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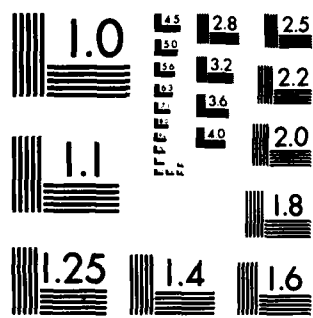
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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER AFIT/CI/NR 81-77D	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. AD A128598	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Effects of the Reciprocity of Self-Disclosure Upon Attribution of Attractive Qualities to the Ingratiation Target		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED THESIS/DISSERTATION
7. AUTHOR(s) Paul D. Fisher		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS AFIT STUDENT AT: University of Alabama		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS AFIT/NR WPAFB OH 45433		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office)		12. REPORT DATE 1981
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 118
		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) UNCLASS
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report) APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE; DISTRIBUTION UNLIMITED		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES APPROVED FOR PUBLIC RELEASE: IAW AFR 190-17 Lynn E. Wolaver 17 May 83 Dean for Research and Professional Development AFIT, Wright-Patterson AFB OH		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) ATTACHED		

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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 therefore an 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.

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

by

Paul D. Fisher

A Proposal

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the Department of Psychology
in the Graduate School of
The University of Alabama

University, Alabama

1981

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Effects of the Reciprocity of Self-Disclosure Upon
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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 therefore an 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.

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, 1974). This analogy is appropriate because greater amounts of information are disclosed at nonintimate levels than at intimate levels (Appendix N). 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 (Derlega & Chaikin, 1974).

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.

Derlega and Chaikin (1974) 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, perhaps the earliest and most influential self-disclosure researcher, considers self-disclosure to be one of the most important human behaviors (1964). Jourard sees the choice of disclosure or nondisclosure to be an almost constant issue in social interactions. A particularly salient variable issue is trust. Jourard reflects 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) states, "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 over-learned early in life. Many people are reinforced in early childhood for censoring disclosures and projecting an image assumed to please others. Jourard refers 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 reflects, "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 it-self" (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 device.

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

Typically placing the subject 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, Harris, and Chaikin (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, & Kahn, 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 (1974) 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 Banduras' (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 disclosures 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 he/she 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 homogenous pairs of either low or high disclosing roommates examined the development of their relationship. 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 rate and level of disclosure to accomodate their partner. Taylor argued that this accommodation 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 infer attributes to the discloser that will lead them to trust and like the discloser. 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 (Love & 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, Hicks, & Meyers-Winton, 1978), (c) attempt to conform to O's behavior on numerous dimensions (Schneider & Eustis, 1972), particularly to O's expressed opinions (Jones, Gergen, Gempert, & Thiabut, 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 shown that dependency is a necessary condition for ingratiation.

Goffman (1963) states that an implicit contract exists in interpersonal communication--that is; that each party will assist the other in maintaining face. Jones and Wortman (1973) call this social phenomena "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 as 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 attribute 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, 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 ingratia-tor likes and trusts him. This disclosure should also ap-pear 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 also admonish that in giving com-pliments to the ingratiation target the ingratia-tor 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 review further states that if the ingratia-tor does favors as an ingratiation technique he/she should avoid circumstances where such favor would seem inappropriate. The ingratia-tor 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 ingratia-tion target. One further tactic often employed by the ef-fective ingratia-tor is opinion conformity. Agreeing with a target of ingratiation is a frequent ploy to increase one's attractiveness. 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 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 be 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 to not only assign such attributes to the observed but is also likely 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, favoring, 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 effect 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 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 they like 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 phenomena 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, Harris, & Chaikin, 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 (Schneider & Eustis, 1972; Archer, 1979), (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 phenomena, (b) ingratiation often occurs in the presence of a bystander (Olszewski-Kondralswicz, 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, Jones, & Gergen, 1963).

Statement of the Problem

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

The current study proposes to test the relationships posited above. Although several published research works should seem to support elements of these posited

relationships none to date have tested them. It is suggested that this represents a significant gap in knowledge regarding the interrelation of self-disclosure, ingratiation, and attribution. The present study proposes to narrow this gap. The present study, though similar to the pilot study (Appendix O), includes several methodological changes which should substantially improve the control of extraneous variables.

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

Hypotheses

1. A main effect for O's self-disclosure is hypothesized. It is predicted that subjects will give O more

attractive attributes, including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence, when O is nondisclosing. This is predicted because O will not seem as gullible or dependent when nondisclosing as he will when he responds to an obvious ingratiation with self-disclosure. The attribution of gullibility and dependency will generalize to other attributes yielding a less favorable evaluation of O.

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

3. An interaction effect is predicted for P's self-disclosure and O's self-disclosure. It is predicted that O will be given the most attractive attributes including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence when he is nondisclosing to P's self-disclosure rather than reciprocating P's level of self-disclosure or disclosing to P's nondisclosure. This relationship is predicted from the interaction of the two

effects discussed previously. O will seem the most attractive and the least gullible and dependent when his nondisclosure is contrasted with P's nondisclosure.

4. A main effect for ingratiation is predicted.

It is predicted that O will be given the most attractive attributes, including those of attractiveness, independence, competence, intelligence, and confidence when he is in the ingratiation situation. This relationship is predicted because it is posited that the ingratiation situation creates 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 will be 80 undergraduate students enrolled in psychology courses at the University of Alabama. Course extra credit will be awarded to those who are enrolled in courses where this incentive is available.

Design and Data Analysis

The present study will employ a multivariate analysis of variance format with a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design. Disclosure and nondisclosure levels will be presented for both P and O in both the ingratiation and the noningratiation situation. Subjects exposed to one of the eight combinations of the three independent variables will then be requested to complete a 44-item questionnaire consisting of the dependent variables: attraction, independence, competence, intelligence, confidence, and checks on manipulation of the independent variables (Appendix B). Both race and sex will be treated to subanalyses to determine whether either of these variables effect the dependent variables.

Duncan's (1955) multiple comparison procedure will be used to perform pairwise comparisons among means in this factorial design. According to Hummel and Sligo (1972) 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 will consist of sixteen audiotapes which will present two actors reading from scripts prepared by the author (Appendices C, D, E, F, G, H, and I). The level of self-disclosure intimacy manipulation will be effected by adaptation of Jourard's (1971) intimacy scaled topics. The nondisclosure manipulation will present discussion of sports or will consist of reflection to the discloser. The disclosure conditions will present a discussion of problems in an intimate relationship. Topics will be matched for P and O when in corresponding conditions. For example, each will discuss relationship problems in those conditions in which he is a discloser. Length of statement and number of statements will be approximately equivalent for P and O.

Two techniques will be used to achieve the ingratiation manipulation. The essential manipulation will consist of the coverstory under which a tape is presented

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

Within the context of dependency/ingratiation a second manipulation will be activated. This manipulation will consist of P using O's name five times, conforming to all of O's opinions, and complementing O twice. These same ingratiation techniques will be present in all conditions but will be 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 will be identical in ingratiation and noningratiation conditions with the exception of P's reference to his need for money in the ingratiation conditions. Thus ingratiation will be held constant across conditions.

Dependent Measures

The questionnaire for this study will consist of the following measures for O: (a) a 5-item attraction subscale based upon Byrne's Interpersonal Judgment Scale (1971), (b) a three 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 will also be asked to rate P's disclosure and ingratiation to check those manipulations.

Procedures

During recruitment it will be announced that students are invited to participate in a study of "person perception". The study will be further described as a brief experiment which involves listening to a 2 minute tape and completing a questionnaire.

The subjects will be randomly assigned to one of eight conditions; within each cell 5 subjects will listen to the tape featuring the actors playing and O in their original role then the other 5 will hear a tape in which the actors have reversed roles. Subjects will be run in groups of approximately five. At the beginning of each session subjects will be told that they are participants in a study of "person perception" and will then receive the coverstory regarding the tape. Written instructions on the chalkboard of the experimental room will differentiate P from O by speaking order, and in the appropriate conditions need for money, to assist subjects in distinguishing between the two conversants (Appendix L). A Tracs audiotape will be presented on a General Electric cassette tape player. Following presentation of the tape the questionnaires will be distributed with instructions to rate them based on the

the tape presented. When all the questionnaires have been collected the subjects will be debriefed and given an opportunity to ask questions.

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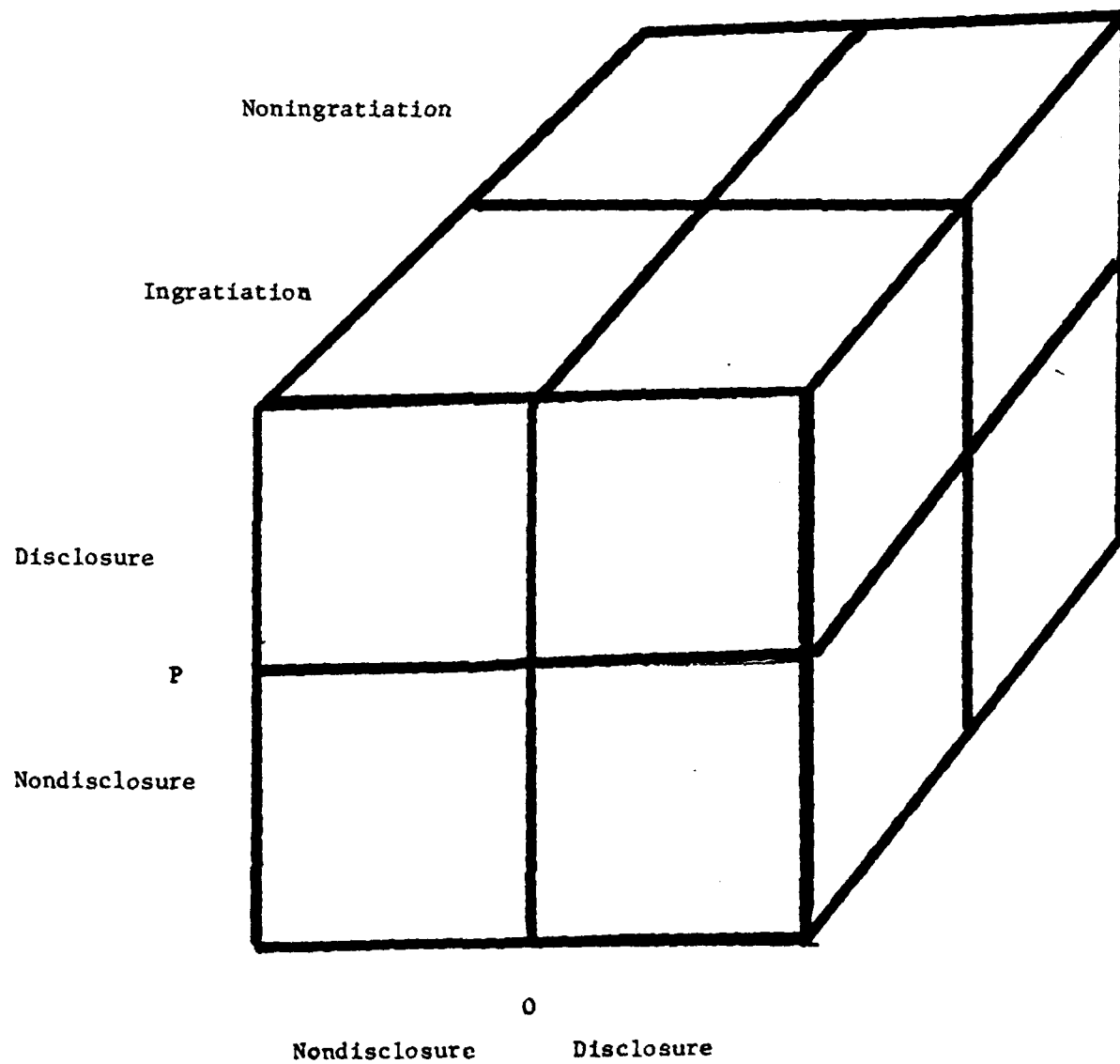
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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Figural Representation of the Design



Appendix B
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 accidentally 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							Neutral							Strongly
Agree														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.

The following items 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.

Appendix C
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

Appendix D

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 reasonable. 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, real jealous with my girlfriend.

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 its something I feel real bad 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 with jealousy 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. I bet you're also generous with friends.

O - You don't seem too upset about the whole thing though. A lot of guys worry about hassles with their girlfriend and then worry about breaking up. 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 going 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.

Appendix E

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and
O's 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 reasonable. You know, seems like you would surely loan your friends some bucks.
- 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, suspicious my girlfriend has been seeing other guys on the side.
- 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, its 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 are jealous about 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. 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.

Appendix F

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.

Appendix G

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 reasonable with 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, kinda 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. 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 get mad. Those are tough things for me to admit.

- P - Oliver you're 100% right; no one is perfect. But you're 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 this thing.
- P - Most people would admire your insightful attitude Oliver. This has really been a good talk. We could probably get along 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 H

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

- 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 I

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and
O's Self-disclosure in the Noningratiating 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 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, 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 J

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-disclosure and
O's Nonself-disclosure in the Noningratiating 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.

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 K

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

- 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, 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 L

Coverstories Presented to the Subjects Prior to
Stimulus Tapes

Ingratiation Coverstory

The tape you are about to hear is a recording 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 \$25.00 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 recording 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 M
Board Cues Presented to the Subjects Prior to
the Stimulus Tapes

Noningratiating Board Cues

Pete

- First Speaker
- Wants to know Oliver

Oliver

- Second Speaker

Ingratiation Board Cues

Pete

- First Speaker
- Wants \$25.00

Oliver

- Second Speaker

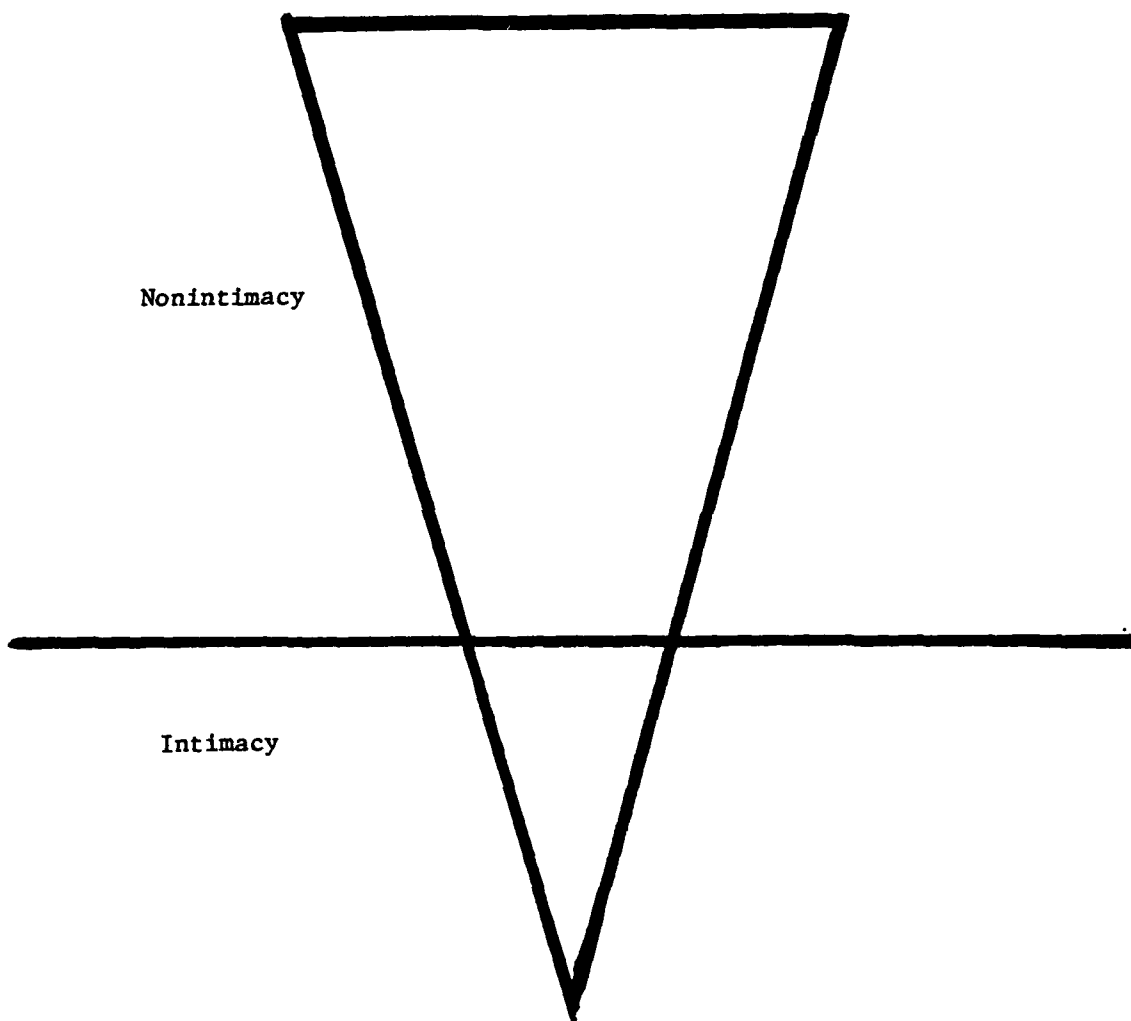
Appendix N

Figural Representation of Social Penetration

Amount of
Disclosure

Nonintimacy

Intimacy



Appendix O

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 consistently 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 ingratiation 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 noningratiating situation.

The results presented in this section support the hypotheses posited in the present proposal. 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

<u>Means</u>		<u>F</u> (3, 70)	<u>p</u>
Self-disclosure	Nonself-disclosure		
28.6	31.07	5.40	.0025

Table B

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

<u>Means</u>		<u>F</u> (3, 70)	<u>p</u>
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

<u>Means</u>		<u>F</u> (3, 70)	<u>p</u>
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

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EFFECTS OF THE RECIPROCITY OF SELF-DISCLOSURE UPON
ATTRIBUTION OF ATTRACT..(U) AIR FORCE INST OF TECH
WRIGHT-PATTERSON AFB OH P D FISHER 1981
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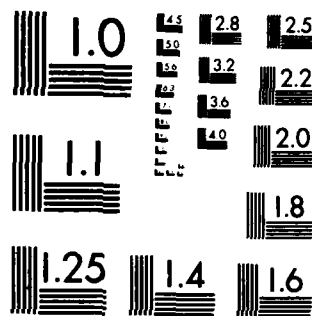
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Table E

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

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Means</u>		<u>F</u> (1, 72)	<u>p</u>
	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

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Means</u>		<u>F</u> (1, 72)	<u>p</u>
	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

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Means</u>			<u>F</u>	<u>P</u>
		<u>O's Nondis-</u> <u>closure</u>	<u>Disclosure</u>		
	<u>P's</u> <u>Disclosure</u>	33.20	33.25	5.85	.0171
Attraction	<u>Nondisclosure</u>	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

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Means</u>		<u>F(1, 72)</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Ingratiation</u>	<u>Noningratiation</u>		
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

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Means</u>		<u>F(1, 72)</u>	<u>p</u>
	<u>Ingratiation</u>	<u>Noningratiation</u>		
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

Appendix P
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 Nonsself-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 Noningratiating 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.

O - Yeah, a lot of people have hassles in their lovelife. It seems that they have problems sticking to one man or one 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.

Script for the Presentation of P's Self-disclosure and
O's Self-disclosure in the Noningratiating 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 - 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 thought 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 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.

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.

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-disclosure and
O's Nonself-disclosure in the Noningratiating 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.
- 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 - 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.

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 good to work 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.

Script for the Presentation of P's Nonself-disclosure and
O's Self-disclosure in the Noningratiating 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.
- 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 Q

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 accidentally 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.

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