thoroughly validated and researched attraction scale was produced by Byrne (1971).

The most widely accepted theoretical explanation of interpersonal attraction is the reinforcement-affect model (Byrne & Clore, 1970). The thesis of this model is that we like or dislike others based on the feelings that we associate with them.

The Byrne-Clore Reinforcement model (1970) presents one of the most succinct expositions of the reinforcement-affect approach. Byrne and Clore state that the following principles form the basis of their model: (a) most stimuli are either rewarding, eliciting our approach, or punishing, eliciting our avoidance, (b) rewarding stimuli elicit positive affect while punishing stimuli elicit negative affect, (c) we evaluate stimuli depending on the feelings they

arouse and the strength of this arousal reflects the magnitude of our positive or negative arousal, and (d) through association with a positive or negative stimulus any neutral stimulus will take on a positive or negative valence.

Berscheid and Walster (1978) sum up the above principles in the statement, "we like people who reward us and we dislike people who punish us" (p. 27). This statement based on the principles of Byrne and Clore (1970) may be expanded to: we like those whose behavior and characteristics are associated with reward and we dislike those whose behavior and characteristics are associated with punishment. Thus, those who exhibit a trait typically associated with negative affect or negative consequences, such as gullibility, may be found unattractive by the observer. Though the above model is generally accepted (Berscheid & Walster, 1978) we are, in many cases, still not able to accurately predict attraction because we have no method to catalog all the rewards a person may be able to provide another.

According to many sources which advise on improving interpersonal attraction, one who wishes to be attractive should first indicate that he/she likes the one they wish to attract (Berscheid & Walster, 1978). This ploy assumes that reciprocity-of-liking is the rule. Numerous researchers have presented evidence which indicates that the

reciprocity-of-liking rule is indeed the norm in most situations (Newcomb, 1961). Most people like those they believe like them.

However, there exist several notable exceptions to the reciprocity-of-liking rule; meaning that those we like or love do not always reciprocate. According to Deutsch and Soloman (1959), one such exception is the individual with very low self-esteem. Such an individual is unlikely to reciprocate liking because they feel suspicious of anyone who would like one he/she consider unlikable. To paraphrase Groucho Marx, they wouldn't join any club that would have them as a member. A second exception is presented by occasions in which we feel others are inaccurate in their evaluation of us, thus liking us for characteristics we do not have (Howard & Berkowitz, 1958). We feel we are being liked for the wrong reasons and may doubt the intelligence or motives of the one who likes us. A third exception to the reciprocity-of-liking rule is present in situations in which we feel that another is pretending to like us because of ulterior motives; that is, he is ingratiating. Flattering behavior is discounted when we feel that we are being manipulated (Jones, 1964).

Self-Disclosure in the Ingratiation Situation

Self-disclosure and disclosure reciprocity are especially important in the ingratiation situation. These phenomona are related in numerous ways, the most important

follow: (a) self-disclosure can elicit the attribution of attractive characteristics because the target of self-disclosure typically assumes that he is trusted and liked (Derlega et al., 1973), (b) one seeking attraction will return the ingratiation target's level of self-disclosure reliably (Schneider & Eustis, 1972), (c) P may disclose that he has values similar to O in order to curry favor (Archer, 1979; Schneider & Eustis, 1972), (d) P has been shown to make more positive disclosures than controls (Archer, 1979; Schneider & Eustis, 1972), (e) attribution of motive is important in evaluating a discloser (Jones & Wortman, 1973), (f) according to Jones (1964), the more dependent P is on O the more likely P's disclosure will be interpreted as ingratiation and the more likely is ingratiation to backfire, and (g) the more P discloses the more likely his behavior is to be viewed negatively (Jones & Wortman, 1973).

Investigation of the bystander's perception of O as a function of O's disclosure or nondisclosure in response to P's disclosure or nondisclosure has not been attempted in any previous literature. This perspective is important for the following reasons: (a) ingratiation is a common social phenomenon, (b) ingratiation often occurs in the presence of a bystander (Olszewski-Kondratowicz. 1976), and (c) the bystander is part of the social milieu of both P and O. Thus the bystander's opinion of either person may have

consequences for that person in later interactions, (d) since the bystander is not the object of the ingratiation he/she has *no* stake in believing P's enhancement of O and is therefore more objective (Jones, 1963), and (e) according to Jones (1963), O is more likely than the bystander to be engaged in social behaviors such as returning compliments and thus will be less able to observe and judge P's behavior and his/her own behavior. Indeed, suggestive evidence has been found that bystanders are more negative in their evaluation of P than is O (Jones et al., 1963).

Statement of the Problem

This study examined the bystander's perception of O as a function of O's disclosure or nondisclosure in response to P's disclosure or nondisclosure. This phenomenon was investigated in the ingratiation situation as well as in a situation which did not involve ingratiation. Based on the information presented thus far, it was suggested that ingratiation would be seen as a situational factor which negated the norm of self-disclosure reciprocity because the situation would be viewed as one in which high risk is involved for O. Manipulative intent was attributed to P thus making the potential cost of disclosing to him appear high. Therefore it was predicted that the bystander would give O more attractive attributes when O did not return the disclosure that would normally be appropriate. It was posited that returning self-disclosure would appear tantamount to O being gullible and dependent (Schneider & Eustis, 1972). It was predicted that this effect would be enhanced when O's nondisclosure was contrasted to P's disclosure. It was also predicted that the ingratiation situation would enhance the contrast between the behavior of P and O thus enhancing O's attractiveness.

The current study proposed to test the relationship that were posited above. Although several published

research works should seem to support elements of these posited relationships to date, no others have tested them. It was suggested that this represented a significant gap in knowledge regarding the interrelation of self-disclosure, ingratiation, and attribution. The present study proposed to narrow this gap. The present study, though similar to the pilot study (Appendix J), included several methodological changes which should have substantially improved control over extraneous variables.

The first change was the topic in the high self-disclosure condition; rather than discussing infidelity the two characters discussed jealousy. Interviews indicated that female subjects may give persons who discuss infidelity more negative attributes than do males. A second change was the equivalence of the actors in the stimulus topic. Each actor would for each cell, play first one character then reverse roles with the other actor. This tactic counterbalanced any unique effect contributed by the actors. The third substantial change was that subanalyses were conducted to determine whether sex and race effect the dependent variables. Finally, two new subscales measuring confidence and intelligence were added. Pilot data indicate that these variables discriminate between independent variable levels.

Hypotheses

1. A main effect for O's self-disclosure was hypothesized. It was predicted that subjects would give O more attractive attributes, including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence, when O was nondisclosing. This was predicted because O would not seem as gullible or dependent when nondisclosing as he would when he responded to an obvious ingratiator with self-disclosure. The attribution of guillibility and dependency were predicted to generalize to other attributes yielding a less favorable evaluation of O.

2. A main effect for P's self-disclosure was hypothesized. It was predicted that subjects would give O more attractive attributes, including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence, when P was disclosing rather than nondisclosing. This relationship was predicted because it was posited that there would be greater contrast between O's behavior, in terms of positive/negative valance, and P's. P is given more negative attributes when he is disclosing (Jones & Wortman, 1973) thus providing greater contrast with O.

3. An interaction effect was predicted for P's self-disclosure and O's self-disclosure. It was predicted that O would give the most attractive attributes including those of attractiveness, independence, competence,

intelligence, and confidence when he was nondisclosing to P's self-disclosure rather than reciprocating P's level of self-disclosure or disclosing to P's nondisclosure. This relationship was predicted from the interaction of the two effects discussed previously. It was predicted that O would seem the most attractive and the least gullible and dependent when his nondisclosure was contrasted with P's disclosure.

4. A main effect for ingratiation was predicted. It was predicted that O would be given the most attractive attributes, including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence when he was in the ingratiation situation. This relationship was predicted because it was posited that the ingratiation situation would create a greater contrast between the behavior of P and O thus making O appear to have more positive attributes.

Method

Subjects

The subjects in this study were 80 undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses at the University of Alabama. Course extra credit was awarded to those who are enrolled in courses where this incentive is available.

Design and Data Analysis

The present study employed a multivariate analysis of variance format with a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design. Disclosure and nondisclosure levels was presented for both P and O in both the ingratiation and the noningratiation situation (Appendix B). Subjects exposed to one of the eight combinations of the three independent variables were then requested to complete a 33-item questionnaire consisting of the dependent variables: attraction, independence, competence, intelligence, confidence, and checks on manipulation of the independent variables (Appendix C). Both race and sex were treated to subanalyses to determine whether either of these variables effect the dependent variables.

Duncan's (1955) multiple comparison procedure was used to perform pairwise comparisons among means in this factorial design. According to Hummel and Sligo (1971) this procedure involves ranking means to be compared in order of their size when computing a critical difference which must be exceeded for a particular comparison to be significant.

Stimulus Materials

The stimulus for the present study consisted of eight audiotapes which presented two actors readings from scripts prepared by the author (Appendices D, E, F, and G). The level of self-disclosure intimacy manipulation was effected by adaptation of Jourard's (1971) intimacy scaled topics. The nondisclosure manipulation presented discussion of sports or of reflection to the discloser. The disclosure conditions presented a discussion of problems in an intimate relationship. Topics were matched for P and O when in corresponding conditions. For example, each discussed relationship problems in those conditions in which he is a discloser. Length of statement and number of statements was approximately equivalent for P and O.

Two techniques were used to achieve the ingratiation manipulation. The essential manipulation consisted of the cover story under which a tape was presented (Appendix H). In the ingratiation conditions the tape

was presented as a conversation between Pete (P) and Oliver (O), two students who live in the same dormitory. It was revealed that Pete has approached Oliver in order to borrow money thus establishing P's dependency. In the noningratiation conditions the tape was introduced as an attempt by Pete to get to know Oliver better.

Within the context of dependency/ingratiation a second manipulation was activated. This manipulation consisted of P using O's name five times, conforming to all of O's opinions, and complimenting O twice. These same ingratiation techniques were present in all conditions but were perceived as ingratiation only in a situation in which O is dependent on his conversation partner (Jones & Wortman, 1973). The scripts for equivalent disclosure levels were identical in both the ingratiation and noningratiation conditions. Thus ingratiation was held constant across conditions.

Dependent Measures

The questionnaire for this study consisted of the following measures for O: (a) a 5-item attraction subscale based upon Byrne's Interpersonal Judgment Scale (1971), (b) a 3-item subscale measuring the self-disclosure manipulation, (c) a 3-item independence subscale, (d) a 3-item competence subscale, (e) a 3-item intelligence subscale, and (f) a 3-item confidence subscale. The subjects were also asked to rate P's disclosure and

ingratiation to check those manipulations. Two 3-item scales were included so that subjects could rate both the credibility of P's monetary request and the general credibility of the conversation.

Procedures

During recruitment it was announced that students were invited to participate in a study of "person perception." The study was further described as a brief experiment which involves listening to a two minute tape and completing a questionnaire.

The subjects were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions; within each cell five subjects listened to the tape featuring the actors playing their original role then the other five heard a tape in which the actors reversed roles. Subjects were run in groups of approximately five. At the beginning of each session subjects were told that they were to be participants in a study of "person perception" and then received the appropriate cover story regarding the tape. Written instructions attached to the data sheet differentiated P from O by speaking order and, in the appropriate conditions, need for money to assist subjects in distinguishing between the two conversants (Appendix I). A Tracs audiotape was presented on a General Electric cassette tape player. Following presentation of the tape the questionnaires were distributed with instructions to rate them based on the tape presented.

When all the questionnaires were collected the subjects were debriefed, given an opporunity to ask questions, and interviewed.

Results

Method of Analysis

The subjects' ratings of the ingratiation target and the ingratiator were analyzed by the procedure recommended by Hummel and Sligo (1971). This procedure was utilized for all analyses. The procedure involves performing an overall MANOVA test before interpreting univariate tests which are significant.

Manipulation Checks

Two separate MANOVA tests followed by univariate analysis were performed to assess the efficacy of the independent variable manipulations. The subjects perceived P as being significantly more self-disclosing in his self-disclosure conditions than in his nonself-disclosure conditions, Wilks' lambda =.456, $F(5, 68) = 16.21$, $p < ,00001$; univariate $F(5, 68) = 33.71$, $p < .0001$ (Tables 1 & 2). The subjects viewed O as significantly more self-disclosing in his self-disclosure conditions than in his nonself-disclosure conditions, Wilks' lambda = .489, $F(5, 68) = 14.2$, $p < .00001$; univariate $F(5, 68) = 61.00$, $p < .00001$ (Tables 1 & 3). P was viewed as being significantly more ingratiating in ingratiation conditions than noningratiation

Table 1

MANOVA Results of the Analyses Testing the Effects of the Three Independent Variables on the Five Major Dependent and the Manipulation Checks

Source	Wilks' lambda	F(5, 68)	p
(First Group of 5 Variables)			
P's Disclosure	.656	7.14	.0001
O's Disclosure	.489	14.21	.00001
Ingratiation	.948	.74	.5970
P's Disclosure x O's Disclosure	.716	5.39	.0005
P's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.827	2.83	.0217
O's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.884	1.79	.1255
P's Disclosure x O's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.948	.75	.5980
(Second Group of 5 Variables)			
P's Disclosure	.456	16.21	.00001
O's Disclosure	.832	2.74	.0254
Ingratiation	.728	5.08	.0007
P's Disclosure x O's Disclosure	.694	5.98	.0003
P's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.984	.227	.9481
O's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.967	.463	.8041
P's Disclosure x O's Disclosure x Ingratiation	.958	.600	.7027

Table 2

Means and Univariate Results for Dependent Variables Following MANOVA of P's Disclosure

Subscale	Nondisclosure Means	Disclosure Means	$F(5, 68)$	p
Attraction	35.55	27.77	6.47	.0125
O's Self-Disclosure	36.42	30.55	7.90	.0064
Dependence	21.42	30.47	18.75	.0002
Competence	1.47	.82	9.08	.0039
Intelligence	19.72	13.15	9.88	.0028
Confidence	26.62	12.62	55.38	.00001
P's Self-Disclosure	31.95	18.87	33.71	.00001
P's Ingratiation	16.10	17.70	.46	.5032

Table 3

Means and Univariate Results for Dependent Variables Following MANOVA for Ingratiation

Subscale	Means		F(5, 68)	p
	Ingratiation	Noningratiation		
Attraction	31.92	31.40	.02	.8583
O's Self-Disclosure	31.80	35.17	2.60	.1068
Dependence	25.87	26.02	.00	.9412
Competence	1.12	1.17	.05	.8123
Intelligence	16.75	16.12	.08	.7635
Confidence	20.07	19.17	.22	.6392
P's Self-Disclosure	25.07	25.75	.08	.7629
Ingratiation	13.55	20.25	8.20	.0056

conditions, Wilks' lambda = 728, $F(5, 68) = 8.20$, $p < .005$; univariate $F(5, 68) = 8.20$, $p < .005$ (Tables 1 & 2).

Credibility

In order to assess the credibility of the monetary request of the ingratiator and the credibility of the conversation, the subjects' ratings on both subscales were averaged independently. These averages were then divided by the number of items in each subscale (three) so that average could then be compared to the original 1-15 rating scale. Subjects rated P's monetary request highly credible, mean = 2.44. Subjects also rated the conversation highly credible, mean = 2.78.

Demographic Variable Subanalysis

Two separate MANOVA tests were performed to assess the effects of race and sex upon the independent variables and manipulation checks. The effect of race was not significant, yielding Wilks' lambda = .929, $F(1, 28) = .368$. The effect of sex yielded Wilks' lambda = .919, $F(1, 28) = .423$, also a nonsignificant effect.

P's Self-Disclosure

Two three-way MANOVA tests were run to test the effects of the three independent variables upon the five major dependent variables (Table 1). These analyses were followed by univariate analysis for each significant source of variance. The effect of P's self-disclosure yielded

Wilks' lambda = .656, $F(5, 68) = 7.14$, $p < .0001$ upon analysis of the first four major dependent variable subscales, and Wilks' lambda = .456, $F(5, 68) = 16.21$, $p < .00001$ for the fifth major dependent variable subscale. Univariate analysis of the subscales revealed that all were significant (Table 2). Based on these analyses it may be concluded that: (a) O is seen as being more attractive when P is self-disclosing, (b) O is seen as more independent when P is self-disclosing, (c) O is seen as more competent when P is self-disclosing, (d) O is seen as more intelligent when P is self-disclosing, and (e) O is seen as more confident when P is self-disclosing. These findings are consonant with those of the pilot study, although more subscales were found to have been significantly affected by the independent variable in the present study.

O's Self-Disclosure

Following the same MANOVA procedure discussed in the previous section the effect of O's self-disclosure was assessed. The effect of O's self-disclosure yielded Wilks' lambda = .489, $F(5, 68) = 14.21$, $p < .00001$ upon analysis of the first four major dependent variable subscales, and Wilks' lambda = .832, $F(5, 68) = 2.74$, $p < .0254$ on the fifth subscale (confidence) (Table 1). Univariate analysis of the subscales revealed that two were significant (Table 4). Based upon these analysis it may be concluded that: (a) O is seen as being more dependent when self-disclosing, and (b) O is seen

Table 4

Means and Univariate Results for Dependent Variables Following MANOVA of O's Disclosure

Subscale	Nondisclosure Means	Disclosure Means	$F(5, 68)$	p
Attraction	32.42	30.90	.24	.6250
O's Self-Disclosure	41.65	25.32	61.00	.00001
Dependence	29.12	22.77	9.23	.0036
Competence	1.07	1.22	.48	.5039
Intelligence	16.05	16.82	.14	.7132
Confidence	16.40	22.85	11.75	.0014
P's Self-Disclosure	24.70	26.12	.40	.5359
P's Ingratiation	17.50	16.30	.26	.6157

as being less confident when he is disclosing. These findings are also consonant with those of the pilot study.

P's Self-Disclosure x O's Self-Disclosure

Using the previously described MANOVA procedure the interaction of P and O's self-disclosure yielded Wilks' lambda = .716, $F(5, 68) = 5.39$, $p < .0005$ upon analsis of the first four major dependent variable subscales, and Wilks' lambda = .698, $F(5, 68) = 5.98$, $p < .0003$ upon the fifth dependent variable (Table 1). Univariate analysis of the subscales revealed that four were significant (Table 5).

Based upon analysis of the dependency subscale it may be concluded that: (a) O is viewed as most dependent when he discloses to P's nondisclosure, is seen as moderately dependent when he is nondisclosing to either P's disclosure or nondisclosure, and is seen as least dependent when he is disclosing to O's disclosure, (b) analysis of the competency subscale revealed that: O is seen as most competent when he returns P's self-disclosure, is viewed as moderately competent when nondisclosing to either disclosure or nondisclosure, and is seen as least competent when disclosing to P's nondisclosure, (c) analysis of the intelligence subscale revealed that: O is seen as most intelligent when reciprocating disclosure, is seen as moderately intelligent when he is nondisclosing to P's

Table 5

Means and Univariate Results for Dependent Variables Following MANOVA for P's Self-Disclosure x O's Self-Disclosure

Subscale	Means	Means		$F(5, 68)$	p
		Ingratiation	Non-Ingratiation		
	P's Disclosure				
	Nondisclosure				
Attraction		29.75 35.10	25.80 36.00	.63	.5643
O's Self-Disclosure		35.70 47.60	25.40 25.25	8.30	.0054
Dependence		29.75 28.50	31.20 14.35	13.93	.0007
Competence		1.00 1.15	.65 1.80	5.37	.0219
Intelligence		15.05 17.05	11.25 27.40	4.78	.0300
Confidence		13.15 19.65	12.10 33.60	15.89	.0004
P's Self-Disclosure		19.80 29.60	17.95 34.30	2.11	.1465
Ingratiation		21.15 13.85	14.25 18.35	5.93	.0164

disclosure or nondisclosure, and is viewed as least intelligent when returning disclosure for nondisclosure, and (d) analysis of the confidence subscale revealed that: O is seen as most confident when he is returning P's disclosure, is seen as moderately confident when he is nondisclosing to either P's disclosure or nondisclosure and is viewed as least confident when disclosing to P's nondisclosure. These findings are consonant with those of the pilot study, although more effects on univariate subscales were significant in the present study than in the pilot study.

P's Self-Disclosure x Ingratiation

Using the previously described MANOVA procedure the interaction of P's self-disclosure and ingratiation yielded Wilks' lambda = .827, $F(5, 68) = 2.83$, $p < .0217$ upon an-analysis of the first four major dependent variable subscales, and Wilks' lambda = .984, $F(5, 68) = .22$, which is not significant, upon the fifth dependent variable (Table 1). Univariate analysis of the subscales revealed that one was significant (Table 6). Based upon analysis of the attraction subscale it may be concluded that: O is seen as most attractive when P is disclosing in the noningratiation condition, O is seen as moderately attractive whether P is disclosing or nondisclosing in the ingratiation condition, and O is seen as least attractive when P is not disclosing in the noningratiation condition. This finding, though

Table 6

Means and Univariate Results for Dependent Variables Following MANOVA for P's Self-Disclosure x Ingratiation

Subscale	Means	Means		$F(5, 68)$	p
		Ingratiation	Non-Ingratiation		
	P's Disclosure				
	Nondisclosure				
Attraction		32.55 31.30	23.00 39.80	8.72	.0045
O's Self-Disclosure		29.75 33.85	31.35 39.00	.72	.5968
Dependence		30.45 21.30	30.50 21.55	.0023	.9609
Competence		.75 1.50	.90 1.45	.2149	.6493
Intelligence		13.70 19.80	12.60 19.65	.0516	.8157
Confidence		13.15 27.00	12.10 26.25	.0064	.9345
P's Self-Disclosure		13.15 27.00	12.10 26.25	.0064	.9385
Ingratiation		18.30 31.85	19.45 32.05	.0445	.8280

not contradicting conclusions reached in the pilot study, was not predicted by extrapolating from the results of the pilot study.

Postexperimental Interview

Following data collections, subjects were asked to relate their thoughts which occurred during presentation of the stimulus recordings. The overwhelming majority of subjects found the taped interaction credible and paraphrased the intended manipulation conditions. One finding of particular note was that O was regarded as empathetic in reciprocal disclosure conditions.

Discussion

The results of the present study offer strong support for the hypotheses made prior to its execution and further validate the pilot findings. Strong, albeit indirect, evidence supporting the rationale underlying these hypotheses as possible explanations may be drawn from the current study. The present study has further demonstrated the existence of several notable relationships and trends in an area largely unexplored before.

P's Self-Disclosure

As predicted in Hypothesis 2 and observed in the pilot study, a main effect was found for P's self-disclosure, across all five dependent variables. This result should be interpreted with some caution due to the fact that several interactions exist between independent variables. This finding appears to be explicable using Jones and Wortman's (1973) finding, which indicates that P is given more negative attributes when he discloses, thus providing greater contrast with O's behavior in terms of positive/negative valance. A second explanation of this finding may relate to the interaction of P and O's disclosure. In mutual disclosure conditions, subjects tend to see O as being empathetic. In postexperimental interview, subjects made statements

which strongly implied empathy. Typical of these were: (a) "Oliver is sympathizing with Pete's problem," (b) "Oliver is trying to make Pete feel better," and (c) "Oliver is trying to help Pete by showing him how he dealt with that problem." Thus, the subjects overall tendency was to state that O was commiserating with P in regards to his problem with jealousy. Wyer and Carlston (1979) suggest this empathy (or other qualities) perceived by the observer may generalize, leading to the attribution of other attractive qualities.

O's Self-Disclosure

As predicted in Hypothesis 1 and observed in the pilot study, a main effect was found for O's self-disclosure. The effect was significant for the dependence and confidence subscales indicating that O is seen as less confident and more dependent when he discloses. As with P's self-disclosure, this finding must be interpreted with caution due to the presence of interactions between independent variables. As with P's self-disclosure, two explanations are offered for these findings. The first is simply that the subjects see one who discloses to an obvious ingratiator as gullible, dependent, and lacking in confidence.

A second explanation of this finding may be extrapolated from the interaction of P and O's disclosure. In conditions in which O was disclosing and P was not, subjects tended to view O as being highly dpendent and lacking

in confidence. Disclosing to a nondisclosing ingratiator appears to cause the discloser to be viewed as weak and using poor judgment. Prior research (Brundage et al., 1977) has demonstrated that subjects consider the relationship between disclosers important in evaluating the appropriateness of a disclosure. In addition, Derlega and Chaikin (1974) have found that, in early stages of a relationship, people are typically cautious in disclosing due to the fear that their disclosure may be used against them. Apropos of these two findings, present subjects, may consider the relationship between P and O too short in duration and thus too potentially perilous to justify O's disclosure. Thus disclosure under these circumstances results in O being given fewer positive attributes.

P's Self-Disclosure x O's Self-Disclosure

As predicted in Hypothesis 3 and observed in the pilot study, an interaction was found between P's self-disclosure and O's self-disclosure. The effect was significant for the dependency, competency, intelligence, and confidence subscales. Univariate analysis indicated that on all four subscales O is given: (a) the most attractive attributes when reciprocating P's self-disclosure, (b) moderately attractive attributes when nondisclosing to either P's disclosure or nondisclosure, and (c) the least attractive attributes when disclosing to P's nondisclosure.

These findings were not in the direction predicted by extrapolating from the pilot study. It was predicted in Hypothesis 3 that O would be most attractive when he was nondisclosing to P's disclosure. This change in outcome may have resulted from the deletion of monetary references in the stimulus material. These monetary references may have tended to make P appear more manipulative and less deserving of empathy which O appeared to exhibit in the reciprocal disclosure conditions, thus making O's disclosure appear less appropriate. A second procedural change which may have affected these results is the placement of cues distinguishing O from P on the data sheet rather than on the chalkboard. Placement of these cues on the data sheet may have been less distracting than the former placement.

These findings also indicate that nondisclosure by O is a "safe" moderate course that does not affect his attractiveness to a great degree in either direction. These data would tend to support Kleinke's (1979) conclusion that a moderate course in one's self-disclosure is the most attractive social course. Neither high disclosure or nondisclosure are highly attractive. When O is disclosing to P's nondisclosure he appears to be both dependent, gullible and lacking confidence. This result would seem to support Jone's (1964) contention that flattery is typically discounted when manipulative intent is perceived. Thus, one who does disclose to a nondisclosing flatterer is seen in a

negative light. Attributions such as the above, which were given by the present subjects, and as Wyer and Carlston (1979) have noted, seem to generalize to other attributions. Disclosing to an obvious, nondisclosing ingratiator seems to be the least appropriate, attractive approach to that ingratiator. A possible explanation for these factors may be found in the interaction of the previously discussed effects of P and O's self-disclosure. These findings would appear to bolster Brundage et al. (1977) in their conclusion that observers consider the relationship extant between disclosers to be important in determing what attributes will be assigned to those disclosers. In terms of Taylor's (1979) cost/benefit analysis of disclosure, subjects may have perceived that P has made a poor decision in choosing to disclose to a nondisclosing ingratiator.

P's Self-Disclosure x Ingratiation

An interaction between P's self-disclosure and ingratiation was found. This was not predicted in the hypotheses or found in the pilot study. The increased power of the effect observed in the present study may be due to the change in stimulus materials. In the pilot study references to money in the ingratiation stimulus tapes may have served as distractors and lessened this effect. The finding that O is most attractive when P is disclosing in the noningratiation condition, moderately attractive whether P is disclosing or nondisclosing in the ingratiation

conditions, and least attractive when P is nondisclosing in the noningratiation condition, is consistent with other findings regarding P's disclosure in the present study. Although P's self-disclosure seems to have affected attraction in the predicted fashion, ingratiation did not cause the predicted effects. One possible explanation for this finding is that P's self-disclosure is a more powerful variable than is ingratiation. This finding is also consistant with data which indicate that O is more attractive when P is disclosing. As previously suggested, P's disclosure affords O an opportunity to appear empathetic. Also as found throughout the present study, O is least attractive when he discloses to a nondisclosing ingratiator. It has been previously stated that this is probably due to O appearing gullible, dependent, and a poor judge of social situations under those circumstances.

Conclusion

This test of the relationship between the three independent variables has provided new information regarding a previously unresearched area. This study has replicated and extended the majority of the results of the pilot study as well as most prepilot work. Such an extention of findings, particularly at such high levels of significance, indicates that the effects investigated are quite robust and powerful.

Though the results of the present study are, due to the presence of numerous interactions rather complex, there are overall conclusions that may be tentatively proffered. The first conslusion is that the ingratiation situation does not automatically negate the norm of reciprocity. On the contrary, O was seen as empathetic in mutual disclosure conditions. These present results tend to support Derlega et al. (1973) in their conclusion that attraction between two conversation partners is not necessary for disclosure reciprocity to be the norm. Previous pilot research also found that P is given unattractive attributes. However, the current "problematic" disclosure may have made P appear more attractive to the subjects due to the possibility that their sympathy was aroused. Future research should examine this possibility.

This finding may, indeed, be due to the tone and nature of the disclosure. P's disclosure of a "jealousy problem" rather than some "nonproblematic" disclosure may have set the stage so that O's similar disclosure appeared succorant and empathetic. Future research should add these attributes as dependent variables in order to assess their effects. Future researchers might also use "nonproblematic" disclosure to assess whether this factor caused the observed effect in disclosure conditions.

A second conclusion which has seen support in the prepilot research, pilot study, and in the present work is

that O is seen quite negatively when disclosing to a non-disclosing P. Due to the clear interaction of P's self-disclosure and ingratiation as well as the near interaction between O's self-disclosure and ingratiation, it is difficult to assess the degree to which this negative view is due to mere inappropriate disclosure independent of the effects of ingratiation or is due to the perception that O is behaving in an unwise and gullible manner in the face of ingratiation. Our understanding of the relationships between these variables will be improved by future research which attempts to partition the effects of the three variables so that the interpretation of results is clearer.

A third conclusion, alluded to before, and supported by the present study is that O appears empathetic when reciprocates P's disclosure. The evidence for this conclusion is more tenuous than that underlying other conclusions because it is partially inferred from postexperimental interviews. Future research should examine this question more closely by including empathy as a dependent variable and by including "nonproblematic" disclosure as an experimental condition.

The present study also suggests that situational factors are important in attribution to the ingratiation situation. Two situational factors present in the stimulus complex for the present study have been mentioned, including; the length of a acquaintance of P and O, and the nature of disclosure. Other potentially important situational factors include; the sex of P and O, the description of their

relationship, the target of the ingratiatior, and the occupation of both P and O. All of these factors could be varied in future investigations, perhaps resulting in the findings different from those of the present study. The present study has also demonstrated that the previously discussed relationships exist in the present subject population--college students. Future investigators may wish to find whether the same holds true for other populations.

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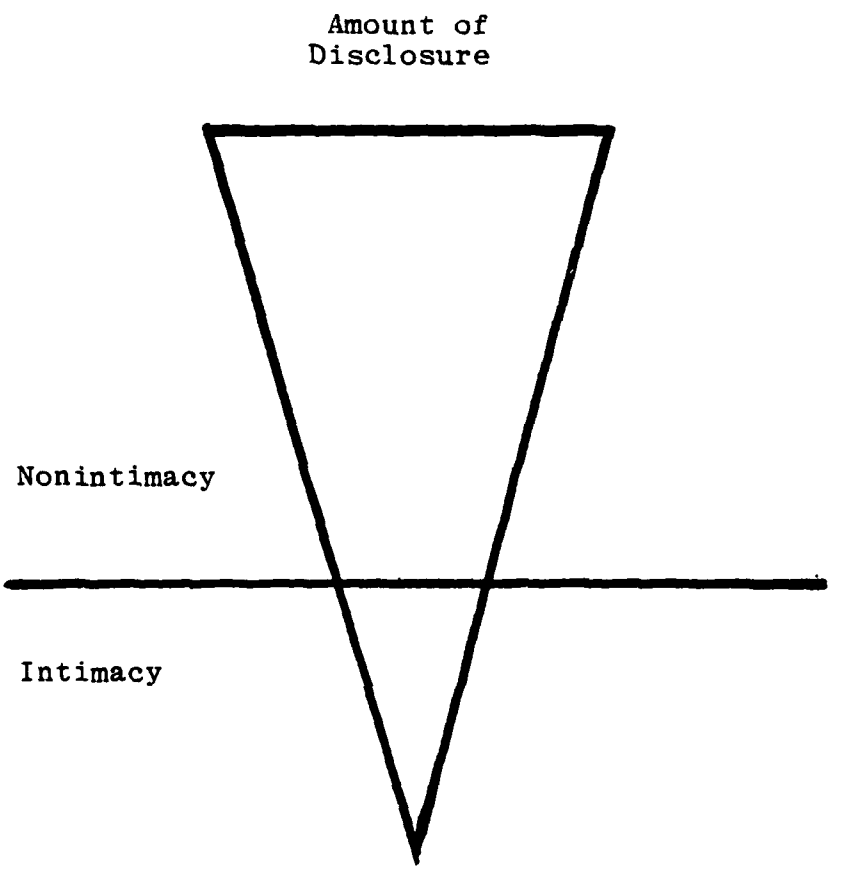
APPENDICES

Appendix A

Figural Representation of Social Penetration

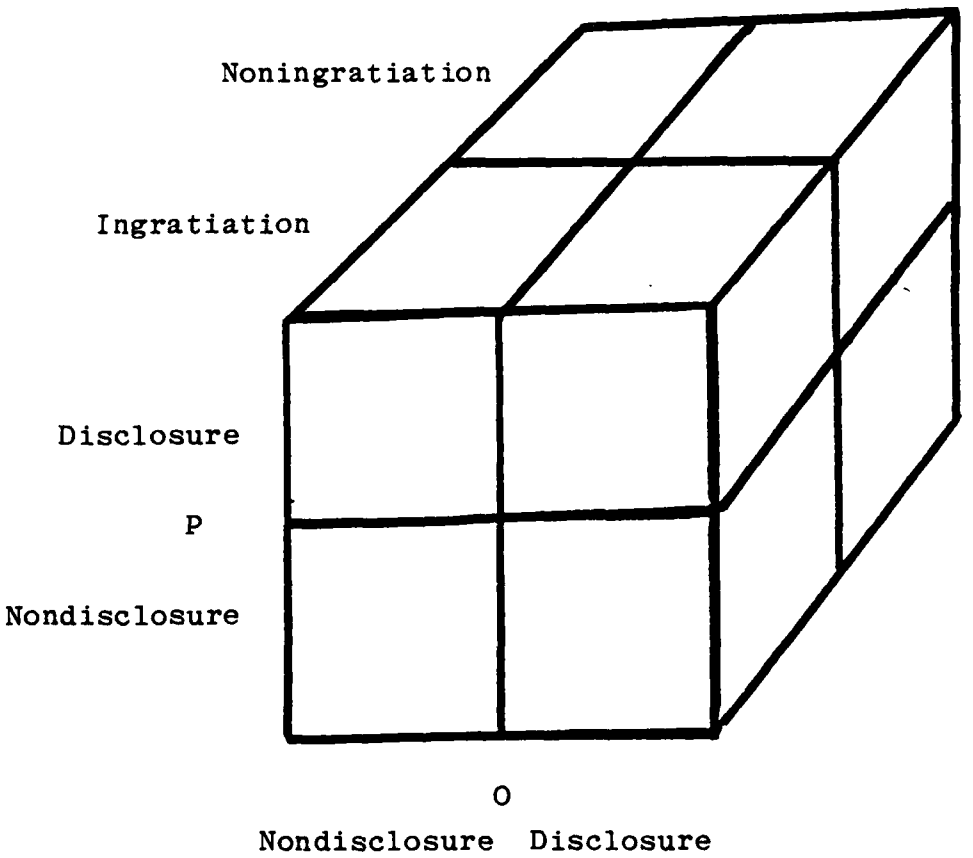
Figural Representation of Social Penetration



Appendix B

Figural Representation of the Design

Figural Representation of the Design



Appendix C

Dependent Variable Questionnaire

Dependent Variable Questionnaire

Form D

The following statements are measures of your impressions of Pete and Oliver, the students on the tape you just heard. Please make these ratings as accurate as possible. It is especially important that you do not skip any of the items. If you do not rate each item your questionnaire cannot be used. Please pay special attention when you note the name of the person that you are asked to rate. This is so you will not accidently rate Pete as you wish to rate Oliver and vice versa.

In rating items please choose a whole number between 1 and 15 as *best fits your impression.* For example, you should record a 1 in the blank space provided if you strongly agree with the statement. Please note the scale below.

---

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
Strongly Agree — Neutral — Strongly Disagree

The following statements apply to Oliver.

_____ 1. I like Oliver.

_____ 2. Oliver would make a good friend for me.

_____ 3. Oliver is attractive to me.

_____ 4. Oliver is the kind of person I admire.

_____ 5. Oliver is my idea of a nice guy.

_____ 6. Oliver revealed a lot about himself.

_____ 7. Oliver discussed some highly personal things.

_____ 8. Oliver spent a lot of time talking about intimate things.

____ 9. Oliver seems to hide little about himself.

____ 10. Oliver seems dependent on other people.

____ 11. Oliver seems like someone who often leans on others.

____ 12. Oliver seems to want the approval of others.

____ 13. Oliver seemed competent in dealing with Pete.

____ 14. Oliver dealt with the situation as well as anyone could.

____ 15. Oliver handled the interaction with Pete well.

____ 16. Oliver seems intelligent

____ 17. Oliver is probably bright.

____ 18. Oliver seems smart.

____ 19. Oliver appears self-confident.

____ 20. Oliver seemed confident.

____ 21. Oliver believes he can deal with situations well.

Items 22-27 relate to your impression of Pete.

____ 22. Pete revealed a lot about himself.

____ 23. Pete discussed some highly personal things.

____ 24. Pete discussed many intimate things.

____ 25. Pete said things to manipulate Oliver.

____ 26. Pete would flatter Oliver to get something.

____ 27. Pete acted friendly to manipulate Oliver.

* * *

Items 28-33 relate to the conversation as a whole.

____ 28. I feel that it is probable that some students ask to borrow $10 from friends.

____ 29. I know of students asking to borrow ten or more dollars from friends.

____ 30. I would <u>not</u> feel a student was unreasonable if they wanted to borrow $10 from a friend.

____ 31. A conversation like this could take place in my dorm (or a dorm I've been in).

____ 32. I would <u>not</u> be too surprised to overhear a conversation similar to this one.

____ 33. Conversations like this probably take place on college campuses.

Appendix D

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-Disclosure and O's Nonself-Disclosure

P - Well, Oliver I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows lot of cool on your part to be so reasonable.

O - Yeah, well some people can do that sort of thing without much hassle and a lot of other folks seem to have problems with that. What about you?

P - Well, I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately, Oliver, because I've been, uh, real jealous with my girl.

O - Gee, I guess that can be a strain on a relationship. It seems like a lot of people break up that way.

P - Oh, you're totally right Oliver. You know it's something I feel real guilty about. I bet it's no problem for a man of conviction like you.

O - Well, who's perfect? A lot of people have problems being jealous with their girlfriend or their wife. Other folks don't seem to have that much problem.

P - Wow, you really seem to have a good understanding of people, Oliver. You know this thing with my girlfriend had been on my mind.

O - You don't seem too upset about the whole thing though. A lot of guys are jealous with their girlfriend and then worry about getting canned by her. That's something that seems to be on their mind.

P - You know Oliver, you really understand this kind of thing well. You're right. I'm not that upset even though I worry about her getting mad.

O - Yeah, a lot of people have hassles in their lovelife. It seems that they have problems dealing with their man or woman. That seems like a common problem.

P - Oliver, I've enjoyed this talk today a lot. I've gained a lot of insight into this thing with my girlfriend. You seem like someone I'd really enjoy working with.

O - Thanks, well I see it's getting to be classtime. I better be going because I don't want to be late.

Appendix E

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-Disclosure and O's Self-Disclosure

P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows a lot of cool on your part to be so reasonable.

O - Yes, but being trusting isn't always easy for me. But my relationship with my girlfriend is a very important part of my life. What about you?

P - Well, I've been ashamed of myself lately Oliver because I've, uh, been real jealous with my girlfriend.

O - I'd imagine that can be a strain on your relationship. I know that being trusting is tough for me and I'm not perfect at it.

P - Oh you're totally right Oliver, it's something I feel really guilty about. It seems it would be no problem for a man of *conviction* like you.

O - Well, my relationship with my girlfriend is mighty important to me. I try even though I slip up sometimes.

P - Wow, you really seem to have some deep thoughts about people, Oliver. I know this thing with my girlfriend is something on my mind too.

O - Yeah, I'm not too upset by it all and you don't seem too upset. A lot of my friends are jealous with their girlfriends and don't worry except about breaking up. I'm not really sure if it's that big a deal or not to play around even though it's a big question for me.

P - You know Oliver, you really understand these things well. I'm not that upset even though I am feeling guilty and worry about her stepping out.

O - Yeah, I get into hassles with my girlfriend sometimes over her jealousy. She doesn't even want me to talk to another girl. But I guess everything can't be rosy.

P - Oliver, I've really enjoyed our talk today. I have much more insight into this thing. You seem like someone I'd really enjoy working with.

O - Thanks, you seem like an interesting person too. Well, it's getting to be time for class. I better be going because I sure don't want to be late.

Appendix F

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-Disclosure and O's Nonself-Disclosure

P - Well Oliver, I think you are right this is nice weather that we've had lately. It's good weather for people who like to run especially.

O - Yes, there seem to be a lot of joggers out lately. I guess they enjoy the fresh air and sunshine when they exercise.

P - You know Oliver, you're probably right about that. You seem pretty sharp at figuring people out.

O - Well a lot of the athletes around here seem to be running right now. They are probably getting in shape for their sports. It seems like about that time of year.

P - I've seen them too, Oliver. I bet you're a good athlete. You look like you're in good enough shape.

O - Yeah, well a lot of people at this school seem to be in good shape. I know I've seen a lot of people exercising.

P - Oh so have I, especially around health spas.

O - One guy in my dorm goes to a spa and works out two hours a day.

P - Really Oliver? I bet a nice guy like you has a lot of interesting friends.

O - You know, speaking of sports the playoff game the other day was really wild. I don't see how Wilson made some of those shots.

P - Yes, you're right about that Oliver. It was really a good game. I don't see how Wilson does it.

O - I guess when you're hot you're hot and Wilson was real hot. That sucker was doing some things I've never seen done before. It was really wild!

P - You seem to have a good eye for basketball players, Oliver. Well this has been a good talk today. It's really been very informative about sports. I know sports interests a lot of people. You seem like someone who would be easy to get along with.

O - Thanks, yeah a lot of people do seem to be pretty interested about sports, especially when it's good weather outside. Well, it's getting to be classtime.

Appendix G

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-Disclosure and O's Self-Disclosure

P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said. It really shows a lot of cool on your part to be so reasonable to your girlfriend.

O - But I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately because I've, uh, been real jealous with my girlfriend.

P - Gee Oliver, it's too bad a nice guy like you has a strain on a relationship.

O - I'm especially worried about her getting teed-off. If she did it could be the end for me and the best girlfriend I ever had.

P - Oliver you don't seem to be that upset though. You're probably just feeling some worry and guilt because you're a man of his convictions.

O - Yeah, I feel really ashamed because I can't stay cool with my girlfriend like some guys can.

P - Well Oliver, I agree with you that some guys pull that off better than others. Nobody is perfect though. You still seem to be a great guy with a lot of insight into people.

O - Yeah, well I'm not that upset at the whole thing. I realize that nobody is perfect. I just feel ashamed at not being as strong as I'd like to be and I'm afraid she'll get mad. Those are tough things for me to admit.

P - Oliver you're 100% right; no one is perfect. But you are really courageous to admit a fault. Most people would admire that a lot.

O - Yeah, well you know how it goes. Sometimes the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. I guess that is my story in this thing.

P - Most people would admire your insightful attitude, Oliver. This has really been a good talk. We could probably get along well together. Not everyone really knows how to size up their problems and things.

O - Thanks, well you seem like an interesting person, too. I guess a lot of people don't know how to size up their problems. Well, it's getting to be time for class.

Appendix H

Coverstories Presented to the Subjects Prior to Stimulus Tapes

Coverstories Presented to the Subjects Prior to Stimulus Tapes

Ingratiation Coverstory

The tape you are about to hear is a reenactment of a conversation between two university students. This conversation is between Pete and Oliver, two slight acquaintances who live in the same dorm. Pete has begun a conversation with Oliver in the hope that he may get Oliver to loan him $10.00 to go out during this weekend. As we join the students they have been talking for about ten minutes. Please listen carefully and be sure you know which student is speaking. Please remain seated until everyone is finished.

Noningratiation Coverstory

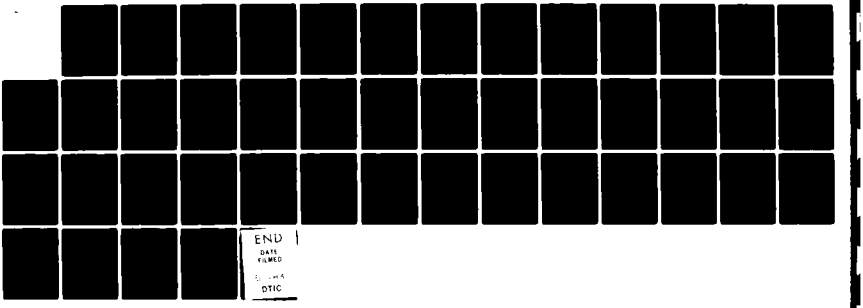
The tape you are about to hear is a reenactment of a conversation between two university students. This conversation is between Pete and Oliver, two slight acquaintances who live in the same dorm. Pete has begun a conversation with Oliver in the hope that he may get to know him better. As we join the students they have been talking for about ten minutes. Please listen carefully and be sure you know which student is speaking. Please remain seated until everyone is finished.

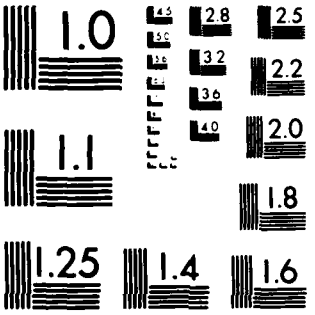
Appendix I

Questionnaire Cues Presented to the Subjects Prior to the Stimulus Tapes

AD-A126 925 EFFECTS OF THE RECIPROCITY OF SELF-DISCLOSURE UPON ATTRIBUTION OF ATTRACT..(U) AIR FORCE INST OF TECH WRIGHT-PATTERSON AFB OH P D FISHER 1982 2/2

UNCLASSIFIED AFIT/CI/NR-82-80D F/G 5/1,1 NL





MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Questionnaire Cues Presented to the Subjects Prior to the Stimulus Tapes

Noningration Questionnaire Cues

Pete	Oliver
- First Speaker	- Second Speaker
- Wants to know Oliver	

Ingratiation Questionnaire Cues

Pete	Oliver
- First Speaker	- Second Speaker
- Wants $10.00	

Appendix J

Pilot

Pilot

The primary purposes of this study were: (a) to test the efficacy of independent variable manipulation, (b) to establish that the hypothesized relationships among variables exist at statistically significant levels, (c) to develop a rating instrument which will accurately and consistantly measure the dependent variables, and (d) to test experimental procedures and optimize their efficacy. The procedures used to effect these purposes was essentially the same as those described in the Methods section of this proposal. Subjects were 80 students enrolled in introductory psychology classes.

Results

The subject's ratings of the ingratiation target and the ingratiator were analyzed by the procedure recommended by Hummel and Sligo (1971). This procedure was utilized for all analyses.

Three separate MANOVA tests were performed to assess the efficacy of the independent variable manipulations. The subjects perceived P as being significantly more self disclosing in his self-disclosure conditions than in the nonself-disclosure conditions, Wilks' lambda .812, $F(3, 70) = 5.40$, $p < .0025$ (Table A). The subjects viewed O as significantly more self-disclosing in his self-disclosure conditions than in his nonself-disclosure

conditions, Wilks' lambda .727, $F(3, 70) = 8.76$, $p < .0002$ (Table B). O was viewed as being significantly more ingratiating in the ingratiation conditions than in the noningratiating conditions, Wilks' lambda .704, $F(3, 70) = 9.79$, $p < .0001$ (Table C).

Two separate MANOVA tests were performed to assess the effects of the independent variables upon subjects ratings on: (a) the four major dependent variables, and (b) on 11 adjectives describing O. A procedure was recommended by Barker (Note 1) in which seven nondiscriminating adjectives were eliminated from the original list of eighteen.

A three-way MANOVA test was run to test the effects of the independent variables upon the four major dependent variables (Table D). This analysis was followed by univariate analysis for each significant source of variance. The effects of P's level of self-disclosure yielded Wilks' lambda .603, $F(4, 69) = 11.34$, $p < .00001$. Univariate analysis of the four subscales revealed that the attraction, dependency, and competence variables were significant (Table E). Based upon these analyses it may be concluded that: (a) O is seen as being more attractive when P is highly self-disclosing, (b) O is seen as less dependent when P is highly self-disclosing, and (c) is seen as being more competent when P is highly self-disclosing.

The effect of O's level of self-disclosure yielded Wilks' lambda .762, $F(4, 69) = 5.37$, $p < .001$. Univariate

analysis of the four subscales revealed that the attraction and dependency variables were significant (Table F). Based upon these analyses it may be concluded that O is seen as most attractive when he is nondisclosing, and is seen as less dependent when he is nondisclosing.

The effects of the interaction of P and O's self-disclosure yielded Wilk's lambda .835, $F(4, 69) = 3.41$, $p < .01$. Univariate analysis revealed that the dependency subscale was significant (Table G). From this result it may be concluded that O is seen as most dependent when he is disclosing to P's nondisclosure but is not seen as dependent when he is nondisclosing or when reciprocating disclosure.

The effects of ingratiation upon the major dependent variables yielded Wilks' lambda .801, $F(4, 69) = 3.38$, $p < .0088$ (Table H). Univariate analysis revealed that only the dependency subscale was significant (Table I). Based upon this finding it may be concluded that O is judged to be more dependent in the noningratiation situation.

A three-way MANOVA was used to test the effects of the three independent variables on the subject's endorsement of 11 adjectives describing O (Table J). The effect of the ingratiation situation yielded Wilks' lambda .706, $F(11, 62) = 2.35$, $p < .01$. This analysis was followed by univariate analysis for the significant source of variance.

Univariate analysis of the 11 adjectives revealed two to be significant and two to be near significant. Based upon this analysis it may be concluded that O is viewed as more confident, more intelligent, more competent, and warmer in the noningratiation situation.

The results presented in this section support the hypotheses posited in the present dissertation. In addition, it has been demonstrated that the independent variables have been successfully manipulated.

Table A

Means and MANOVA Results for Scale Items Checking the Manipulation of P's Self-disclosure

Means		F(3, 70)	p
Self-disclosure	Nonself-disclosure		
28.62	31.07	5.40	.0025

Table B

Means and MANOVA Results for Scale Items Checking the Manipulation of O's Self-disclosure

Means		F(3, 70)	p
Self-disclosure	Nonself-disclosure		
24.85	35.55	8.76	.0002

Table C

Means and MANOVA Results for Scale Items Checking the Manipulation of Ingratiation

Means		F(3, 70)	p
Ingratiation	Noningratiation		
9.32	22.87	9.79	.0001

Table D

MANOVA Results of the Analysis Testing the Effects of the Three Independent Variables on the Four Major Dependent Variables

Source	Wilks' lambda	F(4, 69)	p
P's Disclosure	.603	11.34	.00001
O's Disclosure	.762	5.37	.0011
Ingratiation	.845	3.16	.0188
P's Disclosure X O's Disclosure	.835	3.41	.0131
P's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.932	1.25	.2943
O's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.948	.94	.5568
P's Disclosure X O's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.887	2.19	.0778

Table E

Means and Univariate Results for Four Subscales Following MANOVA of P's Disclosure

Subscale	Means		F(1, 72)	p
	Nondisclosure	Disclosure		
Attraction	23.97	40.67	39.36	.00001
Dependence	33.22	25.22	15.28	.0004
Competence	13.77	19.15	6.27	.0139
Assertiveness	20.60	24.22	2.60	.1067

Table F

Means and Univariate Results for Four Subscales Following MANOVA of O's Disclosure

Subscale	Means		F(1, 72)	p
	Nondisclosure	Disclosure		
Attraction	26.85	37.80	16.9221	.0003
Dependence	31.85	26.60	6.5825	.0119
Competence	15.07	17.85	1.6717	.1973
Assertiveness	23.07	21.75	.3486	.5638

Table G

Means and Univariate Results for Four Subscales Following MANOVA of the Interaction of P and O's Disclosure

Subscale	Means			F	p
		O's Nondisclosure	Disclosure		
	P's Disclosure	33.20	33.25	5.85	.0171
Attraction	Nondisclosure	30.50	19.95		
		10.65	16.90	.646	.5702
Dependence		19.50	18.80		
		19.60	21.60	3.62	.057
Competence		26.55	21.90		
		7.90	9.25	7.38	.0081
Assertiveness		9.05	6.85		

Table H

Means and Univariate Results for Four Subscales Following MANOVA of Ingratiation

Subscale	Means		F(1, 72)	p
	Ingratiation	Noningratiation		
Attraction	31.40	33.25	.4830	.5037
Dependence	31.70	26.75	5.8517	.0171
Competence	15.60	17.32	.6460	.5702
Assertiveness	24.55	20.27	3.6287	.0576

Table I

MANOVA Results of the Analysis Testing the Effects of the Three Independent Variables on Eleven Adjectives Describing Character O

Source	Wilks' lambda	$F(11, 62)$	p
P's Disclosure	.901	.619	.8063
O's Disclosure	.891	.691	.7429
Ingratiation	.706	2.35	.0170
P's Disclosure X O's Disclosure	.835	.866	.5772
P's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.794	1.46	.1694
O's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.820	1.23	.2818
P's Disclosure X O's Disclosure X Ingratiation	.837	1.09	.3771

Table J

Means and Univariate Results for Eleven Adjectives Following MANOVA of Ingratiation

Adjective	Means		F(1, 72)	p
	Ingratiation	Noningratiation		
Strong	2.45	3.50	1.38	.2413
Appropriate	2.75	4.32	2.47	.1160
Confident	1.47	3.40	5.51	.0204
Competent	2.07	3.62	3.19	.0746
Masculine	3.27	2.92	.157	.6950
Intelligent	2.15	3.75	3.28	.0707
Gullible	3.57	3.52	.002	.9602
Warm	5.30	4.47	.4049	.5336
Shifty	2.07	4.25	4.970	.0270
Admirable	3.32	3.32	.0000	1.000
Socially Adept	5.90	4.02	2.041	.1538

Reference Note

Barker, H. Personal Communication, University of Alabama, March, 1981.

Appendix K

Stimulus Materials from the Pilot

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and O's Nonself-disclosure in the Ingratiation Situation

P - Well, Oliver I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful. You know, it seems like you would surely loan your friends some bucks.

O - Yeah, well some people can do that sort of thing without much hassle and a lot of other folks seem to have problems with that. What about you?

P - Well, I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately, Oliver, because I've been, uh, seeing other girls on the side.

O - Gee, I guess that can be a strain on a relationship. It seems like a lot of people break up that way.

P - Oh, you're totally right Oliver, you know it's something I feel real guilty about. I bet it's no problem for a man of conviction like you.

O - Well, who is perfect? A lot of people have problems staying faithful to their girlfriend or their wife. Other folks don't seem to have that much problem.

P - Wow, you really seem to have a good understanding of people, Oliver. You know this thing with my girlfriend had been on my mind. I bet you're also generous with friends.

O - You don't seem too upset about the whole thing though. A lot of guys step out on their girlfriend and then worry about getting caught. That's something that seems to be on their mind.

P - You know Oliver, you really understand this kind

of thing well. You're right I'm not that upset even though I worry about her finding out. You know, I'd feel a lot better if I just had $25.00 to go out this weekend.

O - Yeah, a lot of people have hassles in their lovelife. It seems that they have problems with a jealous man or woman. That seems like a common problem.

P - Oliver, I've enjoyed this talk today. I've gained a lot of insight into this thing with my girlfriend.

O - Well, I see it's getting near class time. I better be going because I don't want to be late.

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and Self-disclosure in the Ingratiation Situation

P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful. You know, seems like you would surely loan your friends some bucks.

O - Yes, but being faithful isn't always easy for me, but my relationship with my girlfriend is a very important part of my life. What about you?

P - Well, I've been ashamed of myself lately Oliver because I've, uh, been seeing other girls on the side.

O - I'd imagine that can be a strain on your relationship. I know that being faithful is tough for me and I'm not perfect at it.

P - Oh you're totally right Oliver, it's something I feel really guilty about. It seems it would be no problem for a man of conviction like you.

O - Well, my relationship with my girlfriend is mighty important to me. I try even though I slip up sometimes.

P - Wow, you really seem to have some deep thoughts about people Oliver. I know this thing with my girlfriend is something on my mind, too. I bet you're generous with your friends.

O - Yeah, I'm not too upset by it all and you don't seem too upset. A lot of my friends play around on their girlfriends and don't worry except about being found out. I'm not really sure if it's that big a deal or not to play around even though it's a big question for me.

P - You know Oliver, you really understand these things well. I'm not that upset even though I am feeling guilty and worry about her finding out. You know, I'd feel a lot better if I had $25.00 to go out this weekend.

O - Yeah, I get into hassles with my girlfriend sometimes over her jealousy. She doesn't even want me to talk to another girl, but I guess everything can't be rosey.

P - Oliver, I've really enjoyed our talk today. I have much more insight into this thing.

O - Thanks, you seem like an interesting person too. Well, it's getting to be time for class. I better be going because I sure don't want to be late.

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-disclosure and O's Nonself-disclosure in the Ingratiation Situation

P - Well Oliver, I think you are right this is nice weather that we've had lately. It's good weather for people who like to run especially. You know, seems like you would surely loan your friends some bucks.

O - Yes, there seem to be a lot of joggers out lately. I guess they enjoy the fresh air and sunshine when they exercise.

P - You know Oliver, you're probably right about that. You seem pretty sharp at figuring people out.

O - Well, lots of the athletes around here seem to be running right now. They are probably getting in shape for their sports. It seems like that time of the year.

P - I've seen them too Oliver. I bet you're a good athlete. You look like you're in good enough shape.

O - Yeah, well lots of people at this school seem to be in good shape. I know I've seen a lot of people exercising.

P - Oh so have I, especially around health spas.

O - One guy in my dorm goes to a spa and works out two hours a day.

P - Really Oliver? I bet a nice guy like you has lots of interesting friends. I bet you're generous with your friends too.

O - You know, speaking of sports the playoff game the other day was really wild. I don't see how Wilson made some of those shots.

P - Yes, you're right about that Oliver. It was really a good game. I don't see how Wilson does it.

O - I guess when you're hot you're hot and Wilson was real hot. That sucker was doing some things I've never seen done before. It was really wild.

P - You seem to have a good eye for basketball players, Oliver. Well, this has been a good talk today. It's been very informative about sports. I know sports interests a lot of people. I sure wish I could come by $25.00 to go out this weekend.

O - Thanks, yeah a lot of people do seem to be pretty interested in sports, especially when it's good weather outside. Well, it's getting to be classtime.

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-disclosure and O's Self-disclosure in the Ingratiation Situation

P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said. It really shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful to your girlfriend. You know, seems like you would surely loan your friends some bucks.

O - But, I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately because I've, uh, been seeing other girls on the side.

P - Gee Oliver, it's too bad a nice guy like you has a strain on a relationship.

O - I'm especially worried about her finding out. If one of her friends saw me with another girl it would be the end for me and the best girlfriend I ever had.

P - Oliver, you don't seem to be that upset though. You're probably just feeling some worry and guilt because you're a man of his convictions.

O - Yeah, I feel really ashamed because I can't stay faithful to my girlfriend like some guys can.

P - Well Oliver, I agree with you that some guys pull that off better than others. Nobody is perfect though. You still seem to be a great guy with a lot of insight into people. I bet you're generous with friends too.

O - Yeah, well I'm not that upset at the whole thing. I realize that nobody is perfect. I just feel ashamed at not being as strong as I'd like to be and I'm afraid she'll find out. Those are tough things for me to admit.

P - Oliver you're 100% right; no one is perfect. But you are really courageous to admit a fault. Most people would admire that a lot. You know, I could sure use $25.00 to go out this weekend.

O - Yeah, well you know how it goes. Sometimes the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. I guess that's my story in the matter.

P - Most people would admire your insightful attitude Oliver. This has really been a good talk. We could probably work very well together. Not everyone really knows how to size up their problems and things.

O - Thanks, well you seem like an interesting person too. I guess a lot of people don't know how to size up their problems. Well, it's getting to be time for class.

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and O's Nonself-disclosure in the Noningratiation Situation

P - Well, Oliver I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful.

O - Yeah, well some people can do that sort of thing without much hassle and a lot of other folks seem to have problems with that. What about you?

P - Well, I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately, Oliver, because I've been, uh, seeing other girls on the side.

O - Gee, I guess that can be a strain on a relationship. It seems like a lot of people break up that way.

P - Oh, you're totally right Oliver. You know it's something I feel real guilty about. I bet it's no problem for a man of conviction like you.

O - Well, who's perfect? A lot of people have problems staying faithful to their girlfriend or their wife. Other folks don't seem to have that much problem.

P - Wow, you really seem to have a good understanding of people, Oliver. You know this thing with my girlfriend had been on my mind.

O - You don't seem too upset about the whole thing though. A lot of guys step out on their girlfriend and then worry about getting caught. That's something that seems to be on their mind.

P - You know Oliver, you really understand this kind of thing well. You're right, I'm not that upset even though I worry about her finding out.

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P - Oliver, I've enjoyed this talk today a lot. I've gained a lot of insight into this thing with my girlfriend. You seem like someone I'd really enjoy working with.

O - Thanks, well I see it's getting to be classtime. I better be going because I don't want to be late.

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P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said about dealing with your girlfriend. It shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful.

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P - Well, I've been ashamed of myself lately Oliver because I've, uh, been seeing other girls on the side.

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O - Well, a lot of the athletes around here seem to be running right now. They are probably getting in shape for their sports. It seems like about that time of year.

P - I've seen them too, Oliver. I bet you're a good athlete. You look like you're in good enough shape.

O - Yeah, well a lot of people at this school seem to be in good shape. I know I've seen a lot of people exercising.

P - O so have I, especially around health spas.

O - One guy in my dorm goes to a spa and works out two hours a day.

P - Really, Oliver? I bet a nice guy like you as a lot of interesting friends.

O - You know, speaking of sports the playoff game the other day was really wild. I don't see how Wilson made some of those shots.

P - Yes, you're right about that Oliver. It was really a good game. I don't see how Wilson does it.

O - I guess when you're hot, you're hot, and Wilson was real hot. That sucker was doing some things I've never seen done before. It was really wild.

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P - Well Oliver, I agree totally with what you said. It really shows a lot of cool on your part to be so faithful to your girlfriend.

O - But I've been pretty ashamed of myself lately because I've, uh, been seeing other girls on the side.

P - Gee Oliver, it's too bad a nice guy like you has a strain on a relationship.

O - I'm especially worried about her finding out. If one of her friends saw me with another girl it would be the end for me and the best girlfriend I ever had.

P - Oliver, you don't seem to be that upset though. You're probably just feeling some worry and guilt because you're a man of his convictions.

O - Yeah, I feel really ashamed because I can't stay faithful to my girlfriend like some guys can.

P - Well Oliver, I agree with you that some guys pull that off better than others. Nobody is perfect though. You still seem to be a great guy with a lot of insight into people.

O - Yeah, well I'm not that upset at the whole thing. I realize that nobody is perfect. I just feel ashamed at not being as strong as I'd like to be and I'm afraid she'll find out. Those are tough things for me to admit.

P - Oliver, you're 100% right; no one is perfect. But you are really courageous to admit a fault. Most people would admire that a lot.

O - Yeah, well you know how it goes. Sometimes the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak. I guess that is my story in this matter.

P - Most people would admire your insightful attitude, Oliver. This has really been a good talk. We could probably work very well together. Not everyone really knows how to size up their problems and things.

O - Thanks, well you seem like an interesting person too. I guess a lot of people don't know how to size up their problems. Well, it's getting to be time for class.

Appendix L

Dependent Measures from the Pilot

Form D

The following statements are measures of your impressions of Pete and Oliver, the students on the tape you just heard. Please make these ratings as accurate as possible. It is especially important that you do not skip any of the items. If you do not rate each item your questionnaire cannot be used. Please pay special attention when you note the name of the person that you are asked to rate. This is so you will not accidently rate Pete as you wish to rate Oliver and vice versa.

In rating items please choose a whole number between 1 and 15 as best fits your impression. For example, you should record a 1 in the blank space provided if you strongly agree with the statement. Please note the scale below.

---

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
Strongly Agree — Neutral — Strongly Disagree

The following statements apply to Oliver.

_____ 1. I like Oliver.

_____ 2. Oliver would make a good friend for me.

_____ 3. Oliver is attractive to me.

_____ 4. Oliver is the kind of person I admire.

_____ 5. Oliver is my idea of a nice guy.

_____ 6. Oliver revealed a lot about himself.

_____ 7. Oliver discussed some highly personal things.

_____ 8. Oliver spent a lot of time talking about intimate things.

_____ 9. Oliver seems to hide little about himself.

_____10. Oliver seems dependent on other people.

_____11. Oliver seems like someone who often leans on others.

_____12. Oliver seems to want the approval of others.

_____13. Oliver seemed competent in dealing with Pete.

_____14. Oliver dealt with the situation as well as anyone could.

_____15. Oliver handled the interaction with Pete well.

_____16. Oliver was assertive with Pete.

_____17. Oliver expressed his thoughts about Pete directly.

_____18. Oliver seemed capable of standing up to Pete.

Using the previous described 1-15 rating scale, please indicate the degree to which you think the following adjectives describe Oliver.

_____19. direct	_____25. masculine	_____31. warm
_____20. strong	_____26. intelligent	_____32. dependent
_____21. appropriate	_____27. brave	_____33. shifty
_____22. assertive	_____28. attractive	_____34. likable
_____23. confident	_____29. tough	_____35. admirable
_____24. competent	_____30. gullible	_____36. socially adept

The following items relate to your impression of Pete.

_____37. I like Pete.

_____38. Pete revealed a lot about himself.

_____39. Pete discussed some highly personal things.

_____40. Pete seemed to spend a lot of time discussing intimate things.

_____41. Pete seems like the type of person who hides little of himself.

_____42. Pete said things to manipulate Oliver.

_____43. Pete would act friendly to Oliver to get what he wanted.

_____44. Pete seems as if he would flatter Oliver to get what he wanted.

Appendix M

Eleven Adjectives Describing O

Eleven Adjectives Describing O

1. strong
2. appropriate
3. confident
4. competent
5. masculine
6. intelligent
7. gullible
8. warm
9. shifty
10. admirable
11. socially adept