

SOCIAL SELF AND THE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY
MOTIVE

By
MACK R. HICKS

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INTRODUCTION

There is little question that the self-concept has been a useful construct in clinical service and in the construction of personality theories. The writings of various psychological and social psychological theorists attest to this fact (29,22,19,20,15,9). There has also been a large quantity of experimental research in recent years (32).

While the evidence indicates that this is a profitable area of research, unequivocal support for the utility of this construct in the prediction of human behavior has not been established experimentally. It is felt by some (32) that these inconsistent findings have resulted because of premature attempts to relate the self-concept variable to other complex variables, without first exploring and rigorously defining the structure of the self-concept.

The present study is directed towards the solution of this problem. It constitutes an attempt to explore experimentally the relationship between two important aspects of the self-structure.

The social aspect of the self has intrigued theorists for a number of years (17). Mead (19) and Piaget (6) have attempted to relate the social aspect of the self and, to a lesser extent, the self-concept in general to the incorporation of sociocultural attitudes and roles. For this reason, the social aspect of self

would seem to be a logical point of entry into the study of the relationship between personality and cultural attitudes. Sullivan (29) has utilized the construct of interpersonal anxiety in explaining how these attitudes are incorporated into the individual. An attempt will be made, in this paper, to relate the constructs of sociocultural roles and interpersonal anxieties to aspects of the self-structure.

More specifically, the social aspect of the self-structure and the private phenomenal aspect of the self-structure will be related to the social-desirability variable. The degree of divergence between these two aspects of self, the absolute differences between the two, the direction of differences, and individual variability within the two aspects will all be related to degree of need for social approval.

The question is: will the individual who finds it necessary to play inflexible and conflicting social roles, as inferred from a strong need to behave in a socially approved manner in many different situations, have a greater divergence between the private phenomenal aspect and the social aspect of his self-structure than the individual who does not find it necessary to adhere absolutely to these roles?

In addition, an attempt will be made to relate the divergence and convergence of these aspects of self to psychological health, with the need for social approval held constant.

BACKGROUND

Since the concept of self provides the general framework for this study, theoretical formulations and research findings in this area will be considered. The other main topics of interest, which will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter, are: the social aspect of the self-structure, the concept of social desirability, and the dynamic structure of the self as it develops through experiences with anxiety. This review will consider theory and research in these four areas and move towards the theoretical formulation which underlies the present research.

The concept of self

Theory.

Psychologists are funny fellows. They have before them at the heart of their science, a fact of perfect certainty, the one warrant for the being of all other things and yet they pay no attention to it (2).

This statement, according to Allport (2), is the kind of thing a layman might ask the psychologist about the concept of self. It is true that until recently there has been little work done on investigation of the self.

The concept of self has been of great concern since early in the history of philosophy and psychology. More recently, Herbart (14) stated that man conceives of himself as part of the subjective

world and depending on the situation may see himself as figure or ground. Theodore Lipps (14) proposed that man has knowledge of things, own self, and other selves. Lipps is best known for his theory of empathy. A more recent point of departure, and one that is often referred to by current theorists in this area, is found in the writings of William James (15).

In his book, The Principles of Psychology (15), James devoted a chapter to the consideration of self. James proposed four constituents of the self: the material self, the social self, the spiritual self, and pure ego.

That there are many different conceptions of the self is evidenced by Allport's "The Ego in Contemporary Psychology" (2). In this paper, Allport considers eight different conceptions of the self: first, the ego may be considered as a knower. As he points out, this concept was given the coup de grace by James in The Principles of Psychology. Second, the ego may be viewed as an object of knowledge. This is concerned with the problem of the nature of our experience of the self. Third, the ego is viewed as primitive selfishness. Fourth, the ego may be viewed in terms of dominance, drive, status, and recognition. Fifth, the ego may be viewed as a passive organization of mental processes which conciliates warring forces (i.e., Freud's usage). The ego may be viewed as a fighter for ends. This view is represented by McDougall, Koffka, and Goldstein. Also, the self has been considered to be a behavioral system by Koffka and Lewin. Finally, the ego may reflect

the subjective organization of culture as proposed by Sherif and Cantril. This last concept eradicates the distinction by Freud of ego and superego.

Symond's (30) concept of self-as-process develops and executes X a plan of action for attaining satisfaction in response to inner drives. The self-as-object is how a person perceives himself; what he thinks of himself; how he values himself; and how he attempts to enhance or define himself.

Snygg and Combs (8) do not differentiate between the self as an object and doer. The phenomenal self is differentiated out of the phenomenal field and is all those parts of the field which the individual experiences as part or characteristic of himself.

Sherif and Cantril (27) also propose no construct of ego but have a self-as-object which they call the ego. It is a constellation of attitudes which somehow motivate behavior.

Sarbin (25) presents no ego, but presents a self which is a X cognitive structure about various aspects of the individual's being: conceptions of the body (somatic-self), conceptions of the sense organs and musculature (receptor-effector-self), and social behavior (social-self).

Hilgard (14) conceptualizes no ego and the self is defined as X one's image of himself. It cannot be studied by asking the subject because of unconscious factors. Rather, he suggests using projective techniques to get a picture of the inferred self. Self-as-process, he says, comes from the layman's mistaken belief that his behavior is completely determined by him.

G. H. Mead (19) conceives of no ego but states that many selves may develop, each of which presents a more or less separate group of responses acquired from different social groups. At first there is no self because the person cannot enter his own experiences directly. He becomes a self insofar as he can take the attitude of another and act towards himself as others act.

Hall and Lindzey (14) feel that the term self has come to have two distinct meanings: self-as-object and self-as-process. Self-as-object is defined as the person's attitudes, feelings, perceptions, and evaluations of himself as an object; what a person thinks of himself. They call this the self. They define self-as-process as a doer. It consists of an active group of processes such as thinking, remembering, and perceiving. They call this the ego.

The self-concept as defined in this paper is similar to Hall and Lindzey's construct of self-as-object (14). It is a hypothetical construct which represents the individual's conception, perception, feeling (affect), and evaluation of his own psychophysical processes as an object.

Research. -- An enormous amount of self-concept research has been reported in recent years (32). One might wonder why psychologists have felt the need to postulate inferred variables referring to the self.

For one thing, psychologists of a number of schools of thought have noted that antecedent conditions, defined in terms of interexperimenter agreement, are not sufficient

to predict either group trends or individual differences in human behavior. They have suggested that one could increase the accuracy of predictions of behavior if one found out what the subject perceives, knows, or feels about the "objective" situation, including his own characteristics. Personality theorists have also pointed out that general behavior theorists, for purposes of their own, have thus far delimited their theories in such a way that they are unable to account for some of the behaviors one can observe in the clinic, in school, and in other "every day life" situations. In addition, many personality theorists have felt that the organizational or configurational properties of human functioning are not subsumed by the constructs of most present day general behavior theories (32, p. 318).

Wylie (32) states that while constructs concerning the self may be needed for the above reasons, the way they have been used creates another problem. That is, these self-constructs have been stretched to cover so many cognitive and motivational processes that their utility has been greatly reduced.

The result is a good deal of ambiguity in the interpretations of various studies and considerable apparent contradictions of results. "In short, the total accumulation of substantive findings is disappointing, especially in proportion to the great amount of effort which obviously has been expended" (32, p. 317).

Two main approaches, which may offer a solution to this dilemma, are suggested by Wylie (32, p. 319). One is to improve the constructs and hypotheses through the use of more carefully delineated definitions of variables. The second approach, which is also suggested as an alternative to abandoning self theories, is to improve their predictability by the addition of more variables.

The present study is directed towards the solution of this problem. By exploring the relationship between two of the aspects

of the self-structure, the writer hopes to reduce the molar quality of the processes which are studied and, at the same time, increase predictability by the consideration of more than one inferred sub-structure. The study of the self-structure, then, focuses on a specific aspect of personality, but one which is meaningfully related to other dimensions of personality.

The concept of social self

Theory. -- In the previous discussion, some of the problems in current self-concept research were outlined, and the type of research which may aid in solving this dilemma has been suggested.

The remaining discussion will give the background of variables which are more directly pertinent to this particular study. The first of these concerns the inferred levels of self with special emphasis on the social-self level.

Recently, some theoretical consideration has been given to the structure of the self (30,25,17). Leary's (17) proposals are probably most relevant to this study. Leary presents five levels of interpersonal relationships, which are viewed by the present writer as characterizing five levels of self:

Level I comprises automatic role relationships in standard institutional situations.

Level II is the conscious verbal report of the individual and it reflects how he chooses to present himself and his view of the world.

Level III concerns those preconscious themes which the individual expresses in a projective testing situation.

Level IV relates those unconscious interpersonal themes which the individual consistently, significantly, and specifically omits in the other three levels.

Level V represents the values which the individual consciously stresses.

Other levels could have undoubtedly been used, but for the purposes of this paper, Leary's primary contribution appears to be the consideration of "psychological pressures among different levels of personality" (14, p. vi).

The present writer's conceptualization of aspects of self overlaps, in many cases, with those of Leary. It is, however, more closely tied to the previously presented definition of self-concept, which emphasizes the individual's perception of his own processes. Several aspects of self are hypothesized, each of which can be inferred from the individual's verbal and expressive behaviors:

1. Private Phenomenal Aspect - What the person believes are his own characteristics (self-concept) under conditions of minimal social pressure. The degree of distortion from the person's characteristics as they "really" exist depends upon the degree of previous anxiety to which the individual has been subjected and his success in coping with it. Unconscious self-enhancement may be found. Since present measurement techniques usually involve the subject's realization that he is an experimental subject, some conscious self-enhancement will probably be measured, even though it is not included as part of this defined aspect.

2. Social Aspect - What the person believes are his own characteristics (self-concept) within the current interaction of a social situation. This depends upon:
 - (1) The individual's ability to recognize various social roles and situations.
 - (2) The ability to enact and respond to these roles.
 - (3) The motivation (conscious and unconscious) to respond in accordance with these roles.
3. Public Aspect - What the person communicates verbally about himself. This differs from his private phenomenal view of himself and he realizes that it differs. It may also differ from his real self, as inferred by others.
4. Real-Self - These are the "true" characteristics of the individual which are not distorted by the defensive perception of aspects one and two, or the protective communications of aspect three. This aspect includes accurate self-perceptions (conscious and unconscious). As with other aspects, the real self must be inferred from the statements and behavior of the individual. Since the social aspect of the self-structure is of primary interest here, it might help to clarify the definition of this aspect by examining related constructs of other theorists.

The present definition of social-self resembles Leary's level 1, public communication (17). This level includes automatic responses in standard institutional situations. These are subtle, ubiquitous, automatic role relationships, which to a considerable extent, function

to minimize anxiety.

Most everyone assumes automatic role responses which he automatically assumes in the presence of each significant "other" in his life. These roles are probability tendencies to express certain interpersonal purposes with significantly higher frequency. The individual may be quite unaware of these spontaneous tendencies (17, p. 109).

Leary compares this level to Jung's "Persona" and Reich's "Character Armor".

Reich, as reviewed by Leary (17), defines character armor as a chronic alteration of the ego which has rigidity. The degree of character mobility constitutes the difference between healthy and neurotic character structures. Reich finds that analysis of different characters shows them all to be merely different forms of armoring of the ego against the dangers threatening from the outer world and from repressed inner impulses. They represent different reactions to anxiety. From Reich's frame of reference, the establishment of character armoring solves a repression problem: it either makes the process of repression unnecessary, or it changes the repression into a relatively rigid, ego accepted formation.

Jung, as reviewed by Leary (17), saw the persona as a compromise between the individual and society as to the kind of semblance to adopt, or as we might say, those aspects of the ego which are concerned with adaptation to social roles. The persona in its way is a necessity:

Society expects, and indeed must expect, every individual to play the part assigned to him as perfectly as possible, so that a man who is a parson must not only carry out his official functions objectively, but must at all times and in all circumstances play the role of parson in a flawless manner...each must stand at his post, here a cobbler, there a poet. No man is expected to be both (17, p. 94).

Research. -- As far as the present writer can determine, there have been no investigations of the social aspect of self, as presented here, reported in the literature to date.

In one investigation, Brownfain (5) investigated the "social-self" which was operationally defined as the subject's rating of himself as he believes other people in the group see him. This measurement approach, however, does not get at many elements of social-self as defined in this paper. First, the interpersonal pressure of the current social situation was not present. Thus, certain elements of the real-self, which might be called out under this pressure, would not be measured. Also, different social situations call for differing role qualities (i.e., modesty, bravery, assertiveness, etc.). Actually, one would expect to tap elements from the private phenomenal level and the public level through the use of this procedure.

How, then, can the social aspect be tapped for measurement? The method to be used here involves obtaining an individual's evaluation of self in a particular social situation. In this way, in addition to the social aspect, elements of the public aspect and of the real-self aspect can be inferred. Also, a definite role behavior will be called for.

The individual's evaluation of self in a private anonymous situation will also be used. Not only the private phenomenal aspect, but certain elements of the public aspect and of the real-self aspect can be obtained in this manner.

With this brief description of the social aspect of self, it might be appropriate here to take a closer look at how the dynamic structure of the self develops.

Anxiety and dynamic structure of the self

Stages of development. -- Three basic stages have been differentiated by Piaget (20) in describing how children come to apply social norms to their behavior. Newcomb's (20) account of the development of the self, based upon Piaget's thinking, will be reviewed briefly:

The first stage, called the stage of autism, is the early period in infancy when the wishes and demands of the infant are met without resistance on the part of the significant adult.

The second stage, absolutism, is marked by four phenomena: first, there is some resistance to the demands of the child. This results in the child's learning to inhibit some impulses and learning to perform certain acts in order to have his needs satisfied. Second, because of developing intellectual capacities, the child is able to make discriminations, especially among people. Third, the child interiorizes social norms as a part of the universe (absolutism). Finally, he learns to play the roles of others, often in rapid succession. In this way he learns to respond to the anticipated behavior of others. He is now able to do this because he is

1

5

capable of taking longer time perspectives, and because of the development of language, the child is able to take a dual role when he speaks.

The third stage in the development of the self is the stage of relativism. Now the child recognizes that there are different perspectives in the world and that they are not absolute. The mother is more variable than the child's fixed anticipations of her so he anticipates her actions in order to make his life less chaotic. He discovers that he will be more successful in his anticipations of her if he puts himself in his mother's place. This is how he comes to identify with her. Then he learns that all of his mother's motives are not necessarily of importance to him. This is the fact of different perspectives.

A theory of development. -- It is the writer's view, utilizing Piaget's concepts of absolutism and relativism, that to the extent the individual is able to graduate from the absolutism level to the relativism level, he will have an autonomous self-identity in which the various aspects of the self are highly congruent. To the extent that he is unable to make this step, the individual will be characterized by self-diffusion. He will play many rigid, inflexible roles, and this absolute construction of the world will interfere with the individual's ability to perceive and experience accurately new situations.

What is it that prevents some individuals from successfully making the transition? Speaking primarily from a Sullivanian (29)

framework, one might hypothesize that anxiety (attack on the then established self-structure) will stifle the individual initiative and industry which is necessary for relinquishment of the safe but non-functional and inflexible roles.

From a more positive point of view, two qualities are necessary: positive and approving feedback from others, and consistent feedback from others. As Erickson has stated:

The form of ego identity is more than the sum of the childhood identifications. A sense of ego identity (ego synthesis) is the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others. The child must recognize that his way of recognizing reality and mastering experience is a successful variant * of the way other people around him master experience (13, p. 228).

Also pertinent to this discussion are the viewpoints of several other theorists:

Kelly (16) sees the psychological disorder as resulting from any personal construction which is used repeatedly in spite of consistent invalidation. He presents a constructive alternativism which emphasizes "the creative capacity of the living thing to represent the environment, and not merely to respond to it" (16, p. 3).

Rogers (22) presents a process view of adjustment in which the movement towards adjustment is away from fixity towards an integrated fluidity of experiencing and feeling.

Leary explains how different human beings develop different, rigid, self-defeating techniques of adjustment.

* Underline added.

In the adjusted, well-functioning individual, the entire repertoire of interpersonal reflexes is operating spontaneously, flexibly, and appropriately. Human societies, however, tend not to be too well balanced. They tend to put a premium on certain interpersonal responses--competitiveness or slavish submission for example. To survive and flourish, human beings must tailor their responses to the demands of such imbalanced cultures.

Even in the most heterogeneous and tolerant society, the developing personality interacts with so many inflexible pressures (e.g., parents' personalities, subculture demands) that a hierarchy of preferred reflexes develops. To say that human personality is varied and different, is to say--at this level--that most everyone tends to overemphasize certain automatic interpersonal responses and to underemphasize others (17, p. 31).

Leary emphasizes the Sullivanian framework in explaining why the individual is willing to tailor his responses to the demands of significant others and their cultures. He employs these interpersonal responses in order to reduce anxiety, ward off disapproval, and maintain self-esteem. The individual discovers, as he develops, that certain interpersonal responses bring danger, while other responses bring a narrow, uncomfortable, but certain security.

Taking these theoretical viewpoints concerning the development and structure of the self into consideration, the present writer theorizes two types of individuals who behave in ways which are consistent with the absolutism and relativism levels of self development.

More specifically, individuals who behave in a way which is characteristic of the absolutism level of self-development have indiscriminately incorporated the roles of significant others as a means of warding off anxiety. These roles or rules of the game are seen as absolute.

The boundary of the self-structure is permeable and stimuli are primarily incoming. The Individual reacts to the environment. He is dependent on the field and oversensitive to the expectations of others. Self-esteem is based almost entirely on the reactions of others. Rigid barriers separate roles within the self-structure, resulting in a lack of consistency within the self.

Because of the individual's dependence and oversensitivity, behavior in a particular role situation will be highly predictable. It will conform with the social demands of the situation. Since rigid barriers separate roles within the self-system, behavior in one role is, to a large degree, isolated from the rest of the self, but consistently so. Individuals who behave in a way which is characteristic of the relativism and inconsistent stages of self-development are less predictable.

The public aspect of self will be emphasized at the expense of other aspects of self because of the individual's need to conform to the expectations of others (oversensitivity) and the ability to recognize behavior which is socially desirable. High anxiety is expected in this group because of conflicting roles within the self-structure and lessened ability to act on the environment. The individual perceives the world (and himself) through previously assimilated rigid constructs. This results in a lessened ability to act spontaneously in new situations.

Fewer intricate roles are developed because the perception of new roles must be made to conform to old constructs. This brings a narrow and uncomfortable, but certain security.

The private phenomenal self-evaluation should be lower than that of individuals who have progressed to the relative stage because of conflict and anxiety leading to lowered self-esteem. It should be higher than that of individuals who, for some reason or other, have been unable to assimilate meaningful and useful roles into their self-structure. This is because of the greater role playing ability in the absolutism group and the positive, if limited, social feedback and communication which results from this conformity. Also, it is socially unacceptable in this culture to give ones self very low self-ratings in any situation.

The relativism stage of development represents individuals who were able, because of minimal anxiety in their environment, to be discriminating in the acceptance of roles. These roles are seen as relative instruments which are useful in achieving goals.

The boundary of the self-structure is less permeable than that of the absolute stage individual, but is not rigid. This is because of the greater autonomy of the individual. Stimuli are both incoming and outgoing. The individual reacts to and acts upon the environment. He is sensitive to the field, but not overly so. Self-esteem is based upon reactions from others and a relatively permanent and consistent self-structure.

Barriers within the self-structure are more permeable than in the absolute stage individual. This results in greater consistency within the self. Because of the individual's greater autonomy, behavior in a particular role situation should be less

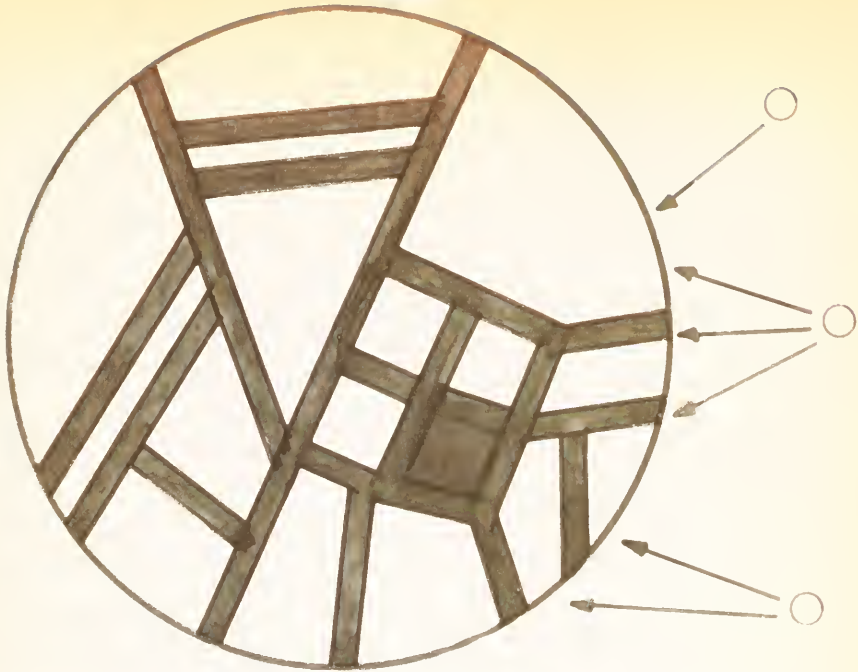


Figure 1.-- Topographical model of the self-system representing the absolutism level of self-development.

KEY:

OUTER PERIMETER OF CIRCLE REPRESENTS BOUNDARY OF SELF-SYSTEM.

THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF OUTER PERIMETER REPRESENTS PERMEABILITY OF SELF-BOUNDARY.

GRID # REPRESENTS NUMBER OF INCORPORATED ROLES AND ATTITUDES WHICH COMPRISE SELF-SYSTEM.

THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF GRID LINES REPRESENTS FLEXIBILITY OF ROLES AND ATTITUDES WITHIN THE SELF-SYSTEM.

ARROWS REPRESENT DIRECTION AND QUANTITY OF STIMULATION.

SMALL OUTSIDE CIRCLES REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT OTHERS OUTSIDE OF THE SELF-SYSTEM.

FILLED IN AREA REPRESENTS THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS USED IN THIS STUDY.

predictable than in individuals who represent the absolute stage of development. He has learned the utility of social roles, however, and will act in conformance with them unless this produces conflict within the established self-structure.

The public aspect of self should come into play, but since the individual feels autonomous as an individual and consistent within his self-structure, this factor should not be as influential as it is in the absolute stage individual. Low anxiety is expected in this group because of the congruence of roles within the self-structure.

More intricate roles are developed because of the capacity to perceive and experience new roles spontaneously. The private phenomenal self-evaluation should be higher than in individuals representing the other stages of development because of the greater self-esteem in this group.

A logical extension of this theorizing allows the writer to hypothesize a third type of individual. This individual is inconsistent in his behavior and insensitive to the roles and attitudes of the culture.

Individuals who behave in a manner which is characteristic of this inconsistent stage have been unable to assimilate meaningful and useful roles into their self-structure because of inconsistent and negative feedbacks from significant others.

The boundary of the self-structure is rigid and while the individual does act upon the environment it is often in a role deviant manner.

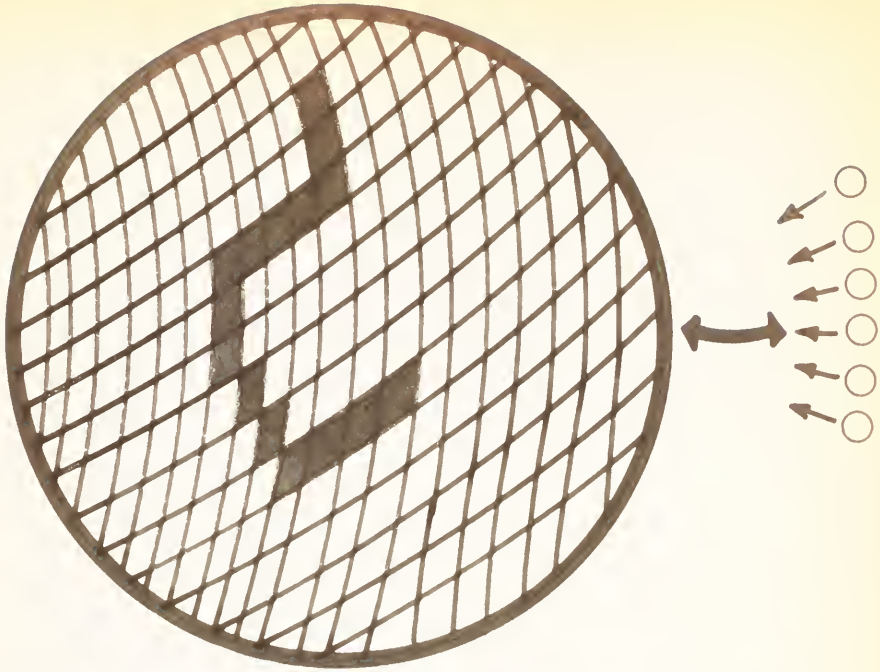


Figure 2.-- Topographical model of the self-system representing the relativism level of self-development.

KEY:

OUTER PERIMETER OF CIRCLE REPRESENTS BOUNDARY OF SELF-SYSTEM.

THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF OUTER PERIMETER REPRESENTS PERMEABILITY OF SELF-BOUNDARY.

GRID # REPRESENTS NUMBER OF INCORPORATED ROLES AND ATTITUDES WHICH COMPRISE SELF-SYSTEM.

THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF GRID LINES REPRESENTS FLEXIBILITY OF ROLES AND ATTITUDES WITHIN THE SELF-SYSTEM.

ARROWS REPRESENT DIRECTION AND QUANTITY OF STIMULATION.

SMALL OUTSIDE CIRCLES REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT OTHERS OUTSIDE OF THE SELF-SYSTEM.

FILLED IN AREA REPRESENTS THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS USED IN THIS STUDY.

The individual is largely independent of the field and insensitive to the expectations of others. Sarbin (25) has found that persons who frequently make nonconforming perceptual responses are characterized by social behavior which is socially invalid. Individuals who were high on the F scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory were low in perceptual conformity.

Because of the individual's independence, lack of sensitivity, and limited ability to perceive social situations, behavior in a particular situation will be highly unpredictable, both within the group and within the individual.

The public aspect will be less influential than it is in the self-structure of individuals in the other two stages because of the individual's lack of awareness of the feelings of others. There will not be conflicting roles within the self-structure which would produce anxiety, but the negative feedback due to socially deviant performance may bring it about.

Fewer intricate roles are developed and new situations are often not accurately perceived. The private phenomenal self-evaluation should be low because of negative feedback from others, but this will be tempered by lack of insight.

In this section, stages in the development of the self have been presented, and it is hypothesized that individuals whose behavior is characteristic of these various stages will differ in regard to their self-structures.

In the remaining sections, a rationale for selecting individuals who represent these various stages of development and a methodology for testing differences in the self-structure will be presented.



Figure 3.-- Topographical model of the self-system representing the inconsistent level of self-development.

- KEY:
- OUTER PERIMETER OF CIRCLE REPRESENTS BOUNDARY OF SELF-SYSTEM.
 - THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF OUTER PERIMETER REPRESENTS PERMEABILITY OF SELF-BOUNDARY.
 - GRID # REPRESENTS NUMBER OF INCORPORATED ROLES AND ATTITUDES WHICH COMPRISE SELF-SYSTEM.
 - THICKNESS-THINNESS DIMENSION OF GRID LINES REPRESENTS FLEXIBILITY OF ROLES AND ATTITUDES WITHIN THE SELF-SYSTEM.
 - ARROWS REPRESENT DIRECTION AND QUANTITY OF STIMULATION.
 - SMALL OUTSIDE CIRCLES REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT OTHERS OUTSIDE OF THE SELF-SYSTEM.
 - FILLED IN AREA REPRESENTS THE SOCIAL SITUATION AS USED IN THIS STUDY.

Concept of social desirability

One variable which is directly related to the need for conformity to the rules and regulations of society is the social desirability variable. The social desirability construct, which has gained wide attention in recent years both as a response set and as a motivational variable, gives promise of providing a classification of individuals according to the hypothesized stages of self-development.

The investigation of social desirability as a motivational variable which is relevant to non-test situations has been initiated. Marlowe and Crowne define social desirability as "a need for social approval and acceptance and the belief that this can be obtained by means of culturally acceptable and appropriate behaviors " (11, p. 109).

In developing a scale to measure this motive, the authors hoped to overcome the limitations of the statistical deviation model drawn from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory by Edwards (12). When subjects given the Edwards Scale deny, for example, that their sleep is fitful and disturbed, it cannot be determined whether these responses are attributable to social desirability or to a genuine absence of such symptoms. In a college population, high social desirability scores may reflect the low frequency of pathological symptoms in this population and not the needs of the subjects to present themselves in a favorable light.

In their scale, Crowne and Marlowe drew from a population of items which are culturally approved, but improbable of occurrence. Fifty items meeting this criterion were submitted to ten judges for social desirability ratings. Judges were asked to score each item in the socially desirable direction from the point of view of college students, using true and false response categories. Unanimous agreement was obtained on 36 items and 90 per cent agreement was obtained on 11 additional items. The scale was then reduced to 39 items by the elimination of items with content relevant to pathology.

An item analysis showed 33 items that discriminated at the .05 level or better between high and low total scores. Eighteen items are keyed true and 15 false to control for response set. Reliability is .88 using the Kuder-Richardson 20 to test for reliability. A one month test-retest correlation of .89 was obtained. The correlation between this scale and the Edwards Scale is .35. The distribution of scores on this scale closely approximates a normal one, while negative skewness is found on the Edwards Scale. (Tables 1-3 from Crowne and Marlowe (11)).

Table 1. --- Mean scores and standard deviations for subjects on the Marlowe-Crowne and Edwards Social Desirability Scales (11).

	N	Mean	SD
Marlowe-Crowne SDS	120	13.72	5.78
Edwards SDS	120	31.83	5.06

Table 2. --- Correlations between scores on the Marlowe-Crowne and Edwards Social Desirability Scales, and scales on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (11).

	MMPI	Marlowe-Crowne	Edwards SDS
	K	.40	.65
	L	.54	.22
	F	-.36	-.61
	HS	-.30	-.62
	D	-.27	-.72
	Hy	.15	.09
	Pd	-.41	-.73
	Pa	.21	-.02
	Pt	-.30	-.80
	Sc	-.40	-.77
	Ma	-.24	-.42
Prejudice Gough 1951	Pr	-.27	-.58
Status Gough 1948	St	.16	.14
Ego Strength	ES	.17	.46
Anxiety - Taylor	MAS	-.25	-.75
Anxiety - Welsh	A	-.23	-.61
Repression - Welsh	R	.28	.07

Crowne and Marlowe administered the scale to subjects at two universities and then had the subjects perform a boring task for 25 minutes. They found that subjects with a strong need for social approval (as measured by their scale) expressed significantly more favorable attitudes towards the experiment than subjects with a weak need for social approval(11).

The high S-D (social desirability) group differed from the low S-D group at the .01 level on all of the following attitudes: how enjoyable the tasks were, how much they learned, scientific importance, and willingness to participate in a similar experiment.

High and low groups on Barron's Conformity Scales were discriminated only by question two, how much they learned (.05 one-tailed). But

response to the other questions were in the same direction as the S-D groups.

Groups divided on the basis of the Edwards S-D Scale did not differ significantly on these questions.

Table 3. --- Correlations of scores on two Social Desirability Scales and the Barron Conformity Scale (11).

	Edwards S-D Scale	Marlowe-Crowne S-D Scale
Barron's Conformity Scale	-.12 (N=29)	-.54** (N=57)
Marlowe-Crowne S-D Scale	.56** (N=29) ** .01	

As a result of this analysis, Crowne and Marlowe define the need for social approval as a motivational variable, while conformity refers to a class of behaviors. They state that high need for social approval is a characteristic of the individual who gives responses on the Barron scale which are indicative of a relative lack of independence of judgement. Since the Edwards Scale was unrelated to Barron's Conformity scale, and since it correlates highly with various Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory scales and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, the authors of this study inferred that it measures the extent to which an individual is willing to admit symptoms indicative of maladjustment. Therefore, they expect relationships between the Edwards Scale and other measures where there is a corresponding overlap in item content, particularly related to psychopathology.

Strickland and Crowne (28) used 85 outpatients with primarily neurotic and characterological diagnoses, who were treated at the Columbus, Ohio Psychiatric Clinic, and found that individuals with high need for social approval terminate psychotherapy prematurely ($p < .005$) and are rated by the therapist as more defensive and less improved than those with less need for social approval. The authors concluded that individuals with high need for social approval are "disorganized" and "concerned with protecting and maintaining a vulnerable self-image" (28, p. 99).

Crowne and Liverant (10) tested the hypothesis that conformity is related to low expectations of success in socially evaluative situations and is consequently accompanied by defensive processes. The authors saw this as lending support to Rotter's social learning theory (23). They concluded that individuals with high need for social approval engage in defensive personal enhancement.

Allison and Hunt (1) studied the relationship between the Edwards Scale and expression, as measured by a paper and pencil technique, in a situational frustration test. They found that subjects who were high on the Edwards Social Desirability Scale expressed less aggression when the intention of the frustrating source was not specified and, therefore, the culturally approved response was not implicitly defined.

It would appear, on the basis of these studies, that subjects with very high needs for social approval resemble those individuals who have been less successful in graduating from the absolute stage of self-development. Individuals with a high need for social approval

lack independence of judgement, are disorganized and defensive, and attempt to obtain social acceptance through culturally appropriate behaviors in many situations. This conforming behavior in many different social situations should result in the assimilation of many conflicting roles.

Sarbin (24), writing about Piaget's stage of absolutism, stated that "Fixation at this level leads to behavior which is primarily 'other' oriented. That is to say, actions must first be considered in terms of possible approval or disapproval, reward or punishment" (24, p. 242).

Those individuals with very low needs for social approval, on the other hand, appear to resemble individuals who have found it necessary to reject many of the roles of significant others. Low social approval individuals are not responsive to culturally approved forms of behavior.

Individuals with moderate needs for social approval have apparently found it useful to incorporate some culturally approved behaviors, but are not slavishly following the cultural dictates of every situation. In this respect, they are similar to individuals who have achieved the developmental stage of relativism.

Following the above reasoning, individuals with high, medium and low scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale can be assumed to represent individuals whose behavior is characteristic of absolutism, relativism, and inconsistent stages of self-development.

SUMMARY AND STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

A good deal of ambiguity has resulted from self-concept research because of premature attempts to relate self-constructs to other complex phenomena. Before this type of research can be meaningful, studies must first be undertaken to explore and define the structure of the self. The present study is directed towards the solution of this problem.

Based upon the writings of various sociological (19,20) and psychological theorists (29,22), the self is defined here as a hypothetical construct which represents the individual's conception, perception, feeling (affect), and evaluation of his own psychophysical processes as an object.

Drawing upon the writings of Leary (17) and others (32,2), the present writer has conceptualized four aspects which comprise the self-structure. Two of these aspects, the private phenomenal aspect and the social aspect, are of primary interest in this study. The private phenomenal aspect is defined as the individual's evaluation of himself with a minimal amount of social pressure. The social aspect is defined as the individual's evaluation of himself within a social situation.

In conceptualizing the development of the self, the writings of Piaget (20) and Sarbin (25) were reviewed. Three stages of development were discussed:

During the autism stage of development, the individual has been unable to incorporate the roles and acts of others into his self-structure. The stage of absolutism is marked by the indiscriminate incorporation of the roles of others, and these roles are seen as absolute. In the third stage of development, the roles of others are useful to him. He discovers that roles represent relative rather than absolute rules and he becomes discriminating in his acceptance of them.

It is the general hypothesis of this study that individual self-systems will vary, depending upon the individual's ability to incorporate meaningful roles and acts of others into his self-concept. In terms of Werner's theory of mental development (31), it is hypothesized that differentiation of the levels of the self is associated with the stage of absolutism, while integration of self levels is associated with the stage of relativism. More specifically, it is hypothesized that individuals who are at the absolute stage will have a greater divergence between their private phenomenal and social aspects of self than will individuals who have made the transition to the stage of relativism.

In order to test this hypothesis, individuals who represent the three stages of self-development are needed. Based upon a review of the literature, it was determined that the need for social approval was related to the need to accept and incorporate role models. The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale appeared to be the instrument which would best measure this variable, and it

was decided that subjects would be selected to represent the three stages of self-development based upon their scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

More specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. Assuming that individuals with high scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale represent individuals whose behavior is characteristic of the absolutism stage of development, the following relationships can be expected.

First, because of rigid barriers separating roles within the self-structure, these individuals should have a greater divergence between the private and social aspects of the self than individuals at either the relativism or inconsistent stage of self-development.

Second, because the social aspect of self has been molded rigidly in accordance with various social roles and situations, this group should show less individual variation as regards the social aspect of self than individuals at either the relativism or inconsistent stage of self-development.

Finally, individuals in this group should have lower self-esteem than individuals at the relativism stage of self-development. This is because of the limited social feedback and communication which results from over-conformity. At the same time, however, individuals in this group have assimilated some useful and meaningful roles into their self-structure. This results in some degree of positive feedback from significant others. For

this reason, self-esteem should be higher in this group than in the group representing the inconsistent stage of self-development.

2. Assuming that individuals with moderate scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale represent individuals whose behavior is characteristic of the relativism stage of development, the following relationships can be expected.

First, because of the highly permeable barriers separating roles within the self-structure, these individuals should have less divergence between the private and social aspects of the self than individuals at either the absolutism or inconsistent stage of self-development.

Second, since the social aspect of self has been molded flexibly through the discriminate incorporation of social roles, this group should show greater individual variation as regards the social aspect of the self than individuals at the absolutism stage of development. On the other hand, since the social aspect of self has developed from valid and useful social perceptions, less individual variation will be found here than in the group representing the inconsistent stage of self-development.

Finally, the positive social feedback and communication, along with congruence of roles within the self-structure, should result in higher self-esteem in this group than in groups representing the absolutism and inconsistent stages of self-development.

3. Assuming that individuals with low scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale represent individuals whose behavior is characteristic of the inconsistent stage of development, the following relationships can be expected.

First, the barriers separating roles within the self-structure of this group are considered to be more permeable than those of individuals in the absolutism stage of development. On the other hand, these barriers are not as permeable as those found in the individual at the relativism stage of development. For this reason, these individuals should have less divergence between the private and social aspects of self than individuals in the absolutism stage, but more divergence than individuals in the relativism stage.

Second, since the social self has been molded on the basis of inconsistent and negative feedbacks from significant others, the highest degree of individual variation can be expected in this group. Socially invalid social perceptions are anticipated.

Finally, the negative and inconsistent social feedback experienced by this group should result in lower self-esteem than in groups representing the relativism and absolutism stages of self-development.

4. Conflict within the self has been considered by various writers (17,22,24,29) to be conducive to anxiety and lowered psychological adjustment. On this basis, it is expected that those individuals with a wide divergence between the private

and social aspects of self, regardless of the stage of development which they represent, will have lower psychological adjustment than individuals with a narrow divergence between the private and social aspects of self.

METHOD

The procedure to employ, in attempting to elicit social factors which influence the individual's self-concept, presents many difficulties, as discussed previously. If one assumes that behavior is not a product of self (as a doer), but rather a product of a complex of stimuli, of which the individual is only partly aware, then any procedure which is devised will tap various levels of self, social and private, conscious and unconscious.

In a projective test type situation, for example, in addition to tapping unconscious self-feelings, the responses will be a product of both the individual's private feelings about himself and his defensive presentations of himself as an individual in a social situation. It has been demonstrated that the presence of the examiner in the administration of the Thematic Apperception Test has an inhibiting effect upon strongly emotional material (4).

Similarly, in a private self-evaluation situation, various unconscious and socially defensive factors will probably be present. It appears that unconscious, private, and social factors will be tapped in any situation, but the degree to which each is elicited should depend largely upon the situation itself. Self-evaluative responses in a social situation should be more influenced by social factors than private self-evaluative factors. The reverse should be true in the private, anonymous, self-evaluation.

Several steps will be taken to overcome these design problems. Subjects will be grouped according to high, moderate, and low scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. Then they will rate the pictures of 12 coeds as to likeability, relative to themselves. In this way, an inference about each subject's feelings of self-likeability can be inferred. Half of the ratings will be made in a private anonymous situation, and the other half in a clearly defined social situation which calls for some degree of modesty. Since the 12 pictures will have already been selected by each subject as being neither liked nor disliked in terms of likeability, any differences found should be a product of the treatment situation (social or private). To control for position and sequence effect half of the subjects will proceed from the social to the private situation and the other half from the private to the social situation.

Subjects

Forty-six female students who were enrolled in basic psychology courses at the University of Florida and 44 female students who were enrolled in basic sociology courses at the University of Wisconsin were used. Most of the girls were freshmen or sophomores and were 18 to 20 years of age. The average age, education, and results on the various measures used were very similar (see Tables 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 in the Appendix). When this was established, both groups were combined to make up one pool of subjects.

The first 44 subjects were students at the University of Florida, and they participated in the experiment during the summer

of 1963. Thirteen of these subjects fell in the high social-desirability category, 10 in the moderate category, and 21 in the low category.

The remaining 46 subjects were from the University of Wisconsin and participated in the fall of 1963. These subjects were selected so that each of the three categories (high, moderate, and low) would be brought up to a total of 30. Therefore, the Wisconsin and Florida samples tend to approach a significant difference in social desirability scores ($\chi^2 = 3.56$, $df=1$, $p = .10$ two-tailed) (see Table 13 in the Appendix).

Subjects from the two samples did not differ, however, in the direction of their self-ratings in the private and social situations. Differences in the magnitudes of self-ratings were evidenced (see Table 14 in the Appendix).

Procedure and instruments

A group administration of Part A of the Picture Identification Test (6) and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (11) was accomplished approximately one week before the individual self-evaluations were made. All instructions were standard and the tests were administered in the order mentioned above.

The self-rating methodology. --After the group administration of tests, the experimenter placed the 30 subjects with the highest scores on the Social-Desirability Scale into one group, the 30 subjects with the lowest scores into a second group, and the 30 subjects with scores clustering around the median into a third group.

For each of these subjects, the experimenter selected the 12 pictures which each subject had not placed into the most likeable or least likeable categories on the Picture Identification Test. Six of the pictures were used for the subject's private evaluation and the other six for her social self-evaluation. Since these 12 pictures had previously been selected by the subject as neither liked nor disliked, it was assumed that any differences in the subject's evaluation of herself relative to them, from the private situation to the social situation, would be a function of the situation itself rather than any absolute difference in stimulus quality (attractiveness) of the girls pictured or of the subject herself. In this way, the experimenter feels that he is controlled for a methodological weakness which has been evidenced in many experiments of this type. For example, in one study (21), a subject was presented with her own photograph (in a tachistoscopic procedure) along with other photographs which had been judged by the experimenter of average attractiveness. This judgement, in the writer's opinion, may have varied widely from the subject's phenomenal view of the photos.

Neither is it satisfactory, in the writer's opinion, for the subject to rate the pictures of others as equal to himself and then to present these pictures to the subject in a different procedure (i.e., tachistoscopic) (3). In this case, the initial evaluation may be influenced by social and unconscious factors, and may not represent the subject's private opinion.

Position and sequence. -- Half of the high social approval group went from the social self-evaluation situation to the private self-evaluation situation and the other half from the private situation to the social one. The same counter-balance procedure was used for the middle and low social approval groups.

The social situation. -- The social self-evaluation situation consisted of the subject, two female peers (confederates of the experimenter) and the experimenter. After the subject was seated, the experimenter handed the subject and the confederates six pictures each and read the following instructions:

"In front of you there is a measurement scale which runs from (-) minus three to (+) plus three. Your job will be to rate these people in terms of likeability. Use yourself as a reference point, or zero on the scale. If a person is more likeable than you, rate her on the plus side. If a person is less likeable than you, rate her on the minus side. The one, two, and three represent the degree to which she is more or less likeable than yourself. Plus three is quite a bit more likeable than yourself. Plus one is a little more likeable than yourself. Minus three is quite a bit less likeable than yourself. Minus one is a little less likeable than yourself. Tell me your ratings and I will write them down. Do not use zero. Are there any questions?" Then the experimenter will look at the subject and say,-----"(name), you go first".

After each rating, the experimenter restated out loud the position of the pictured girl on the scale. For example, "She is a little more likeable than yourself." When the subject was finished, she was excused

and taken directly to the private situation, or excused from the experiment if she had been assigned to the private situation immediately before the social one.

The private situation. -- The private rating situation took place in a different room. After the subject was seated, the experimenter gave her the other six pictures, a slip of paper marked from one to six, and a coded envelope. The instructions were the same as in the social situation, with the exception that in the place of saying "Tell me your ratings", the experimenter read the following instructions:

"Put down a number from minus three to plus three for each person on this slip of paper. Then put the slip of paper in an envelope with the letter (letter assigned to the subject) on it. This letter is used so that your rating will be held confidential. No one will know how you rated these people. When you have finished and placed your ratings in the envelope, leave the envelope here and you may leave." Then the experimenter left the subject alone in the room. When finished, the subject was taken directly to the social situation or dismissed from the experiment, depending upon the order to which she had been assigned.

The Picture Identification Test. -- The full Picture Identification Test (6) was administered to each subject approximately one week before the individual self-evaluation was made.

The Picture Identification Test is a projective test which requires the subject to make judgements about photographs of people

of the same sex as the subject. The subject selects the pictures of people he likes best and of the people he likes least. He also selects the people who, in his judgement, best fit descriptions of 21 needs of the Murray Need System. He receives a Judgement, an Attitude, and an Association score for each of the 21 Murray needs.

Since the overall Association Index score was used as a criterion of adjustment, it is of primary interest here. An Association Index is computed for each need. This score is based on the degree to which the subject conforms to a norm group in associating needs by attributing them to the same person. For example, it has been quite common in norm groups to associate need-dominance and need-aggression by attributing these two needs to the same person, whereas the need-dominance and need-deference were seldom associated in this manner. A high Association Index for a need is interpreted by the authors of the test as meaning that the subject knows how to fit the need in well by the system of other needs which help him to satisfy the needs in an acceptable way. It means that the individual knows that the need does not combine well with certain other needs so that he wouldn't try to satisfy it and these other needs at the same time.

In one study (18), 94 male prisoners from a correctional institution and 94 male students from a technical and vocational high school were administered a group form of the Picture Identification Test. A procedure was established to test the hypothesis that the profiles adequately represented various types of prisoners and non-prisoners, so that a new subject could be correctly classified according to whether his profile was most similar to the prisoner or non-prisoner group. The results showed that 68 per cent of the subjects were correctly,

classified by a median cutting point. It was noted that while the prisoner profile showed low association scores, there were no particularly low association scores in the student profiles.

In another study (7), using college students as subjects, the Association Index was again found to be positively related to adjustment.

Statistical methodology. --Since a counter-balance procedure was used to obtain the self-ratings in the two situations, it was decided that a 2 x 2 counter-balanced analysis of variance would be the most appropriate statistical methodology. The most important advantage to this methodology is that subjects are orthogonal to treatments and each subject therefore serves as his own control. This feature provides that the usually large between subjects variance is removed from the error term used for testing treatments, and thus the design is extremely sensitive for treatments. The assumptions of a normal distribution of the population, random and independent observations, and similar population variances, seemed reasonable for this type of research. The sample is one which is often used in research of this type. The n of 90 is large enough to enable the use of parametric methods of analysis. The variances were not found to differ significantly.

Experimental hypotheses

Combining the previous theoretical hypotheses with this methodology, several specific experimental hypotheses can now be discussed:

1. Individuals at the absolutism stage of self-development can be expected to have a greater divergence between the social and private aspects of self than individuals at either the relativism or inconsistent stages. It can be expected that: a. That the

high need for social approval group will have a greater divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situations than will the moderate need for social approval group. b. That the high need for social approval group will have a greater divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situations than will the low need for social approval group.

Because of the oversensitivity of individuals at the absolutism stage of self-development to social expectations, it can be expected: c. That the high need for social approval group will have higher self-ratings in the private situation than in the social situation.

Finally, since individuals at the absolutism stage of self-development can be expected to have higher self-esteem and to respond more appropriately to social expectations than individuals at the inconsistent stage of development, it can be expected that d. The high need for social approval group will have higher self-ratings in the private situation than will the low need for social approval group.

2. Individuals at the relativism stage of self-development are not expected to have a great divergence between the social and private aspects of self. It can be expected then: a. That the moderate need for social approval group will not have a great divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situations. b. That the moderate need for social approval group will not have a greater divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situation than the low need for social approval group.

Individuals at the relativism stage of self-development are expected to have a high degree of self-esteem and the ability to make appropriate, yet discriminating, evaluations of social situations. It can be expected that: c. That the moderate need for social approval group will have higher self-ratings in the social situation than will the high need for social approval group. d. That the moderate need for social approval group will have higher self-ratings in the private situation than will the low need for social approval group. e. That the moderate need for social approval group will have higher combined self-ratings in both the social and private situations than will the low need for social approval group.

3. Individuals at the inconsistent stage of self-development are not expected to have a great divergence between the social and private aspects of self. It can be expected then: a. That the low need for social approval group will not have a great divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situations.

Individuals at the inconsistent stage of self-development are expected to have a low degree of self-esteem and to make inappropriate and invalid social perceptions. It can be expected then: b. That the low need for social approval group will have lower self-ratings in the private situation than will the moderate need for social approval group. (See hypothesis 2 d.) c. That the low need for social approval group will have lower self-ratings in the private situation than will the high need for social approval group. (See hypothesis 1 d.) d. That the low need for social approval group will have lower combined self-ratings

in both the social and private situations than will the moderate need for social approval group. (See hypothesis 2 e.)

Since the social aspect of self in this group has developed from Inconsistent communications from others, individual variations in reactions to social cues are expected. It can be expected then: e. That the low need for social approval group will have higher individual variations in self-ratings in the social and private situations than the moderate need for social approval group.

4. Individuals with a wide divergence between the private and social aspects of self are expected to be lower in their psychological adjustment. It can be expected, then, that those individuals with a wide divergence between self-ratings in the private and social situations will have lower Association Index scores on the Picture Identification than will individuals with convergent self-ratings in the two situations (with the need for social approval factor held constant).

RESULTS

The analysis

In the general statistical analysis, an analysis of variance was used to compare the two treatments (private and social) and the three groups (high, moderate, and low need for social approval). It allowed for the simultaneous control of individual differences and temporal order of treatments. Each individual received each treatment once and different groups of individuals received treatments in the two possible different orders (social to private and private to social). Each treatment appears once and only once in each row (group of individuals) and in each column (ordinal position).

The subjects \times sequence \times groups and subjects \times position \times groups \times sequence interactions were used as error terms for groups and groups \times treatments effects respectively. Error terms not including all of these interactions could lead to a positive F test bias (Type I error). For example, the use of the groups \times sequence mean square as the error term would have resulted in a significant F for groups. This error term would not have contained the replicated subjects variance.

The group times treatments interaction was found to be significant at the .05 level. Once this was determined, t tests were used for each variable between the two groups. Finally, t tests for correlated means were used to test between variables for each group. In addition, the nonparametric median test (26) was used to test hypothesis number 12 involving two small groups of subjects.

While the variances were not found to be significantly different, a slight correlation between means and variances was observed. This was not considered serious enough to prevent the analysis of differences in terms of means, however.

Findings

The analysis of variance showed the groups times treatments effect to be significant at the .05 level. The groups effect represents the high, moderate, and low need for social approval groups. The treatments effect represents the private and social situations. The F for the groups times treatments effect was 4.01. At 84 and 2 degrees of freedom, the critical value needed for significance at the .05 level was 3.11.

The groups effect alone was not quite significant at the .05 level. The F for the groups effect alone was 3.02. With 84 and 2 degrees of freedom, the critical value for significance at the .05 level was 3.11.

The first and most general finding then was that female students, grouped according to scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and making their self-evaluations in private and social situations, would show significant variation.

Table 4. ---Analysis of Variance.

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>
Groups	114.4900	2	57.24	3.02*
Sequence	1.5278	1	1.53	
Groups x Sequence	9.9432	2	4.97	
S's x Sequence x Groups	1591.4000	84	18.94	
Position	.9389	1	.94	
Groups x Position	7.9988	2	4.0	
Treatments	10.2722	1	10.27	
Groups x Treatments	64.0677	2	32.03	4.01**
S's x Pos x Grps x Sequence	670.9268	84	7.99	
Total	2471.5654	179		

*p .05

At DF = 84 and 2, the critical value is F = 3.11

**p .05

At DF = 84 and 2, the critical value is F = 3.11

Table 5. ---Ratings of pictures (as to likeability in social and private situations) by subjects grouped according to need for social approval.

	<u>PRIVATE SITUATION</u>	<u>SOCIAL SITUATION</u>
High need for social approval group.	$X_2 = 267$ $(X)_2 = 71289$ $\frac{X}{X} = 2759$ $\frac{X}{X} = 8.90$	$X_2 = 328*$ $(X)_2 = 153193$ $\frac{X}{X} = 3914$ $\frac{X}{X} = 10.93$
Moderate need for social approval group.	$X_2 = 243$ $(X)_2 = 59049$ $\frac{X}{X} = 2213$ $\frac{X}{X} = 8.10$	$X_2 = 251$ $(X)_2 = 60959$ $\frac{X}{X} = 2469$ $\frac{X}{X} = 8.36$
Low need for social approval group.	$X_2 = 311$ $(X)_2 = 96721$ $\frac{X}{X} = 3715$ $\frac{X}{X} = 10.37$	$X_2 = 285$ $(X)_2 = 100806$ $\frac{X}{X} = 3175$ $\frac{X}{X} = 9.50$

*Raw score represents the subjects' rating of the pictures and not a self-rating. Thus, high raw score = low self-rating.

Table 6. --- Statistical analysis of experimental predictions.

VARIABLE	EXPERIMENTAL PREDICTION	STATISTICAL TEST	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE REQUIRED FOR REJECTION OF NULL HYPOTHESIS	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE ACHIEVED	HIGH	OUTCOME OF PREDICTION
DISCREPANCY BETWEEN SELF-LEVELS	H>M H>L L=M	uncorrelated t one-tailed	p < .05 p < .05 p < .05	p < .01 p > .05 p > .05	H H L=M	Correct Incorrect Correct
DIRECTION OF DIFFERENCE IN THE HIGH S-D GROUP	P>S	correlated t two-tailed	p < .05	p < .001	P	Correct
DIRECTION OF DIFFERENCE IN THE MOD S-D GROUP	P=S	correlated t two-tailed	p < .05	p > .05	P=S	Correct
DIRECTION OF DIFFERENCE IN THE LOW S-D GROUP	P=S	correlated t two-tailed	p < .05	p > .05	P=S	Correct
SUM OF SELF-RATINGS IN SOCIAL SITUATION	H>H	uncorrelated t one-tailed	p < .05	p < .05	M	Correct
SUM OF SELF-RATINGS IN PRIVATE SITUATION	H>L H>L	uncorrelated t one-tailed t one-tailed	p < .05 p < .05	p < .05 p > .05	M H	Correct Incorrect

VARIABLE	EXPERIMENTAL PREDICTION	STATISTICAL TEST	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE REQUIRED FOR REJECTION OF NULL HYPOTHESIS	LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE ACHIEVED	HIGH	OUTCOME OF PREDICTION
INDIVIDUAL VARIATION IN SELF-RATINGS IN SOCIAL AND PRIVATE SITUATION	L>M	uncorrelated t two-tailed	$p < .05$	$> .05$	L	Incorrect
SUM OF SELF-RATINGS IN PRIVATE AND SOCIAL SITUATION	M>L	uncorrelated t two-tailed	$p < .05$	$< .05$	M	Correct
INDIVIDUALS WITH CONVERGENT RATINGS IN THE TWO SITUATIONS WILL HAVE HIGHER ASSOCIATION INDEX SCORES ON PIT THAN THOSE WITH DISCREPANT RATINGS	C>D	median two-tailed	$p < .05$	$< .02$	D	Incorrect

Key:

- P = Private aspect of self. Self-rating in private situation.
- S = Social aspect of self. Self-rating in social situation.
- H = High need for social approval group.
- M = Moderate need for social approval group.
- L = Low need for social approval group.
- D = Wide discrepancy between ratings in private and social situation.
- C = Convergent ratings in private and social situation.

Table 7. ---Average scores of all groups on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

	Average Score	Standard Deviation
High group	20.87	2.80
Moderate group	14.20	1.65
Low group	7.97	2.43

High need for social approval group. --Hypothesis 1 a., that the high need for social approval group would have a greater divergence between self-ratings than the moderate need for social approval group, was correct ($t = 2.94$, $df = 58$, $p = .01$ one-tailed). A t test for uncorrelated means was used to compare the difference between the private and social situations for the high group with the difference scores between the private and social situations for the moderate group. The sign (or direction) of the difference scores was taken into account (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 1 b., that the high need for social approval group would have a greater divergence between self-ratings than the low need for social approval group, was incorrect ($t = 1.38$, $df = 58$, $p = .10$ one-tailed). A t test for uncorrelated means was used to compare the difference scores between the private and social situations for the high group with the difference scores between the private and social situations for the low group. The sign (or direction) of the difference scores was taken into account (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 1 c., that the high need for social approval group would have higher self-ratings in the private situation than in the social situation, was supported ($t = 4.03$, $df = 29$, $p = .001$ two-tailed). The statistical test used here was the t test for correlated means (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 1 d., that the high need for social approval group would have higher self-ratings in the private situation than would the low need for social approval group, was not supported ($t = 1.22$, $df = 58$, $p = .10$ one-tailed). An inspection of the data reveal that the direction was correctly predicted here, however, since the high need for social approval group did tend to have higher self-ratings in private situations than the low need for social approval group. The statistical test used for this analysis was the t test for uncorrelated means (see Table 6).

Moderate need for social approval group. --Hypothesis 2 a., that the moderate need for social approval group would not have different ratings in the two situations, which were statistically significant, was supported ($t = .38$, $df = 29$, $p = .10$ two-tailed). Here again, while one cannot prove the null hypothesis, it is interesting to note that significantly different ratings in the two situations were not expected. The statistical test for this analysis was the t test for correlated means (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 2 b., that the low need for social approval group and the moderate need for social approval group would not show a significant statistical difference in their self-ratings in the two

situations, was supported ($t = .54$, $df = 58$, $p = .10$ one-tailed). While one cannot prove the null hypothesis, it is interesting to note that the smallest difference was expected, and found, between these two groups (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 2 c., that the moderate need for social approval group would have higher self-rating in the social situation than the high need for social approval group, was supported ($t = 1.88$, $df = 58$, $p = .05$ one-tailed). The statistical test used for this analysis was the t test for uncorrelated means (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 2 d., that the moderate need for social approval group would have higher self-ratings in the private situation than would the low need for social approval, was supported ($t = 2.46$, $df = 58$, $p = .01$ one-tailed). The statistical test used in this analysis was the t test for uncorrelated means (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 2 e., that the moderate need for social approval group would have higher combined self-ratings in both the social and private situations than would the low need for social approval group, was supported ($t = 2.54$, $df = 118$, $p = .05$ two-tailed). The statistical test used for this analysis was the t test for uncorrelated means (see Table 6).

Low need for social approval group. --Hypothesis 3 a., that the low need for social approval group would not have ratings in the two situations which were significantly different, was supported ($t = .96$, $df = 29$, $p = .10$ two-tailed). Here again, while one cannot prove the null hypothesis, it is interesting

to note that no statistically significant differences were expected. The statistical test used for this analysis was the t test for correlated means (two-tailed) (see Table 6).

Hypothesis 3 e., that the low need for social approval group would have higher individual variations in ratings in the two situations than would the moderate need for social approval group, was not supported ($t = .87$, $df = 118$, $p = .10$ two-tailed). The statistical test used in this analysis was the t test for uncorrelated means comparing the difference scores of individuals in the low need for social approval group, with the difference scores of individuals in the moderate need for social approval group. The sign (or direction) was not considered in these difference scores (between social and private situations). Here again, while not statistically significant, the trend was in the direction predicted (see Table 6).

Convergent versus divergent self-ratings. --Hypothesis 4, that individuals, disregarding social desirability scores, with convergent ratings between the private and social situations would have higher association index scores on the Picture Identification Test than individuals with divergent ratings, was incorrect ($t = 4.16$, $df = 1$, $p = .02$ one-tailed). In fact, the result here was in the opposite direction to that predicted. Individuals with divergent ratings between the social and private situations had significantly higher association index scores. There were 15 subjects in the convergent group representing the high, moderate, and low need for

social approval groups. The discrepant ratings group was comprised of 14 subjects also from the high, moderate, and low need for social approval groups (see Table 6).

Table 8. ---Average divergence between self-ratings in social and private situations for discrepant convergent groups.

	Average Divergence
Discrepant groups	6.4
Convergent groups	1.9

Of the 12 experimental predictions made, 8 were correct and 4 were incorrect. The correct direction was predicted in 11 of the 12 experimental hypotheses. Of the 9 hypotheses where statistical differences were expected, statistical significance was achieved in 6 of the 9 hypotheses. As was expected, no statistical difference was found in 3 hypotheses, but the correct direction was predicted for these 3 hypotheses.

Perhaps one reason for the lack of statistically significant differences, in some of these findings, is the homogeneous population which was used. In the pilot study the top and bottom 10 scores out of a total of 50 Social Desirability Records were used. This allowed for a considerable divergence in the scores of the two groups. In the final study, the top, middle, and lowest 30 scores were used out of a total population of only 120 records.

DISCUSSION

Discussion of findings

The most general finding, and perhaps the one with the broadest theoretical applications, was that individuals grouped according to need for social approval would differ significantly in the pattern of their self-ratings in private and social situations. This finding lends support to those theorists who see the self-concept as developing from a subjective organization of the culture (27,25,14,19). Certainly, the fact that group differences can be expected, in specific aspects of self, based on the knowledge of general social attitudes, is provocative.

High need for social approval group. -- The first hypothesis, that the high need for social approval group would have a greater divergence between self-ratings than the moderate group, lends support to the notion that individuals who have found it necessary to indiscriminately incorporate the roles of significant others, will be characterized by self-diffusion. Rigid barriers separate roles within the self-structure, resulting in a lack of consistency within the self. The moderate approval group, on the other hand, showed relatively less divergence, and this confirmed the expectation of this group as having more permeable barriers within the self-structure and greater consistency within the self.

It is important to note, however, in analyzing this finding, that the statistical test which was used took into consideration both amount of difference between ratings in the two situations and direction of difference. In terms of individual variation, without regard to direction, the group trend is reversed. The high need for approval group has less individual variation without regard to direction than does the moderate need for approval group. While this may appear to be contradictory to the major hypothesis at first glance, it is actually consistent with the theoretical formulation proposed previously. Because in the high need group, while rigid barriers separate roles within the self-system, behavior in one role is isolated from the rest of the self, but consistently so. Because of the dependence and over-sensitivity, behavior in a particular role situation is highly predictable. The moderate need group, on the other hand, while having greater consistency within the self is less predictable individually because of their greater autonomy. One would expect the low need group to have even greater individual variation without regard to direction than the moderate need group. This is because of their lack of sensitivity and limited ability to perceive social situations. There was a trend in this direction but it did not reach significance.

The second hypothesis, that the high need group would have a greater divergence than the low need group, was not supported at the .05 level of significance, but did reach the .10 level of significance. One would expect a less clear cut difference between these two

groups than between the high and moderate groups because, like the high need group, they have assimilated few roles and these are not consistently integrated. But unlike the high need group, the reason for this is inconsistent and negative feedback from others; not slavish compliance to a few safe roles.

The third hypothesis was correct and lends support to the theoretical expectation that the high need group is dependent on the field and overly sensitive to the expectations of others. These individuals will conform to the social demands of the situation. In this instance, modesty was built into the social self-rating situation, and this group responded with lower self-ratings in this situation relative to the private one.

The fourth hypothesis, that the high need for social approval group would have higher self-ratings in the private situation than would the low need for social approval group, was not supported statistically. With more subjects and a wider range of social-desirability records, this might have reached a significant level.

Moderate need for social approval group. -- In the first hypothesis, no statistically significant difference was expected between the moderate need group's ratings in the two situations. This was because this group was not expected to be overly sensitive to the expectations of others. On the other hand, this group has recognized the utility of social roles and will usually act in conformance with them. An inspection of the raw data shows slightly lower self-ratings in the social situation in conformance with the social situation.

The second hypothesis, that the moderate and low need groups would not show a significant difference in their self-ratings in the two situations, was made to point up the curvilinear quality of the need for social approval variable. As stated in the previous discussion, these two groups would be expected to show certain similarities as regards their self-concepts, but for different reasons. While one cannot prove the null hypothesis, these "no difference" hypotheses may have some meaning in the total context of successful predictions of differences between other groups.

Findings related to the third hypothesis lend support to two theoretical expectations. The first, and most obvious reason, for the moderate group to have a significantly higher self-rating in the social situations, is that the moderate group is not overly sensitive to the social response of modesty which is inherent in the situation. If this were the only reason for this finding, however, one would also expect the low need group to have significantly higher ratings in the social situation relative to the high need group. This is because the low need group is insensitive to these social pressures. The low need group did not have significantly higher ratings than the high need group, however. Therefore, another causal factor must account for the moderate need group's higher self-ratings. This factor is probably the greater overall self-esteem of this group due to the positive and consistent feedback from significant others.

The findings of the fourth hypothesis also offer support for two theoretical expectations. The first reason why the moderate

group can be expected to have higher self-ratings in the private situation than the low need group is that the low need group makes invalid social perceptions resulting in higher self-ratings in a situation calling for modesty and lower self-ratings in a situation not calling for modesty. The second reason for this finding is the greater overall self-esteem of the moderate need group.

In fact, both of the previous findings lend support to the theoretical expectation that the moderate need group has greater overall self-esteem. The findings of the fourth prediction could be explained by the deviant role reversal of the low need group. If this were the only causal factor, however, then one would expect the high need group to also have significantly higher self-ratings in the private situation than the low need group. This was not the case since prediction 1d. was incorrect. Therefore, the moderate need group's higher self-ratings probably relates to their overall greater self-esteem.

These findings offer some tentative support for the curvilinearity of the social desirability factor as an indication of greater self-esteem. This is contrary to the viewpoint that a high degree of conformance is equivalent to a high degree of self-esteem and adjustment.

The fifth experimental prediction was supported statistically, and this lends support to the greater self-esteem of the moderate need group. Where levels of significance were not achieved in this study, one might be able to explain this in terms of the limited number of Social Desirability Records from which extreme scores could be selected.

Therefore, the range of subjects may have been too homogeneous. Another possibility would be that the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale does not allow for a sufficient range of responses. A greater range of responses would allow for the selection of more extreme groups.

Low need for social approval group. -- The first hypothesis was made because it was not expected that the low need group would have statistically significant differences in ratings in the two situations. This is because the low need group is largely independent of the field and insensitive to the expectations of others. Not only was the null hypothesis of no differences supported, but inspection of the data shows this group to have made higher self-ratings in the social situation than in the private one. This is in direct opposition to the quality of modesty which was called for in the social situation. This gives qualitative support for the invalidity of the social behavior of this group.

The theoretical meanings involved in the second experimental prediction were discussed previously within the context of prediction 1 a. The low need group was expected to have greater individual variation without regard to whether the social or private self-ratings were higher than the moderate need group. This is because of their lack of sensitivity and limited ability to perceive social situations. In turn, the moderate need group is expected to show greater individual variation than the high need group. The reader is asked to compare the outer perimeters of the drawing of the self-systems for the three

groups: low need - inconsistent stage, moderate need - relativism stage, and high need - absolutism stage. While this hypothesis was not supported statistically, once again the trend was in the expected direction.

Convergent versus divergent self-ratings. -- The final hypothesis was made because one would expect to find lowered adjustment in individuals who have conflict between the private and social aspects of their self-systems. The results were the opposite of those expected. Individuals with wide discrepancies between the two aspects of self had significantly higher association index scores. One possible explanation for this result is that the Picture Identification Test is, in a sense, a test of attitudinal conformity. That is, high scores are given to those individuals whose attitudes are in conformance with the majority. Therefore, while individuals representing the discrepant and convergent groups were selected equally from all three social desirability groups to eliminate the social desirability factor, the discrepant group itself may represent those individuals who are more sensitive to what is socially desirable than is the convergent group. If this is true, then it would not be surprising to find this group having high scores on a test which is strongly influenced by one's ability to recognize that which is socially desirable.

A further analysis of these data shows that the higher association index scores of the divergent group are not a function of the direction of their self-ratings, however. They do not give themselves

more low self-ratings in the social situation relative to the private situation than does the convergent group. Seven members of the divergent group gave themselves lower self-ratings in the social situation relative to the private situation, while seven members gave themselves higher ratings. Eleven members of the convergent group gave themselves lower self-ratings in the social situation relative to the private situation, while four members gave themselves higher ratings. This evidence would seem to contradict the attitudinal conformity hypothesis.

Questions and inferences related to these findings

These findings can be interpreted as lending support to the major hypothesis: that individuals who have been forced, as a way of avoiding excessive anxiety, to indiscriminately assimilate many social roles will have a greater divergence within their self-structure than individuals who have been allowed to be more discriminating in their acceptance of social roles.

The data could be explained without necessarily accepting the underlying theory relating to anxiety and the incorporation of social roles. One might say that whatever the reason for differences in need for social approval, individuals with a high need, as measured by the scale, will respond in the socially approved manner in a behavioral situation. This lends validity to the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. This interpretation would not account for the moderate need group's higher ratings of self in the private situation than the low need group, however. It also would

not account for the tendency (not significant) of the moderate need group to give itself higher self-ratings in the social situation than the low need group. One would expect, rather, that the lower the need for social approval, the higher the self-ratings in the social situation. The data show a curvilinear effect which is more congruent with the anxiety, role assimilation hypothesis.

It is interesting to note, as regards the importance of anxiety in this study, that subjects usually appeared to respond with varying degrees of anxiety to the social situation. Some were hesitant in complying with the task after only hearing the instructions, while others appeared to comprehend the subtle pressures of the situation at some point during the rating task.

Another interpretation of these data would relate to the age and education of the subjects. Slightly older and better educated students are exposed to the university climate which reinforces a constructive criticism of the expectations of society. The older, more sophisticated student also has a different test taking response set. He learns to reject as false those test items which are couched in terms requiring the acceptance of extremes (i.e., always, never, etc.). This group may also be more intelligent since these students have managed to stay in school longer. In this way, one could account for lower scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and lower self-ratings in the social situation. Here again, however, this interpretation is not compatible with the curvilinearity of self-ratings in the social situation by the three groups. Also, differences in education and age are very slight.

Table 9. --- Average age and education of subjects grouped according to scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

	Age	Years of completed college work
High S-D group	18.55	1.04
Moderate S-D group	18.27	1.14
Low S-D group	18.96	1.27

As mentioned previously, these findings lend support to those theorists who have emphasized the contributions of culture in the development of the personality. The measurement of broad cultural attitudes has enabled the prediction of behavior in specific tasks related to self-esteem.

Certainly a replication of this work is necessary, and the use of other populations would be of interest. It would be interesting to conduct this experiment utilizing males; various socio-economic groups; individuals of various ages and degrees of education; and various pathological groups (i.e., schizophrenics who theoretically have fragmented self-concepts and difficulty in recognizing socially approved behavior). It would be of great interest to examine the longitudinal development of need for social approval in young children, particularly during the development of the self-concept. The addition of other aspects of the self-structure might also prove fruitful; the unconscious and public aspects might be examined alone or in conjunction with the private and social aspects. The reliability of the self-rating scales should be checked, and their relationship to some behavioral measure would be of interest.

These findings offer some support for the validity of both the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale and the need for social approval as a motivational construct. One future area of exploration would be the expansion of the social-desirability scale to provide a greater range of items and to examine possible conflicts between need for social approval in various areas. There is no reason to consider this as a unitary construct. Rather, an individual may vary in his need for social approval according to the area or experience which is involved (i.e., he may have a high need for social approval in the area of sexual relationships and a low need for social approval in the area of dominance, etc.).

The possible curvilinearity of the social desirability factor as an indicator of adjustment leads one to question the validity of many psychological instruments which purport to measure adjustment (i.e., Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) and which may be measuring need for social approval or the ability to recognize that which is socially approved. While individuals with low scores on these instruments are less well-adjusted, those with high scores may be less adjusted than their scores would indicate.

At a more general level, these findings add construct validity to the value of the self-concept in the investigation of personality. They also stress the necessity for considering the dynamic interaction of structures and levels within the personality.

Several general implications can be derived from the findings of this study:

In terms of personality theory, some support has been offered to those theorists who have emphasized levels of self (i.e., Leary (17)) and role constructs (i.e., Sarbin (25) and Kelly (16)). Further investigation into the development of social roles and their incorporation into the self-picture are needed. Role-role conflicts and self-role conflicts must also be studied more extensively if sophisticated theories of personality are to be developed. The incorporation of social roles and norms into the individual personality appears to provide a natural bridge between psychology and disciplines concerned with group and cultural variables (i.e., Sociology and Anthropology).

In the area of diagnosis, an emphasis on the client's self-organization and his exposure to and assimilation of conflicting roles, offers a new perspective to the armamentarium of the clinician. Kelly's Role Repertory Tests (16) may be of value in researching this area. The recognition by the clinician of the various aspects of self which will be tapped by various measurement instruments should also have the effect of increasing the precision and rigor of these diagnoses. The growing acceptance of the social desirability variable as a motive, as well as a response set, should serve as a caution to diagnosticians who propose to correct for it as if it were irrelevant to the individual's personality.

In terms of the prevention and treatment of psychological disorders, this study offers support for those clinicians who have emphasized role relationships, role playing, and role flexibility

in their treatment programs. The approaches of Kelly (16) and Rogers (22) are particularly relevant. It appears that personality disorders may be associated with the assimilation to too many roles, thus resulting in self-structure discrepancies, or the assimilation of too few roles, resulting in an inability to recognize many roles, and thus the inability to profit from their utilization.

Epidemiological studies might be directed towards uncovering role conflicts within the community and examining areas where exposure to various roles and norms is minimal. Lack of role assimilation may be related to a lack of knowledge concerning roles, the inability to absorb these roles, or the lack of motivation to learn these roles.

On the level of family adjustment, one might look for less cohesiveness in families which indiscriminately adopt conflicting roles as a unit. Family congruence, on the other hand, might be found in families which have failed to adopt important social roles, but one would expect these families to be less effective as a unit.

SUMMARY

This study attempted to throw some light on the organization of the self-concept within the individual by relating the social and private aspects of self to need for social approval.

Ninety coeds were asked to evaluate pictures of six coeds as to likeability, relative to themselves, in the presence of a male graduate student and two female peers. This comprised the social aspect of the self-concept. These same coeds were then asked to evaluate six other pictures as to likeability in a private anonymous situation. This comprised the private aspect of the self-concept. A counterbalanced assignment to situations was used. Previous to the evaluations, the subjects had been assigned to high, moderate, or low need for social approval groups, based upon their scores on the Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale.

A theory of the development of the self-concept within the individual was presented. This theory stressed the importance of anxiety and the assimilation of social roles in the development of the self-concept. It was felt that individuals who had indiscriminately assimilated many social roles from significant others would have a wide divergence between the two aspects of the self-concept. Individuals with high need for social approval scores were used to represent this group. It was felt that individuals

who had not indiscriminately assimilated many social roles would have greater convergence between the two aspects of the self-concept. Individuals with moderate need for social approval scores were used to represent this group. Finally, those individuals who had been unable to assimilate many useful and meaningful roles would have great individual variability in the degree of divergence between aspects of the self-concept. Individuals with low need for social approval scores were used to represent this group.

Some interesting relationships were found which offer tentative support for the general theoretical framework. The high need for approval group had a greater discrepancy between self-ratings in the two situations than the other two groups; it was intermediate in self-esteem relative to the other groups; and the group as a whole conformed to the demands of the social situation.

The moderate need group had less discrepancy in self-ratings in the two situations; the highest degree of self-esteem; and a mild degree of conformance to the demands of the social situation.

The low need group had the lowest degree of self-esteem; the greatest individual variability in self-ratings in the two situations; and tended to respond opposite to the demands of the social situation.

The hypothesis that individuals with a wide degree of divergence between self-ratings in the two situations would have lower association index scores on the Picture Identification Test than individuals with a high degree of convergence was not supported. In fact, the opposite relationship was found.

Because of the number of correct statistical predictions and the number of correct predictions of direction where statistical significance was not achieved, it is felt that this study lends tentative support to the major hypothesis: that individuals who have been forced, as a way of avoiding excessive anxiety, to indiscriminately assimilate many social roles will have a greater divergence within their self-structure than individuals who have been allowed to be more discriminating in their acceptance of social roles.

This study also lends tentative support to the methodology used and to the importance of the social approval construct in the study of the self-concept.

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APPENDIX

Table 10. --- Average age and education of subjects.

	Age	Years of completed college work
Florida	19.15	1.39
Wisconsin	18.50	1.02

Table 11. --- Average self-evaluations of subjects in the social and private situation.

	Private self-ratings	Social self-ratings
Florida	9.09	9.98*
Wisconsin	9.15	9.24
Combined	9.12	9.60

*Raw score represents the subject's ratings of the pictures and not self-ratings. Thus, high raw scores are equivalent to low self-ratings.

Table 12. --- Average scores of subjects on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.

	Scores
Florida	14.09
Wisconsin	15.11

Table 13. --- Number of Wisconsin and Florida subjects in social desirability groups.

	High S-D	Moderate S-D	Low S-D
Florida	13	10	21
Wisconsin	17	20	9
Combined	30	30	30

Table 14. --- Average self-ratings of Florida and Wisconsin subjects grouped according to need for social approval.

Need for Social Approval	Florida	
	Private Situation	Social Situation
High	$\bar{X} = 7.33$	$\bar{X} = 10.31$
Moderate	$\bar{X} = 7.50$	$\bar{X} = 8.30$
Low	$\bar{X} = 10.91$	$\bar{X} = 10.57$
	Wisconsin	
	Private Situation	Social Situation
High	$\bar{X} = 10.06$	$\bar{X} = 11.41$
Moderate	$\bar{X} = 8.40$	$\bar{X} = 8.40$
Low	$\bar{X} = 9.11$	$\bar{X} = 7.00$

The Florida sample had higher self-ratings in their high group than the Wisconsin sample ($t = 2.05$, $df = 58$, $p < .05$ two-tailed, t test for uncorrelated means).

The Florida and Wisconsin samples did not differ in self-ratings for the moderate groups ($t = .56$, $df = 58$, $p > .10$ two-tailed, t test for uncorrelated means).

The Florida sample had lower self-ratings in their low group than the Wisconsin sample ($t = 2.05$, $df = 58$, $p < .05$ two-tailed, t test for uncorrelated means).

Table 15. ---Self-ratings of all subjects grouped according to need for social approval and situation.

Subject number	Private Situation Rating	Social Situation Rating	Private Situation Rating	Social Situation Rating	Private Situation Rating	Social Situation Rating
1.	9	10	8	11	8	2
2.	9	13	5	5	7	4
3.	9	11	7	10	11	14
4.	14	18	4	8	15	11
5.	10	10	5	6	14	14
6.	8	12	7	8	13	10
7.	8	8	8	9	12	11
8.	11	9	14	14	10	10
9.	17	14	11	15	10	9
10.	11	14	7	9	12	11
11.	11	13	9	7	9	10
12.	5	10	3	1	18	6
13.	5	11	14	10	10	9
14.	7	7	7	9	7	11
15.	0	10	9	10	3	2
16.	14	16	9	5	5	6
17.	11	11	5	6	19	5
18.	9	12	13	5	13	2
19.	4	8	9	4	4	13
20.	16	17	9	10	14	15
21.	8	14	12	11	8	11
22.	10	9	8	14	6	7
23.	4	2	11	12	15	12
24.	7	7	7	11	8	5
25.	10	10	5	0	9	15
26.	10	14	5	12	9	11
27.	11	13	5	11	12	16
28.	7	9	8	8	9	13
29.	6	7	8	14	6	8
30.	6	9	11	8	17	12

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mack R. Hicks was born April 16, 1935, in Tulsa, Oklahoma. In 1953 he was graduated from Watertown High School, Watertown, Wisconsin. In June, 1957, he received the degree of Bachelor of Science from Notre Dame University. From 1958 until 1960 he served as a supply officer in the United States Air Force and was stationed in England. Following his discharge from the Air Force in 1960, he enrolled in the Graduate School of the University of Florida. He worked as a graduate assistant in the Department of Psychology in 1961, and received the degree of Master of Arts in 1962. From February, 1962, until the present time, he has pursued his work toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Mack R. Hicks is married to the former Kathleen Susan Raue and is the father of three children. He currently holds a Florida State Mental Health Grant and is a member of Psi Chi Fraternity and the Southeastern Psychological Association.

