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Self-disclosure and attraction: effects of intimacy and desirability of information about another person.

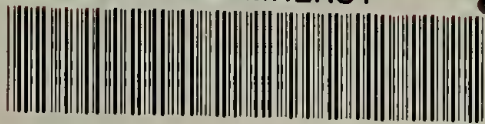
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Self-disclosure and Attraction: Effects of
Intimacy and Desirability of Information about
Another Person

A Thesis

By

Carol Ann Dalto

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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December 1976

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Psychology

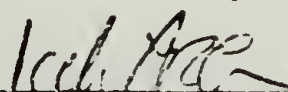
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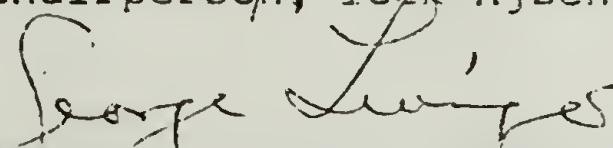
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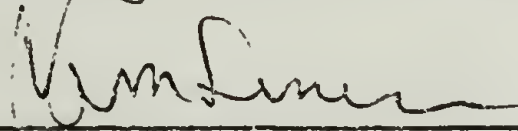
By

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December 1976

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Abstract

Two experiments manipulated information intimacy (intimate or superficial) independently of information desirability (positive or negative) to investigate the importance of each in determining attraction for a self-disclosing other. Experiment 1 varied information disclosed by a (fictitious) female student in a paper-and-pencil format, while Experiment 2 varied information disclosed by a female confederate in a dyadic interaction. Results of both experiments showed that attraction for the self-disclosing other increased significantly with the desirability of the information disclosed ($p < .01$). In contrast, information intimacy had no consistent effect on attraction toward the discloser. These findings were interpreted as supporting an information processing approach to interpersonal attraction. In further support of this approach, standard measures of attraction were found to be highly correlated ($p < .01$) with indirect measures based on Ajzen's PA model of attraction. No evidence was found for self-disclosure reciprocity as a result of treatments. Some possible reasons for these negative findings are considered.

Self-disclosure and Attraction: Effects of Intimacy and Desirability of Information about Another Person

Self-disclosure is generally defined as the process whereby one person, the discloser, allows others to learn about him-or herself. In recent years, the role of self-disclosure in the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships has been the focus of much research (for reviews, see Cozby, 1973; Chaikin & Derlega, 1974; Goodstein & Reinecker, 1975). This research has generally been centered around five main areas of interest: self-disclosure as a stable personality construct; the relationship between self-disclosure and mental health; factors which influence self-disclosing behavior; self-disclosure as a determinant of attraction; and the reciprocity of self-disclosure. The present paper is primarily concerned with the effect of self-disclosure on attraction; self-disclosure reciprocity is given secondary consideration.

✓ Jourard (e.g., 1971) has suggested that the ability to reveal intimate information about oneself is the hallmark of a healthy, self-actualized individual. Based on this premise, attraction has generally been expected to increase as a function of the intimacy of self-disclosure. A few correlational studies have provided evidence for such a positive linear relationship. Worthy, Gary, & Kehr

(1969) reasoned that the recipient of self-disclosing behavior perceives him-or herself as being liked and trusted by the discloser, since intimate information is usually revealed only to one's friends. Arguing from a social exchange position, they postulated that self-disclosure thus functions as a reward for its recipient. The discloser, who serves as the source of the recipient's positive outcomes, should therefore be liked. Worthy, et. al., had small groups of female subjects exchange written information about themselves in response to questions prescaled for intimacy value. Consistent with the hypothesis, results showed that subjects who disclosed intimate information were liked more than those who disclosed superficial information. Similar findings have been reported by Jourard & Friedman (1970), who observed that an experimenter who self-disclosed to his subjects was rated more positively than one who did not self-disclose.

On the other hand, Cozby (1972) argued that while increasing intimacy represents reward for the recipient of self-disclosure, various costs (e.g., anxiety) become salient when the information revealed is highly intimate. Thus, the recipient's overall outcome will be negative and the discloser will be liked correspondingly less. Using a role-playing procedure, female subjects were exposed to a low, medium, and high disclosing other. Cozby

found strong support for the predicted curvilinear relationship, with maximal attraction occurring at an intermediate level of intimacy. As part of a broader investigation, Rubin (1975) also provided evidence for a curvilinear relationship. However, he found that an intermediate level of intimacy resulted in minimal attraction, a direct contradiction of Cozby's earlier findings.

Further complicating the issue are those studies which have reported finding no relationship between self-disclosure intimacy and attraction. Ehrlich & Graeven (1971) had male subjects exchange views with a male confederate on a variety of issues. The information disclosed by the confederate was of either high or low intimacy. Two measures of attraction toward the confederate were unaffected by this manipulation. Negative results have also been reported by Derlega, Walmer, & Furman (1973).

The generally contradictory findings in this area have led some investigators (e.g., Chaikin & Derlega, 1974) to conclude that factors which may have a moderating effect on the relationship between self-disclosure and attraction should be specified. Consistent with this view, Derlega, Harris, & Chaikin (1973) provided evidence for a significant interaction between self-disclosure intimacy and the conventionality of the disclosed information.

The present paper is based on the information

processing approach to attitudes advocated by Fishbein & Ajzen (1975). This approach may help to explain the contradictory findings concerning the effect of self-disclosure on attraction. Ajzen's (in press) perceived attributes (PA) model, which is a direct application of Fishbein's (1963) attitude theory to interpersonal attraction, is particularly relevant to this problem. The PA model, as expressed by Equation 1, suggests that attraction is a function of the beliefs one person forms about another; the more favorable the beliefs, the greater the attraction.

$$\underline{A} = \sum_{i=1}^n \underline{p}_i \underline{v}_i \quad (1)$$

In Equation 1, \underline{A} is attraction, \underline{p}_i is the perceiver's subjective probability or belief that the other person has attribute \underline{i} , \underline{v}_i is the perceiver's subjective value of attribute \underline{i} , and the sum is over \underline{n} salient attributes. Thus, the PA model implies that the critical factor determining attraction in the studies previously cited is not whether the disclosed information is intimate or not, but whether it leads to the formation of positive or negative beliefs about the discloser. Information intimacy is expected to influence attraction only to the extent that it systematically affects beliefs formed about the discloser.

The present paper reports two experiments which orthogonally manipulated the intimacy and desirability of

information revealed by a self-disclosing other. The first experiment varied information disclosed by a (fictitious) female student in a paper-and-pencil format, while the second experiment varied information disclosed by a female confederate in a dyadic interaction. It was predicted that desirable information results in the formation of more positive beliefs about the discloser than undesirable information. In contrast, information intimacy is not expected to have a consistent effect on beliefs about the discloser. Consequently, liking for the discloser was expected to increase with the desirability of the information she revealed, while level of intimacy was expected to have little effect on attraction.

A secondary focus of the present paper concerned self-disclosure reciprocity, the phenomenon Jourard (1959) has termed the "dyadic effect" in the development of interpersonal relationships. The finding that intimate self-disclosure by one person leads to intimate self-disclosure by the recipient is well-documented in the literature (e.g., Cozby, 1972; Derlega, Harris, & Chaikin, 1972; Derlega, Walmer, & Furman, 1973; Ehrlich & Graeven, 1969; Jourard & Friedman, 1970; Rubin, 1975; Worthy, et. al., 1969). The information processing approach employed has no implications for the occurrence of self-disclosure reciprocity. Therefore, the two experiments reported here simply sought to replicate earlier findings.

Pilot Study

Selection of self-descriptive statements. Prior to the actual experiments, two independent samples of subjects were provided with a list of 60 statements which could each be used to describe a female student. One sample of subjects ($N=100$) rated the intimacy of the information conveyed by each statement on a 9-point scale ranging from superficial to intimate. The second sample of subjects ($N=100$) rated the same statements with respect to the desirability of the information conveyed by each on a 9-point scale ranging from negative to positive.

By selecting statements whose scale values fell above or below the medians of the two distributions, it was possible to construct four sets of statements representing the four combinations of intimacy (intimate or superficial) and desirability (positive or negative).¹ Each of the four final sets consisted of seven statements meeting the criteria for a given condition, plus a standard statement from each of the remaining three conditions in order to avoid drawing an unrealistic picture of the stimulus person.

¹The distribution of intimacy scale values was somewhat skewed ($Md=6$), with higher scale values indicating greater intimacy. The desirability distribution was approximately normal ($Md=5$), with higher scale values indicating greater desirability.

The "standard items" used in all four conditions were:

Positive-intimate: I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.

Negative-intimate: I do many things that I later regret.

Positive-superficial: I am very interested in current events.

Negative-superficial: I can never remember the names of people I meet.

Effectiveness of the selection procedure. The mean scale values for the 10 statements used in each condition are presented in Table 1. To examine the effectiveness of the selection procedure, a two-way analysis of variance was performed on both the intimacy and desirability scale values of the statements included in each set (see Table 2). The analysis of the desirability values showed a significant main effect due to desirability ($F = 19.54$; $df = 1,36$; $p < .01$), with positive sets having higher scale values ($M = 6.55$) than negative sets ($M = 4.30$). Neither the main effect of intimacy nor its interaction with desirability was significant ($F < 1.0$). The analysis of the

 Insert Tables 1 & 2 about here

intimacy scale values resulted in a significant main effect

Table 1

Mean Scale Values of Self-Descriptive Statements:

Pilot Study

Condition	Intimacy Ratings		Desirability Ratings	
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	6.01	4.83	6.52	6.57
Negative	6.02	4.47	4.31	4.29

Table 2

Analyses of Variance of Statement Scale Values:

Pilot Study

Source	Intimacy Ratings			Desirability Ratings	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Desirability (A)	1	.30	<1	50.31	19.54**
Intimacy (B)	1	18.48	17.46**	.01	<1
A x B	1	.35	<1	.01	<1
Error	36	1.06		2.58	

**p < .01

for intimacy ($F = 17.46$; $df = 1,36$; $p < .01$), with intimate sets having higher scale values ($M = 6.02$) than superficial sets ($M = 4.65$). No significant main effect or interaction was observed for the desirability factor ($F < 1.0$).

A new sample of subjects ($N = 56$) was divided into four groups to further examine the effectiveness of the selection procedure. Each group was exposed to one of the four sets of statements, and was asked to rate the information it conveyed on both the desirability and intimacy dimensions. The same scales used in the initial pilot study were used to make these judgments, except that they had seven points rather than nine. Mean ratings for each set are provided in Table 3; two-way analyses of variance are shown in Table 4.

Analysis of the desirability ratings again revealed a significant main effect for desirability ($F = 113.16$; $df = 1,52$; $p < .01$), and no main effect or interaction for the intimacy variable ($F < 1.0$). Means were 5.36 and 2.54 for

 Insert Tables 3 & 4 about here

positive and negative sets, respectively. Analysis of the intimacy ratings again showed a significant main effect due to intimacy ($F = 20.51$; $df = 1,52$; $p < .01$). Intimate sets received higher ratings ($M = 5.25$) than superficial sets ($M = 3.75$). The desirability factor was shown to have

Table 3

Mean Ratings of Statement Sets: Pilot Study

Condition	Intimacy Ratings		Desirability Ratings	
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	5.14	4.36	5.43	5.29
Negative	5.36	3.14	2.57	2.50

Table 4

Analyses of Variance of Set Ratings: Pilot Study

Source	Intimacy Ratings			Desirability Ratings	
	df	MS	F	MS	F
Desirability (A)	1	3.50	2.28	111.45	113.16**
Intimacy (B)	1	31.50	20.51**	.16	<1
A X B	1	7.14	4.65*	.02	<1
Error	52	1.54		.99	

*p < .05

**p < .01

no significant main effect on intimacy ratings ($F = 2.28$; $df = 1, 52$; $p > .05$); however, its interaction with intimacy was significant ($F = 4.65$; $df = 1, 52$; $p < .05$). Results of a Newman-Keuls post hoc comparison test showed that the intimacy effect was significant ($p < .01$) at both levels of desirability, though it was more pronounced for the negative sets. Positive sets had means of 5.14 and 4.36 for intimate and superficial information respectively; while the comparable means for the negative sets were 5.36 and 3.14.

Overall, the two tests of the effectiveness of the selection procedure showed that the desirability and intimacy of the self-descriptive statements were successfully manipulated.

Experiment 1

Subjects. A total of 56 students (28 male and 28 female) from various undergraduate psychology courses at the University of Massachusetts participated in the study for experimental credit. They were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions as they arrived at the laboratory.

Procedure. The experiment was described as a self-contained questionnaire study designed to investigate how people form impressions of others on the basis of limited information. The questionnaire, which is included in

Appendix A, instructed subjects to read through a list of 28 self-descriptive statements which had reportedly been shown to students who had taken part in an earlier phase of the study. Subjects were then informed that each participant had been asked to select the 10 statements which best described him or herself. Information intimacy and information desirability were manipulated by varying the set of statements designated as being self-descriptive by a (fictitious) female student. Following the experimental manipulation, subjects completed measures of the dependent variables. These included measures of impression formation, attraction, and self-disclosure reciprocity. All subjects were thoroughly debriefed upon completion of the questionnaire.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire (see Appendix A) began by presenting subjects with a list of the 28 self-descriptive statements which had been selected on the basis of pilot data, as described above. It then provided the subject with one of the four sets of statements constituting the experimental manipulation. The remainder of the questionnaire embodied measures of the dependent variables.

Impression formation was assessed by means of an adjective checklist. For this purpose, 100 adjectives were selected from Anderson's (1965) personality traits representing the entire range of likability. Subjects were instructed to indicate which of the attributes were

applicable to the (fictitious) female student by checking either yes, no, or ? for each item on the list. Anderson's likability norms were adjusted by subtracting 3 from the value for each adjective. It was thus possible to multiply this approximation of the evaluative component by an approximation of the belief component: +1 (yes), -1 (no), or 0 (?). Cross-products were then summed to yield an indirect measure of attraction based on the PA model.

Next, the questionnaire contained Byrne's (1961) six-item interpersonal judgment scale (IJS). These items asked subjects to rate the stimulus person's intelligence, knowledge of current events, morality, and adjustment. The IJS also asked subjects to indicate how much they thought they would like the student, and whether they would enjoy working with her in another experiment. Consistent with Byrne's paradigm, these last two items were summed to obtain a standard measure of attraction. High scores indicated high attraction.

In order to provide subjects with an opportunity to disclose some information about themselves, the last portion of the questionnaire informed them that the (fictitious) female student had consented to return and take part in the final phase of the experiment. At this time she would supposedly be shown a set of statements describing the subject. Thus, subjects were asked to check the 10 statements they felt best described themselves on

a second copy of the list of 28 self-descriptive statements. (Subjects were assured that their identity would remain unknown). The mean intimacy and desirability values of the statements chosen by each subject were computed to obtain both an intimacy and a desirability index of self-disclosure reciprocity.

Results

Interpersonal attraction. Consistent with the PA model, the estimate of attraction based on adjective checklist data was highly correlated with scores on both the IJS ($\underline{r} = .727, p < .01$) and the semantic differential ($\underline{r} = .742, p < .01$). As expected, scores on these standard measures of attraction were also highly correlated ($\underline{r} = .768, p < .01$). A separate analysis of variance was performed on each of the three measures. Main effects considered were information intimacy (intimate or superficial), information desirability (positive or negative), and sex of subject. None of the analyses provided evidence for sex of subject as a main effect. Results obtained with the IJS did show a tendency for female subjects to evaluate an intimate discloser more highly than males did; however, this significant sex x intimacy interaction was not replicated in the analyses of the other two measures. Consequently, the sex variable is omitted in reporting the results that follow.

Mean attraction scores on all measures are provided in Table 5. Higher scores indicate greater attraction in all cases. The analyses of variance are shown in Table 6. As predicted, results obtained with the IJS showed that positive information ($\bar{M} = 10.40$) led to greater attraction than negative information ($\bar{M} = 7.22$). This difference was

 Insert Table 5 about here

found to be highly significant, $F = 26.99$; $df = 1, 52$; $p < .01$. Similarly, analysis of semantic differential data showed that desirability had a significant effect on attraction, with positive conditions resulting in a mean of 17.31 versus 13.41 for negative conditions, $F = 42.89$; $df = 1, 52$; $p < .01$. The effect of intimacy was found to be negligible in both cases ($F < 1.0$). However, results obtained with each measure exhibited a significant intimacy x desirability interaction, IJS: $F = 4.18$; $df = 1, 52$; $p < .05$; semantic differential: $F = 7.85$; $df = 1, 52$; $p < .01$. Mean attraction scores were submitted to a Neuman-

 Insert Table 6 about here

Keuls post hoc procedure. Results based on the IJS provided evidence ($p < .01$) that the significant interaction was largely attributable to the finding that the intimate discloser ($\bar{M} = 8.07$) was liked more than the superficial

Table 5

Means of Attraction Measures: Experiment 1

Desirability of disclosed information	Interpersonal judgment scale		Semantic differential		Adjective checklist measure	
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	10.00	10.79	16.71	17.93	67.82	95.56
Negative	8.07	6.36	14.43	12.36	-8.34	-10.39

Note: N = 14 per cell. The higher the mean, the greater the attraction.

Table 6

Analyses of Variance of Attraction Measures: Experiment 1

Source	df	Interpersonal judgment scale		Semantic differential		Adjective checklist measure	
		<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Desira- bility (A)	1	141.45	26.99**	216.07	43.48**	116076.00	45.71**
Intimacy (B)	1	3.02	<1	2.57	<1	2311.46	1.79
A X B	1	21.88	4.17*	37.79	7.60**	3106.05	2.40
Error	52	7.98		4.97		1295.08	

*p < .05

**p < .01

discloser ($\underline{M} = 6.36$) when the information revealed had negative implications. Intimacy had virtually no effect on attraction when the information disclosed was positive. Pairwise comparison of semantic differential means also showed that the intimate-negative discloser ($\underline{M} = 14.43$) was evaluated in a significantly ($\underline{p} < .01$) more positive manner than the superficial-negative discloser ($\underline{M} = 12.36$). However, there was also some evidence that the observed interaction was due in part to a significant ($\underline{p} < .05$) difference between positive conditions such that the stimulus person disclosing superficial information ($\underline{M} = 17.93$) was liked more than the stimulus person disclosing intimate information ($\underline{M} = 16.71$).

In further support of the PA model, the estimate of attraction based on adjective checklist data also showed that information desirability had a highly significant effect on attraction for the discloser, $\underline{F} = 89.63$; $\underline{df} = 1, 53$; $\underline{p} < .01$. Positive information led to a mean attraction estimate of 81.69, while negative information resulted in a mean of -9.37. Contrary to findings usually reported in the literature, there was a tendency for the (fictitious) female student who revealed superficial information ($\underline{M} = 42.59$) to be liked more than the stimulus persons who revealed intimate information ($\underline{M} = 29.74$); however, this intimacy effect was not found to be significant, $\underline{F} = 1.79$; $\underline{df} = 1, 52$; $\underline{p} > .05$. There was no evidence for an interaction

between intimacy and desirability.

Self-disclosure reciprocity. Mean intimacy and desirability scores computed on the basis of the statements which subjects chose for disclosure to the (fictitious) female student are reported in Table 7. These two recipro-

Insert Table 7 about here

city measures were each submitted to a two-way analysis of variance. As shown in Table 8, neither analysis provided evidence for any significant effects, indicating that subjects did not reciprocate either the intimacy or the

Insert Table 8 about here

desirability of the information revealed to them by the (fictitious) female student. Rather, there was a general tendency for subjects in all conditions to select statements which were slightly superficial ($\bar{M} = 5.56$) and moderately desirable ($\bar{M} = 6.61$).

Summary

Results of two standard measures of attraction showed that the desirability of information revealed by a (fictitious) female student had a significant effect on attraction toward her. As predicted, the disclosure of information with positive implications was shown to result in

Table 7

Means of Reciprocity Scores: Experiment 1

Desirability of disclosed information	Intimacy Score		Desirability Score	
	Intimacy of disclosed information		Intimacy of disclosed information	
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	5.61	5.53	6.75	6.53
Negative	5.54	5.56	6.54	6.63

Note: N = 14 per cell. The higher the mean, the greater the intimacy/desirability of the information disclosed by subjects.

Table 8

Analyses of Variance of Reciprocity Scores:
Experiment 1

Source	Intimacy Score			Desirability Score	
	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Desirability (A)	1	.003	<1	.074	<1
Intimacy (B)	1	.015	<1	.020	<1
A X B	1	.052	<1	.320	1.24
Error	52	.072		.259	

greater attraction than the disclosure of information with negative implications. These findings provide support for hypotheses derived from an information processing approach to interpersonal attraction. This approach suggests that revelation of desirable information, as compared to relatively undesirable information, results in the formation of more positive beliefs about the discloser, and in consequently greater attraction for her. Consistent with this interpretation, an indirect measure of attraction computed in accordance with the PA model was found to be highly correlated with the two standard measures of attraction. As would be expected, the analysis of this indirect measure also showed a significant main effect due to the desirability factor.

In contrast, the intimacy of the information disclosed by the (fictitious) female student was shown to have no effect on liking for her. Its interaction with desirability was found to be significant in the analyses of the two standard measures, but not in the analysis of the PA measure. Results of a post hoc analysis showed that this significant interaction was due to the fact that intimate information sometimes led to greater attraction than superficial information and sometimes to less attraction, depending on the level of desirability. These findings are interpreted as supporting the information processing position that intimacy would have no consistent effect on

beliefs formed about the (fictitious) female student.

A major purpose of the second experiment was to test the mediational role of belief formation in interpersonal attraction more directly by eliciting the subject's beliefs about the discloser.

Contrary to earlier reported research findings, there was no evidence for self-disclosure reciprocity as a result of treatments. One possible explanation for these negative findings may have been the remoteness of a (fictitious) discloser merely described in a questionnaire. A second purpose of Experiment 2 was to assess the effects of self-disclosure in an actual interaction with a female confederate.

Experiment 2

Subjects. Fifty students from introductory psychology courses at the University of Massachusetts participated in the study for experimental credit. Two subjects were eliminated from the sample for suspecting the use of a confederate, leaving a total of 48 subjects (24 males and 24 females). Each subject was paired with one of two female confederates and was randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions when he or she arrived at the laboratory.

Procedure. Using the same 2 x 2 factorial design as in Experiment 1, information intimacy and information

desirability were manipulated by varying the set of statements designated as self-descriptive by a female confederate. The confederate usually timed herself to arrive at the laboratory shortly after the subject. After ascertaining that they had never met, the subject and confederate were seated at opposite ends of a table. A partition was set up between them to avoid contaminating results with the effects of extraneous factors (e.g., eye contact, facial expression). The investigator read the following introductory statement: "The experiment you are about to take part in is an impression formation study designed to investigate how people form impressions of others on the basis of limited information." The investigator handed each member of the dyad the list of the 28 self-descriptive statements used in the earlier study, and asked them to read through the statements carefully.

When they had finished, the investigator read the procedural instructions: "Since you two don't know each other, it was necessary to devise a method whereby you could obtain some information about the other person. To meet this end, one of you will act as the sender of information about him-or herself while the other acts as the receiver of information. You will be randomly assigned to one of these two roles." At this time, the investigator had each person pick a (blank) card from an envelope marked "X = SENDER". The confederate always claimed to have the

"X"; thus, she was always assigned the sender role.

Before going on, the investigator told the pair that their names would not be included on their questionnaires. Furthermore, she stressed the importance of each person maintaining the confidentiality of any information revealed during the course of the experiment. The investigator then showed them a pile of index cards, continuing with these instructions: "Each of the statements on your list of self-descriptive statements has also been printed individually on one of these cards, which are not in any particular order (investigator shuffled the cards). The sender will go through the cards and pick a statement which she feels is descriptive of herself. Then she will pass the card with that statement over to the receiver. The receiver will read the statement carefully and then check it off on his or her list. The entire process will be repeated until the sender has passed the 10 statements which best describe herself over to the receiver. Are there any questions?"

The confederate began slowly passing the 10 statements associated with a given condition over to the subject. Statements were always passed in the order they appeared in the shuffled deck. In this way, the possibility of systematic bias due to order effects was eliminated. Following the experimental manipulation, the investigator asked the sender to wait in another room while the receiver completed an impression formation questionnaire.

Now the investigator read the following instructions to the subject: "First, carefully reread the 10 statements you received from the sender. Then begin working on the questionnaire. The questionnaire is generally self-explanatory; however, I will be back periodically to see if you are having any difficulties. But before I leave you to your work, I want to stress that since this is an impression formation study it is important that you be completely honest in your responses. Furthermore, I want to assure you that the other person will never see your questionnaire (investigator left the room)".

When the subject finished working on the questionnaire, which contained measures of attraction and impression formation, the confederate was brought back into the room. At this time, roles were reversed and the subject was asked to pass the 10 statements which best described him- or herself over to the confederate. The mean intimacy and desirability values of these statements provided measures of self-disclosure reciprocity. The subject was then instructed to leave the room while the confederate ostensibly completed the questionnaire. The investigator casually suggested that the subject could finish the last part of the experiment while waiting. Subjects were then given the opportunity to write down their ideas concerning the purpose of the experiment. Each subject was thoroughly debriefed with regard to all aspects of the study at the

termination of the experiment.

Questionnaire. For half the subjects, the questionnaire began by asking them to elicit their beliefs about the confederate in the manner described by Jaccard & Fishbein (1975). Subjects were instructed to write down any personality traits or attributes that they thought might be used to characterize the sender. They were then asked to go back through their list, indicating their subjective probability that the sender possessed each attribute on a 4-point scale ranging from very unlikely (0) to very likely (+3). This measure constituted the belief component of an estimate of attraction based on each subject's personal beliefs about the stimulus person. Subjects were then instructed to go through their list again, rating each attribute on a 7-point good-bad scale. This measure represented the evaluative component of the PA estimate of attraction. Subjects in this group went on to complete the IJS and semantic differential scales used in Experiment 1 to provide two standard measures of attraction.

The second half of the subjects were first asked to respond to the standard measures, and then went on to the belief elicitation procedure. This counterbalancing of procedural steps permitted a check on the possibility that active elicitation of beliefs may result in the development of a more concrete perception of the stimulus person,

which in turn could conceivably mediate differences in attraction.

In order to obtain a second indirect measure of attraction, the questionnaire finally presented all subjects with the adjective checklist used in the first experiment. Subjects were instructed to indicate which attributes were applicable to the sender by checking either yes, no, or ? for each adjective on the list. Anderson's (1965) adjusted likability norms were again used as an approximation of the evaluative component, while the subject's responses served as a rough approximation of the belief component.

Results

Interpersonal attraction. As shown in Table 9, the four measures of attraction were found to be highly inter-correlated ($p < .01$). These findings again provided evidence for the convergent validity of the different measures, and support the PA model of attraction.

Each of the four attraction measures was submitted to a four-way analysis of variance considering information intimacy, information desirability, sex of subject, and confederate as main effects. Since sex of subject exhibited no significant effects, it is omitted in reporting

 Insert Table 9 about here

Table 9

Intercorrelations of Attraction Measures: Experiment 2

	Interpersonal judgment scale	Semantic differential	Adjective check- list measure	Belief measure
Interpersonal judgment scale	1.000	-----	-----	-----
Semantic differential	.659	1.000	-----	-----
Adjective check- list measure	.652	.682	1.000	-----
Belief measure	.681	.655	.787	1.000

Note: Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients based on 48 observations;

$p < .01$, in all cases.

the results that follow. There was no significant confederate main effect, but there was a significant three-way interaction involving the confederate, intimacy, and desirability variables in the analysis of the measure based on adjective checklist data. Since this finding was not replicated in the results obtained with any of the other measures, the confederate variable is also omitted.

Mean attraction scores for all measures are provided in Table 10, and analyses of variance are presented in Table 11. As predicted, results consistently showed that attraction for the self-disclosing confederate increased significantly as a function of the desirability of the information revealed ($p < .01$). Results obtained with the IJS provided evidence that positive information ($M = 11.59$) led to significantly greater attraction than negative information ($M = 9.30$), $F = 16.43$; $df = 1,44$; $p < .01$. Similar findings were observed in the analysis of semantic

 Insert Table 10 about here

differential data with positive information resulting in a mean of 18.21 versus 14.67 for negative information, $F = 23.90$; $df = 1,44$; $p < .01$. Analysis of the PA measure derived from the subject's own beliefs about the discloser showed that information with desirable implications ($M = 28.62$) resulted in significantly greater attraction than information with undesirable implications ($M = 6.38$),

Table 10

Means of Attraction Measures: Experiment 2								
Desirability of disclosed information	Interpersonal judgment scale	Semantic differential		Adjective check- list measure		Belief measure	Intimate Superficial	Intimate Superficial
		Intimate Superficial	Intimate Superficial	Intimate Superficial	Intimate Superficial			
Positive	11.75	11.42	18.50	17.92	99.70	87.38	31.17	26.67
Negative	9.67	8.92	14.75	14.58	38.75	7.75	-7.08	-5.67

Note: $\bar{N} = 12$ per cell. The higher the mean, the greater the attraction.

$F = 51.19$; $df = 1,44$; $p < .01$. Finally, the measure based on adjective checklist data resulted in a mean of 93.54 for positive conditions and a mean of 23.25 for negative conditions. This finding is again highly significant, $F = 67.63$; $df = 1,44$; $p < .001$.

Intimacy of the information disclosed was found to have a significant main effect only on the adjective checklist estimate of attraction. Disclosure of intimate information (69.23) led to significantly greater attraction than disclosure of superficial information ($M = 47.57$), $F = 6.42$; $df = 1,44$; $p < .01$. This finding was not replicated with

 Insert Table 11 about here

either the estimate based on each subject's elicited beliefs or with the two standard measures of attraction ($F < 1$ in all cases). The significant intimacy x desirability interaction observed in the earlier study was not replicated in any of the current analyses.

Order effects. Scores on the four attraction measures were submitted to an analysis of variance with intimacy, desirability, and procedural order (standard measures of attraction followed by belief elicitation procedure or belief elicitation procedure followed by standard measures of attraction). As shown in Table 12, the order main effect was not found to be significant ($F < 1$). However,

Table 11

Analyses of Variance of Attraction Measures: Experiment 2

		Interpersonal judgment scale		Semantic differential		Adjective check- list measure		Belief measure	
	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Desirability (A)	1	63.02	16.43**	150.52	23.90**	59288.21	67.63**	14946.02	51.19**
Intimacy (B)	1	3.52	<1	1.69	<1	5629.87	6.42*	28.52	<1
A X B	1	.52	<1	.52	<1	1045.71	1.19	105.21	<1
Error	44	3.84		6.30		876.66		291.95	

*p < .05

**p < .01

 Insert Table 12 about here

all measures with the exception of the IJS provided evidence ($p < .05$) for a significant three-way interaction involving intimacy, desirability, and order.

Since the pattern of results was essentially the same for all measures, only semantic differential cell means are provided for illustrative purposes (see Table 13). It is clear that positive information led to consistently greater attraction than negative information, regardless of which measure appeared first in the questionnaire. In contrast, the effect of intimacy was contingent on order. When the standard measures of attraction preceded the belief elicitation procedure, the superficial discloser was liked more than the intimate discloser when the information

 Insert Table 13 about here

revealed was positive; while the superficial discloser was liked less than the intimate discloser when the information revealed was negative. When the belief elicitation procedure appeared first, the opposite pattern emerged, i.e., the superficial-positive discloser was liked less than the intimate-positive discloser, while the superficial-negative discloser was liked more than the intimate-negative discloser. No definitive explanation is currently available for this complex interaction.

Table 12

Three-way Analyses of Variance of Attraction Measures: Experiment 2

Source	Interpersonal judgment scale			Semantic differential			Adjective check- list measure			Belief measure		
	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>F</u>
Desirability (A)	1	63.02	15.81**	150.52	25.17**	59288.21	75.03**	14946.02	52.44**			
Intimacy (B)	1	3.52	<1	1.69	<1	5629.87	7.13*	28.52	<1			
Order (C)	1	.19	<1	4.69	<1	.17	<1	67.67	<1			
A X B	1	.52	<1	.52	<1	1045.71	1.32	105.02	<1			
A X C	1	2.52	<1	.52	<1	857.51	1.09	183.02	<1			
B X C	1	.52	<1	1.02	<1	.72	<1	.02	<1			
A X B X C	1	6.02	<1	31.69	<1	6108.35	7.73*	1190.02	4.18*			
Error	40	3.99		5.98		790.15		285.00				

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table 13

Means of Semantic Differential Measure of Attraction: Experiment 2

Disclosed information	Questionnaire Order			
	Belief elicitation first	Belief elicitation last		
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	19.67	17.17	17.33	18.67
Negative	14.50	15.67	15.00	13.50

Note: $N = 8$ per cell. The higher the mean, the greater the attraction.

Self-disclosure reciprocity. Mean reciprocity scores based on the information subjects chose to reveal to the female confederate are provided in Table 14. As in the

 Insert Table 14 about here

first experiment, the analysis of both the intimacy and desirability indices showed no indication of self-disclosure reciprocity (see Table 15). Once again, subjects in all conditions tended to select information that was slightly

 Insert Table 15 about here

superficial ($\bar{M} = 5.60$) and moderately positive ($\bar{M} = 6.54$) to describe themselves.

Summary

In further support of the PA model, an estimate of attraction computed on the basis of each subject's beliefs about the self-disclosing confederate was found to be highly correlated with two standard measures of attraction and with an indirect measure based on adjective checklist data. Specifically, these findings provide correlational evidence for the mediational role of belief formation in the development of interpersonal attraction.

As in Experiment 1, the analysis of each attraction measure revealed that attraction was consistently higher when the confederate disclosed desirable information about

Table 14

Mean Reciprocity Scores: Experiment 2

Desirability of disclosed information	Intimacy of disclosed information			
	Intimate	Superficial	Intimate	Superficial
Positive	5.63	5.55	6.74	6.60
Negative	5.71	5.53	6.33	6.50

Note: $\bar{N} = 12$ per cell. The higher the mean, the greater the intimacy/desirability of the information disclosed by subjects.

Table 15

Analyses of Variance of Reciprocity Scores:

Experiment 2

Source	Intimacy Score			Desirability Score	
	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Desirability (A)	1	.009	< 1	.785	2.01
Intimacy (B)	1	.204	2.81	.004	< 1
A X B	1	.026	< 1	.301	< 1
Error	44	.073		.391	

herself than when she disclosed undesirable information. Information intimacy was again shown to have no consistent effect on attraction. Intimate information sometimes led to more attraction than superficial information and sometimes to less attraction, depending on the desirability of the disclosed information and the order of the dependent measures in the questionnaire.

The findings concerning self-disclosure reciprocity were comparable to those reported in the first experiment. Despite the physical presence of a self-disclosing other, there was no evidence for the reciprocity of either information intimacy or desirability as a result of treatments.

General Discussion

A review of the literature indicates that research concerning the effect of self-disclosure intimacy on attraction toward the discloser has led to generally contradictory results. The information processing approach advocated by Ajzen (in press) offers some insight into this confused state of affairs. Ajzen's PA model suggests that attraction is a function of the beliefs formed about the stimulus person on the basis of the available information. It follows that intimacy will have an effect on attraction only to the extent that it influences the beliefs formed about the discloser. Since there is little reason to assume that intimate information consistently associates the discloser with

more positive beliefs than superficial information does, Ajzen argued that no consistent relationship can be expected between level of self-disclosure intimacy and interpersonal attraction.

The present paper reports two experiments which tested these ideas by independently manipulating the intimacy and the desirability of information revealed by a self-disclosing other. In the first experiment the discloser was a fictional female student described in a questionnaire format, while in the second experiment the discloser was a female confederate who actually engaged in a brief interaction with the subject. Consistent with an information processing approach, results obtained with standard attraction measures showed that liking for the discloser always increased with the desirability of the information disclosed. In further support of the information processing position, indirect measures of attraction based on the subject's beliefs about the discloser and computed in accordance with the PA model were found to be highly correlated with the standard measures of attraction. Furthermore, the manipulations in both experiments generally influenced the indirect measures in a manner comparable to the standard measures. Although correlational in nature, these findings suggest that information desirability influenced the traits perceived in the discloser and that the formation of such beliefs mediated attraction toward her.

In contrast to the desirability factor, information intimacy had little systematic effect on attraction. Rather, the effect of intimacy was found to be contingent on a number of other factors including desirability, sex of subject, confederate, and questionnaire order. Moreover, these effects varied from one measure of attraction to another. These findings support the contention that no consistent relationship can be expected between level of self-disclosure and attraction since it seems unlikely that intimacy per se has any consistent effect on belief formation.

At this juncture, however, it seems advisable to limit this conclusion to the initial impressions which emerge from brief, rather superficial encounters like those which occur in the short-term laboratory experiment, the genre of research typically done in this area. The role of self-disclosure intimacy in more highly evolved relationships remain an empirical question (cf., Levinger & Snoek, 1972). It is conceivable that, at this level of analysis, the disclosure of intimate information about oneself is an implicit term of the relationship, an obligation to be met adequately by each partner. Thus, amount of self-disclosure could function as an indicator of how well one's partner is living up to expectations. In this context, the perceived act of engaging (or not engaging) in self-disclosing behavior may be a more critical factor than either the content or intimacy of disclosure in maintaining attraction.

This speculation is not inconsistent with the information processing approach adopted in this paper. It may logically be argued that one's perceptions concerning whether a partner is fulfilling self-disclosure demands has implications for the beliefs formed about him or her. Such an interpretation underscores the importance of assessing the individual's beliefs about the stimulus person in a given situation, with the added complexity of considering how these beliefs interact with beliefs formed during the course of the relationship. Thus, the PA model may provide a useful starting point for researchers interested in studying existing relationships.

Contrary to the often reported finding that self-disclosure by one person leads to self-disclosure in kind by the recipient, the present experiments provided no evidence for self-disclosure reciprocity. These negative findings may have resulted from important methodological differences between these studies and previous research. Our subjects were asked to select self-descriptive statements from a prepared list. Results showed that subjects in all conditions chose statements which were, on the average, moderately positive and slightly superficial. It is conceivable that statements of this type were in fact most applicable to our subject population. If so, the subject's freedom to reciprocate would have been severely curtailed. In contrast, much previous research has permitted subjects to respond

in a completely open-ended format with their responses being rated for intimacy (e.g., Ehrlich & Graeven, 1969; Jourard & Freedman, 1971; Rubin, 1975). Still other studies have based their measures of reciprocity on the intimacy values of the topics which the subject expresses a willingness to discuss, rather than on the specific information they actually disclose (e.g., Cozby, 1972; Derlega, Harris, & Chaikin, 1973; Worthy, et. al., 1969). It may be that studies using the latter method are not effectively tapping self-disclosure intimacy, since it is conceivable that a subject may choose to converse superficially about highly intimate topics. Future research should give careful consideration to these issues.

One further methodological point should be considered in closing. The manipulations in the present experiments were based on only one set of self-descriptive statements. Future research in this area would do well to include an alternate set of statements as a random factor in the design. This measure would insure that the obtained results were due to treatments, rather than the specific set of stimulus items.

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Appendix A

Subject #_____ Age_____ Sex_____

Impression Formation

This study was designed to investigate how people form impressions of others on the basis of limited amounts of information. On the following pages, you will find 28 self-descriptive statements that were included in a questionnaire given to the students who took part in the first phase of the study. Please read through these statements carefully.

Self-Descriptive Statements

- ___1. I don't have any hobbies or special interests.
- ___2. Everytime I sleep with someone, I feel really guilty.
- ___3. I enjoy reading good books.
- ___4. I always try to be on time for appointments.
- ___5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
- ___6. I feel compassion toward people who can't help themselves.
- ___7. I communicate easily with most people.
- ___8. Sometimes I think that I am too sensitive.
- ___9. Criticism makes me very uncomfortable.
- ___10. I am not very careful with my possessions.
- ___11. I try to be honest with people.
- ___12. I enjoy having company over for dinner.
- ___13. I do many things that I later regret.
- ___14. I tend to be absent-minded and forget things.
- ___15. My sexual relationships have never been superficial.
- ___16. I am very interested in current events.
- ___17. I do a lot of volunteer work.
- ___18. Although I don't show it, I am very jealous.
- ___19. Generally speaking, my sexual experiences have been very rewarding.
- ___20. I am always late for appointments.
- ___21. It bothers me very much that I am not better looking.
- ___22. I constantly borrow things from other people.

- ___ 23. I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.
- ___ 24. Sometimes I enjoy hurting people I love.
- ___ 25. I tend to be sloppy about my appearance.
- ___ 26. I enjoy school and don't have any problem mastering my courses.
- ___ 27. I find a good deal of happiness in life.
- ___ 28. No matter who I am with, I never feel like I belong.

Positive-Intimate Set

Our preliminary subjects were instructed to indicate the 10 statements which they felt best described themselves. One student selected the statements listed below. We'll be interested in learning your impression of this person, so please read each statement carefully keeping this in mind.

Subject #14 - Female

- 5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
- 6. I feel compassion toward people who can't help themselves.
- 8. Sometimes I think that I am too sensitive.
- 11. I try to be honest with people.
- 13. I do many things that I later regret.
- 15. My sexual relationships have never been superficial.
- 16. I am very interested in current events.
- 19. Generally speaking, my sexual experiences have been very rewarding.
- 23. I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.
- 27. I find a good deal of happiness in life.

Positive-Superficial Set

Our preliminary subjects were instructed to indicate the 10 statements which they felt best described themselves. One student selected the statements listed below. We'll be interested in learning your impression of this person, so please read each statement carefully keeping this in mind.

Subject #26 - Female

- 3. I enjoy reading good books.
- 4. I always try to be on time for appointments.
- 5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
- 7. I communicate easily with most people.
- 12. I enjoy having company over for dinner.
- 13. I do many things that I later regret.
- 16. I am very interested in current events.
- 17. I do a lot of volunteer work.
- 23. I have a warm, and close relationship with my parents.
- 26. I enjoy school and don't have any problem mastering my courses.

Negative-Intimate Set

Our preliminary subjects were instructed to indicate the 10 statements which they felt best described themselves. One student selected the statements listed below. We'll be interested in learning your impression of this person, so please read each statement carefully keeping this in mind.

Subject #37 - Female

- 2. Everytime I sleep with someone, I feel really guilty.
- 5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
- 9. Criticism makes me very uncomfortable.
- 13. I do many things that I later regret.
- 16. I am very interested in current events.
- 18. Although I don't show it, I am very jealous.
- 21. It bothers me very much that I am not better looking.
- 23. I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.
- 24. Sometimes I enjoy hurting people I love.
- 28. No matter who I am with, I never feel like I belong.

Negative-Superficial Set

Our preliminary subjects were instructed to indicate the 10 statements which they felt best described themselves. One student selected the statements listed below. We'll be interested in learning your impression of this person, so please read each statement carefully keeping this in mind.

Subject #48 - Female

1. I don't have any hobbies or special interests.
5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
10. I am not very careful with my possessions.
13. I do many things that I later regret.
14. I tend to be absent-minded and forget things.
16. I am very interested in current events.
20. I am always late for appointments.
22. I constantly borrow things from other people.
23. I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.
25. I tend to be sloppy about my appearance.

Now we would like to obtain your impression of this person by having you respond to the following items.

1. Put a check in the appropriate column to show whether or not you think each of the traits listed below probably apply to this person.

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>?</u>		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>?</u>	
_____	_____	_____	serious	_____	_____	_____	happy
_____	_____	_____	obnoxious	_____	_____	_____	cooperative
_____	_____	_____	sincere	_____	_____	_____	demanding
_____	_____	_____	negligent	_____	_____	_____	productive
_____	_____	_____	cool-headed	_____	_____	_____	liberal
_____	_____	_____	boring	_____	_____	_____	alert
_____	_____	_____	conservative	_____	_____	_____	stingy
_____	_____	_____	moderate	_____	_____	_____	mature
_____	_____	_____	hostile	_____	_____	_____	unconventional
_____	_____	_____	disturbed	_____	_____	_____	creative
_____	_____	_____	logical	_____	_____	_____	middle-class
_____	_____	_____	loyal	_____	_____	_____	educated
_____	_____	_____	disagreeable	_____	_____	_____	tidy
_____	_____	_____	practical	_____	_____	_____	cautious
_____	_____	_____	clumsy	_____	_____	_____	withdrawn
_____	_____	_____	understanding	_____	_____	_____	self-assured
_____	_____	_____	exuberant	_____	_____	_____	religious
_____	_____	_____	friendly	_____	_____	_____	gullible
_____	_____	_____	careless	_____	_____	_____	cowardly
_____	_____	_____	modest	_____	_____	_____	irritating
_____	_____	_____	persuasive	_____	_____	_____	forgetful
_____	_____	_____	careful	_____	_____	_____	hopeful
_____	_____	_____	clean	_____	_____	_____	narrow-minded
_____	_____	_____	anxious	_____	_____	_____	excited
_____	_____	_____	nervous	_____	_____	_____	deceitful
_____	_____	_____	frustrated	_____	_____	_____	calm
_____	_____	_____	gentle	_____	_____	_____	submissive
_____	_____	_____	timid	_____	_____	_____	rash

Yes No ?

_____ conceited
 _____ intelligent
 _____ enthusiastic
 _____ warm
 _____ inaccurate
 _____ confident
 _____ thrifty
 _____ over-sensitive
 _____ thoughtful
 _____ self-confident
 _____ passive
 _____ popular
 _____ over-cautious
 _____ patient
 _____ malicious
 _____ clever
 _____ inhibited
 _____ impolite
 _____ noisy
 _____ talented
 _____ lazy
 _____ subtle

Yes No ?

_____ self-centered
 _____ cruel
 _____ insincere
 _____ down-hearted
 _____ selfish
 _____ dependable
 _____ lucky
 _____ tense
 _____ greedy
 _____ grouchy
 _____ phony
 _____ consistent
 _____ unappreciative
 _____ tactless
 _____ insecure
 _____ undecided
 _____ prejudiced
 _____ troubled
 _____ honest
 _____ stubborn
 _____ efficient
 _____ versatile

2. Intelligence (check one)

- _____ I believe that this person is very much above average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is above average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is slightly above average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is slightly below average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is below average in intelligence.
 _____ I believe that this person is very much below average in intelligence.

3. Knowledge of Current Events (check one)

- ☐ I believe that this person is very much below average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is below average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is slightly below average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is slightly above average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is above average in his knowledge of current events.
- ☐ I believe that this person is very much above average in his knowledge of current events.

4. Morality (check one)

- ☐ This person impresses me as being extremely moral.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being moral.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being moral to a slight degree.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being neither particularly moral nor particularly immoral.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being immoral to a slight degree.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being immoral.
- ☐ This person impresses me as being extremely immoral.

5. Adjustment (check one)

- ☐ I believe that this person is extremely maladjusted.
- ☐ I believe that this person is maladjusted.
- ☐ I believe that this person is maladjusted to a slight degree.
- ☐ I believe that this person is neither particularly maladjusted nor particularly well adjusted.
- ☐ I believe that this person is well adjusted to a slight degree.
- ☐ I believe that this person is well adjusted.
- ☐ I believe that this person is extremely well adjusted.

6. Personal Feelings (check one)

- ☐ I feel that I would probably like this person very much.
- ☐ I feel that I would probably like this person.
- ☐ I feel that I would probably like this person to a slight degree.

- ☐ I feel that I would probably neither particularly like nor particularly dislike this person.
☐ I feel that I would probably dislike this person to a slight degree.
☐ I feel that I would probably dislike this person.
☐ I feel that I would probably dislike this person very much.

7. Working Together in an Experiment (check one)

- ☐ I believe that I would very much dislike working with this person in an experiment.
☐ I believe that I would dislike working with this person in an experiment.
☐ I believe that I would dislike working with this person in an experiment to a slight degree.
☐ I believe that I would neither particularly dislike nor particularly enjoy working with this person in an experiment.
☐ I believe that I would enjoy working with this person in an experiment to a slight degree.
☐ I believe that I would enjoy working with this person in an experiment.
☐ I believe that I would very much enjoy working with this person in an experiment.

8. This person is:

harmful	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	beneficial
wise	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	foolish
dirty	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	clean
bad	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	good
sick	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	healthy
pleasant	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	unpleasant
valuable	: <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/> : <input type="checkbox"/>	worthless

The person who provided the statements describing herself in this questionnaire has consented to take part in the final phase of this study at a later date. At that time, we want to present her with a set of statements that describe you.

Remember, your identity will always remain unknown. The subject will only know your subject number and sex. The impression formation items will be identical to those used here.

So, in conclusion, we want you to check the 10 statements which you feel most nearly describe yourself. Of course, we recognize the fact that few of the items will be completely applicable; however, it is important that you select the 10 statements that best describe yourself.

Self-Descriptive Statements

- ___1. I don't have any hobbies or special interests.
- ___2. Everytime I sleep with someone, I feel really guilty.
- ___3. I enjoy reading good books.
- ___4. I always try to be on time for appointments.
- ___5. I can never remember the names of people I meet.
- ___6. I feel compassion toward people who can't help themselves.
- ___7. I communicate easily with most people.
- ___8. Sometimes I think that I am too sensitive.
- ___9. Criticism makes me very uncomfortable.
- ___10. I am not very careful with my possessions.
- ___11. I try to be honest with people.
- ___12. I enjoy having company over for dinner.
- ___13. I do many things that I later regret.
- ___14. I tend to be absent-minded and forget things.
- ___15. My sexual relationships have never been superficial.
- ___16. I am very interested in current events.
- ___17. I do a lot of volunteer work.
- ___18. Although I don't show it, I am very jealous.
- ___19. Generally speaking, my sexual experiences have been very rewarding.
- ___20. I am always late for appointments.
- ___21. It bothers me very much that I am not better looking.
- ___22. I constantly borrow things from other people.
- ___23. I have a very warm and close relationship with my parents.

- ___24. Sometimes I enjoy hurting people I love.
- ___25. I tend to be sloppy about my appearance.
- ___26. I enjoy school and don't have any problem mastering my courses.
- ___27. I find a good deal of happiness in life.
- ___28. No matter who I am with, I never feel like I belong.

