Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014

1-1-1974

Exposure to interviewee and interviewer disclosure as a facilitator of disclosure in an interview.

Kenneth Allen Bundza
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

EXPOSURE TO INTERVIEWEE AND INTERVIEWER DISCLOSURE

AS A FACILITATOR OF DISCLOSURE IN AN INTERVIEW

A Dissertation Presented

By

KENNETH A. BUNDZA

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

July   1974

Psychology
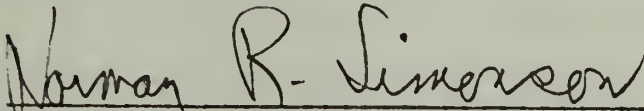
EXPOSURE TO INTERVIEWEE AND INTERVIEWER

DISCLOSURE AS A FACILITATOR OF DISCLOSURE

IN AN INTERVIEW

A Dissertation
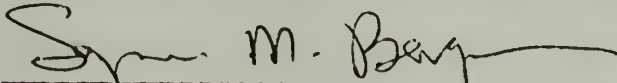
By

Kenneth A. Bundza

Approved as to style and content by:
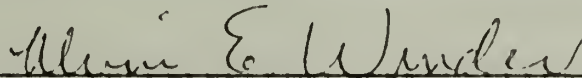
Norman R. Simonson

Dr. Norman R. Simonson, Chairman of Committee
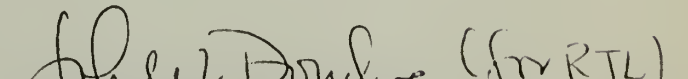
Seymour M. Berger

Dr. Seymour E. Berger, Committee Member

Richard F. Haase

Dr. Richard F. Haase, Committee Member

Alvin E. Winder

Dr. Alvin E. Winder, Committee Member

Richard T. Louttit (for RTL)

Dr. Richard T. Louttit, Department
Head, Psychology

July 1974

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author expresses his most sincere appreciation to
Dr. Norman R. Simonson for his considerable help and advice
in the development and actualization of this dissertation.
Thanks are also expressed to the committee members, Dr.
Seymour M. Berger, Dr. Richard F. Haase, and Dr. Alvin E.
Winder, whose advice and confidence in me helped make the
completion of this dissertation possible.

An acknowledgment of special thanks is due to Susan
Weinberg, Sharon Smith, and Phillip Silverman who acted as
experimental assistants in the execution of the experiment
this dissertation is based on.

Exposure to Interviewee and Interviewer Disclosure

as a Facilitator of Disclosure in an Interview

(July 1974)

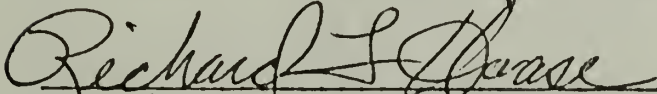Kenneth A. Bundza, B.S., The Ohio State University

M.S., University of Massachusetts

Directed by: Dr. Norman R. Simonson

This study attempted to examine the roles of modeling, self-disclosure as a social reward, and self-disclosure as a metacommunication of warmth, trust, and "interest in knowing" in the well documented dyadic effect of self-disclosure. Individual subjects, prior to an interview with an experimenter-interviewer, were exposed to one of four staged tape recordings of what they were led to believe was a segment from a previous interview conducted by the experimenter-interviewer. The tapes varied along two dimensions: who did the disclosing (the interviewer or the interviewee) and the type of information being disclosed (personal or demographic). Subjects rated the interviewer they heard on an adjective checklist prior to the actual interview. The actual interviews, in which the experimenter-interviewer remained for the most part passive and asked only a prescribed set of open ended questions, were tape recorded and later scored for both personal and demographic disclosure.

Two major findings emerged from this study. First, subjects rated the disclosing interviewer as less intracep-

tive than the non-disclosing interviewer. This finding was interpreted to mean that self-disclosure in and of itself does not necessarily function as a social reward nor communicate warmth, trust, and friendliness. Several factors inherent in the disclosure and the relationship must be considered before the final impact of a disclosure or series of mutual disclosures can be assessed.

A second major finding was that subjects exposed to demographic disclosure on the tape, irregardless of its source, disclosed more demographic information in the actual interview than subjects exposed to personal disclosure. The same effect occurred for personal disclosure. This modeling of content effect was interpreted as being demonstrative of the importance of discriminative cues, irregardless of their course, in observational learning. This finding also suggested the possible productive use of exposure to a model as a pretraining technique in clinical or counseling situations.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Self-disclosure is the deliberate revelation of personal experience and information from one individual to another. As a conceptual tool it can provide a great deal of insight into any examination of interpersonal relationships. Self-disclosure is the foundation of intimate interpersonal relationships. It is a factor in the development and maintenance of any human relationship and a vital factor in the development and maintenance of any human relationship that approaches or has reached an intimate level. It is through self-disclosure that one gets to know the "other" and in turn gets to know one's own self.

Client self-disclosure is the vital substance of many forms of psychotherapy. Several authors (Jourard, 1964; Mowrer, 1964; Rogers, 1961) have stressed the importance of full client self-disclosure in a successful psychotherapeutic encounter. Truax and Carkhuff (1965a) have reported that the level of client self-disclosure appears to be a predictor of final case outcome. It appears that any exploration of the parameters of self-disclosure that would shed light on this rather complex interpersonal process might benefit the future theory and practice of psychotherapy. It was with this in mind that the following study was undertaken.

Initial Research in Self-disclosure

Research in the area of self-disclosure began with Jourard and Lasakow's (1958) development of a sixty-item self-disclosure questionnaire. The questionnaire listed sixty topics of a personal nature divided into six categories. Subjects filling out the questionnaire were asked to check those topics which they had disclosed to each of several "target persons", such as mother, father, spouse, or closest friend. Initially, the bulk of research using this measure concentrated on discerning response variations among different social, cultural, age, and ethnic groups in the sixty item self-disclosure questionnaire (Jourard, 1971). In a typical study of this type, Jourard and Lasakow (1958) found after administering the self-disclosure questionnaire to 300 Negro and Caucasian college students that Caucasians disclosed more than Negros, females self-disclosed more than males, and subjects as a whole tended to self-disclose to another individual in direct proportion to their liking for that individual. It is important to note that there is very little evidence for the predictive validity of the above mentioned self-disclosure questionnaire. Several researchers have as yet been unable to find a relationship between performance on the self-disclosure questionniare and actual disclosure in a situation (Cozby, 1973).

After several studies of the above mentioned type, Jourard (1959) chose to explore the relationship between liking

for the target person and the amount disclosed to him. Out of this exploration emerged what Jourard and Landsman (1960) referred to as the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. Put quite simply, the dyadic effect of self-disclosure means that when one individual self-discloses to another, his self-disclosure will usually be met with a self-disclosure on the other's part. A great deal of research to follow further explored this dyadic effect of self-disclosure in various circumstances.

It is a goal of the following review to present some of the studies dealing with the dyadic effect of self-disclosure, particularly those which deal with interview type situations, present and expand the modeling interpretation of the dyadic effect, and finally examine some other explanations of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure.

The Dyadic Effect of Self-disclosure

The dyadic effect of self-disclosure refers to the phenomenon that self-disclosure often begets self-disclosure. It should be made clear that term is used only to describe the reciprocity of self-disclosure usually found in interpersonal interactions, not to explain why it occurs. Evidence for this aspect of self-disclosure exists in abundance and comes from several different settings. Jourard (1959), as mentioned previously, first noticed the phenomenon in a study

which was directed at the relationship between self-disclo-
sure and liking of the target person. In this study, Jourard
administered a self-disclosure questionnaire to the dean and
eight faculty members of a college of nursing. The subjects
were asked to disclose their responses to the self-disclosure
questionnaire to the investigator and to also indicate to
which of their colleagues they had disclosed each item. Sub-
jects were then asked which items of information they knew
from being told by each of their colleagues. The subjects'
task ended with rating the degree to which they liked their
colleagues. It was found that subjects tended to vary their
degree of disclosure to a target person as a function of
their liking for that person. More important, however, was
the evidence found that if a subject had disclosed much and
knew much about a colleague, the other knew much about, and
had disclosed much to her.

In a similar study by Jourard and Landsman (1960) with
male graduate students, more evidence for the dyadic effect
emerged in that eight of the nine subjects showed significant
correlations between the amount they disclosed to each of
their fellow students and the amount their fellows disclosed
to them. It is interesting to note that only a slight rela-
tionship existed between self-disclosure and liking in this
study. Also, the males in this study disclosed significantly
less than the females. Further evidence for the dyadic ef-
fect was obtained by Jourard and Richman (1963) who correla-

ted college students' reports of disclosure output (disclo-
sures given) and input (disclosures received) for mother, fa-
ther, best female friend, and best male friend. Levinger and
Senn (1967) examined the dyadic effect in marital relation-
ships and found a correlation between reported disclosure
output and input of .91 for husbands and .79 for wives.

While the above studies represent a somewhat "after the
fact" examination of the dyadic effect of self-diclosure,
other studies manipulating self-disclosure as an independent
variable also point to the existence of the dyadic effect of
self-disclosure. Evidence exists from experimenter-subject
interactions, group interactions, interviewer-interviewee in-
teractions, and therapist-client interactions.

Drag (as cited by Jourard, 1969) conducted a complex ex-
periment in which the primary independent variable was the
presence or lack of experimenter self-disclosure in an exper-
imenter-subject interaction prior to engaging in a game which
proved to be a test of subjects' self-disclosure to the ex-
perimenter and other subjects. Subjects were also examined
with regard to the degree they trusted the experimenter and
how willing they were to take interpersonal risks with the
experimenter. It was found that subjects who engaged in a
mutually revealing dialogue with the experimenter, one in
which the experimenter self-disclosed to the subject, answer-
ed more intimate questions from the experimenter (i.e. self-
disclosed more), trusted the experimenter more, and took more

interpersonal risks with the experimenter than subjects who were not exposed to experimenter self-disclosure.

Chittick and Himelstien (1967) found evidence of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure in a group setting. Individual subjects were put into "discussion groups" which actually consisted of one subject and several confederates who were instructed (as a group) to either manifest high or low levels of self-disclosure in their contribution to the group discussion. It was found that subjects engaged in high levels of self-disclosure when the group level of self-disclosure was high, and engaged in low levels of self-disclosure when the pre-arranged level of group self-disclosure was low.

Evidence exists supporting the notion of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure from several studies examining different aspects of self-disclosure in interview situations. Linwood Small (as cited by Jourard, 1971), interviewed two groups of female subjects matched with regard to past disclosure and willingness to disclose but separated with regard to value orientation determined by the Morris "Ways to Live" scale. All subjects were asked to discuss two non-intimate self-disclosure topics and four intimate topics in the interviews. Small, in what he called the "open" interview condition, self-disclosed during the interview on all the topics being discussed, whereas in what he called the "closed" interview condition, he did not disclose anything about himself. Through an analysis of tape recording made of the interviews,

he found that when value orientation was discounted, subjects interviewed by the "open" method self-disclosed significantly more in the interview than subjects interviewed by the "closed" method. It also appeared that the situational impact of interviewer self-disclosure overrode any influence on self-disclosure that might have been contributed by the subject's value orientation.

Jourard and Jaffe (1970) produced additional evidence in support of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. Subjects, matched for past and anticipated self-disclosure, were interviewed by an experimenter who openly discussed her thoughts and feelings on twenty topics during the interview. The experimental variable in this study was the length of time the experimenter-interviewer discussed each topic. The results indicated that the interviewee matched the interviewer in disclosure time. It was also found that subjects talked about more topics than expected which seems to indicate, as found in the Small (as cited by Jourard, 1971) study, that situational factors are of more influence than personality factors in self-disclosure.

Johnson and Norman (1972) conducted yet another study which supports the notion of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. In their study, Johnson and Norman had experimenter-interviewers either accept or reject subject-interviewees' comments on a given topic and either reciprocated or did not reciprocate the interviewees' self-disclosure when they oc-

curred. As expected, those interviewees who were exposed to an accepting, self-disclosing interviewer self-disclosed more and trusted the interviewer more than subjects who were exposed to an interviewer manifesting other interviewing behavior.

Evidence in support of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure also exists in the area of psychotherapy. Goodman, as cited by Jourard (1964), found that with experienced therapists, emotional self-disclosures of the patient and the therapist increased as the therapy progressed. In a psychotherapy analog study Simonson, Apter, Buchze, and Fuedenberg (1969), investigating the relationship among the willingness to self-disclose of a prospective psychotherapy client and the amount of self-disclosure and "warmness" or "coldness" of the therapist, presented subjects with one of three tapes (no therapist self-disclosure, medium amount of therapist self-disclosure, and high amount of therapist self-disclosure) of what was supposed to be a previous psychotherapy session of the therapist and had them fill out a modified version of the Jourard Self-Disclosure Questionnaire with regard to their willingness to self-disclose to the therapist prior to a short interview with him. Simonson et al. found that those subjects who were told by the experimenter that psychotherapists are usually cool and aloof were less willing to disclose to the therapist and showed no significant differences with regard to the amount of therapist self-disclosure they

were exposed to. Those subjects, however, who were told that psychotherapists are usually warm and friendly showed as a whole more willingness to self-disclose and most willingness to self-disclose in the medium therapist self-disclosure condition.

In another therapy analogue study (Bundza and Simonson, 1973), subjects were presented with one of three staged psychotherapy transcriptions varying in therapist self-disclosure. Subjects were most willing to self-disclose to the therapist who demonstrated the most self-disclosure in the transcription. Also, subjects perceived the high self-disclosing therapist as more nurturant and intraceptive than therapists who demonstrated lesser degrees or no self-disclosure in the transcription.

Explanations of the Dyadic Effect

Modeling. Modeling is a phenomenon which occurs when an observer, after being exposed to a model demonstrating a certain behavior, to some degree engages in that behavior demonstrated by the model. Jourard (1964) frequently uses this concept as an explanation of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. Jourard and Jaffe (1970) offer evidence on behalf of modeling as an explanation of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure in the previously cited study. In the study, four groups of subjects previously matched for past and anticipa-

ted self-disclosure were exposed to an interviewer-experi-
menter who self-disclosed to each subject on twenty topics.
The independent variable in this study was the length of time
the interviewer-experimenter self-disclosed to the subjects
on each of the topics. The results indicated a significant
relationship between the length of time the interviewer-ex-
perimenter spoke and the duration of the subjects' self-dis-
closures on a particular topic. When the interviewer-experi-
menter spoke briefly; and when the interviewer-experimenter
self-disclosed at length, so did the subjects. The subjects
also followed the interviewer-experimenter when she changed
from short to long self-disclosures, and vice versa. Another
demonstration of the modeling effect in this study was that
the number of topics subjects discussed during the interview
was greater than the number they indicated they would be wil-
ling to discuss prior to the experiment.

Marlatt (1971) offers additional evidence in behalf of
the modeling explanation of the dyadic effect of self-disclo-
sure. Subjects in his study, prior to an interview, were
either exposed to a staged, tape-recorded interview in which
the interviewee talked about five particular problem topics
or went into the interview proper without listening to any
previous interview. Also, half the subjects were given in-
structions prior to the interview to talk about five problem
topic areas (the same topics the interviewee talked about in
the staged demonstration tape) while the other half were

given ambiguous instructions regarding the interview. Tape recordings of the subject interviews were analyzed and indicated that subjects who were exposed to a model and who received ambiguous instructions for the interview self-disclosed problems more than any other group. Marlatt explained his results in terms of imitative learning.

Self-disclosure as a social reward. Several authors suggest that receiving self-disclosure from another individual is a socially rewarding experience. Implied in this notion is that receiving self-disclosure is a gratifying experience and the receiver of the disclosure will engage in behavior, namely reciprocal self-disclosure, to maintain and maximize the gratification obtained in receiving self-disclosure. Jourard and Resnick (1970) make a case of authentic disclosure functioning both as a model and as a reward for similar behavior. These authors also suggest that being disclosing, or "open" as they refer to it, may be rewarding in itself. They attempted to demonstrate these notions in a study which paired high disclosing subjects with low disclosing subjects in a situation where self-disclosure was the task. They found that while low disclosing subjects increased their level of disclosure when paired with high disclosing subjects, the level of disclosure for high disclosing subjects did not decrease when paired with low disclosing subjects. The authors interpret these results as being supportive of self-disclosure operating as a social reinforcer of like behavior.

Worthy, Gary, and Kahn (1969) conducted a study in which they looked at self-disclosure as a social reward in the framework of social exchange theory and found many of the interpersonal aspects of self-disclosure consistent with the tenents of social exchange theory. Social exchange theory, borrowing from some basic economic theories, states that an individual will maintain and enjoy an interpersonal interaction in proportion to the "rpofit" obtained from that interaction. "Profit" refers to the reward obtained from another individual minus the personal cost invested to obtain the reward. Worthy et al. saw self-disclosure as a social reward in that such information inherent in a self-disclosure may be seen as typically only disclosed to friends. It indicates to the person being disclosed to that he is liked and trusted by the discloser. Therefore, a self-disclosure may be assumed to be a reward or positive outcome for the disclosee. In brief, they had subjects, in groups of four who had been matched for previous self-disclosure, exchange questions and answers, if the subject being asked chose to answer, concerning seven topics previously rated for increasing intimacy value. Subjects were asked to rate each other along several dimensions prior to, during, and after exchanging questions and answers. Worthy and Gay, interpreting their results, maintained that self-disclosure functioned as a social reward and was consistent with social exchange theory in that levels of intimacy exchanged by subjects followed the law of reci-

procity, more intimate disclosure were made initially to those who were better liked, and final liking was higher the higher the level of self-disclosure. They also suggest in the discussion of their results that while it seems apparent that receiving a self-disclosure from another after self-disclosing to that other is a positive reinforcement for self-disclosure, the act of self-disclosing, feeling free enough to self-disclose, is reinforcing in itself.

Powell (1968), in a study that examined the differential effectiveness of types of interviewer interventions in an experimental interview, found open disclosure on the part of an interviewer to be an effective reinforcer of interviewee self reference statements (self-disclosure). When compared with approval-supportive statements and reflective-restatement statements, open disclosure on the part of the interviewer proved to be most effective in influencing both positive and negative self-reference statements on the part of the interviewees.

Studies by David and Sloan (in press) and Davis and Skinner (in press) provide additional support indicating the usefulness of social exchange theory in interpreting the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. In the Davis and Sloan study, subjects were assigned to one of four conditions defined by possible combinations of interviewer disclosure or non-disclosure. It was found that interviewee disclosure was strongly facilitated by interviewer disclosure but was sustained at

a high level only if the interviewer continued to disclose. Davis and Sloan suggest that these results demonstrate that the facilitating effect of interviewer disclosure on interviewee disclosure is best interpreted in terms of social exchange theory rather than in terms of response disinhibition or discriminative cues being provided by the interviewer. In the Davis and Skinner study subjects were exposed to disclosure by an interviewer, or by an audiotape model, or received no disclosure at all prior to their task of disclosing along several predetermined content areas in an interview. Results indicated that interviewer disclosure elicited the greatest amount of disclosure from interviewees. Again, these findings were interpreted as favoring a social exchange rather than modeling account of the dyadic effect of self-disclosure.

The positive metacommunication of self-disclosure. The term metacommunication is frequently used to describe implicit messages involved in a communication that transcend or are not inherently obvious in the explicit content of that communication. Jourard (1964) suggests that much more than the simple communication of information occurs when an individual discloses his real self to another. As an individual lets himself be known by means of self-disclosure to another, the "mystery" surrounding him begins to decrease; the "disclosee" (the person receiving the self-disclosure), begins to find out the similarities and differences between himself and the "discloser" (the person engaging in self-disclosure), be-

gins to find out about the needs, emotions, fantasies, and self-awareness of the "discloser", and begins to see how and to what extent the "discloser" deviates from certain ethical standards. In the act of self-disclosure, Jourard suggests that the "discloser" displays love for the "disclosee" by letting himself be known. Also, the "discloser" displays courage in his willingness to be known and a trust in the "disclosee". Finally, the "discloser" in his relevations provides the "disclosee" with an invitation to be authentic, spontaneous, and to engage in genuine dialogue. The above hypotheses set forth by Jourard strongly suggest that a positive impression of the "discloser" along certain dimensions is created in the receiver of a self-disclosure which may be a strong factor in his willingness to engage in self-disclosure himself with the "discloser". The results of several studies substantiate this notion.

Jourard and Friedman (1970) found that subjects rated an experimenter who disclosed to them more positively in general than an experimenter who maintained a "scientific" posture and did not disclose. Subjects also disclosed more to the disclosing experimenter.

Murphy and Strong (1972) conducted a study in which an experimenter-interviewer similarly self-disclosed to college student subjects 0, 2, 4, 6, or 8 times in the course of a short interview. They found that although the density (i.e. the number of self-disclosures) or interviewers' self-disclo-

sures had a minimal effect on subjects' impressions of the interviewer, the interviewer self-disclosures increased subjects' perceptions of the experimenter-interviewer's willingness to be known, warmth, and friendliness. Subjects who were self-disclosed to also experienced increased feelings of being understood. These findings are in part corroborated by the findings of the previously cited Bundza and Simonson (1973) study. Subjects exposed to a transcription of a self-disclosing psychotherapist rated this self-disclosing psychotherapist higher with regard to nurturance and intraception, subscales of the Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist, than psychotherapists who either made warm, supportive comments or utilized standard interviewing techniques in the transcription.

Several studies indicate that one result of self-disclosure is the "disclosee's" increased feelings of trust for the "discloser". Johnson and Norman (1972) conducted a study in which confederates in a "discussion group" setting either accepted or rejected subjects' statements concerning the discussion topic and either reciprocated or did not reciprocate subjects' self-disclosures. The results indicated that subjects trusted most those confederates who accepted their statements and reciprocated their self-disclosure. Another finding of a previously cited study, Drag (as cited by Jourard, 1971), indicated that subjects exposed to a self-disclosing experimenter not only demonstrated increased trust

for this experimenter but also took increased interpersonal risks in her presence.

Overview of the Study

Researchers in the past have attempted to explain the dyadic effect of self-disclosure in terms of modeling, the social reward value of receiving a self-disclosure, or the positive metacommunications involved in a self-disclosure. No study, however, has attempted to integrate these explanations or assess the particular role each plays in the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. This study attempted to begin to do this by exploring the notion that the social reward value of receiving a self-disclosure and the positive metacommunications involved in a self-disclosure serve to enhance the effect of modeling in the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. This study also attempted to determine what effect different intimacy levels of disclosure might have in the above hypothesized relationship. The parameter of intimacy level of disclosure has often been omitted in previous research dealing with the explanations of modeling, the social reward value of receiving a self-disclosure, or the positive metacommunications involved in self-disclosure for the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. This study attempted to explore the notion that disclosure of an intimate, personal nature operates as a more powerful social reward and metacommunicator than

disclosure of a more factual, demographic nature.

This study explored these aspects of self-disclosure by means of an experimental manipulation which exposed one group of subjects to a non-disclosing interviewer interviewing a disclosing interviewee and exposing another group of subjects to a disclosing interviewer interviewing a minimally disclosing interviewee. This exposure took the form of subjects listening to staged tape recordings prior to an actual interview with the interviewer subjects heard on tape. If indeed self-disclosure operates as a social reward which facilitates reciprocal disclosure one would expect subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer matched with a nondisclosing interviewee to disclose more in an actual interview than subjects explosed to a nondisclosing interviewer matched with a disclosing interviewee, a situation in which subjects' disclosure would be affected primarily by modeling interviewee disclosure. Also, if indeed self-disclosure metacommunicates the qualities of trust, warmth, and "interest in knowing", one would expect subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer to rate this disclosing interviewer higher on these and related dimensions than subjects would rate a nondisclosing interviewer. Finally, one would also expect these effect to increase as a function of the intimacy level of disclosure subjects were exposed to.

The social reward value of self-disclosure in facilitating reciprocal disclosure was assessed by measuring the

amount of subject disclosure in the actual interview. The
ability of self-disclosure to metacommunicate the qualities
of trust, warmth, and "interest in knowing" was assessed by
the use of relatively corresponding subscales of nurturance
and intraception from the Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist
which subjects filled out regarding their impressions of the
interviewer after hearing him on the tape recording. Gough
(1965) defines nurturance as the quality of engaging in beha-
viors which extend emotional benefits to others. Gough (1965)
defines intraception as the quality of engaging in attempts
to understand one's own behavior and the behavior of others.
Aside from the more theoretical use of the concepts of nur-
turance and intraception in this study, it is intuitively ob-
vious that these are very necessary qualities for any inter-
viewer, counselor, or psychotherapist to possess.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. Subjects exposed to a disclosing inter-
viewer will rate this interviewer higher with regard to nur-
turance and intraception than subjects exposed to a nondis-
closing interviewer.

Hypothesis 2. Subjects exposed to an interviewer mani-
festing personal disclosure will rate this interviewer higher
with regard to nurturance and intraception than subjects ex-
posed to an interviewer manifesting demographic disclosure.

Hypothesis 3. Subjects exposed to a disclosing inter-
viewer disclosing demographic information matched with a non-
disclosing interviewee will disclose more demographic infor-
mation in the actual interview than subjects exposed to an
interviewee manifesting demographic disclosure matched with
a nondisclosing interviewer.

Hypothesis 4. Subjects exposed to a disclosing inter-
viewer manifesting personal disclosure matched with a nondis-
closing interviewee will disclose more personal information
in the actual interview than subjects exposed to a disclosing
interviewee manifesting personal disclosure matched with a
nondisclosing interviewer.

Hypothesis 5. Subjects exposed to a disclosing inter-
viewer manifesting personal disclosure will disclose more
(both personal and demographic information) in the actual in-
terview than subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer
manifesting demographic disclosure.

EXPERIMENTAL METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were sixty male undergraduate students from undergraduate psychology courses at the University of Massachusetts. Subjects volunteered to participate in the study and received extra course credit for their participation. No other qualifications were placed on subjects other than that they be male. All male subjects were chosen to avoid the confounding that might occur due to heterosexual interactions. Also, as Jourard (1964) has pointed out, there is a significant difference in self-disclosure between males and females.

Experimental Procedure

Individual subjects were assigned at random to one of four experimental conditions, fifteen subjects per condition. Each individual subject was met by an experimental assistant, an undergraduate psychology major volunteer, in an experimental room and given a written instruction sheet which stated:

> This is an experiment designed to examine how people form impressions of interviewers manifesting various interviewing styles. Your task is simply to talk with an interviewer for a while (about 15

minutes) sharing with him any information about
yourself you feel comfortable talking about. A
tape recording of your interview will be made to be
later analyzed with regard to certain aspects of
your interaction with the interviewer. Please un-
derstand that you will remain anonymous throughout
the interview and will remain so when the tape re-
cordings are analyzed.

To familiarize yourself with the interviewer
that you will be talking with, prior to your inter-
view you will hear a short tape recorded segment
selected at random from a previous interview con-
ducted by the interviewer you will soon be talking
with. Also, a transcription of this interview will
be provided for you to read while listening to the
tape. The person being interviewed (the interview-
ee) volunteered to have his interview played to
others. After listening to the tape and reading
the transcription, in order for us to get an idea
of some of your impressions of this interviewer who
you will soon be talking with, we ask that you fill
out an adjective checklist concerning your impres-
sions of the interviewer. The experimenter will
provide you with this checklist after you have lis-
tened to the tape.

After having read the instructions and clearing up any

conflusions or misunderstandings about the experimental task,

individual subjects proceeded to the first phase of the ex-

perimental procedure. This first phase consisted of present-

ing each subject with what they were led to believe was a

randomly selected tape recorded segment taken from a previous

interview conducted by the interviewer they would eventually

be interviewed by. Subjects were also given a written tran-

scription of the recording they listed to. In reality, there

were four staged tape recordings which constituted the four

experimental conditions. (These staged recordings will be

explained in more detail in the Experimental Manipulation

section.) After hearing the tape recording, subjects filled out a Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist (see Appendix E) with regard to their impression of the interviewer they heard. When this was finished the experimental assistant led the subject to another experimental room and introduced the subject to the male experimenter-interviewer, an advanced graduate student in clinical psychology.

The experimenter-interviewer, who was always kept blind as to the experimental condition each subject was in, greeted each subject the following way:

> Hi . . . We have about fifteen minutes and in that time I'd like to get to know something about you. I'd like for you to share with me whatever you feel comfortable sharing about yourself that you think is important in order for someone to get to know something about you as a person.

The experimenter-interviewer was disciplined to maintain a constant interviewing style with all subjects. The experimenter-interviewer tried to maintain an interviewing style characterized by warmth, acceptance, and interest while not appearing to be overly ingratiating or friendly. To insure this, the experimenter-interviewer commented very little during the interview and when he did say something his comments were limited to the following:

1. "Could you tell me anything else?"
2. "Are there any other things?"
3. "Could you expand on something you've already mentioned?"
4. "Would you like to go into detail about anything?"

5. "Is there anything else?"
6. "Have you left anything out that might be important?"

Towards the end of the fifteen minute time period the experimenter-interviewer would end the interview by saying:

"Is there anything you might like to say in summary?"

In those cases in which the subject chose to discontinue the interview prior to the fifteen minute time limit, the experimenter-interviewer would close the interview with the same above question.

After the interview proper and prior to the subject's debriefing, the experimenter-interviewer asked each subject a series of four post-experiment questions (see Measures section).

Subject debriefing, the final procedural phase, took the form of explaining the nature and purpose of the experiment to the subject. Subjects were also given a written explanation of the experiment and an opportunity to ask questions about any aspect of the experiment. Finally, subjects were thanked for their participation and the necessary "experimental credit slip" was signed for the subject.

Experimental Manipulation

As mentioned above in the Experimental Procedure section, subjects, prior to an actual interview, were presented

with one of four staged tape recordings they were led to believe were taken from an earlier interview. The tape recordings were constructed to vary along two dimensions: interviewer versus interviewee disclosure and personal versus demographic disclosure.

Interviewer versus interviewee disclosure. The first dimension, interviewer versus interviewee disclosure, means quite simply that in two of the four staged recordings the interviewer did most of the disclosing (talking) whether it was personal disclosure (see Appendix A) or demographic disclosure (see Appendix B). In the other two recordings, however, it was the interviewee who did most of the disclosing (talking) whether it was personal disclosure (see Appendix C) or demographic disclosure (see Appendix D).

Personal versus demographic disclosure. To understand the second dimension, personal versus demographic disclosure, it is necessary to appreciate the existence of distinctly different types of self-disclosure. Self-disclosure, rather than being a singular entity, can vary along as many dimensions as ingenuity can provide. A prime differentation of different types of self-disclosure however, the one which was used in this study, can be characterized by what Egan (1970) refers to as "history" (demographic disclosure) versus "story" (personal disclosure). "History" is best described as pseudo self-disclosure; it is actuarial, "there and then", and fact oriented. It involves little interpersonal risk and

little ego involvement. Disclosures of where one lives, works, and travels would be of the "history" type. In two of the four experimental conditions in this study either the interviewer (see Appendix B) or the interviewee (see Appendix D) demonstrated demographic disclosure in the staged tape recording presented to the subjects prior to their actual interviews. The interviewer and interviewee in these conditions engaged in identical demographic disclosure. The interviewer or interviewee demonstrating demographic disclosure on the tape demonstrated demographic disclosure only; they engaged in no other types of disclosure in these conditions. Demographic disclosure is included in this study primarily as a control for subjects' exposure to personal self-disclosure, which Egan refers to as a "story".

"Story", referred to as personal self-disclosure in this study, is authentic self-disclosure. It is transmission of self, rather than transmission of fact as in "history". It involves both interpersonal risk and ego involvement. Haymes (as cited by Jourard, 1971), describing a technique for measuring self-disclosure from tape recordings, lists several parameters useful in describing personal self-disclosure (see Appendix F). Haymes maintains that self-disclosure excludes all opinions about issues other than the self and consists mainly of expressions of emotion and emotional process, expressions of needs, expressions of fantasies, strivings, dreams, hopes, and expressions of self-awareness. In two of

the four experimental conditions in this study either the in-
terviewer (see Appendix A) or the interviewee (see Appendix
C) engaged in personal disclosure (based on the parameters
set forth by Haymes) in the staged recording presented to
subjects. The interviewer and the interviewee in these con-
ditions engaged in identical personal disclosure. Both the
interviewer and the interviewee in these conditions demon-
strated personal disclosure only, they engaged in no other
types of disclosure.

In summary, the experimental manipulation in this study
was the presentation of one of four staged tape recordings to
subjects varying along the dimensions of interviewer versus
interviewee disclosure and demographic versus personal dis-
closure. The four experimental conditions were:

1. Interviewer engaging in demographic disclosure (RD)

2. Interviewer engaging in personal disclosure (RP)

3. Interviewee engaging in demographic disclosure (ED)

4. Interviewee engaging in personal disclosure (EP)

Measures

Interviewer intraception and nurturance. Subjects' im-
pressions of interviewer intraception and nurturance were as-
sessed by means of the Intraception Scale and the Nurturance
Scale of the Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist (Gough, 1965)
(See Appendix E). Subjects filled out the Adjective Check-

list with regard to their impressions of the interviewer presented in the staged tape recording. Gough defines intraception as engaging in attempts to understand one's own behavior and the behavior of others. He maintains (Gough, 1965, p. 9) that a high scorer on this scale is ". . . reflective and serious, as would be expected; he is also capable, conscientious, and knowledgeable." Gough defines nurturance as engaging in behaviors which extend material or emotional benefits to others. A high scorer on this scale is helpful, dependable, and benevolent.

Personal self-disclosure. Haymes' (as cited by Jourard, 1971) technique for measuring self-disclosure from tape recorded interviews was employed to measure subjects' personal disclosure during the actual interviews (see Appendix F). Briefly, this technique divided a tape recorded interview into 30 second segments and scores each segment for the existence or nonexistence of interviewee personal self-disclosure. Experimental assistants, naive as to the experimental condition of the particular subject-interviewee they were rating (subjects were identified only by numbers in the recorded interviews), rated the recorded interviews using Haymes' technique. Raters were trained on a set of five randomly chosen recorded interviewers prior to the actual scoring. A check of inter-rater reliability of this rating system in this study produced a Pearson r of .949.

Demographic self-disclosure. To measure subjects' demo-

graphic self-disclosure during the recorded interviews, a
scoring method was developed similar to that of Haymes but
which awarded points for factual, historical, demographic
disclosures rather than personal ones. Briefly, this technique
divided a tape recorded interview into 30 second segments and
scores each segment for the existence or nonexistence of fac-
tual, historical, or demographic statements made by the sub-
ject about his life. See Appendix G for a comprehensive de-
scription of this rating system. Experimental assistants,
again naive as to the experimental condition of the particu-
lar subject they were rating, rated the recorded interviews
for demographic disclosure using this technique. Raters were
trained on a set of five randomly chosen recorded interviews
prior to the actual scoring. A check of inter-rater reliabi-
lity of this rating system in this study produced a Pearson
r of .959.

Subject awareness and general feedback. As mentioned in
the Procedure section, subjects after a fifteen minute inter-
view with the experimenter-interviewer were asked a series of
four open ended questions to determine in a general way the
level of their awareness of the experimental manipulation.
Also, these open-ended questions provided subjects the oppor-
tunity to share some of their subjective experience of the
experiment and explain in their own terms what they felt af-
fected their behavior during the experiment. The experiment-
er-interviewer asked each subject the four questions and re-

corded on paper each subject's response. The four questions

were:

1. What impressed you the most about the tape re-
   cording you heard in the other room?
2. What do you think affected your behavior the
   most during our interview?
3. What do you think this experiment was about?
4. Do you have any general comments about this ex-
   periment?

RESULTS

Interviewer Intraception

The means and standard deviations of subjects' impressions of interviewer intraception as measured by the intraception subscale of the Marrison Gough Adjective Checklist are presented in Table 1. Hypothesis 1 predicted that the interviewer in conditions RD and RP would be rated as more intraceptive than the interviewer in conditions ED and EP. A two way, fixed effects analysis of variance (Myers, 1966) performed on the data (see Table 2) yielded a main effect ($F = 5.15$, $p < .05$) which indicated the opposite of what was predicted. Subjects rated the disclosing interviewer as less intraceptive ($\overline{X} = 4.80$) than the nondisclosing interviewer ($\overline{X} = 7.07$).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the interviewer in the RP condition would be rated as more intraceptive than the interviewer in the RD condition. Inspection of the means revealed that the interviewer in the RD condition was in fact rated higher with regard to intraception ($\overline{X} = 4.93$) than the interviewer in the RP condition ($\overline{X} = 4.69$). Obviously, Hypothesis 2 cannot be substantiated by the data.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations: Intraception

	EP	RP	ED	RD
$\overline{X}$	7.33	4.67	6.80	4.93
S	4.24	3.37	3.67	4.30

Table 2

Two Way ANOVA: Intraception

SV	df	SS	MS	F
Total	<u>59</u>	<u>917.73</u>		
A (Source of Disclosure)	1	77.06	77.06	5.15*
B (Type of Disclosure)	1	.26	.26	.02
AB (Source x Type)	1	2.41	2.41	.16
S/AB	56	838.00	14.92	

*$p < .05$

Interviewer Nurturance

The means and standard deviations of subjects' impressions of interviewer nurturance as measured by the nurturance subscale of the Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist are presented in Table 3. Hypothesis 1 predicted that the interviewer in conditions RD and RP would be rated as more nurturant than the interviewer in conditions ED and EP. A two way, fixed effects analysis of variance (Myers, 1966) performed on the data (see Table 4) failed to yield any main effects and therefore to substantiate Hypothesis 1. The analysis of variance did reveal an interaction ($F = 2.05$, $p < .20$) however.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the interviewer in the RP condition would be rated as more nurturant than the interviewer in the RD condition. Inspection of the means revealed that the interviewer in the RD condition was in fact rated higher with regard to nurturance ($\overline{X} = 17.93$) than the interviewer in the RP condition ($\overline{X} = 17.33$). Obviously, Hypothesis 2 cannot be substantiated by the data.

Demographic Disclosure, Personal Disclosure, and Combined Disclosure

The means and standard deviations of subjects' demographic disclosure, personal disclosure, and combined disclosure are presented in Table 5. Hypothesis 3 predicted that subjects in condition RD would disclose more demographic infor-

Table 3

Means and Standard Deivations: Nurturance

	EP	RP	ED	RD
$\overline{X}$	20.67	17.33	16.73	17.93
S	5.61	7.45	4.23	6.70

Table 4

Two-Way ANOVA: Nurturance

SV	df	SS	MS	F
Total	59	2234.33		
A (Source of Disclosure)	1	17.07	17.07	.45
B (Type of Disclosure)	1	41.67	41.67	1.11
AB (Source x Type)	1	77.06	77.06	2.05*
S/AB	56	2098.54	37.47	

*$p < .20$

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations:

Demographic Disclosure, Personal Disclosure,

and Combined Disclosure

		Demographic	Personal	Combined
EP	$\overline{X}$	11.06	18.66	29.60
	S	6.83	3.93	11.14
RP	$\overline{X}$	14.66	15.00	29.66
	S	7.35	6.90	6.26
ED	$\overline{X}$	16.73	10.27	26.66
	S	8.42	8.18	11.32
RD	$\overline{X}$	18.40	10.47	27.80
	S	8.52	5.73	13.38

mation in the actual interview than subjects in condition ED. While an inspection of the means indicated that the above prediction might be supported by the data (see Table 5), a planned comparison of the means (Hays, 1963) indicated that this difference was not significant (t = .826, df = 28).

Hypothesis 4 predicted that subjects in condition RP would disclose more personal information in the actual interview than subjects in condition EP. Inspection of the means revealed that subjects in condition EP disclosed more personal information ($\overline{X}$ = 18.66) than subjects in condition RP ($\overline{X}$ = 15.00). Obviously, Hypothesis 4 cannot be supported by the data.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that subjects in condition RP would disclose more total information in the actual interview than subjects in condition RD. While an inspection of the means indicated that the above prediction might be supported by the data (see Table 5), a planned comparison of the means (Hays, 1963) indicated that this difference was not significant (t = .664, df = 28).

A two-between and one-within ANOVA (Myers, 1966) performed on the data (see Table 6) failed to yield any main effects but did reveal a strong type x measure interaction (F = 11.07, p <.005) which indicated that the type of disclosure (demographic or personal) subjects manifested in the interview was a function of the type of disclosure they were exposed to on the staged tape, regardless of the source of the

Table 6

Two-Between and One-Within ANOVA: Demographic Disclosure,

Personal Disclosure, and Combined Disclosure

SV	df	SS	MS	F
Total	119	7975.97		
Between S	59	3343.97		
A (Source of Disclosure)	1	.29	.29	.00
B (Type of Disclosure)	1	58.79	58.79	1.00
AB (Source x Type)	1	6.55	6.55	.11
S/AB	56	3278.34	58.54	
Within S	60	4632.00		
C (Measure of Disclosure)	1	61.63	61.63	.94
AC (Source x Measure)	1	100.84	100.84	1.53
BC (Type x Measure)	1	770.14	770.14	11.77*
ABC (Source x Type x Measure)	1	35.78	35.78	.54
SC/AB	56	3663.61	65.42	

*$p < .005$

disclosure (interviewer or interviewee). Subjects in conditions ED and RD disclosed more demographic information ($\overline{X}$ = 17.56) than subjects in conditions EP and RP ($\overline{\overline{X}}$ = 12.86). Subjects in conditions EP and RP disclosed more personal information ($\overline{X}$ = 16.83) than subjects in conditions ED and RD ($\overline{\overline{X}}$ = 10.37). This effect will be referred to as modeling of content.

Subjects' Experimental Awareness

The post experimental questionnaires completed by subjects at the end of the actual interview were examined with regard to informally assessing subjects' awareness of the experimental variables and the purpose of the experiment. No formal scoring techniques or statics were employed in examining the questionnaires.

While many subjects attempted to figure out the nature of the experiment (e.g. ". . . it was done to see if people act the same way when put in a similar situation.") and some made fairly good guesses (e.g. ". . . to see if people modeled the tape they heard."), the great majority of subjects (92%) claimed they either did not know what the experiment was about or reiterated the explanation they were given in the direction for the experiment. It was apparent that the true nature of the experiment remained a mystery to the vast majority of subjects.

By inspecting the questionnaires it also appeared that while some subjects (for in all) doubted the validity of the staged tape recording these subjects were in the great minority and their doubts were more in the nature of suspicion rather than disbelief.

DISCUSSION

This analog study attempted to assess the roles of the social reward value of self-disclosure (in facilitating like behavior) and the metacommunications (i.e. messages transcending the specific content of the communication) of trust, warmth, and "interest in knowing" involved in a self-disclosing communication in the well-documented dyadic effect of self-disclosure. It was hypothesized that these aspects of a self-disclosing communication would make themselves known in the form of subjects' high nurturance and intraception ratings of, and subsequent high level of disclosure to, a disclosing interviewer. It was also hypothesized that subjects' nurturance ratings, intraception ratings, and level of disclosure would increase as the intimacy level of the interviewer's disclosure increased.

The results did not support any of these hypotheses. Subjects did not rate a disclosing interviewer significantly higher with regard to nurturance and intraception than a nondisclosing interviewer. Also, subjects did not disclose significantly more to a disclosing interviewer. Finally, there was not a significant increase in intraception ratings, nurturance ratings, or disclosure as the level of interviewer disclosure increased. It would be premature, however, to conclude that these results indicate that social reward and

the metacommunications inherent in a self-disclosure play no part in the dyadic effect of self-disclosure. An examination of the experimental design presented throughout the next sections suggests that a number of factors in the design may easily have prevented the emergence of significant effects attributable to these factors.

The study was not totally without findings. Two main findings, which will be discussed in the following, emerged from the data analysis, both of which have implications for the use of self-disclosure as an interviewing technique. First, subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer rated this interviewer as significantly less intraceptive than a nondisclosing interviewer, regardless of the level of information being disclosed. Secondly, subjects exposed to demographic disclosure, regardless of its source, disclosed significantly more demographic disclosure in the actual interview. The same held true for personal disclosure. This effect will be referred to as modeling of content in the following.

Perceived Interviewer Intraception and Nurturance

It was hypothesized that subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer would rate this interviewer higher with regard to intraception and nurturance than subjects exposed to a nondisclosing interviewer due to the metacommunications of

warmth, trust, and "interest in knowing" involved in a self-disclosing communication. The results do not support this notion and with regard to intraception indicate a significant effect in the opposite direction. It was also hypothesized that subjects exposed to an interviewer disclosing personal information would rate this interviewer higher with regard to intraception and nurturance than subjects exposed to an interviewer disclosing demographic information. This was based on the assumption that disclosure of high intimacy value operates as a more powerful metacommunicator of warmth, trust, and "interest in knowing" than disclosure of medium or low intimacy value. Again, the results do not support this contention.

The significant finding that subjects rated a disclosing interviewer as less intraceptive than a nondisclosing interviewer gives support to those who caution against the indiscriminate use of disclosure as an interviewing technique (Vondracek and Vondrack, 1971; Polansky, 1967). Also, this finding is in harmony with the work of Davis and Slone (in press) and Davis and Skinner (in press) who found that subjects showed a lack of preference for a disclosing interviewer. It seems clear that the use of self-disclosure as an interviewing technique in and of itself is not a sure way of creating a positive impression and may very well have the opposite effect.

There is a possibility that some confounding occurred in

this comparison in that the nondisclosing interviewer (conditions ED and EP) subjects heard was matched with a freely disclosing interviewee whom subjects also heard. Because subjects were instructed to focus on interviewer's statements this confounding was probably kept to a minimum. Also, when intraception data regarding the disclosing interviewer from this study were compared using t-tests (Hays, 1963) with intraception data regarding a nondisclosing interviewer manifesting basic interviewing techniques from another study (Bundza and Simonson, 1973) the difference was significant ($p < .05$) and in the direction of the disclosing interviewer being rated less intraceptive.

It may be helpful to look at this effect in terms of a nondisclosing interviewer being perceived as a good listener. The nondisclosing interviewer clearly demonstrated an ability to listen and not interfere with the natural flow of the interviewee's expression of himself in the segment of tape subjects heard. It may be that this demonstration of an ability and willingness to listen elevated intraception ratings rather than interviewer self-disclosure having a deleterious effect on impressions of the interviewer. Additional support for the notion of the nondisclosing interviewer being seen as a good listener and therefore being attributed with other positive qualities is provided by the small interaction effect in which the nondisclosing interviewer paired with the interviewee disclosing personal information was rated as more nur-

turant than the other interviewers (see Table 4).

Several other factors may have contributed to subjects not perceiving the disclosing interviewer as more intraceptive and nurturant than the nondisclosing interviewer. Upon examining the scripts of the RP and RD conditions (see Appendix A and B) it is obvious that the interviewer in these conditions is very much out of the traditional role of interviewer. He is not asking questions, probing, reflecting, or empathizing--he is purely talking about himself. As revealed by an inspection of the post-experimental questionnaire, most subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer noticed that he did most all of the talking. Some subjects felt this behavior to be highly inappropriate for the interviewer. It is very possible that the disclosing interviewer in conditions RD and RP violated subjects' expectations of appropriate interviewer behavior and subsequently became a "poor" or in some way inadequate interviewer worthy of both low intraception and nurturance ratings.

The importance of an interviewer living up to the expectations of an interviewee cannot be underestimated. Heinie and Trosman (1960), in a study aimed at teasing out some of the determining factors in some psychotherapy patients early departure from psychotherapy, found that not only a patient's length of stay in treatment but also his overall prognosis were highly dependent on whether or not he found his first interviews and the behavior of the therapist compa-

tible with his or her expectations. It is clear that the interviewer in the RD and RP conditions violated commonly held expectations of interviewer behavior and that this may have contributed to the lack of predicted elevated ratings with regard to nurturance and the reversal of the predicted elevation with regard to intraception.

Another factor possibly accounting for the lack of predicted results with regard to intraception and nurturance ratings is the curvilinear relationship postulated to exist between level of disclosure and both reciprocity of disclosure and positive attraction. Leven and Gergin (1969) suggest that medium amounts of disclosure from another person may indicate his desire for a closer relationship while another who discloses a great deal or very little about himself may be seen to either lack discretion or be untrustworthy. Cozby (1972) has extended this notion in terms of social exchange theory and suggests that the reception of disclosure from another is rewarding but when the information being disclosed becomes too intimate the anxiety aroused by the reception of this information outweighs the reward value and reciprocal disclosure will not occur in the magnitude expected if a linear relationship existed between the reciprocity of disclosure and liking. While a study designed and executed by Cozby (1972) failed to substantiate this with regard to reciprocity of disclosure, it did hold true for level of disclosure and liking. An interesting secondary finding of the Cozby

study and one which has pertinance to the results now under discussion was that individuals who engaged in high levels of disclosure were judged as more maladjusted than individuals who engaged in medium or low levels of disclosure.

Upon examining the scripts of the RP and RD conditions (see Appendix A and B) it is not hard to see how the interviewer in these conditions may have been seen by subjects as too revealing. In light of the above discussion of the curvilinear relationship existing between level of disclosure and reciprocity of disclosure and liking the lack of elevated intraception and nurturance ratings for the disclosing interviewer become more understandable.

In a similar vein and equally applicable to the results of this study is the work of several researchers who stress temporal factors in the development of mutual disclosure. Cashdan (1973) makes use of the phrase "risky revealing" (p. 28) to describe the gradual increase of mutual disclosure over time. He points out how it must begin at low, unthreatening levels and gradually work up to higher levels. Any short cut in this process carries the threat of one member overwhelming the other with ill-timed disclosure of inappropriate intimacy level and thus severing the relationship. Vondracek (1969), in a study which examined the effectiveness of three interviewing styles ("probing", "reflecting", and "revealing") in facilitating interviewee disclosure, found that in short periods of time the "probing" technique was

most effective. But as the duration of the encounter increased it appeared that some form of familiarity and intimacy also increased as did the effectiveness of the "revealing" interviewing style. Taylor (1968) frames self-disclosure in terms of social penetration theory and views it as one of the reciprocal behaviors that grow over time in the development of a relationship. In a study in which he examined the mutual activities and disclosure of 30 pairs of college roommates he found that both mutual activities and mutual disclosures increased over time.

It seems reasonable to assume that the interviewer in the RD and RP conditions offered up too much too soon and therefore violated the time bound nature of comfortable reciprocal disclosure. In this light, the fact that the disclosing interviewer's disclosure proved ineffective in expressing intraception and nurturance as reflected by subjects' ratings comes as no great surprise.

Another factor that may have contributed to the lack of elevated intraception and nurturance ratings of the disclosing interviewer is that the disclosing interviewer manifested self-disclosure and self-disclosure only on the staged tapes --no other interviewing technique was present. Generally, studies that demonstrate the beneficial effect of interviewer disclosure in interviews combine interviewer disclosure with other interviewing techniques in obtaining positive results. In a previous study (Bundza and Simonson, 1973) interviewer

disclosure was combined with basic interviewing techniques such as following behavior and reflection of feeling and compared with the basic interviewing techniques alone. It was found that subjects exposed to an interviewer who combined disclosure with basic interviewing techniques rated this interviewer higher with regard to nurturance and were more willing to disclose to this interviewer than subjects exposed to an interviewer manifesting basic interviewing techniques alone. It seems clear from the results of the present study that self-disclosure and only self-disclosure on the part of an interviewer will not guarantee the creation of a positive impression in an interviewee.

Self-disclosure

It was hypothesized that subjects exposed to an interviewer disclosing demographic information would disclose more demographic information in the actual interview than subjects exposed to a nondisclosing interviewer matched with an interviewee disclosing demographic information. It was also hypothesized that the same would happen with regard to personal information. Finally, it was hypothesized that subjects exposed to an interviewer disclosing personal information would disclose more total information in the actual interview than subjects exposed to an interviewer disclosing demographic information.

The results do not support any of the above hypotheses

not do they indicate any significant differences with regard to subjects' disclosure in the actual interview. Both Cozby (1973) and Jourard and Resnick (1970) stress the importance of situational factors in the mutual exchange of disclosure. The following examination of some of the situational factors of the experimental procedure will attempt to clarify the lack of predicted findings.

While this study attempted to examine other factors relevant to the dyadic effect of disclosure, modeling as a factor still looms as an important explanation of the dyadic phenomenon. The significant findings in this study pointing towards a modeling of content effect clearly illustrate the impact of modeling. Looking at the experimental procedure in terms of modeling offers some explanation as to why subjects failed to demonstrate elevated levels of disclosure after being exposed to a disclosing interviewer. Upon examining the experimental conditions in which subjects were presented with a disclosing interviewer (see Appendix A and B) two things become apparent: the interviewer does a great deal of talking while the interviewee says very little. In the actual interview, however, the interviewer acts in a very different manner in that he says nothing at all about himself but rather asks only a few open-ended questions. This must have constituted a considerable shift in situation for subjects from what they were exposed to and may have created enough confusion and anxiety to inhibit their disclosure. Many subjects

reported in the post-experimental questionnaire that they were puzzled by the interviewer's shift in behavior and were somewhat confused by the ambiguous questions he asked.

As the behavior of the interviewer changed from the staged tape to the actual interview, so did the task of the interviewee. While in the staged tape the interviewee in the disclosing interviewer conditions said very little and was tacitly sanctioned for this by the disclosing interviewer, subjects were unceremoniously requested to talk at great lengths about themselves in the actual interview.

It was hypothesized that due to the social reward of receiving a self-disclosure subjects exposed to a disclosing interviewer would disclose more in the actual interview. Again, when we closely examine the actual experimental situation subjects in the RD and RP conditions were in, it becomes more understandable why interviewer disclosure did not produce the expected effect. First of all, subjects were only exposed to the interviewer's disclosures by listening to a tape and reading a transcription, they did not receive the disclosure. In other words, when the interviewer was disclosing subjects were observers rather than participants. If subjects were not real recipients of the interviewer's disclosure one could hardly expect the interviewer's disclosure to be rewarding or in any way reinforcing of reciprocal disclosure. Secondly, when subjects did come in contact with the interviewer in the actual interview, the interviewer only responded to subjects

by asking a limited number of open-ended questions, he did
not disclose to any subject. Subjects' disclosures were not
rewardwd or reciprocated in the actual interview. Whe taking
these situational factors into account it is not surprising
that the social reward value of receiving a disclosure did
not enhance subjects' disclosure for in a sense subjects were
never really disclosed to by the interviewer.

The social reward value of receiving a disclosure be-
comes clearer when contrasted to the disclosure enhancing ef-
fect of exposure to a model. This was done by Davis and
Skinner (in press) who in experimental interviews paired one
group of subject interviewees with a disclosing interviewer,
presented another group of subject interviewees with a model
of a disclosing interviewee, and in a third condition gave
subject interviewees no exposure to disclosure at all. They
found that subjects paired with a disclosing interviewer dis-
closed a significantly greater amount of information than
subjects in the other conditions and interpreted their find-
ings as demonstrative of the social exchange phenomenon in
the dyadic effect of self-disclosure.

Modeling of Content

A significant finding of this study was that subjects
exposed to demographic disclosure, regardless of its source,
disclosed more demographic information in the actual inter-

view than subjects exposed to personal information, regard-
less of its source. This same effect occurred with regard to
personal disclosure. This modeling of content effect is simi-
lar to the findings of Marlatt (1970, 1971), Marlatt, Jacob-
son, Johnson, and Morrice (1970), and Davis and Sloane (in
press). This finding is unique, however, in that it demon-
strated that content was modeled when the model was different
(conditions RD and RP) as well as similar (conditions ED and
EP) to the subject observer.

An underlying assumption of observational learning has
been that the model be in some way similar to the observer.
The modeling of content finding in this study suggests that
this model-observer similarity is not the essential factor in
observational learning. However, this finding does lend sup-
port to the notion that observational learning takes place
largely due to a model providing discriminative cues to the
observer. This phenomenon is especially noticeable if the
observer's task is a rather ambiguous one, such as being sub-
jected to an open-ended interview as in this study. This has
been demonstrated before in a study by Marlatt (1971), which
has been cited in the Introduction section, who explains his
results in terms of subject observers being provided with
discriminative cues by a model prior to an ambiguous task.

The discriminative cue explanation of observational
learning also gains support from the result in this study
which showed a greater difference with regard to modeling of

content for personal disclosure. This finding demonstrated that personal disclosure, even though it is less frequent and less available than demographic disclosure, was enhanced by exposure to personal disclosure to a greater degree than demographic disclosure was enhanced by exposure to demographic disclosure. Even though personal disclosure has a low base rate, particularly in first encounters as in the experimenter-subject interaction in this study, it was none the less enhanced by the discriminative cues provided by the model.

This support for the discriminative cue explanation for modeling of disclosure combined with the lack of support obtained in this study for the social reward explanation leads to the following speculation. It is possible that in the beginning of a dyadic verbal interaction, when participants are relatively unimportant to each other, the discriminative cues provided by disclosures are responsible for the mutual exchange of disclosure. It is perhaps only when the members of the interaction gain importance to each other that disclosure becomes a social reward and fits the framework of social exchange theory.

A final implication for the modeling of content finding is the support it lends to the use of observing a model as a pretraining technique in clinical or counseling interview situations. It seems clear from the results that presenting a prospective interviewee with a model interview provides the prospective interviewee with discriminative cues that will

effect his behavior in an actual interview with regard to the content of the material he chooses to discuss. Other researchers (Truax and Carkhuff, 1965b; Haase, Forsyth, Julius and Lee, 1971) have demonstrated the effectiveness of various pretraining techniques in facilitating productive client or patient interview behavior. Observing a model seems likely to be a valuable pretraining technique and deserves further exploration.

Conclusion

It seems clear that self-disclosure in and of itself does not necessarily communicate intraception, nurturance, trust, or "interest in knowing". Both the lack of predicted findings and the unexpected finding that the disclosing interviewer was rated as less intraceptive than the nondisclosing interviewer point to this. This leads to the speculation that several factors need to be considered before the final impact of a disclosure or series of disclosures can be assessed in a dyadic interaction. Among these factors are the congruity of the content of the disclosure with the perceived role of the discloser, where and when disclosure of varying degrees of intimacy occurs in the development of a relationship, and the context of other messages, communications, and behaviors in a dyadic interaction the disclosure occurs. Further research integrating the above mentioned parameters is needed to assess the role they play in the well-documented

dyadic effect of self-disclosure.

Another finding of this study was the strong modeling of content effect which emerged. A major aspect of this finding was that its occurrence was unaffected by observer (subject)-model (interviewer or interviewee) similarity. The effect did not vary with the source of disclosure. This finding lends a good deal of support to the theory that in observational learning situations observers are affected most by the discriminative cues provided by the model as guidelines for their behavior. Also, this finding in that it did not vary as the source of the cues varied suggests that the source of the cues and model-observer similarity are secondary to the cues themselves in determining observer behavior. This modeling of content effect also suggests the possible productive use of exposure to a model as a pretraining technique in clinical and counseling settings.

The strong modeling of content effect when combined with the lack of results in this study indicating that the reception of disclosure operates as a social reward leads to the speculation that in the beginning of a relationship the dyadic effect of disclosure may be best explained in terms of modeling but as the relationship builds over time and the participants grow in importance to each other social exchange theory may provide the best explanation for the dyadic effect. Most disclosure research in the past has focused only on initial encounters. While some researchers (Davis and Sloane,

in press; Davis and Skinner, in press) claim to have found support for a social exchange explanation of the dyadic effect in initial encounters, the artificiality of the experimental situation and the high possibility of experimenter bias in studies such as these makes the interpretation of results open to some question. More longitudinal studies in self-disclosure, tracing its mutual development and changes over time, are needed to further explore this speculation.

A mention should be made of some of the limitations of this study. First, while it attempted to explore the role of social exchange in the dyadic effect of self-disclosure at no time in the experimental procedure did subjects mutually exchange disclosure with the experimenter-interviewer or anyone else. Subjects were exposed to disclosure on taped segments they heard but never in fact were disclosed to. This makes any definitive statement on the role of social exchange in the dyadic effect of disclosure based on the results of this study rather tenuous. Also, mention should be made that this was an analog study and therefore should be subject to the limitations common to analog studies in general. While there was a good deal of control over the experimental variables there was also a good deal of artificiality. Finally, the results of this study were based on a fairly homogeneous subject population of college-age males. A good deal of caution should therefore be exercised in attempts to generalize the findings.

SUMMARY

This study attempted to examine the roles of modeling, self-disclosure as a social reward, and self-disclosure as a metacommunication of warmth, trust, and "interest in knowing" in the well documented dyadic effect of self-disclosure. Individual subjects, prior to an interview with an experimenter-interviewer, were exposed to one of four staged tape recordings of what they were led to believe was a segment from a previous interview conducted by the experimenter-interviewer. The tapes varied along two dimensions: who did the disclosing (the interviewer or the interviewee) and the type of information being disclosed (personal or demographic). Subjects rated the interviewer they heard on an adjective checklist prior to the actual interview. The actual interviews, in which the experimenter-interviewer remained for the most part passive and asked only a prescribed set of open-ended questions, were tape recorded and later scored for both personal and demographic disclosures.

Two major findings emerged from this study. First, subjects rated the disclosing interviewer as less intraceptive than the non-disclosing interviewer. This finding was interpreted to mean that self-disclosure in and of itself does not necessarily function as a social reward nor communicate warmth, trust, and "interest in knowing." Several factors

inherent in the disclosure and the relationship must be considered before the final impact of a disclosure or series of mutual disclosure can be assessed.

A second major finding was that subjects exposed to demographic disclosure on the tape, irregardless of its source, disclosed more demographic information in the actual interview than subjects exposed to personal disclosure. The same effect occurred for personal disclosure. This modeling of content effect was interpreted as being demonstrative of the importance of discriminative cues, irregardless of their source, in observational learning. This finding also suggested the possible productive use of exposure to a model as a pretraining technique in clinical or counseling situations.

REFERENCES

Bundza, K. A. and Simonson, N. R. Therapist self-disclosure:
    Its effect on impressions of therapist and willingness
    to disclose. Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Prac-
    tice, 1973, 10, 215-217.

Cashdan, S. Interactional psychotherapy: Stages and strate-
    gies in behavior change. New York: Grune and Stratton,
    1973.

Chittick, E. V. and Himmelstien, P. The manipulation of
    self-disclosure. Journal of Psychology, 1967, 65, 117-
    121.

Cozby, P. C. Self-disclosure, reciprocity, and liking. So-
    ciometry, 1972, 35, 151-160.

Davis, J. D. and Skinner, A. E. G. Reciprocity of self-dis-
    closure in interviews: Modeling or social exchange?
    Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, in press.

Davis, J. D. and Sloan, M. L. The basis of interviewee
    matching of interviewer self-disclosure. British Jour-
    nal of Social and Clinical Psychology, in press.

Egan, G. Encounter: Group processes for interpersonal
    growth. Belmont, California: Brooks Cole Publishing
    Co., 1970.

Gough, H. G. Manual--The Adjective Checklist. Palo Alto:
    Consulting Psychologists Press, 1965.

Haase, R. F., Forsyth, D. R., Julius, M. A., and Lee, R. M.

Client training prior to counseling: An extension of the micro counseling paradigm. *Canadian Counselor*, 1971, 5, 9-15.

Hays, W. L. *Statistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963.

Heine, R. and Trosman, H. Initial expectations of the doctor patient interaction as a factor in the continuance of psychotherapy. *Psychiatry*, 1960, 23, 275-278.

Johnson, D. W. and Norman, M. P. Effects of acceptance and reciprocation of self-disclosures on the development of trust. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 1972, 19, 411-416.

Jourard, S. M. Self-disclosure and other cathexis. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1959, 59, 428-431.

Jourard, S. M. *The transparent self*. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1964.

Jourard, S. M. The effects of experimenters' self-disclosure on subjects' behavior. In C. D. Spielberger (Ed.), *Current topics in clinical and community psychology*. New York: Academic Press, 1969.

Jourard, S. M. *Self-disclosure: An experimental analysis of the transparent self*. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1971.

Jourard, S. M. and Jaffe, P. E. Influence of and interviewer's disclosure on the self-disclosing behavior of interviewees. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 1970, 17,

252-257.

Jourard, S. M. and Landsman, M. J. Cognition, cathexis, and
the "dyadic effect" in men's self-disclosing behavior.
Merill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development,
1960, 6, 178-186.

Jourard, S. M. and Lasakow, P. Some factors in self-disclo-
sure. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958,
56, 91-98.

Jourard, S. M. and Resnick, J. L. Some effects of self-dis-
closure among college women. Journal of Humanistic Psy-
chology, 1970, 84-93.

Jourard, S. M. and Richman, P. Disclosure output and input
in college students. Merill-Palmer Quarterly of Beha-
vior and Development, 1963, 9, 141-148.

Leven, F. M. and Gergen, K. H. Revealingness, ingratiation,
and the disclosure of self. Proceedings of the 77th
Annual Convention of the American Psychological Associa-
tion, 1969, 4(Pt. 1), 447-448.

Levenger, G. and Senn, D. J. Disclosure of feelings in mar-
riage. Merill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Develop-
ment, 1967, 13, 237-249.

Marlatt, G. A. A comparison of vicarious and direct rein-
forcement control of verbal behavior in an interview set-
ting. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,
1970, 16, 695-703.

Marlatt, G. A. Exposure to a model and task ambiguity as de-

terminants of verbal behavior in an interview. _Journal_ _of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_, 1971, 36, 268-276.

Marlatt, G. A., Jacobson, E. A., Johnson, D. L., and Morrice, D. J. Effect of exposure to a model receiving evaluative feedback upon subsequent behavior in an interview. _Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_, 1970, 34, 104-112.

Mourer, O. H. _The new group therapy_. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964.

Murphy, K. C. and Strong, S. R. Some effects of similarity of self-disclosure. _Journal of Counseling Psychology_, 1972, 19, 121-124.

Myers, J. L. _Fundamentals of experimental design_. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

Polansky, N. A. On duplicity in the interview. _American Journal of Orthopsychiatry_, 1967, 37, 568-580.

Powell, W. J., Jr. Differential effectiveness of interviewer interventions in an experimental interview. _Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_, 1968, 32, 210-215.

Rogers, C. R. _On becoming a person_. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961.

Simonson, N. R., Apter, S., Buchze, S., and Fuedenberg, W. Attraction and self-disclosure in psychotherapy. Paper presented at meeting of Eastern Psychological Association, Philadelphia, April, 1969.

Taylor, D. A. The development of interpersonal relationships: Social penetration process. Journal of Social Psychology, 1968, 75, 79-90.

Truax, C. B. and Carkhuff, R. R. Client and therapist transparency in the psychotherapeutic encounter. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1965a, 12, 3-9.

Truax, C. B. and Carkhuff, R. R. Personality change in hospitalized mental patients during group psychotherapy as a function of the use of alternate sessions and vicarious therapy pretraining. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1965b, 21, 225-228.

Vondracek, F. W. The study of self-disclosure in experimental interviews. Journal of Psychology, 1969, 75, 55-59.

Vondracek, S. J. and Vondracek, F. W. The manipulation and measurement of self-disclosure in preadolescents. Merill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development, 1971, 17, 51-58.

Worthy, M., Gary, A. L., and Kahn, G. M. Self-disclosure as an exchange process. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1969, 13, 59-60.

Appendix A

Transcript used in condition RP

(Interviewer personal disclosure)

Interviewee: So after going through all the rigamarole of
   applying to college I decided that UMass was the right
   school, and I've been here for the past couple of years.
   I guess that's about it.

Interviewer: Well it seems that you've been doing almost all
   of the talking here. Maybe to sum things up I could say
   a little bit about myself.

Interviewee: Oh, I thought you were just going to ask some
   questions, but if you feel like talking, you know, sure.

Interviewer: Okay, I guess one of the most important things
   about me is that I have a tendency to worry too much.
   Even if things are going along really well I find some
   little stupid thing to get me upset, to kind of mull
   over, to kind of worry about. It's like I can't take
   things as they come. You know there's some people who,
   ah, it's very easy for them to live each day as it comes
   but I can't seem to do that for some reason. The thing
   is, too, I don't worry about really big things, it's
   like little, weird little things that get me upset, more
   worried, then bigger things. Like, well this is a kind
   of stupid example but, the radiators in my apartment are
   leaking, and you know this gets on my mind at the weird-
   est times and really bugs me.

Interviewee: I have a sister like that, you know, she gets
   worked up over the smallest things, it's pretty ridicu-
   lous.

Interviewer: Oh, and another thing, outside of the little
   things that I worry about I guess kind of another im-
   portant thing is that I have a tendency to worry about
   what other people are going to think of me a lot of
   times. I guess to some extent I'm afraid to make a bad
   impression. I go overboard on this a little bit some-
   times. I really want people to like me, but I suppose
   you should realize that not everybody's going to like
   you, but nonetheless this is another thing that kind of
   bugs me. It doesn't even make any difference if the
   person is less than, like, even less than a casual ac-
   quaintance, like even like a grocery store clerk or
   something like that, you know at times I don't want to
   act, you know, ridiculous or even kind of stupid in
   front of these people. I try to make a good impression.

Interviewee: You don't really seem that way though, you know.

Interviewer: Well, nonetheless I think it's true to some de-
   gree, and a funny thing about it is it makes me mad,

like I really get kind of angry at myself because I'm this way a lot of times. But on the other hand it does have a positive side, worrying about things a little bit. Like, I'm looking forward to getting my degree pretty soon, and worrying about things, you know like whether I was going to get this done on time or that done on time, and getting them done on time, helped me get through school, so I guess it does have its positive side.

Appendix B

Transcript used in condition RD

(Interviewer demographic disclosure)

Interviewee: So after going through all the rigamarole of
     applying to college I decided that UMass was the school
     for me and I've been here for the past couple of years.
     I guess that's about it.

Interviewer: Well it seems like you've been doing most all
     the talking. Maybe like to sum things up I could say a
     little bit about myself.

Interviewee: Well, I thought you were going to just ask some
     questions but, uh, if you feel like talking, sure.

Interviewer: Okay. Ah, let's see, I'm probably going to
     start with, well, where I'm from. I'm from Cleveland,
     Ohio, and I don't know if you know it or not but it's
     like a big industrial city, there's all sorts of fac-
     tories, a tremendous amount of smokestacks and stuff.

Interviewee: My sister's going out with a guy from Cleveland
     and he's not too crazy about it.

Interviewer: Well it's not really, it's not a lovely place
     at all, I mean it's pretty rought, a lot of pollution
     and stuff. Well my family, everybody was kind of in-
     volved in industry. Just about everybody I know either
     worked in the mills in one capacity or the other. We
     finally moved out of the city, though, or the city pro-
     per, when I was about fourteen, and moved to a suburb
     that was about fifteen miles out of the city. That's
     where I went through most of my high school, and, it was
     in a fairly small kind of city. Actually it wasn't a
     city, it was a town, or whatever they call what's small-
     er than a town, and well it was small and everybody knew
     each other. It was one of those types of situations. I
     was, at that time, at that point in my life, I was in-
     terested in a couple things I think, I was interested in
     sports and played on a couple teams and I was also inter-
     ested in music, I used to do a lot of that. Those two
     activities plus going to school at that time took up
     most of my free time.

Interviewee: You were kind of lucky cause when I was in high
     school most of my free time I had to work. I really
     didn't get a chance to participate in that much extra-
     curricular activities.

Interviewer: Well I used to work, but I worked in the sum-
     mers. Well I worked driving a truck around all the
     plants down there in Cleveland, I used to deliver indus-
     trial plastics to several of the big companies down
     there, the bigger industries like, let's see, there's a

General Motors down there, and there's a Ford engine plant, U.S. Steel, Alcoa, a bunch of other things. But, ah, as it turned out I'd never work the complete summer, I'd always take some time off and travel. The last trip I can remember was really kind of fun, it was like a long camping trip that we took out across the United States, the whole country, and visited places like the Rocky Mountain National Park and the Grand Canyon, and Las Vegas where we lost some money, like everybody else, up through Los Angeles, Big Sur, San Francisco, and kind of on back.

Appendix C

Transcript used in condition EP

(Interviewee personal disclosure)

Interviewee: So after going through all the rigamarole of
      applying to college I decided that UMass was the right
      school, and I've been here for the past couple of years.
      And I guess that's about it.

Interviewer: Well are there any other important things about
      yourself that you'd like to share?

Interviewee: One thing that really bothers me about myself
      is that I really worry a great deal, I think much too
      much for the ordinary person. Even if things are going
      really good I'll find something and pick it out that
      bothers me for some reason. I just can't take things
      as they come along, I think if I could I'd be better off
      for it but I just can't. It's the little things, even
      little things, like the other day the radiator broke in
      my apartment, it started to leak, and it really bothered
      me. I got all upset about it and that's all I was think-
      ing about for a couple of days.

Interviewer: What are some other things that you worry about?

Interviewee: Well like, another thing that bothers--not bo-
      thers me, but, like if I meet somebody, I'm really con-
      cerned, overly concerned about the impression that I
      make on them. I don't know, I just want people to like
      me, and I'm thinking about that too much, and I think
      that it detracts from really making an impression on
      them. Like even if I was going grocery shopping and the
      cashier, I'd really want to make a good impression on
      her. Or let's say if I were going in to fill my tank up,
      in a gas station I'd want to be really polite to the at-
      tendant because I just wouldn't want them to get any bad
      thoughts about me.

Interviewer: Sounds like it kind of upsets you.

Interviewee: Yeah, it really does upset me. I get mad at
      myself for worrying too much, it just, it really bugs
      the hell out of me. But I guess it has its positive
      side. It makes me do a much better job on the things
      that I'm doing. I'm really looking forward to getting
      my degree and worrying about things has helped me to
      come closer to that goal.

Appendix D

Transcript used in condition ED
(Interviewee demographic disclosure)

Interviewee: So ah, after going through all the rigamarole of applying to college I decided that UMass was the right school for me and I've been here for the past two years, and ah, I guess that's about it.

Interviewer: Is there anything else that you think is kind of important about yourself that you'd like to share?

Interviewee: I could tell you about my family background, where I was brought up. I was raised in Cleveland, botn in Cleveland, my whole family's from there. Just about everyone in my family works right in the city. It's really a kind of industrial kind of city. We lived there till I was about fourteen and then we moved to a suburb that was right outside of Cleveland, it was more like a country type of atmosphere. That move worked out pretty well for everyone concerned.

Interviewer: Is there anything else, could you tell me anything else about . . .

Interviewee: Well, the high school where I went to in that suburb was kind of a small, intimate kind of high school where everyone knew everyone else and everyone knew everyone else's business. It was kind of like a very cliquey type of high school, but I was into a lot of different type of areas. Music was one of my main interests as well as sports. Both of those areas took up most of my free time, I even played on a couple of sports teams, baseball and track, in high school.

Interviewer: It seems like you were really kind of busy.

Interviewee: Ya, I was really busy, like I say all my free time was taken up either by music or by sports and like, during the summer, the two months I had then I worked and did a little travelling. I worked for about the first month or so, I drove a delivery truck, I delivered industrial plastics to big companies, you know like Ford and U.S. Steel and Alcoa and things like that.

Interviewer: Well, is there anything else, any other kind of important stuff?

Interviewee: Well like I said, I used to work for about the first month or so of summer and then with the money I made from working I did some travelling with friends, like, just last summer we went cross country, went to Rocky Mountain National Park, and the Grand Canyon, you know, all the standard sites, and we even made it to Las Vegas for a little while and lost some money. But as

far as travelling goes . . . we also made it out to San Francisco, but that was about it.

Appendix E

Harrison Gough Adjective Checklist

ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST

Please place a checkmark next to any of the following adjectives you feel apply to the <u>interviewer</u> you have just heard on the tape. You may find this a little difficult in that you have only heard a short segment so feel free to guess, and act on your first impressions and intuitions.

____absent-minded	____confident	____evasive
____active	____confused	____excitable
____adaptable	____conscientious	____fair-minded
____adventurous	____conservative	____fault-finding
____affected	____considerate	____fearful
____affectionate	____contented	____feminine
____aggressive	____conventional	____fickle
____alert	____cool	____flirtatious
____aloof	____cooperative	____foolish
____ambitious	____courageous	____forceful
____anxious	____cowardly	____foresighted
____apathetic	____cruel	____forgetful
____appreciative	____curious	____forgiving
____argumentative	____cynical	____formal
____arrogant	____daring	____frank
____artistic	____deceitful	____friendly
____assertive	____defensive	____frivolous
____attractive	____deliberate	____fussy
____autocratic	____demanding	____generous
____awkward	____dependable	____gentle
____bitter	____dependent	____gloomy
____blustery	____despondent	____good-looking
____boastful	____determined	____good-natured
____bossy	____dignified	____greedy
____calm	____discreet	____handsome
____capable	____disorderly	____hard-headed
____careless	____dissatisfied	____hard-hearted
____cautious	____distractible	____hasty
____changeable	____distrustful	____headstrong
____charming	____dominant	____healthy
____cheerful	____dreamy	____helpful
____civilized	____dull	____highstrung
____clear-thinking	____easy going	____honest
____clever	____effeminate	____hostile
____coarse	____efficient	____humorous
____cold	____egotistical	____hurried
____commonplace	____emotional	____idealistic
____complaining	____energetic	____imaginative
____complicated	____enterprising	____immature
____conceited	____enthusiastic	____impatient

____impulsive	____peculiar	____severe
____independent	____persevering	____sexy
____indifferent	____persistent	____shallow
____individualistic	____pessimistic	____sharp-witted
____industrious	____planful	____shiftless
____infantile	____pleasant	____show-off
____informal	____pleasure-seeking	____shrewd
____ingenious	____poised	____shy
____inhibited	____polished	____silent
____initiative	____practical	____simple
____insightful	____praising	____sincere
____intellectual	____precise	____slipshod
____interests narrow	____prejudiced	____slow
____interests wide	____preoccupied	____sly
____intolerant	____progressive	____smug
____inventive	____prudish	____snobbish
____irresponsible	____quarrelsome	____sociable
____irritable	____queer	____soft-hearted
____jolly	____quick	____sophisticated
____kind	____quiet	____spendthrift
____lazy	____quitting	____spineless
____leisurely	____rational	____spontaneous
____logical	____rattlebrained	____spunky
____loud	____realistic	____stable
____loyal	____reasonable	____steady
____mannerly	____rebellious	____stern
____masculine	____reckless	____stingy
____mature	____reflective	____stolid
____meek	____relaxed	____strong
____methodical	____reliable	____stubborn
____mild	____resentful	____submissive
____mischievous	____reserved	____suggestable
____moderate	____resourceful	____sulky
____modest	____responsible	____superstitious
____moody	____restless	____suspicious
____nagging	____retiring	____sympathetic
____natural	____rigid	____tactful
____nervous	____robust	____tactless
____noisy	____rude	____talkative
____obliging	____sarcastic	____tempermental
____obnoxious	____self-centered	____tense
____opinionated	____self-confident	____thankless
____opportunistic	____self-controlled	____thorough
____optimistic	____self-denying	____thoughtful
____organized	____self-pitying	____thrifty
____original	____self-punishing	____timid
____outgoing	____self-seeking	____tolerant
____outspoken	____selfish	____touchy
____painstaking	____sensitive	____tough
____patient	____sentimental	____trusting
____peaceable	____serious	____unaffected

____unambitious
____unassuming
____unconventional
____undependable
____understanding
____unemotional
____unexcitable
____unfriendly
____uninhibited
____unintelligent
____unkind
____unrealistic
____unscrupulous
____unselfish
____unstable
____vindictive
____versatile
____warm
____wary
____weak
____whiny
____wholesome
____wise
____withdrawn
____witty
____worrying
____zany

Appendix F

Haymes Technique for Measuring Personal
Self-Disclosure from Tape-Recorded Interviews

Haymes* (1969) Technique for Measuring

Self-Disclosure from Tape-Recorded Interviews

Code and Scoring Manual for Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure will include four major categories of response:

1. Expression of emotion and emotional processes.
2. Expressions of needs.
3. Expressions of fantasies, strivings, dreams, hopes.
4. Expressions of self-awareness.

Self-disclosure will specifically exclude opinions about objects other than self unless the person obviously intends the opinion to be saying something about himself. Since this experiment deals with the acquaintance process, it is only rarely that one comes across such inferential statements without their being followed up by a clarifying remark which is scorable under one of the categories below.

Although much self-disclosure of the types described below is stated in the first person singular, it is possible to make self-disclosing statements in the third person. Examples of both types are included below.

Scoring Procedure

A score of 2 points will be given to disclosures of the defined types when they are first person references.

A score of 1 point will be given to the disclosures of the same types when they are reflexive third person references. These statements in the third person in which the word "you" is an obvious substitution for saying "I".

Non-reflexive third person references, such as "people always . . .," in which the person is not really revealing any information about himself will not be scored.

For this experiment, ratings will be given for each 30 seconds of interaction. In any 30-second segment, only the

_____

*From Jourard, S. M. Self-disclosure: An Experimental Analysis of the Transparent Self. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971.

score for the maximally disclosing statement will be used.
In other words, if a person makes 1, 2, or 10 2-point disclo-
sures in any 30-second segment his score is 2 points for that
segment. This avoids inaccurately scoring for speech pattern
repetitions. Similarly, if a person makes a 1-point state-
ment, and a 2-point statement in the same 30-second segment,
his score is 2 points for that segment.

Examples

1. Expressions of emotions and emotional processes:

   Irritation--"It really bugs me . . ." "You get peeved
at . . ." "It makes me sick when . . ." "It drives me crazy
. . ." Also references to being agitated, irritated, testy,
etc.
   Anger, rage, hostility, hate, bitterness, resentment--
"It gets me very angry when . . ." "You (I) just naturally
hate people like her."
   Excitement, involvement, concern, etc.--"I get all caught
up in . . ." "It gets to me . . ." "It gets me goin'" "I'm
really close to my father." "I'm excited by . . ." Also the
opposite of involvement. "I can't seem to get into the ma-
terial." "Boredom is one of my big problems."
   Sad, blue, apathetic, cheerless, depressed, grief,
mournful, pensive, gloomy, etc.--"It depresses me when . . ."
"I get blue frequently."
   Happy, contented, delighted, feeling great, secure, feel-
ing well (strong, confident, etc.), assured, pleased, jovial,
elated, euphoric, merry--"I feel great when she . . ." "You
really feel good when . . ." (Also the opposite of feeling
well and strong, i.e., discussion of health problems, physi-
cal complaints, expression of general lack of the feeling of
well being) expressions which have been leached of their emo-
tional content are not scored.

2. Expressions of needs, demands made upon others in contact
with self: "I demand a great deal of attention." "I don't
feel too motivated to do much of anything." "All I want is
. . ." These will frequently be expressed in statements of
self-awareness (see below).

3. Expressions of self-awareness, internal forces, processes,
capabilities, and/or the lack of them: "You (I) tell yourself
that . . ." "I rationalize that by . . ." "That's one of my
handicaps." "I don't panic easily." "I get mad at myself
. . ." "I have the worst time with writing." "It's not a na-
tural thing for me . . ." "It's easy for me to . . ." "It's
really bad for me when I . . ." "I'm torn between . . ."

"I'm not mature."   "I'm not too hot at . . ."   "I can't pos-
sibly integrate all that stuff."   "You (I) adjust to things
. . ."   "I can think logically but math is impossible."   "I
identify with people who . . ."   "I get very sentimental when
. . ."   "I'm a night-time person."

4. Expressions of fantasies, hopes, strivings, long-range
plans, etc. "I've wanted to be a doctor since I was five
years old."   "I frequently dream that I'm . . ."   "I dream
of the day when . . ."

    Surprise, shock, astonishment, amazement. "She really
shocked me terrifically with her openness."   "I love being
surprised."

    Sorry, repentent, ashamed, guilty, etc. "I feel very
guilty about . . ."   "I always feel sorry when . . . ."

    Pride, self-esteem, feelings of fulfillment, self-confi-
dence. "I felt good about what I did for her."   "I've been
feelings great lately."

    Confused, perplexed, puzzled, cloudy, incoherent, dis-
oriented, uncertain, etc. To be scored the statement must in-
dicate some emotional disorientation or confusion. (i.e.,
"My math homework confuses me" is not scored.) "Situations
like that puzzle the hell out of me."   "I just don't know how
I feel about it."

    Anxious, tense, afraid, on-edge, overrought, upset, dis-
tressed, worried, etc. "I get really tense in situations
like this."   "It worries me when . . ."   "She scares me."
"You (I) get frightened when . . ."

    Love, tenderness, affection, warmth, caring-for another,
passion, arousal (sexual), etc. "I loved her before she . .
."   "I was so hung up on her that I couldn't even . . ."
(Colloquial).

Appendix G

Technique for Measuring Demographic

Self-Disclosure from Tape-Recorded Interviews

DIRECTIONS FOR SCORING DEMOGRAPHIC SELF-DISCLOSURE

1. Factual, historical statements constitute demographic self-disclosure.

2. Demographic self-disclosures are answers to the questions when?, what?, where?, and how? concerning a person's life.

3. Demographic self-disclosures are not statements of feelings, personal reactions, or inner experience.

4. Some examples:

   a. Family background--"I came from a large, farming family." "My family is Irish."

   b. Religious background--"I was raised a Catholic."

   c. Geographical background and description--"I was born in Dallas but my family moved to Quincy when I was about five." "I came from a large industrial town."

   d. Educational background--"I graduated from Quincy High School." "I went to Berkshire Community College before coming to U.Mass."

   e. Leisure time activities and interests--(past or present) "I used to be on the soccer team." "I like to play tennis." "I'm an avid amateur photographer." "I'm a member of the chess club."

   f. Work experience--"I used to work in a meat packing plant."

   g. Travel experience--"Last summer I toured Europe."

5. Scoring--A score of 2 points will be given to each 30-second segment of the interview in which a disclosure of the above defined type appears. If more than one demographic self-disclosure occurs in any 30-second segment, the score for that segment will still be only 2. The maximum score for any segment is 2. If no demographic self-disclosure appears in the segment, the segment will be scored 0.