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PRIVACY: FROM THE INVADER'S POINT OF VIEW

by

MARSHALL E. LEVINE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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July, 1972
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Marshall E. Levine

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Introduction

Privacy is one of those vexing phenomena that has become accepted as an important part of commonplace experience without there being any scientific understanding of its substance. Privacy, however, has been considered for a number of years in legal treatises and has been dealt with implicitly as an important state of mind in fictional literature for a long period of time. Recently it has come to be considered of more importance within the context of architectural design literature, and in a variety of sociological studies; but empirically, privacy is virtually a virgin territory for the psychologist. Over the years, with the exception of a small number of theorists, rather than attempting to understand what privacy entails, what its importance is to the individual, and what variables are important to the establishment and to the integrity of a state of privacy, most of the psychological community, has, in the main, chosen to disregard the phenomenon. Privacy, however, has a legitimate claim to attention from psychology since it appears to be a highly meaningful state in terms of modern social structures, and most probably has consequences for much of urban man's behavior. In spite of psychology's seeming indifference, much of the lay populace seems to be aware of the need for privacy and consider it in some way important in their lives.

Everyone seems to understand that privacy exists, has an intuitive sense of what it entails, and yet if asked, "What is privacy?" is hard put to define it or even state

where it can be obtained. Evidence on just this point was provided by studies done respectively by M. Wolff(48) and V. Hirsch(15).

Hirsch found an indication of an SES difference in the definition of privacy and in the possibility of obtaining it in the home. Wolff, in trying to ask basic questions about privacy, could obtain no easily identifiable relevant determinants of privacy, receiving approximately random distributions of answers to his queries.

For example, in answer to "Name some places you have privacy," he found the following distribution of answers:

	Male	Female
Home	7	4
Thoughts	0	1
Office	2	2
Walking	2	3
Bedroom	1	2
Bathroom	2	3
Beach	0	1

In answer to "Name some ways you have privacy":

	Male	Female
Home	1	3
Reading or thinking	2	5
Walking	0	1
Bathroom	3	1
Being alone	2	1

In answer to "How do you get privacy at work?":

	Male	Female
Being alone	2	2
blocking mind		1
locking myself away	1	
hiding	1	
ignoring everyone		1
Going to bathroom		1

Looking at the above data, one finds little convergence except in the obvious answer of seeking solitude by whatever means the particular respondent finds most congenial to his own situation. There is also some very slight evidence of a difference in style as a function of sex. These studies also suggest, and each of us can probably agree from his own experience, that one can experience a sense of privacy in crowds or in intimate groups, as well as while alone. Sidney Jourard has also found that what is considered private content varies among individuals, ethnic groups, educational levels, and sex identity categories.(46) Privacy thus seems to be a fairly complex phenomenon when one considers that there are many ways of achieving this state, if it is indeed a unitary state, either alone or in a group.(33) This complexity is amply substantiated when one begins to examine the relevant literature.

I. Biological Conceptions of Privacy

Conceptions of what constitutes rpivacy, of its place in the hierarchy of human needs, and of its origin, have varied as a function of time, point of view, and the academic discipline of the investigator. One of the early considerations of privacy in the twentieth century was undertaken by Graham Wallas.

In Wallas' view, privacy was a quasi-instinct that existed in a polar relationship with the need to affiliate. Presumably, according to Wallas, the development of these needs originated in the ancestors of man as a result of their life-style. This life-style consisted of a large degree of group activities with interspersed periods of solitude. Modern man, in Wallas' view, was attempting to regain the balance of privacy and social intercourse that existed in the life of primeval man.(45) Wallas based his idea of balancing solitude and group activity on the desire to achieve the same balance as existed in our hominoid ancestors, but F.F. Darling (2) bases the need for varying solitude and social contact more on psychological processes related to territoriality.

The territory, in Darling's view, had two foci - the nest, serving the need for security, and the periphery, that boundary between adjacent breeding-pair territories where the need for stimulation is met. This whole complex, in turn, serves the individual's need for identity. Peripheries, which can only occur in relatively dense

population areas, are thus seen as the mechanisms for balancing the need for privacy or solitude with the need for stimulation.(2) In other words, the territory can function as a means for obtaining and balancing solitude with group interaction. Thic conception also provides a picture of the opposite side of the privacy coin, that is, the need for and likelihood of invasion.

The conceptions of Wallas and Darling represent early statements relating the duality of needs for the privacy of solitude and for contact with others. There is also a relationship drawn between privacy and the idea of a territory. This issue will be dealt with in more de= tail after considering the positions of a number of psycho- logical and sociological theorists who have dealt with privacy.

II. Psychological Conceptions of Privacy

Lewin

One of the earliest psychological theorists to deal with privacy was Kurt Lewin. Lewin(23) was very cognizant of the fact that there were large differences between the personality of American and Germans in the ways that they felt a need for privacy and in the means by which they attempted to satisfy these needs. These differences were also later picked up and expanded upon by Edward T. Hall(13), whose work will be discussed later.

Lewin felt, from his observations, that Americans have a great deal less need for privacy in certain regions of life than do Germans. We must realize, however, that what Lewin was dealing with was physically screened solitude or intimacy. This means that he was probably dealing with the need for physical screening to create a feeling of privacy rather than with the need for privacy itself. Distinctions between types of privacy and means of attaining them awaited the work of Westin for their elaboration.(23)

Let us examine in some detail the theoretical model of the person, vis-a-vis privacy, that Lewin developed and to which we will repeatedly refer. Lewin felt that in many experiments on psychological satiation, emotion, and quasi-needs, the relation of the activity involved to different regions of the personality was a primary factor in determining the results obtained. The more intimate personal regions Lewin defined as the central regions, where the individual is more sensitive than in the peri-

pheral regions. He further defined social distance as the different degrees of intimacy in a situation which a person (A) will share with person (B). Dynamically, this was related to the possibility of B being able to communicate with certain outer but not more central levels of A. (23) The restrictions on the accessibility and the concept of levels itself can be and were schematically presented by Lewin.[1]

Regions which are easily accessible are unshaded and exist on the periphery, these peripheral regions being representative of the open public life of the individual.

Shaded regions are restricted only to intimates, or only to the self. These regions are protected by a defensive barrier which is represented in the diagram by a heavy ring. The width of the peripheral, easily accessible region domain is a function of personality type and culture. Type U represents the American, or open, and Type G represents the German, or closed, personality. We shall discuss the relation of Lewin's model to the specifics of this study later in this paper.[2]

Simmel

Georg Simmel also dealt with privacy as protected and restricted informational and experiential content, but

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1. See Fig 1, p.8.

2. See p.31.

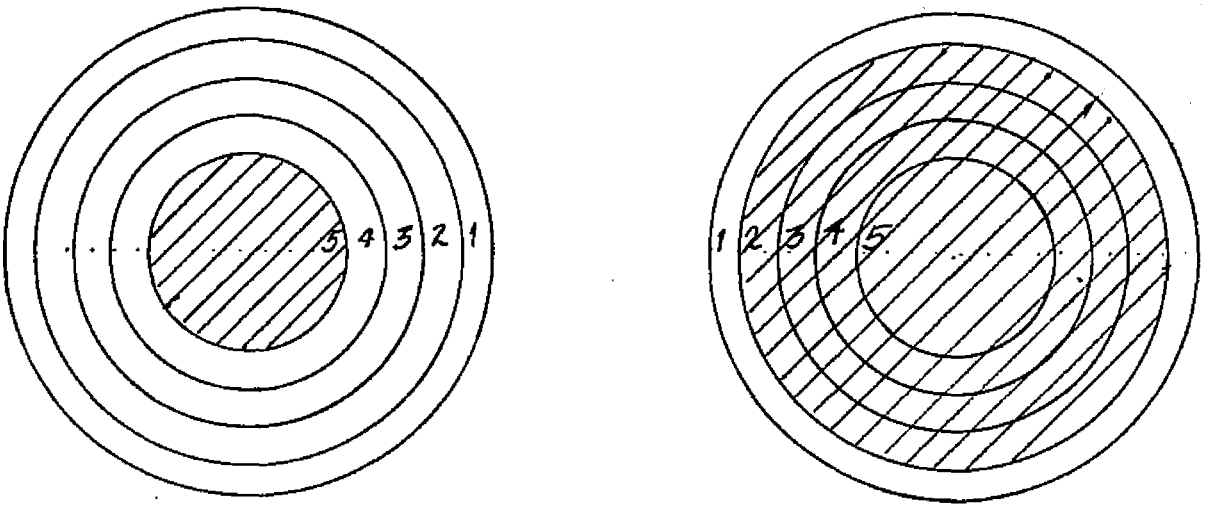

Figure 1: U-TYPE G-TYPE

added the dimension of the type of relationship as a consideration in defining what is private. Distinctions were drawn among acquaintance, friendship, and marriage relationships. In an acquaintance relationship, even when the participants are well-acquainted, they are not really engaged in intimate relations. The descriptive character of the category acquaintance indicated "knowledge of the <u>that</u> of the personality and not of the <u>what</u>."(40) One only knows what the "other" is toward the outside world and little if anything of what he is to himself. Acquaintance thus becomes the proper locus of discretion which implies not only respect for what the other seeks to conceal, but even avoiding knowledge of all that the other does not expressly reveal to us.

From the potential intruder's point of view, there are two opposing impulses, the urge to intrude on the property of the neighbor and the urge to avoid it. Depending upon the surrounding circumstances and produced cues, the balance can be swung either toward intrusion or toward discretion. Discretion, in Simmel's system, is the feeling that there exists a right to protect and conceal the immediate life contents of the ideal sphere.[3]

However, it is also true that in the interest of interaction and social cohesion, the individual must know certain things about the other. The other has not the right to oppose this knowledge from a moral position; he cannot claim the completely undistrubed possession of his own being and consciousness since discretion in such a degree might hurt the interests of society. All of human interchange rests on the fact that everyone knows something more about the other than the other voluntarily revealed. Thus we find that society has the built-in duality of privacy and privacy invasion, each person' being subject to and experiencing both phenomena and their attendant emotional consequences.

Goffman

Goffman takes the issue of relationship and role a step further in his analysis of public and private behavior

---

3: The ideal sphere refers to the conception that an individual maintains an area of private content within his personality. Whatever the person does not reveal is kept within the ideal sphere and must not become known to others.

within the framework of a theatrical model. This analysis portrays the individual as performing for audiences and presenting a picture of himself, the authenticity of which he may believe in varying degrees.

In Anglo-American society, performances[4] are usually given in highly bounded regions, a region being any place bounded in to some degree by barriers to perception. Performances in a "front" region may be regarded as an attempt to produce cues indicating that the individual's activity within the region is governed by two groups of standards. One group has to do with the communicative treatment of the audience which we call politeness, while the second group governs comportment while in visual or aural range of the audience, which Goffman terms decorum. (11)

When one's behavior occurs in the presence of others, some aspects of it are accentuated and other aspects which would deny the desired impression are suppressed. Accentuated aspects of behavior appear in the front region while suppressed data only show up "backstage". Goffman, in fact, defines backstage as the place where the impression fostered by a given performance is knowingly contradicted. Here the performer can relax, drop

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4. Individual performance in defined as all the activity of the individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a given set of observers, and which has some influence on those observers.

his front, and step out of character. In general, the backstage will be a place where the performer can expect with some assurance that no member of the audience will intrude.(11)

There seems to be wide recognition of the need for a place such as the backstage as well as an awareness of the relationship of regions or levels of open accessibility to this backstage. Karen Horney has stated that the desire for occasional solitude has been stressed by philosophers and theologians for centuries.

Sidney Jourard discussed an ideal situation of society providing what he called "healing-house check-out places." These would be places where one could enter and find confirmation for any way one has chosen to be, or any way that circumstances have forced one to be. The domicile would be like ancient retreats and monasteries. Each person would be entitled to a cell with inviolate privacy, where no one could enter without his invitation. There would be a common room where one could go and where his presence alone would signal that he was willing to talk. Roles would be left behind so that no status would come between occupants who would be identified as they chose to be identified.

In creating these mythical places, Jourard indicates an appreciation for Lewin's concept of restricted levelss of self, for Simmel's ideas on reserve and control of information about the self, and Goffman's backstage.

Proshansky, Ittelson, Rivlin

Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin dealt with the concept of freedom of choice in its relationship to privacy and territoriality, and their conceptual framework is relevant to the question of balance introduced above. They begin the development of their framework with three propositions:

1. "Man, in almost all instances and situations, is a cognizing and goal-directed organism." That is, man's behavior is directed not only by his goals, but also by the way in which he cognitively organizes and perceives his environment.

2. "Man's attempts at need satisfaction always involve him in interactions and exchanges with his physical environment." That is, man defines his environment and searches it to discover the means for achieving his goals.

3. "In any situational context, the individual attempts to organize his physical environment so that it maximizes his freedom of choice." A setting that maximizes freedom of choice is one that provides many alternatives for the gratification not only of primary goals, but also gratification of many other subsidiary and possibly impromptu needs as well. Freedom of choice then depends on the structural elements of a setting and the activities of the occupants that may take place.(33)

Privacy in this framework allows the individual a chance to choose among and engage in any behaviors or thoughts

which are provided as alternatives in the given setting. Therefore, to the degree that the individual can secure an area or object, he can maximize his freedom of choice to perform any behavioral possibility. Invasion of the secured area or territory reduces this freedom of choice and may lead to frustration of the attainment of the desired goal.(33)

This framework has relevance to the question of balance in that the individual must reckon with freedom of choice as a determinent of revelation. Whether he feels he can engage in self-disclosure depends upon whether he sees it as a part of a set of alternatives from which he is free to choose, and this will be in turn affected by whether he, in making this choice, might be infringing upon the freedom of choice of the recipient of his disclosure. To deal with this situation, obviously cues have to be exchanged which indicate the positions of the participants, define what would be considered a curtailment of freedom of choice or privacy invasion, and a negotiation between the participants as to what the viable alternatives are to each and what the final outcome will be. This suggests a great importance of cues in determining what is private and what is an invasion of privacy when there is no clear-cut definition provided by the situation or behavior per se.

Westin

Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin made use of Westin's conceptualization of privacy and it is well worthwhile to examine Westin in some detail.

Westin took the position that the development and maintenance of the sense of individuality is linked to the need for autonomy which he defined as the desire to avoid being manipulated or wholly dominated by others. He saw the region models of Lewin, Simmel, and Goffman as having at their core a sphere of autonomy or a content that must remain private, that is, under control of the individual. Penetration to the innermost circle[5] would leave the individual naked to ridicule and shame and put him under the control of those who knew his secret. He in effect has lost the ability to withhold elements of his personality or past experience that could be used against himself. (46)

Privacy serves the function of protecting the autonomy that is essential to the development of individuality. Westin here cited Young in stating that "without privacy there are no individuals; there are only types." How can a person know what it is that he thinks or feels if he has never had the opportunity to be alone with and define these inner contents? (46)

Westin further points out three other important functions of privacy:

1) It allows emotional release which is important for relieving pressure for the maintenance of physical and psychological health. In this connection, Westin makes an

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5. See Fig. 1, p.8.

important distinction among four states or conditions of privacy: a) Solitude, b) Intimate group privacy, c) the privacy of anonymity in public gatherings, and d) the intrapsychic privacy of claiming reserve while physically surrounded by other individuals. These conditions of privacy will be dealt with again later.

2) Privacy provides a chance for self-evaluation to meet the individual's need to integrate his experiences into meaningful patterns. Alan Bates stated that privacy allowed the person to assess the flood of information received, consider alternatives and consequences, and thus act as consistently and appropriately as possible in changing circumstances.(3)

3) Limited and protected communication is the last of the major functions of privacy that Westin elaborates. This function was seen as vital in urban life with its high degree of stimulation, crowded conditions, and continuous confrontations between strangers or casual acquaintances. Because of this function, men can choose those they trust to share confidences with and deny information to those they feel won't protect their confidences. Limited communication further allows the individual to set boundaries of mental distance in interpersonal relations.

Westin thus provides us with a catalog of the functions which privacy serves in a modern technologically advanced society. Let us focus a little more attention on the function of serving personal autonomy, which was given great emphasis in the work of Kira and Murray.

Kira

Kira saw privacy as a natural corollary of feelings of embarrassment, shame or guilt with regard to the body and its functions. In order that its members not violate cultural norms that govern the presentation of the body, the culture must provide for the privacy of individuals. A most important product of this way of dealing with the person, his body, and the culture, is that the privacy provided appears to be a basic component in the development of a person's sense of uniqueness and identity. Kira distinguished among a number of conditions which would provide the requirement of tolerable privacy. He noted the following:

1) The privacy of being seen, but not heard,

2) The privacy of being neither seen nor heard,

3) The privacy of not being seen, nor heard, nor sensed, that is, having other people not even aware of your whereabouts or intended behavior. The degree of privacy that will be tolerable depends on the activity being performed.(21)

Basic then, to the development and maintenance of a strong personal identity is some provision for privacy. In its simplest form it involves aloneness, that is, freedom from the presence and demands of others.

In this connection we can also cite Murray's relationship between the need for autonomy (N-auto) and the desire for privacy. Autonomy is regarded by Murray to be the desire to make one's own decisions and be removed from societal orders, the desire to be alone, independent and free.

Privacy provides the individual with just such as opportunity. The relationship becomes even closer when we consider the sentiments of autonomy: "He shall be the greatest who can be the most solitary, the most concealed and the most divergent..(30)

A good deal of concerrence is hopefully apparent in these various conceptions of privacy as being an important need, as existing in different degrees or intensities. The particular level which is needed appears to be a function of the activity which is contemplated. The particular degree which is porvided depends upon the physical setting, the personality or cultural type of the person, and the potential presence of others who must accede to this need. This brings us to a final point of concurrence which is agreement that there is good evidence that there is motivation to invade privacy as well as to attain it.

In this connection, Murray spoke of the existence of inhibited needs which produced marked subjective effects upon the individual and indirectly influenced his overt behavior even though he successfully inhibited the direct expression of the need. One of the most commonly inhibited needs, according to Murray, is In-Cog, or repressed cognizance. This is a voyeuristic desire to probe into private matters. (30) How are these competing needs for privacy and for invading privacy related and where do they arise?

Theoretical Summary

Let us at this time retrace some of our steps and summarize some of the concepts which have been brought to light in the work of the theorists dealt with up to now. Lewin introduced the idea that the intra-psychic world could be divided into private and public regions, and that the composition of these regions was affected by the culture of the individual.

Goffman noted the existence of regions within the personality and extended this concept of bounded regions to the physical environment as well. Physical regions have certain characteristics that determine what kinds of behavior will be acceptable in them and what sort of audience will be appropriate. The "front" and the "backstage" were the terms that Goffman used to denote the regions for public and private behavior respectively. Presentation of the self is seen by Goffman as an act, utilizing props, to portray a given picture of the self to an audience. Preparation of this act and respite from its performance occur in the backstage region.

Simmel dealt with the practice of discretion to protect the private regions of the personality and pointed to the importance of the retention of some proportion of the private world in maintaining the attractiveness of the individual.

Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin take the need for privacy as a given and relate the state of privacy to the potential for obtaining freedom of choice. When one has

maximized one's freedom of choice in choosing behaviors and goals in a given setting, then one has also maximized his privacy.

Westin also accepted the need for privacy as a given and set out to catalog the various functions of privacy and the conditions under whcih individuals could achieve this desirable state. According to Westin, privacy served the function of providing for the development of personal autonomy, providing for emotional release, providing for self-evaluation and providing for limited and protected communication. Privacy could be achieved via solitude, in intimate groups, under the crowd conditions of anonymity, or by claiming psychological reserve while in a group.

Kira stressed the importance of privacy in gaining the ability to develop self-autonomy, but pointed out that privacy was originally a response to the need to avoid shame, embarrassment and anxiety of public display of culturally forbidden behaviors such as sex and elimination. He also stated that there were a number of conditions where one is not heard, is neither seen nor heard, is not even sensed by others.

Overall, then, there is a high degree of agreement that there exists a need for privacy, that privacy is important for the development and well-being of the individual, that there are definite effects as a result of the lack of privacy or invasion of privacy, that there is a god deal of confusion in the definition of privacy which is intimately connected

with the role relationships, and a great deal of ambiguity in determining when an other is desirous of privacy or in signalling that we desire privacy. The opposite desire to invade privacy would also be seen in a similar way. In chapter 5 the reader may observe that the invasion of privacy is intimately related to the development of the privacy need and can be productive of similar reactions in both the invader and the one invaded. Also, this whole complex of privacy and privacy invasion is related to, and dependent upon, the production and interpretation of cues produced by the concerned actors and the setting of their activity.

III. A Rationalization of Concepts

A portion of the ambiguity that exists in the work on privacy may be somewhat clarified by analyzing the data available with reference to what we may term systematic parameters of privacy. All of these parameters are intimately related to cultural and cocio-economic variables, but for the sake of exposition we shall differentiate them into four classes: Personal Characteristic Differences, Qualitative Differences, Behavioral Categories, and Cultural Differences. Again it must be emphasized that these are somewhat artificial distinctions which in actuality overlap tremendously.

Personal Characteristic Differences

Personal Characteristic Differences refer to the fact that there are differences in what people define as private content as a function of their social, ethnic, and biological characteristics. Sidney Jourard has used a self-disclosure questionnaire to discover what kind of items Americans reveal and to whom this revelation is made. The questionnaire contains twenty-five questions about personal facts divided into items about personality, body, attitudes, tastes, work and money. People who replied to the questionnaire were asked to indicate whether they lied, told nothing, misrepresented, gave general responses, or gave fully detailed accounts about these aspects of themselves to various others on a checklist including mother, father, spouse, male friend,

or female friend. Jourard has found that money, personality, and body were low disclosure items. Attitudes, tasks, and work, on the other hand, are high disclosure categories. Within the framework of his results, certain patterns emerged with reference to who disclosed what. White Americans disclosed more to their intimate associates than did Blacks, and females disclosed more than did males. Jewish males disclosed more than did either Catholic or Protestant males, but Jewish females did not differ from other females in the amount of disclosure. Unmarried American white and black subjects of both sexes revealed more to their mothers than to any of the other role positions on the checklist. Married respondents disclose most to their spouses and disclose in more detail than they did to their mothers in their unmarried days.(46)

Many of these patterns of disclosure as a function of personal characteristics may have been operating in uncontrolled fashion in the studies reported earlier by Hirsch and Wolff. This lack of control may have played a significant role in the lack of any reliable patterns in their findings. In general, account must be taken of the characteristics of the respondents if one is going to ask for a verbal definition of privacy.

Qualitative Differences

Qualitative Differences refer to the fact that there are different conditions under which privacy may be

obtained and under which privacy may be achieved as a function of the particular time, place and composition of the situation. We have already mentioned Westin's and Kira's typologies of conditions of privacy in this regard. Additionally, we must point out that variables of the on-going situation may further affect the quality of the privacy which may be achieved in any of these conditions. As an example, let us consider the condition of intimacy. The control that the intimate group has over the access to the area in which they are meeting, the quality of the visual and aural shielding around the group, the self-sufficiency of the resources at their command (33), the time of day at which the meeting occurred, and many other variables would affect the quality of privacy which the members could achieve. The general point here is that specification of the type of privacy and the situation will tend to reduce some of the ambiguity in difining or identifying the existence of privacy for an individual.

Behavioral Categories

Behavioral Categories refers to the fact that there is good evidence that certain behaviors seem to require privacy and therefore their performance creates cues which define a situation as private. In most cultures throughout the world there is a need for privacy when engaging in sexual intercourse. Elimination is another behavior which seems to require privacy for its perfor-

mance in a large number of cultures.

Also, related to the sex-elimination complex is the need for privacy when one is nude or has, at least, uncovered some taboo part of the body.

The general point to be made in regard to the Behavioral Categories parameter is that although some behaviors are defined as private and in turn define the situation in which they occur as private, most behaviors probably constitute cues that exist on a continuum from public to private. The closer a behavior is to the center of the continuum, the more ambiguous will the situation be in terms of its definition as private, and the more cues will be necessary to define the situation.

Cultural Differences

Cultural Differences refer to the fact, obvious in all the other parameters, that different cultures define different behaviors, situation,and places as being private. In comparing Americans and Germans, Edward T. Hall points out the greater need for physical barriers to provide a feeling of privacy among the Germans.(13) In terms of entering a private space, Hall stated that Americans, as long as they have "one foot on base" such as maintaining a hand on the door, feel that they have not yet entered another's territory.(13) (Territory here refers to a bounded space in the possession of another.)

The German experience af privacy is quite different from the American. Germans sense their own space as as

extension of their ego and feel the effect of intrusion when a stranger approaches to within seven feet of them when they are engaged in a conversation.(13) Thus to achieve some security for their sense of privacy, the Germans depend on solid walls and heavy doors to enclose and barricade their personal space.

The English display yet another pattern in granting and achieving privacy. Hall found that the English consider social position or status as an effective wall around the privacy of an individual. Further, as a result of the lack of provision of private offices and often of private rooms, the English have developed the art of voice modulation and direction to provide privacy. They also make use of their eyes in signalling when they wish to claim reserve and when they wish to interact, to a greater degree than do Americans.(13)

These differences make for different needs in terms of cues for defining when one desires privacy, and in terms of the need for personal distance when engaged in interaction with an other. Thus it is obvious that one must consider cultural differences in defining privacy and therefore what constitutes a violation of that privacy in dependent upon the cultural background of the individuals involved.

Recognizing the effects of these broad categories, we may become cognizant of the fact that there are a variety of ways of defining privacy for different groups and for different individuals within these groups. How-

ever, we must not lose sight of the fact that although variety exists, there remains a constant - the constant of the need for privacy in one form or another.

IV. Social Origins of the Need for and Respect of Privacy

One place which suggests itself as a place to begin looking for an answer to this question of origin is in the dynamics of personality development. During the period when the super-ego is being formed, the individual experiences externally imposed censures for transgressions of the ethical codes held by his parents. Gradually, the child learns to anticipate punishment whenever he violates an edict set forth by his parents. This anticipation is in itself painful and is the emotional forerunner of guilt and anxiety. Punishment here serves as a kind of behavioral retribution or psychological payment on the part of the child. Taking this punishment is an act of suffering that is ultimately rewarding insofar as it is essential to the dissipation of parental ire and the restoration of parental love.

As the super-ego becomes more established, the child increasingly serves as his own disciplinarian. He not only develops the capacity for avoiding behavior antagonistic to his acquired moral values, he also develops the capacity to punish himself in instances when he does violate those values.

Regardless of the way in which a value becomes adopted, it seems that the internalization of any value tends to exert coercive effective on any of the individual's behaviors that engage that value. This quality of self-

censure is built into every internalized value. Once having made a value of his own, the individual sees himself as the instrument for the expression and maintenance of this value which is not part of his self-concept. When he perceives his behavior to be discrepent from that which he deems desirable, he is likely to judge himself as bad. Implicitly then, the violation of any value implies a negative reaction to oneself, although the intensity of this reaction will be greatest when it occurs in response to violations of values that have been internalized into the super-ego through identification with the parents as aggressors. (36)

What is at issue here is what Nevitt Sanford calls primitive identification. This tends to be a rigid and total process which is switched on during critical stress situations. Such a reaction is adaptive in the short-run, but it is maladaptive in the long-run. One dynamic source of primitive identification is a strain severe enough so that realistic methods for coping with it will not suffice.(35) An instance which seemed of great importance in this respect, according to Freud, was the viewing of the primal scene. This occurrence may be the prototype of the privacy invasion experience setting up a proscription in the primitive super-ego governing the conduct of private behavior. Later violations of this proscription against privacy invasion would then lead to a super-ego reaction producing guilt and anxiety.

Thus both the person invaded and the person invading a private situation should experience a negative or upsetting feeling state.

Some further comment is called for regarding guilt and shame. Sarnoff distinguished among guilt reactions and identified a type of guilt which he termed appropriate. Appropriate guilt occurs when the individual reacts in response to an overt act of his own that contradicts the moral scruples of his super-ego. The crucial characteristic of appropriate guilt is its sense of justice; it is only fair that an individual feel guilty when he commits an act which he himself considers wrong.(36)

Shame is associated with conduct that may be observed by others who are in a position to pass social judgment under conditions in which they may feel that the individual's behavior is in opposition to a social norm. The embarrassment of the shamed individual results from his failure to conform to the expectations of others whose respect and approval he covets. Shame may be a very important motivational force for an individual if he learned to place great importance on social acceptability in childhood. For these people, few situations may be more painful than those in which they incur social disfavor, as evidenced in extreme form by the Japanese custom of hara-kiri when there is severe loss of face.(36)

In some cases the same act will be productive of both shame and appropriate guilt. For instance, when one commits an act which he himself believes is wrong, and in the

commission he is observed and reacged to by a peer or superior, both shame and appropriate guilt should ensue. When one invades privacy, this is what would seem to happen; the invader realizes it is wrong to disrupt another's privacy and he is observed by that other in the act of invading. This would seem to be the dynamic in operation in Schwartz's description of the child's early definition of himself as a function of where he may or may not go as he begins his locomotor exploration of his environment.(37) It is worth noting explicitly that much of one's learning about the need for and experience of privacy is often intimately concerned with one's role as the invader of privacy. Thus, many of the consequences and feelings aroused by privacy can be seen in the loss of privacy, that is, when it is invaded. In fact it would seem that much of the emotional loading and importance of privacy would be aroused in the invader by the invasion of privacy since this would constitute a reenactment of just those events whereby one had become heir to the need for privacy.

There exists a strong correlation between the intensity of guilt and the intensity of the initiating stimulus when we are dealing with appropriate guilt. Thus, one would expect that the greater the severity of the perceived invasion of privacy, the more guilt and emotional upset one would feel. When considering the area of privacy

one also must bot discount the possibility of inappropriate guilt as well as appropriate guilt. Inappropriate guilt stems from the mere thought of committing an unacceptable act without actually committing it. This form of guilt is always associated with concommitant feelings of anxiety due to their common origin in the repression of lust and aggression.(36) Privacy, and particularly privacy invasion, also probably has roots in experiences with these same motives in early childhood and thus may again arouse these feelings in the adult.

AModel of Privacy

There are an ample number of sources of the need for privacy, but what have we learned about the structure of this need? If we will recall Lewin's model perhaps we can construct a model of privacy which we can integrate with our present position and from which a study may be constructed. The more central regions of Lewin's concentric circle model contained the private contents of the individual's life, the peripheral regions represented the more open public existence of the person.

It does not seem unreasonable, and in fact does appear to be the case in Lewin's G-type[6], to suggest that there exist more superficial and deeper levels inside the non-permeable private barrier, or central core, as well

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6. See figure 1, p.8.

as on the periphery. Thus the central core would also be structured as a concentric spherical entity. From this, let us further assume that the response to a privacy invasion will be a function of how deeply within the central core the invasion penetrates. This function would most likely not be a monotonic function if we rely on the psychoanalytic formulation of intrapsychic dynamics. In other words, the deeper the intrusion, the greater will be a reaction, up to a point; the point at which the personality defenses are so strong that the individual is not aware of the content contained within his private world.

In defending himself against his most private content, he eliminates the probability of strong reaction, since to react would be to admit the existence of the denied or repressed content. In a sense, the deeper we go beyond the critical point, the more likely it will become that reactions at the deepest levels will seem more like reactions to peripheral contacts. The psychoanalytic model holds that defenses and the need for those defenses exist in layers, and to reach the deeper levels one must first become aware of and deal with the shallower levels. Lewin might have been pointing toward such a conception when he suggested that "the most intimate regions contain so much of general human nature that they are again relatively alike among individuals."(23) That is, the deepest levels are again in some respects more

similar to the peripheral regions than are the intermediate levels.

Lewin concluded that the greatest dissimilarity among individuals within one cultural group would exist between the regions of medium privacy. This is not to say that were the person aware of the content of his deepest levels he would not react strongly to an intrusion to these depths; in fact as the deepest content comes to awareness, it would be probably reacted to at the same intensity as at the median areas. Although most of this discussion is uspositional, the experience of psychotherapy does lend support to the position taken. Patients who receive interpretations from the therapist that touch on the levels of greater depth than they are aware of reject such suggestions out of hand with little emotional investment. However, when the patient is ready (aware at his depth) there is often profound emotional reaction to the publicizing of such content.

To briefly sum up where this model takes us, it should be found that in dealing with medium areas of privacy, we should find relatively strong reactions to an invasion of privacy in both the invader and the person intruded upon.[7] The reactions to be expected should be some combination of guilt, shame, and anxiety on the part of the invader, and perhaps anger and some of these other negative feelings in the one intruded upon. In general, both will

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7. See dynamics, p.28.

experience emotional upset. Referring bact to our discussion of defining private situations, the degree of this reaction, that is its intensity, should be a function of the degree to which the situation is clearly defined as private through the use of cues by the invader, and the degree to which the invader accepts that definition.

V. The Elements of the Study

The Situation

In order to study the phenomenon of signalling and detection of privacy-in-action we must pick a situation that has potential for privacy and develop a set of cues that would be likely to be associated with signalling the existence of privacy. It would also be of some aid in reducing the ambiguity of the analysis if we could specify the type of privacy with which we are dealing. One situation which would fit these characteristics or requirements rather well would be the closed private office. This particular situation has been, in fact, mentioned by Goffman and by Hall.

The closed office in America represents an example of a situation where privacy is desired by the occupant of the office for the performance of some activity that he feels requires privacy. In this study the type of privacy dealt with will be the privacy of solitude or the privacy of being neither seen nor heard. Hall points out that an American is available if his door is open at home or at his office. Closed doors are for private conversations and work that requires concentration.(13) Goffman dealt with the function of the backstage in work settings. He felt that control of the backstage played a significant role in the process of work control. An example of this control he mentioned was that in many service industries the customer is asked to leave an item requiring service

so the technician could work on it without the customer's awareness of mistakes or rest periods.(11)

In like manner it is in the closed office that the worker or researcher can engage in certain non-work-related activities without audience awareness of his temporary dereliction of duty. Rest periods may even be essential to overall productive output, and thus may constitute a valid claim to privacy to avoid disturbances and thereby achieve socially desirable goals. Goffman mentions that a small private office can be transformed into a back region by the occupant being the only one it it and closing the door. In an open collective space someone is always likely to be present before whom an impression of inductry must be maintained; in the closed office the pretense of work and decorous behavior can be dropped.(11) The closed office represents a physical barrier set up to protect the person within from intrusion and to signal to those without that entry is not desired. Thus the closed office situation is one that is culturally defined as a private situation, but there are also in the culture ameliorating conditions on this definition,such as self-closing doors, the need to find someone who may be in a whole complex of offices, etc. In general, although the closed office defines a private situation, this definition is not absolute and perfectly clear in all specific instances.

The ambiguity involved concerns the lack of clear and absolute rules as to who may open what doors, at what times, and under what conditions. Here again there is some

indication as to rules as a function of role, but even in cases such as the relative rights of parent and children in entering the bedroom, there are no general rules in effect. Most typically the parent is allowed greater privilege in entering, but this varies as a function of social class, education, ego, and the individual values of the parents. Thus in the more ambiguous adult situation, of the closed office there are no clear rules except that one should knock and either await permission to enter or at least announce the entrance before actually violating the door barrier.

The closed office situation also seems amenable to analysis in terms of the "freedom of choice" approach to privacy. "The addition of a second person to an office may mean many ... things for the original occupant: that he can no longer behave in exactly the same way ... that in fact what was once his must now be shared."(33) The occupant may feel invaded to the extent that he is frustrated in the pursuit of his goals by the presence of others, and the reaction toward this frustration is likely to be anger expressed toward the invader. To the degree to which the individual can lay claim to and secure an area, he maximizes his freedom of choice to perform any behavior in that space. Intrusion by another reduces the occupant's control and thereby this freedom.

In summary, a good number of facts justify the appropriateness of using a private office as the standard private situation for a study of privacy. The points

that have been considered include the fact that the office constitutes a definitely bounded territory; it has connotations of privateness in our culture; it seems to fit into the realm of medium privacy which Lewin felt would be one productive of major reactions to invasion; it possesses a door which can function as a signal of its condition of privateness[8]; it has been pointed to as a backstage area important in work control, etc. Thus it would seem that an adequate case is made for the use of this particular setting in studying privacy.

Cues

The above description of maximizing freedom of choice of course bears a striking resemblance to the biological definition of territoriality as the defense of an area in space.(2) In fact, Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin state "the inner determinant of territorial behavior in the individual is his desire to maintaim or achieve privacy. Therritoriality thus becomes one mechanism whereby he can increase the range of options open to him and maximize his freedom of choice."(33) Invasion of the individual's territory will reduce his freedom of choice.

It is here that we can draw a distinction between territory and privacy. Territory is defined here as a bounded, defended physical space, and a relationship is assumed to exist between territoriality in humans and

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8. Lewin, Kira, Jourard, and Schwartz have all dealt with the door as a barrier that connotes privacy when it is closed and signals availability of the occupant when it is open.

territorial infra-human species. The exact nature of this relationship is not clear in that the means of establishing, marking and defending the territory differ between men and animals. It is also clear that the functions the territory serves is different in men and animals. However, it is highly likely that such bounded and defended spaces serve some function for men, and one such hypothesized function is the provision of the possibility for privacy. That is, if one can claim and control (maximize freedom of choice) a space (territory), then one can achieve some degree and type of privacy (an internal experience). Therefore, the possession of territory can be seen as one means of achieving the feeling state of privacy and this is the only assumption regarding the relationship of territory and privacy that is intended or dealt with in the present work.

However, as Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin have pointed out, the loss of freedom of choice can occur at a less that conscious level and be experienced as a feeling of being crowded. If this loss of freedom can be less than conscious for the loser, it certainly may not be apparent for the curtailer of that freedom, and thus must be communicated to him. Such communication certainly plays a part in the defense of territory. Animals will mark a territory, that is, define its boundaries by scent in much the same way that man defines the boundaries of his territory, by walls and doors. If the animal's territorial boundary line is crossed, he will respond by a threat display or perhaps an attack. It would certainly

seem reasonable that violation of a human boundary, such as an entry to a closed office, will also lead to some display indicating the existence of an invasion and the owner's degree of acceptance of that invasion.

In this same context we can discuss a sociological treatment of privacy by Barry Schwartz, which also bears strong resemblance to the work of Ittelson, Proshansky, and Rivlin. It is Schwartz's contention that doors provide boundaries between ourselves and others. Violation of this boundary, Schwartz perceives as a violation of selfhood. Schwartz also notes a connection between privacy and control of freedom of choice. He feels that part of the outrage felt by a victim of a voyeur is a result of loss of control over the number and type of people who may possess information about the body of the victim.(37) This example would probably constitute a clear and absolute example of privacy invasion requiring no communication of acceptance or rejection cues by the victim to indicate that his behavior is unacceptable. However, although this would be an extreme example, cues could probably, even in this case, change the definition of the situation. The person undressing could, in fact, be an exhibitionist, which would account for the visibility in the first place, and if the one disrobing "put on a show", then the question of privacy invasion would be irrelevant.

Thus in order to manageably study privacy, it is

obvious that we would need to study a specific private situation and the operation of cues within that situation to determine privacy definitions and reactions to those definitions. This would tell us something about the acceptance of those definitions and the effectiveness of the cues. What types of cues will signal privacy? Will these be sufficient to signal privacy under all conditions? What types of cues ameliorate definitions of privacy from either the culture or the situation? These are some of the questions upon which the present study will attempt to shed some light.

We come then to the question of what cues are used to signal that privacy is required or in effect in the given setting. Again let us mention that the setting alone would, in all probability, not be sufficient to signal privacy since individual backgrounds are not likely to teach us that any given setting is always private regradless of the situational conditions and people or roles involved in the setting. That is, for any given setting there always exist situational conditions or role relationships which either reinforce or abrogate the rpivacy of the setting itself.

Thus we must rely on various cues to interpret the privacy of the setting, and the attitude of the individual connected with or occupying the setting. Role relationships would probably constitute a cue, but this in itself can be ambiguous unless there is some clear indication

of role, such as uniforms or badges of rank. We would be best off with cues that offer the individuals involved the opportunity to create their definitions based upon clearly identifiable cues. Two broad categories of cues are suggested in the literature on privacy. These are the activity the individual is engaged in and his response to intrusion.

Activity

If we return again to examine cultural norms, we can discover a clue to the reasonableness of activity as a cue for privacy. Westin has pointed out that the balance between privacy and disclosure will be greatly influenced by cultural and societal norms. He also states that American society in general prefers activism over contemplation.(46) Thus, much of the time that is available for private behavior will be taken up by activities which either require such privacy or which the individual prefers to do in private. Humphrey Osmond has stated that"privacy is related to culturally prescribed private activity, to an individual's personality, and to the task at hand."(33) Kira pointed out that the degree of privacy that will be considered tolerable varies enormously depending upon the activity in which the individual is engaged.(21) An even more direct connection between activity and privacy is illustrated by Proshanksy, Ittelson, and Rivlin. These authors mentioned that there are situations in which group activity requires privacy, but where intimacy among the

group members was actively discouraged. For example, in situations such as jury deliberations, it is the task that defines the necessity for privacy.(33) It is also worthwhile to note that the functions which Westin believes privacy serves - personal autonomy, emotional release, self-evaluation, and limited and protected communication - have in common the need for providing conditions which will allow people to act in a fashion that will produce the desired consequences.(33)

Activities which require privacy will in and of themselves signal the existence of privacy; private activities by preference require that the individual must make a claim to privacy above and beyond his performance of a given activity. In regard to behaviors or activity that in and of themselves require privacy, we have already mentioned the categories of sex and elimination. To this list such things can be added as the times of birth, illness, and death, which are considered taboo in amny societies and are thus protected from the general view. The behavior of exposing the genitalia is also regulated in most societies and so this behavior also requires and indicates that the individual either considers himself to be in private or is engaging in non-normative behavior.(46) Many activities must bot be performed in the presence of specified categories of people partly as a function of the activity itself and partly because the activity serves as a medium of information transfer. What we do and how we do it conveys information about ourselves to those

who would observe our behavior.[9]

In general we may say that with a great deal of frequency the basis for a claim to privacy involves either the performance of certain activities or the display of certain objects, in itself an identifiable activity. Claims to privacy based on activity usually relate to activities which either have connotations which demand privacy on cultural grounds or require solitude for their performance to be undertaken. Activity thus may set up the justification for a territorial claim in the sense of controlling a space that will provide privacy. As has been pointed out by Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin, one way to achieve freedom of choice is via the ability to control what goes on in a defined area of space. This control is significant for the behavior in which the individual wishes to engage. The presence of another person may reduce freedom of choice if the individual either cannot control or will nor perform certain activities in the presence of others.(33)

If we assume that an individual was already engaged in an on-going activity and another individual appears on the scene, there may be a sudden cessation of the activity. Disruption of the activity should serve to signal to the new entrant that an invasion of privacy has occurred. Without the disruption of the activity one

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9. A systematic study of just such a mode of information transfer can be found in work on kinesics such as in Birdwhistell's Kinesics and Context.

might be able to assume that the holder of an area had not considered his space to have been invaded. However, once the activity has been disrupted, there can be no doubt that the invasion has occurred, that is, the performer's territorial boundaries, however he defined them, have been violated and the violation has been recognized. In circumstances where we deal with culturally defined private activity the activity itself should serve to communicate to a potential invader that privacy is expected to be in effect and further cues should only serve to reinforce this definition or to deny the already established privacy connotation. When confronted by an activity which has no built-in cultural privacy connotation, other cues serve either to create a personal definition of the situation as private or to confirm the cultural lack of privacy definition. Finally, when activity or activity plus situation are culturally defined as public, other cues would serve either to attempt to deny the expectancy of public access to the activity or to confirm the publicness of the behavior.

In order to examine the suppositions mentioned above, it would be necessary to look at a series of activities that represented a graded set of privacy values. Which specific activities should be chosen? One obvious choice would be an activity that is related to sexual behavior. A sexual type of activity would represent the high end on a privacy continuum.

A second behavior, which would be considered to be private is sleeping. Goffman pointed out that when a person is sleeping, he is expressively immobilized and may not be able to bring himself into an appropriate position for interaction or adopt a proper facial expression rapidly. Thus the sleeper is engaged in a backstage behavior and is without his interactive mask when awakened. It is also true that some of our most private behavior, that of dreaming and fantasizing occurs during sleep. Although this would be considered private behavior, it would, on the face of it, appear to be less emotionally loaded and less private than sexual activity.

Another behavior which can have privacy connotations, but which does not inherently contain such connotations, is working. It has been mentioned that people often attempt to attain privacy for the performance of their work, but it is certainly true that privacy is not required for the performance of work activities. Working in public areas is hardly an exceptional discovery, and thus the behavior itself does not signal that the person so engaged is claiming privacy. In fact, the worker in a public space may wish to have company and conversation rather than concentrating solely on the work at hand. Further cues, both situational and responsive, would be needed to define the situation as private.

An activity which could represent a minimum connotation or privacy is an apparent lack of activity in the form of just gazing into space. If activity and activity disruption can serve as a medium of information transfre about privacy claims, then vacuous staring behavior should present a picture

of the absence

of the absence of an activity requiring privacy, and a difficult situation to be aware of disrupting. Thus the behavior of staring should be less productive of cues to privacy invasion, than the behaviors mentioned above, based solely on the on-going activity.

Response

Let us now go to an area that we have been suggesting but have not specifically explored. That is the question of cues, aside from activity performance and disruption per se, that privacy is claimed by the performer. The most likely candidate here is the response of the individual who is suffering the invasion of territory. This individual is in the best position to determine whether or not his privacy is being invaded, and his most direct way of communicating his dicesion is via his response to the actions of the potential invader. Literature on territoriality suggests the importance of the response cue in the defense of physical space, and in the human condition, if space provides privacy, this may indicate the appropriateness of the response cues for claiming privacy. It may be mentioned that for the potential invader there are two conflicting impulses - the urge to invade and the urge to avoid. One of the variables that can swing the outcome toward avoidance is the adoption of a threat posture or the baring of fangs by the owner of the territory. The display of threat will tend to signal the claim to territory and to discourage the intruder. (2)

If we again return to the conceptualization of Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin of privacy being obtained through the maximization of freedom of choice, it will be fruitful in dealing with the response cue. Let us assume that the intrusion of another individual into a territory removes certain behavioral options of the occupant, that is, reduces the occupant's freedom of choice. The reaction to this reduction of freedom in terms of reactance theory will be an over-evaluation of the lost option.(5) Is is not also reasonable to assume that an individual suffering the loss would also be angry with, or resent the perpetrator of this loss of freedom and thus probably communicate his displeasure if the situation allowed such action?

Beyond such a theoretical notion we can look at actual empirical representations of just such threat or anger responses to privact invasions. There are modern societal restraints on, and threats to privacy which limit the individual's attainment of privacy. Telephone solicitors, door-to-door-salesmen, and opinion surveyors constitute a number of types of intruders on individual privacy.

Such potential threats are responded to by householders by putting out "no trespassing" signs, acquiring unlisted phone numbers, and slamming doors on solicitors. (46) At least two out of these three responses indicate rather directly the hostility of the occupant to the potential intruder, and thus represent an attempt to discourage intrusion

by aggressive display.

Westin spoke of reserve as a mode of achieving privacy. This particular claim requires acquiescence on the part of the potential intruder and upon a signal by the individual that he wishes to make this claim. How then is this claim made and how is it enforced? Hall related an incident about an English student at Northwestern University who could not get along with his American roommate because the roommate kept asking him if there was anything wrong when he was silent. The English student's silence signalled that he wished to claim reserve; the American interpreted the signal to mean that the Englishman was annoyed at him. This impasse, which the Englishman perceived as a privacy invasion, led him to become angry and make caustic remarks to his roommate.(13)

Robert Sommer studied the way in which students studying in a library made claims to private space and how they went about defending these claims. He concluded that,

> "even if we do not accept the idea of instinctive territoriality in humans, it is still apparent that people actively defend certain spaces against intruders using the entire repertoire of defensive techniques in the animal kingdom as well as a few new ones."(43)

One of the means of defending territory that Sommers noted was the use of "offensive displays." By looking sufficiently annoyed when other students tried to study in closely adjacent space, the original occupant could often succeed in retaining his solitude.(43)

VI. Design of the Study

We would seem to have sufficient reason based both on theoretical notion and empirical evidence to assume that some form of aggressive display or response cue should operate in signalling a desire for privacy or that a privacy invasion has occurred. On the other side of the coin we should expect that an opposite form of response cue should tend to offset the activity cue or at least to signal that privacy invasion either did not occur or was not unwelcome. For the purposes of this study two types of response cues were chosen. Anger, expressed in tone of voice and volume, served the function of aggressive display, while mildness or helpfulness, expressed in the same way, served as the cue for acceptance of the intrusion.

A further decision was made, based on the dynamics of the development of privacy requirement, to examine the effect of the different cues as a function of their reaction on the invader rather than on the person invaded. Placing subjects in the role of the invader enables one to use more objective measures of his response to privacy invasions, and will presumably be productive of more relevant information than if we had tried to study the individual's reaction to an invasion of his own privacy. By taking this course of action, the investigator is enabled to use the particular class of cues that he wishes to examine and to vary them systematically. If one tried to examine the individual's

own response, one would be at the mercy of his own selection of activity and response, and would be in the dubious position of interpreting exactly what he wished to convey and what he was experiencing at the moment of invasion. By using clear cues produced by an accomplice, and independently judged to have the desired interpretation on the part of an observer, a good deal of uncontrolled variation in the form of individual differences and preferences for defensive strategies has been eliminated. The invader, however, becomes the recipient of a clear and systematically varied situation and the experimenter is given the opportunity to observe the end effects of this experience. We are in this way partially circumventing the problem raised by the probability that the extablishment of a feeling of privacy is based on an intra-psychic state that is heavily affected by personality and experiential variables. Instead, the invader is put in a situation defined for him as being private and is allowed to react.

One's anxieties and upset over being an invader will occur only if one sees himself as the invader. Thus if the situation is not defined as private, nothing has been invaded and no appreciable anxiety should be aroused. On the other hand, if the situation can be acceptably defined as private by either the invader or the person intruded upon, then the invader's anxieties should be aroused. Observing the situation form the invader's point of view, this means that his reactions to the situation would indicate whether or

not he has accepted the situation as being private. Negative reactions to the situation as a result of a perceived invasion of another's privacy could be due to the dynamics of the origin of the need for privacy,[10] or to an empathic feeling for the person intruded upon, or as a result of remembering how distasteful privacy invasion was when he himself was intruded upon, or to some combination of these. His reactions then also indicate something about the effectiveness of the cues and the person's own beliefs about the definition of privacy.[11]

A decision was thus required concerning the choice of measures that would be employed to indicate the relative effects of the cues that would be tested. Choosing measures required a reconsideration of the model of privacy and the development of privacy that was presented earlier.[12] The invasion of privacy should lead to feelings of guilt, shame, and anxiety in both parties to the invasion. Therefore, the measures of interest would show the effects of emotional upset.

One test instrument that has been used to differentiate between different levels of anxiety among individuals is an

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10. See pages 27-29.

11. This particular method was suggested to the author by the work of Harold Garfinkel on the violation of norms in order to obtain a better understanding of the content of these norms. See H. Garfinkel, Studies in Ethnomethodology, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

12. See pages 29-30.

adaptation of the Bender-Gestalt test. Spielberger, Goodstein, and Dahlstrom modified the scoring procedure on the Bender-Gestalt test and found that there were differential effects of anxiety on the recall of incidental learning that were measured by this test.

It was discovered that in dealing with different levels of anxiety as measured by the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, differential effects were found in performance on the Bender-Gestalt test as a function of design difficulty. Spielberger went on to suggest that in reactive stressful situations, such as we are hypothesizing privacy invasion to be, one could reasonably expect to find on overall decrement in performance of highly anxious subjects. Such a result would be in line with the hypothesis that irrelevant response tendencies would be evoked and globally interfere with performance on the recall task of the Bender-Gestalt test.

Spielberger also mentioned considering the possibility of the state-trait variable in terms of the anxiety effects.[13] In view of this possibility, it was decided to randomize subject assignment of the various conditions of the study. By randomizing subjects within conditions, the likelihood of having high anxiety subjects or low-anxiety subjects in any givel condition, would be equal. Therefore any differences that would be found among groups would in all probability

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13. Personal communication with the author.

be due to the anxiety and emotional upset generated by the experimental condition and not due to any individual anxiety trait.

A decision also had to be made regarding the feasibility of a pre- and post-test design. It was felt that the administration of a pre-test would detract from the experimental reality of the situation and possibly have serious reactive effects upon the final test outcome. In order to deal with the problem of not having a pre-test measure on our subjects, we relied again upon randomization, believing that the likelihood of having high and low baseline people in any given condition again would be equalized and therefore could not account for any differences that were discovered. As an added precaution, however, we administered the Bender-Gestalt test to fifteen members of our subject pool who had not experienced any part of the experimental situation. This provided us with a reasonable baseline on the Bender-Gestalt previous to exposure to the experimental manipulations. On the basis of these tests and reasoning, it was felt that the Bender-Gestalt would be appropriate to our needs and offered the added benefit of rapid administration.

We also decided that it would be a good idea to include other measures to indicate the presence of emotional upset. A battery of non-reactive type measures was picked to provide a back-up for the results found in the Bender-Gestalt series. Since we were looking for measures of

emotional arousal, it was decided to develop a set of physiological indicators that would be affected by the stress produced by emotional upset. Since it was felt to be desirable that there be no awareness on the part of the subject of these measures, a hidden electrical measure of the door force and speed used in exiting from the experimental situation was fabricated. The reasoning behind this device held that anyone invading privacy would desire to leave the scene as soon as possible and so would be likely to exert greater force on the door in escaping than he would have exerted on entering. Based on this same reasoning, al electronic timing device was set up to measure the speed at which the subject left the invasion site. The decision to use a number of these measures rested upon the philosophy of multiple operationism. The weakness of each individual measure would be compensated for, to some degree, by the strengths of the other measures. An overall indéx of the composite results could then give some indication of the effects of the experimental siutation on the emotional arousal of the subject.

Since most of our assumptions about our set of variables representing a graded series of privacy cues had no real empirical validation, a pilot study was conducted to determine if we could indeed expect to find some sort of differences in subject responses to the proposed experimental

situations. These situations were as follows:

Staring - the confederate was seated at his desk ("B" in the diagram) and was staring at the wall,,not apparently engaged in any identifiable activity. Upon the entrance of S he swings his attention to S.

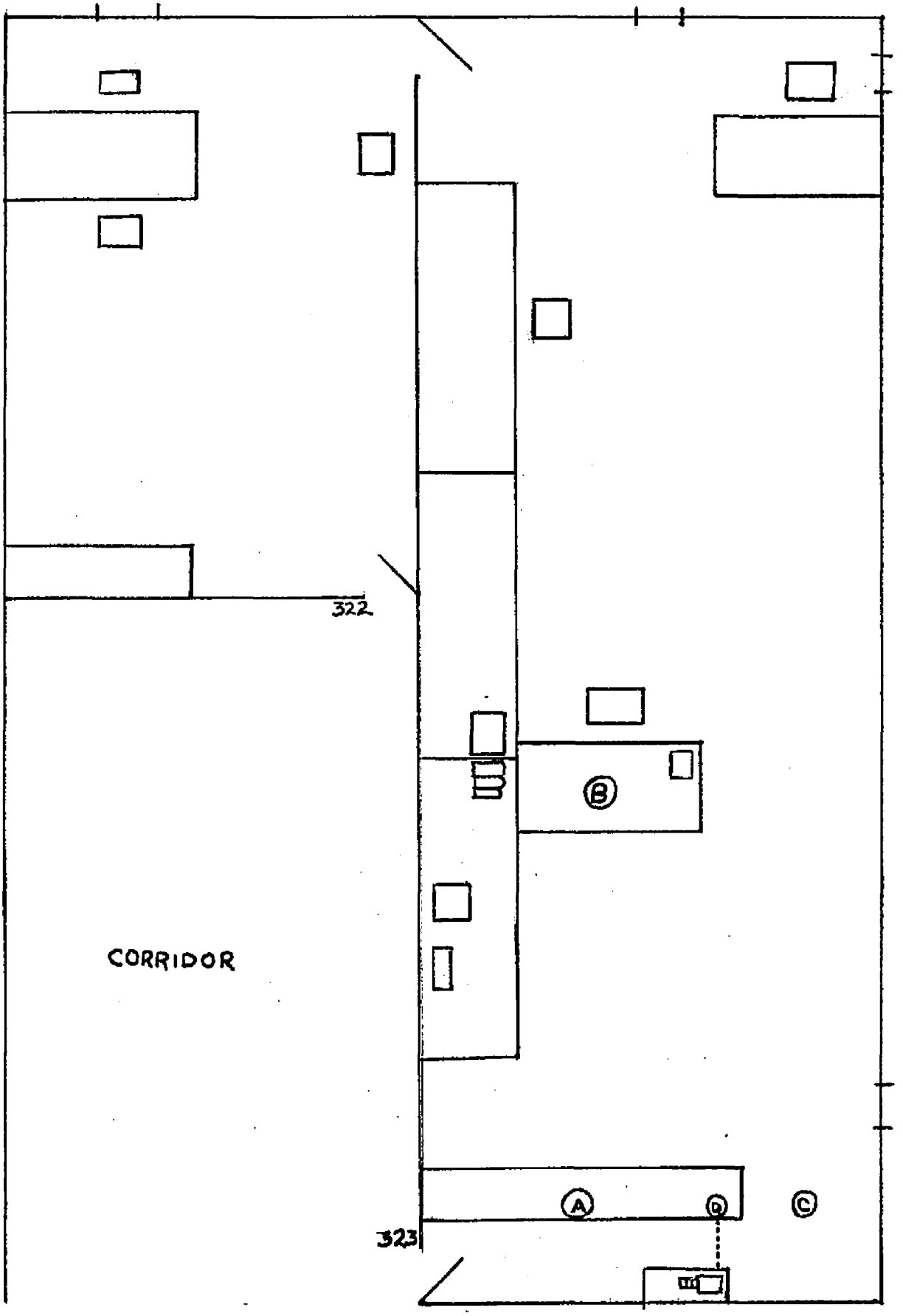
Research - the confederate was seated at his desk with a pile of books and papers at his elbow, writing on a pad of paper. When S appears, the researcher starts, and the papers and books are knocked off the desk.

Sleeping - the confederate was seated at the desk upon which were scattered papers and books, with his head cradled in his arms and his eyes closed. S's appearance caused the apparently sleeping worker tosuddenly wake.

Fooling About - the confederate and a girl were seated at the desk with their arms around each other, heads close together in an ambiguous but intimate situation. The two broke apart and faced the S as soon as he had cleared the barrier.

Projection - this fifth situation was somewhat different from the rest of the experimental manipulations. A confederate was seated in the corridor leading to room 323 with a slide projector showing vacation slides. He was situated in such a way that he was blocking the corridor and the S would have to ask him to move in order to get to room 323.

This last condition served as a control for interruption per se as a factor in this experiment. Specifically, this


322
B
CORRIDOR
A
D
C
323

person in a public corridor had no claim to privacy, but he is interrupted. Therefore, if it was the distress over interrupting another that caused our results, we would find no difference between the projection conditions and the other situations. If, on the other hand, we find that there is little or no effect as a result of interruption, then it must be another factor that upsets the subjects.[14] Based on the logic of this experiment, this factor responsible for our findings would be the distress caused by invading another's privacy.

In this study, subjects randomly selected from a pool of Brooklyn College students taking psychology or sociology courses were presented with written descriptions of the various situations. These descriptions were presented in a paired comparisons format and the subject was asked to indicate which element of the pair constituted the more serious privacy invasion. Each situation was paired with every other situation and presented in a random sequence based on a random number generator. An example of such a pair is presented below:

1. A person opens the door to an office that is not his own and walks in. Once inside he sees the occupant of the office, who he does not know, staring into space. The occupant angrily says, Do you always walk into whichever office you please?"

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14. Another possible factor would be the possible frustration or hostility of the subject over being placed in the experimental situation. The post-experimental interview was designed to examine this possibility.

2. A person opens the door to an office that is not his own and walks in. Once inside he finds that he has awakened the occupant of the office, who was sleeping and whom he does not know. The occupant calmly says,"Who are you looking for?"

Each situation was then ranked according to the number of times that it was chosen as the most serious privacy invasion. The results of this ranking were as follows:

Fooling Around Angry	(FAA)
Fooling Around Mild	(FAM)
SleepingAngry	(SLA)
Sleeping Mild	(SLM)
Research Angry	(RA)
Research Mild	(RM)
Staring Angry	(STA)
Staring Mild	(STM)
Projection Angry	(PA)
Projection Mild	(PM)

From these results it was concluded that our variables did constitute a graded series of privacy cues. It appeared that the activity cue would be of primary importance in determining whether the definition of privacy, and therefor the invasion of privacy, would be accepted by the invader. The response cue seemed to be capable of differentiating a reaction from within a given activity but would not change the overall ranking of the seriousness of the privacy invasion based on what activity was intruded upon.

These results were treated only as a first approximation to what could be expected in the actual study since the pilot dealt with verbally predicted behavior which has often been found the deviate markedly from actual behavior in a given situation.[15] Nevertheless, the results certainly

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15. See, for example, Studies on Obedience by Stanley Milgram.

indicated that different cues would affect people's idea of when privacy has been invaded. Further, it appeared that our chosen variables should present the subject with situations that varied in the degree to which they would signal that a privacy invasion had indeed occurred.

This concludes the discussion of the variables that were used and the measures selected to quantify the effects of the variables. Following is a detailed description of the experiment in action.

Subjects - 150 subjects were randomly chosen from the population of students at Brooklyn College taking psychology and/or sociology courses who volunteered to participate in an experiment. The process of choosing subjects followed the form of distributing and collecting consent slips in all sociology and psychology classes being given at that time. All the volunteer subject names were then put in a box and names were pulled at random for appointment scheduling.

Judges - Three judges, one undergraduate and two graduate students scored the results on the Bender-Gestalt Test.

Setting and Procedure

Two adjoining rooms in a reconverted apartment building served as the physical setting for this study on privacy. The building contains approximately sixty offices distributed over two wings, consisting of three floors each. Customarily, all the doors to the offices within the building are kept

in the closed position and are unlabeled as to occupant, thus providing an ideal situation for this experiment.

Actually, three rooms were required for the running of the experiment: a reception area (apparently non-operative at the time of need), and invasion area (supposed by subject to possibly be the room he was to enter for his test), and finally, an office for conducting the final test and interview.

Each subject was called and appointment was arranged. The prospective candidate was asked if (s)he could come at time "X" on day "Y". If agreement was obtained, the subject was further informed that the room scheduling had not been completed and the girl in Room 104 (reception station) would be able to tell him to which room he should report. Further, he was told that upon reaching the test room, he should just enter without knocking since the rooms were soundproofed and the experimenters did not wish to lose any subjects because their arrival went unheard.

When the subject arrived at Room 104, usually three to four days after the appointment was made, (s)he found someone in the room who apologized that the girl taking care of the room-directing was out of the office for a while, but that she'd try to find out where the subject was supposed to report. The girl then said she'd make a call to inquire if anyone knew where the Levine experiment was being run. (This call would actually alert the E's that the subject would arrive within the next two minutes).

The caller responded to the subject as if she had received a busy signal and suggested that the S might have to try a few rooms. To the subject's request for greater specificity, the girl said, "Gee, I don't remember where the secretary sent the other people, but I think it was 323 or some room in that area". (All the rooms except 323, the next to last, and 322, the last room in the corridor, were actually locked and empty.)

The subject then went up to the third floor and walked into Room 323 where he was presented with one of ten possible situations. Each situation was determined according to a schedule that was set up by means of a random number generator table and thus the order of situation presentation was totally random. After interrupting the confederate (the actor at the desk), the subject was either told: Angry response - what are you doing walking in here... I don't know anything about that (Levine experiment), there's some guy in the next room running an experiment, maybe that's whom you're looking for - it's certainly not here, (damn it!), or Mild Response - Who are you looking for? Can I help you?... Oh no, that's next door in 322, not here ...That's all right, no trouble.

This interaction took place as soon as the disturbance of the confederate had been made manifest, and this in turn occurred as soon as the subject cleared the barrier ("A" in the diagram). The type of disturbance depended upon the situational variable for that run. These sit-

uational variables were described in the Pilot Study, on pages 55-59.

A number of things occurred just previous to and during the brief experimental encounter. Shortly before the S was due to arrive, a pen recorder, which was connected to the door potentiometer, was activated so it would record the door opening and closing of the S. At this time, the remote control tape recorder was also switched on to record the invasion interaction. During the interaction, or more specifically, as soon as the S cleared the Barrier and his forward velocity reached zero (that is, before or at the point which his direction changed - Position C in the diagram, page 57) a switch under the desk was flipped that activated the electric eye-timer device. When the S entered the room, his door opening behavior and verbal behavior were recorded. When he left, he crossed the electric eye (D - in diagram, page 57) which activated a timer which recorded his speed of exit, and his door opening behavior was again recorded.

Subjects, after leaving room 323 either went back to 104 and were redirected to 322, or tried 322 directly. Here they met an unresponsive E who obviously expected them. They were seated and given the Bender-Gestalt test. After the test they were questioned about their feelings and then about what went on before they arrived at room 322. (All of this was also tape-recorded). When the interview ended, all subjects were debriefed and were intro-

duced to the confederates.[16]

Hypotheses

Although this study is of an exploratory nature and no exceedingly clear picture is suggested of what will result, two hypotheses are offered.

1) Cues are crucial to the definition of a situation as being private.

2) The cues of activity and response will create the definition of a situation as being private or not private. Specifically, when an on-going activity is intruded upon that has connotations of privacy, and the person intruded upon displays anger, the situation will be defined as private and the expected emotional upset on the part of the invader will occur. When the on-going activity is either not seen as an activity, or has no connotations of privacy and the actor displays no anger over the entrance of the invader, there will be no emotional upset. Those situations between these two extremes will represent a graded series of emotional upset based on the privacy value produced by varying the activity and response cues. The less clear the signals are for denoting a privacy invasion, the less will be the emotional upset of the subjects.

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16. This post-experimental interview schedule is included in the appendix along with some exemplary replies.

VII. Results

Before presenting the statistical tables and formally analyzed results, I would like to note a number of casual observations of the experimenters on the subjects and some illustrative examples of subject reactions in the post-experimental interview.

The most extreme behavioral manifestation of emotional upset, as one would expect, occurred in the Fooling Around and Sleeping conditions. In one instance in the FAA condition a female subject flushed beet red, spoke in a quavering voice, and visibly trembled for the entire time that she felt it necessary to remain in the invasion situation. In a few other cases in both FAA (Fooling Around Angry) and the SLA (Sleeping Angry) conditions, the subject just passed the barrier, saw the confederate(s) and ran out, barely providing time to activate the electronic timing device. In other instances, the subject literally leaped back behind the barrier in the attempt to escape from the situation. However, they often then resumed a more normal pace apparently feeling somewhat protected by the barrier. Evidence was also found that most of the subjects accepted the situation at face value, that is, as an inadvertent entrance to the wrong office. Many of the subjects returned to Room 104 for further instructions before they would enter Room 322. As further evidence on this point, very few of the subjects connected

the incidents in Room 323 with the experiment and none of them guessed the intent of the study.

Evidence from the post-experimental interview also indicated that subjects were taking cognizance of both sets of cues. When asked whether they had invaded anyone's privacy, a common response was "Yes. there was someone sleeping in there," or "Yes, two people were making out in there," or "Yes, I interrupted his work." When questioned as to how they felt when they entered Room 323, a good number of subjects openly admitted that they felt embarrassed. Subjects in the mild conditions often said there was no privacy invasion because "he didn't seem to care that I walked in." Interestingly, many subjects in the FA conditions reported that the confederates were kissing when in fact they were just close together with the female sitting on the male's lap. Subjects also seemed to put themselves in the place of the interrupted confederate when they said," I wouldn't want something like that to happen to me." Further indication that subjects reacted to the situation was presented by a subject who kept asking in the post-experimental interview, "Why did you have to put me in <u>that</u> condition?" Subjects also used the activity cue to determine that they had walked into the wrong room,as one subject suggested, "He seemed to be reading, and I knew I was in the wrong place."

Those subjects who said that they felt they did not invade anyone's privacy, referred to various elements of

the situation for their conclusion. Some subjects said that they knocked on the door so that they did not invade privacy, this in spite of the fact that the knock was never acknowledged and that they had been told that the rooms were soundproofed. Others said that they were told to go to room 323, apparently disregarding the ambiguous way in which this advice as presented by someone who purported not to know where the experiment was and only guessed that it might be in 323. Subjects in the staring condition often said that they felt they had not invaded privacy because the confederate "wasn't doing anything." A number of subjects even stated that they felt that they would have invaded privacy if the confederate had been doing something. In those cases where subjects reported that they did not feel they had invaded privacy in conditions other than PA, PM, and STM, their individual Bender-Gestalt score was above the mean score for that condition. None of the subjects in either of the projection conditions felt that they had invaded privacy, and many were surprised at the suggestion that they might have done so. An exaggerated response to the confederate in the PA condition was to describe him as a knucklehead, obviously having no justification for his behavior. More commonly he was described as just being unpleasant. In no condition was there any evidence of a significant disruption of the Bender-Gestalt score being disrupted by anger or frustration with a confederate. In addition there were no indications

in the reports of the subjects of being hostile or frustrated over being in one of the experimental conditions. Most emotional feeling centered around their feelings of embarrassment, or anxiety over having invaded someone's privacy.[17] Finally, in spite of the sometimes unpleasant experience, most of the subjects reported that they felt the experiment to be very worthwhile and were glad to have participated.

Turning now to the more formal data:

Table 1: Agreement among judges in scoring the Bender-Gestalt test.

Overall Agreement Among Judges (in %)	Agreement Between Judges 1 & 2	2 & 3	1 & 3
93	95.3	94.6	95.4

Table 1 presents the agreement among judges expressed in per cent. The judges in this study were two graduate students and one undergraduate in psychology. Judging was done on complete sets, that is 150 specimens, of each design. These figures indicate that there was relatively good agreement in the scoring of the Bender Gestalt test.

Table 2 presents the sums of the scores on the Bender-Gestalt test by condition. The lower the score, the greater the aroused anxiety produced by any given condition. The conditions were listed in order of the expected effect based upon the pilot study. As one can see by looking at the row totals, there is an increasing effect of each activity cue as we go from no privacy connotation

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17. See note 15 on page 59 .

Table 2: Sums of scores and Mean Scores on the Bender-Gestalt test presented by condition

	ANGRY	MILD	Σ
PROJECTION	79	83	162
STARING	66	78	144
RESEARCH	52	62	114
SLEEPING	39	60	99
FOOLING	47	57	104
Σ	283	340	623

Table 3: ANOVA table for the analysis of Bender-Gestalt scores

SOURCE	SS	df	MS	F
(A) ACTIVITY	98.9067	4	24.7266	15.7454*
(R) RESPONSE	21.6600	1	21.6600	13.7926*
A x R	5.0400	4	1.2600	>1
WITHIN	219.8667	140	1.5704	
TOTAL	345.4734	149		

*p<.001

to high privacy connotation. It also appears that the sleeping condition was somewhat more effective than the fooling around condition in causing emotional upset. Looking at the column totals, it seems the response cue was very effective in signalling the invadee's decision as to whether his privacy had been invaded or not. Row totals represent the cumulative effect on thirty subjects; column represent accumulation over seventy-five subjects.

Table 3 presents the results of the analysis of variance performed on the Bender-Gestalt data. From this table we can see that both the activity cues and response cues led to highly significant differences in variance. There is less than .001 chance of obtaining the differences found among the conditions on the basis of chance. There appears to be little if any interaction between the response and activity cues.

The results from Tables 1 and 2 are further illuminated by the graph in Figure 2.[18] From this graph we can see that there is little tendency toward interaction between our two major cue categories. The response cue seems to be very important in determining the effect of the situation on the subject. In the cases where we have an activity

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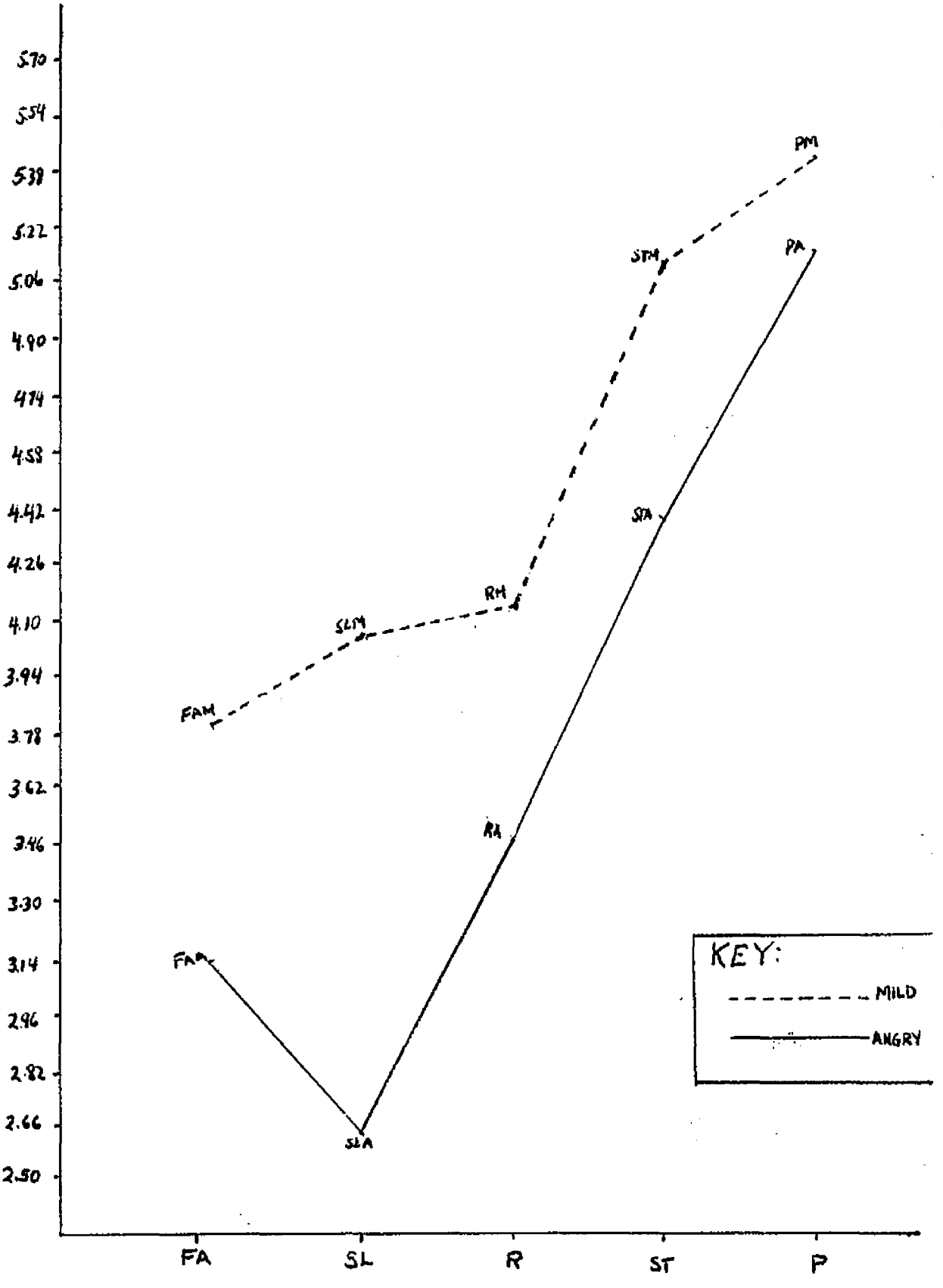
18. It should be noted here that the average baseline score achieved in a pilot test with the Bender-Gestalt administered to 15 subjects from our subject pool not experiencing any experimental treatments was 5.80. Comparing this with the means in Fig. 2 one can see there is no significant difference between the projection conditions and the baseline score.

Figure 2: Graphic representation of the results in Tables 1 & 2, by means.



cue that has high connotations of privacy there is a great difference in the effect as a function of the response cue. There is a tendency for the angry response to greatly amplify the effect of the activity cue in signalling privacy and a substantial effect of the mild response cue in reducing the effect of the activity cue, although this appears to diminish as the particular activity cue lessens in privacy value. Unfortunately, although the response cue is highly significant, the lack of any significant interaction makes conclusions about this cue's role in signalling ambiguous. The ambiguity will, however, be further dealt with in the discussion section. One can also see a clear graduation of emotional arousal as a function of the activity cue. For example, the ranked position of activity cues based on the paired-associates pilot, in terms of arousal, for the most part remains the same regardless of the response cue involved. The one exception to this occurs in the sleeping condition, where although the derived difference can only be attributed to chance in this study, it would seem possible that a culturally defined privacy situation (FA) is less subject to amelioration by an individual definition than is a more situationally defined privacy situation (SL).

Tables 4A and 4B present the results of a Newman-Keuls test for significance of differences among means. From this table the following conditions can be concluded to be significantly different at the .01 level:

Table 4A - Presentation of the Newman-Keuls Test for significance among means

	SLA	FAA	RA	FAM	SLM	RM	STA	STM	PA	PM
SLA	—	8	13	18	21	23	27*	39*	40*	44*
FAA		—	5	10	13	15	19	31*	32*	36*
RA			—	5	8	10	14	26*	27*	31*
FAM				—	3	5	9	21	22	26*
SLM					—	2	6	18	19	23
RM						—	4	16	17	21
STA							—	12	13	17
STM								—	1	5
PA									—	4
PM										—

RANGE	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
$q_{99}(r, 140)$	3.64	4.12	4.40	4.60	4.76	4.88	4.99	5.08	5.16
$q_{99}(r/140)\sqrt{MS_e}$	17.65	19.98	21.34	22.31	23.09	23.67	24.20	24.64	25.02

Table 4B - Resulting patterns of significance

SLA FAA RA FAM SLM RM STA STM PA PM

SLA is significantly different from STA, STM, PA, PM. This may indicate that where no apparent activity cue exists, that is, in the staring and projection conditions, the response cue is not enough to distinguish the situation as a private situation. It is probably that whatever interaction there is operates with these low privacy activity cues.

FAA is significantly different from STM, PA, PM.

RA is significantly different from STM, PA, PM.

FAM is significantly different from PM, indicating perhaps that in a culturally defined privacy situation, the response cue does not seem sufficient to reduce the invader's reaction to a point where it would be the same as to a definitely non-private interruption.

Table 5 presents a summary of the results from all the measures used in the study. Aince we have already discussed the results of the Bender-Gestalt test in some detail, let us concentrate on the other measures. Unfortunately, these results are not terribly clear and will require some extended exposition. Time displacement refers to the time it took for the door to extend to the maximum opening distance that the subject pushed it, and for it to return. This is measured along the time line on the recorder which ran at constant speed. The measure is based on the fact that the greater the force applied to the door, the farther it will open and, therefore, the longer it will take to complete an open-close cycle. The closing time of the door is a constant regulated by a brake.

Linear displacement was measured by the maximum current generated by the rotary potentiometer; the farther the door was pushed, the greater the current would be. Angular dis-

placement measured the deviation of the linear displacement from a perpendicular track, providing a measure of the speed with which the door was opened. A perpendicular track would be indicative of an instantaneous opening. Exit time refers to the time it took the subject to leave the invasion site, that is the time from crossing the electronic beam to the time the door was opened.

The difference scores which are presented in Table 5, in all instances represent the subtraction of the "out" scores from the "in" score, the assumption being that the subject who was in a hurry to leave would jerk the door fast and get out with a minimum opening. This would result in a fast pull on the door to allow just enough opening to exit and show up as a smaller displacement in the "out" column. Lesser displacements should show up as greater difference scores and should amtch up with faster exit times.

Since the results are not clear-cut, a decision was made to use a grosser index than we had hoped to be able to use. Specifically, conditions were ranked in order of magnitude from 1 to 10 and position relative to the median was noted. The original ranking from the Bender-Gestalt test was used as the standard and this consisted of the following rank order:

1)	SLA		6)	RM
2)	FAA		7)	STA
3)	RA	midpoint	8)	STM
4)	FAM		9)	PA
5)	SLM		10)	PM

Table 5: F=Force; S=Speed; Time is presented in hundredths of a second. Entries indicate the difference between the "in" score and the "out" score in mean values for each condition.

COND	TIME DISPLACEMENT (F-IN) - (F-OUT)	LINEAR DISPLACEMENT (F-IN) - (F-OUT)	ANGULAR DISPLACEMENT (S-IN) - (S-OUT)	EXIT TIME	BENDER-GESTALT
SLA	3.21	6.59	2.03	231.20	2.60
FAA	4.12	5.72	1.62	250.33	3.13
RA	3.37	-0.10	1.48	217.27	3.47
FAM	4.62	8.86	3.14	211.93	3.80
SLM	241	-1.50	1.09	183.00	4.00
RM	2.79	3.07	2.08	246.08	4.13
STA	1.55	5.34	1.80	284.17	4.40
STM	6.98	5.62	1.84	176.23	5.20
PA	1.45	-0.10	-1.00	586.82	5.27
PM	1.19	0.92	0.50	491.67	5.53

In establishing the ranks we find that the major ambiguities result in the Linear and Angular displacement scores and from the STM condition. What this means is that when we look at deviations from the ranking on the Bender scores, we find that in 71% of the cases where a condition that was originally ranked above the midpoint, that is on the Bender-Gestalt, and which later came out below it in the ranking of another measure, that measure was wither Linear or Angular displacement or both. In 100% of the cases where the "out" column showed up as larger than the "in" column, (appears as a negative difference score), this occurred in one or both of these measures.

Both the Linear and Angular displacement scores were dependent upon the current generated by the potentiometers and this feature of the system was where we realized most of the noise was occurring as we ran the experiment. The most reasonable explanation for these poor results was the quality of the equipment used.

Much higher quality equipment would seem to be necessary to provide for necessarily greater stability in using such measures. Our system was highly unstable and required constant adjustment during the running of the study. Unfortunately, even with all the maintenance that was done, we often got aberrations of current flow as part of our results.

The other deviations in ranking orders occurred in two places. The STM condition was above the midpoint in all the

measures except for the Bender-Gestalt, and this is quite confusing. The only explanation for these results that suggested itself from the observations by the confederates and the author was that subjects seemed to consider this condition a waste of their time. That is, having no feeling that privacy was involved, the subjects just treated their entrance into Room 323 as a mistake in thier journey and hurriedly returned to the right path, with no time spent to consider what they had done. Perhaps as far as these subjects were concerned, they had done nothing except make a wrong turn and so they need not feel any concern nor evaluate what results their actions may have produced. This would not be the case in the projection conditions, which also had little if any privacy value, because they did not have tocorrect their paths. They had suffered a minor obstruction in their course and once passing it, continued on at the same pace.

The only other place a ranking switched was in the FAA exit time measure. For some reason subjects in this condition did not generate the speed of leaving that had been expected. The explanation for this might be in the fact that a few subjects in this condition did not accept the situation as private and became rather put out by the reaction of the confederates. Two subjects decided to day a few things to the confederates on thie way out, and this produced two very atypical exit times which had a severe effect on the average time for this condition. More will be said of this in the

discussion section.

Aside from these problems, it was found that by using the median point ranking, admittedly a gross index, the results from the physiological measures in the main follow the Bender results. In 72% of the cases, including all conditions and all measures, the rankings of those conditions that were above the midpoint remained above the midpoint and those that were originally below, remained below.

VIII. Discussion

Of primary importance is the acceptance by the subjects of the study as realistic, since without such acceptance any discussion of the results is rather tenuously related to the actual cause of those results. It would seem both from the magnitude of the results and from the observations noted, that the study can certainly be said to have achieved a high degree of experimental reality. The subjects were obviously engaged by the manipulations in the study, and seemed to have, in the main, taken the unfolding of events at face value. Hopefully, mundane reality was also achieved, since it does not seem to be too much of a strain on one's credulity to consider the possibility that one might inadvertently walk in on someone in a closed office and disturb his activity. Often we find ourselves in the position of making a mistake either in remembering the number of an office or not realizing that we are in the wrong wing of a building, or some similar oversight. We can also conclude that there is a high degree of internal validity involved since the manipulations obviously had an effect within the context of the study. A possible shortcoming of the study in terms of its reality value is its provision of a relatively low degree of external validity.[19] Unfortunately, as in many studies in the social sciences,

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19. See E. Aronson and J.M. Carlsmith, "Experimentation in Social Psychology" in The Handbook of Social Psychology, Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1968, p.22.

our subject population might be somewhat inadequate in terms of the generalizability of the results. Subjects represent an adequate cross-section of a college population taking courses in the social science division, but this is not a very representative sample of the population of our culture as a whole. There are two defenses for this choice of subject population: practical concerns about time, money and the availability of the general population, and the position held by William Oakes that a reliable phenomenon found in a student population can reasonably be expected to be found in any other population. In any case, the burden of proof, if the findings are clear, lies with those who would hold that the results do not generally apply.(32) However, it still seems reasonable to suggest engaging in further research with other population groups in order to extend the findings of this study and allay the suspicions of those who remain skeptical of student populations.

Keeping the possibility of population limitations in mind, let us proceed to examine and expand upon the results of this study. Our results clearly indicate that there is a high probability that our chosen cue categories have a strong influence, along with a given physical setting, in defining a situation as being private or not. We have found that the setting of the closed office, although it can be defined in the abstract as physically indicating a privacy situation, is heavily influenced in terms of privacy value by the cues of the activity that is being

engaged in within the physical space and the response of the person so engaged. Thus, as was hypothesized, there is a relation between activity, response, and the definition of privacy. Some activities in and of themselves seem to have a privacy value attached to them. However, these are not the only activities that can function as cues to privacy, that is, to define a situation as private. It has been demonstrated in this study that certain activities without such strong cultural definitions - such as working - can in concert with a physical setting, the closed office,' define a situation as private. The response cue may operate either to amplify the privacy value of the activity cue when the response is angry, or to vitiate the privacy value when the response is mild. However, unfortunately,as was mentioned in the results section, the lack of a significant interaction leaves the operation of the response cues, in regard to privacy definition, unclear. This study did not unequivically demonstrate the role of the response cue. The possibility was not ruled out that just the experience of facing an angry confederate might have been responsible for the disruption of the Bender performance, aside from any effect of privacy invasion. The hypothesized role of the response cue in privacy definition is, however, suggested by the results from the projection - angry condition, where anger does not seem to disrupt Bender performance, but this is not definitely established, and thus the following discussion of this cue must be considered hypothetical and not proven.

The action of the response cue might be conceived of as an individual definition mechanism. By this it is meant that the response of the individual infringed upon functions as his own personal decision as to whether he considers his privacy to have been invaded. If he displays anger, he indicates that he feels his private space has been violated; if he displays an unconcerned, helpful attitude, he is indicating that he does not feel his space and privacy to have been invaded. In situations were neither the setting nor the activity presents any justification for or indication that privacy has been invaded, such as in PA and PM, the response cue does not seem to function in the same way. We have noted that subjects do not feel that privacy is a consideration in these conditions and that they felt the anger display to be indicative of unpleasantness on the part of the displayer. In the conditions that we created to control for the effect of mere interruption, then, we found no significant degree of emotional upset and an apparent discounting of the response cue to the personality of the person interrupted.

The operation of the response cue in our study does seem to bear some resemblance to the operation of the threat display in studies of territoriality upon which its use was based. In the natural setting of animals, the threat display appears to have a much clearer and greater effect upon the recipient when there is a question of territorial defense (FAA) than when there is a meeting on "public" grounds.

One other issue which should be dealt with is a discrepancy which appeared between the behavioral findings of this study and the verbal rankings observed in the pilot study. Results from this ranking indicated the FA activity cue would be a more effective privacy cue than the SL activity cue. This seemed to make sense, as sexual behavior seemed to be more private an activity than sleeping. However, behaviorally, no difference was found between these activities as privacy cues.

Two points seem pertinent to the difference between the verbal and behavioral outcomes:

First, once again we have clear evidence that verbal prediction of action in a hypothetical situation may be quite different from the behavior actually performed by the S when he is in the situation. This is not a new finding, but it should serve us a further caution against putting too much faith in results based solely upon verbal predictions of a subject's behavior if he was in a real situation.

Second, the results suggest that, perhaps sleeping is as private an activity as is sexual play. Certainly one engages in the very private activities of dreaming and fantasizing when sleeping. No other person is privy to these intrapsychic contents unless the dreamer chooses to share his experiences with another. Thus walking in on another person who is sleeping is disrupting someone who is engaged in a very private activity.[20]

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20. This possibility was suggested by Dr. Maxine Wolfe in a personal communication.

Whether or not this is in fact true, its plausibility in concert with the behavioral results of the present study make it a viable alternative to the expectation, based on cultural proscriptions and verbal report, that sexual play is more private than sleeping.

Another possibility relevant to the discrepancy between verbal and behavioral results which has not previously been considered, I feel should be commented upon. This possibility was suggested by the non-significant reversal of the effectiveness of the FA and SL cues along the Angry curve in Figure 2. More substantial indication of a potentially important factor operating in this study was produced in the post-experimental interview. What is being suggested as a factor is the perceived legitimacy of the activity cue in terms of how the cue operates as a privacy signal and as a basis for a claim to privacy.

Specifically what is being considered is the fact that there seems to be a relationship between the physical setting of a behavior and the cues produced by the occupants of that setting in terms of defining the privacy of the situation. Hypothetically, a legitimacy factor would operate on the effectiveness of the privacy cues in the context of a specified physical setting. The crucial question might then be, regarding the claim to privacy, is that activity a legitimate or appropriate one to occur in that physical setting. This hypothesis would be consistent with the ordering of the Bender-Gestalt scores depicted in Fig.2.

Were such a factor operating one could predict such a cue-effectiveness reversal. However, since this reversal was not found to be significant here, and the only hard evidence is based on subject response in the post-experimental interview, I will not expand further on this notion in the body of this report. The legitimacy hypothesis does seem to be most worthy of further research and will be left for a more definit definitive treatment in the future.[21]

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21. A fuller consideration of the legitimacy hypothesis and apparent cue effectiveness reversal as well as suggestions for future research can be found in Appendix F.

IX. Summary and Conclusions

We have heretofore discussed our results and some possible suggestions for future research. In concluding, let us summarize major findings and provide a few additional suggestions for further studies. Evidence indicates the importance of activity cue in defining a potentially private physical setting as indeed being private. The activity that one engages in and possibly the response one shows toward potential interactors function in crucial ways to determine whether or not privacy is claimed, and probably whether or not that claim will be respected. It is suggested that the effectiveness of these cues may further be related to the physical setting in which they are produced, in terms of their legitimacy in that situation. Further research is called for in elaborating on these results and in fact illuminating the existence and operation of the legitimacy factor, and in cleaning up the actual role of the response cue. Beyond these suggestions, the theoretical work upon which this study was based also provides suggestions for other research studies that can add to the results discovered here.

The work of Kurt Lewin suggests a number of cultural differences that should be found in terms of reactions to privacy invasions. What he considered the German or G-type personality, i.e., one that is private on most levels, should be less affected by changes in the situation (cue and physical setting changes) that should a U-type, or more

open personality, which has more publicly accessible personality levels. More personality levels should be engaged by situational changes in the U-type than in the G-type and, therefore, the U-type should exhibit greater differences in his behavior as a function of the situation. This prediction rests upon the assumption that the greater area of private regions within the G-type personality results in his bringing more of his uniquely individual characteristics to each situation. If a U-type was outside a situation which appeared to him to belong to the private sphere of another, he would be more reticent about entering than the G-type who would have less sensitivity to the differences in the situation defining privacy. This might show up as a difference in the willingness of subjects to enter a physical setting based on their cultural personality type. One might also expect to find less variability in response to actually having invaded privacy, i.e., perhaps the G-type would react in all-or-nothing manner as opposed to the graded results one would expect based on the findings of this study. (23)

Another fruitful approach in indicated by Schwartz. He suggested the possibility of mapping privacy locales in terms of mutual expectations regarding invasions of physical areas as a function of the types of interpersonal bonds existing among the residents of a space.(37) One could also map the places within common physical settings where individuals claim and achieve areas of privacy. Legitimacy

might also be illuminated by the mapping of findings showing which areas are considered private, for which people, engaging in what behaviors.

Many other equally valuable studies obviously may be conducted in search of further illumination and discovery of new variables which affect the state and definition of privacy. If there is any absolute conclusion that can be reached at present, it is that there is a growing need to understand privacy and its functions and that much yet remains to be discovered.

Appendix A:

List of Equipment

1. Wire-wound 10,00052 rotary potentiometer modified to vary resistance as a function of door revolution about a fixed axis.
2. 1.5 Volt dry cell as power source for the door circuit.
3. Heath EUW - 20A Servo Recorder.
4. Lafayette Electric-Eye and photo receptor cells.
5. Electric Hundredth Second Timer operated via a relay by the Electric-eye apparatus.
6. 1/5 second stop-watch.
7. Portable cassette Sony TC 120 Recorder.
8. Standard size Tandberg Model 84 Tape Recorder.
9. Slide Projector.
10. Bender-Gestalt Test-Kit.

Appendix B:

Sample from Paired-Associates Pilot Study

F. A person opens the door to an office that is not his own and walks in. Once inside he finds the occupant who he does not know engaged in work. His entrance startles the worker who accidentally knocks over the books he was using and scatters his papers on the floor in rising from his chair. The occupant responds angrily saying, "Do you always walk into whichever office you please?"

J. A person walks down a corridor which leads him through an open door and through a room he must traverse to get to an office where he has an appointment. Someone is projecting a movie across this open room, which the person must cross to get to the office. The projectionist turns off the projector and angrily asks, "Do you always walk wherever you please?"

D. A person opens the door to an office that is not his own and walks in. Once inside he finds that he has awakened the occupant of the office, who was sleeping and whom he does not know. The occupant angrily says, "Do you always walk into whichever office you please?"

L. A person ppens the door to an office that is not his own and walks in. Once inside he sees the occupant of the room at his desk reading a pornographic magazine. The occupant puts down the magazine and says angrily, "Do you always walk into whichever office you please?"

Appendix C:

Sample Subject Request Form

During the next few months we will be conducting a number of psychological studies dealing with various areas of interest ranging from manual dexterity to social consciousness. We are looking for students who will be willing to participate in these studies. In most cases the amount of time required will be minimal, probably not more than thirty minutes. If you are interested in joining in these studies, please fill out the lower half of this sheet and return it to your instructor as soon as possible. You will be contacted to arrange a time that will be convenient for you.

Thank you for your cooperation in reading this material.

NAME: _____

PHONE: _____

During which months will you be available?

August _____

September_____

October _____

What days are convenient?

Mon. _____

Tues._____

Wed. _____

Thurs. _____

Fri. _____

Sat. _____

Appendix D:

Scoring Manual for Bender-Gestalt Test

Scoring Standards for the Bender-Gestalt Test*

L.D. Goodstein, C.D. Spielberger, J.E. Williams, W.G. Dahlstrom

General Considerations for Scoring:

1. No criterion for scoring tone, expansion, constriction, organization, or page orientation of the recall records will be utilized.
2. Variables considered were line quality, dot quality, contiguity, rotation, and other variations.
3. The majority of the units must be acceptable.

Design A

1. Element must be approximately the same size. The horizontal diameter of the circle must be 1½ the size of the axis of the base element (the square).
2. The base element must be on the right.
3. The square element must touch the middle third of the circle without piercing, absorption, or separation.

Design 1

1. Units must be dots, not circles. However, if circles are very small and an attempt has been made to fill them in, score correct. If both dots and circles are present and if more than half have been filled in, socre correct.
2. Dots chould be approximately evenly spaced or paired.
3. There should be at least nine dots.

Design 2

1. Units must consist of more circles than dots.
2. Elements must have slant in the same direction as on stimulus card.
3. Angle of elements with a line through the bottom row of circles must be between 100-130 degrees.
4. Must have at least five elements.

Design 3

1. Units must be dots, not circles. However, if circles

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*Used by the authors in their study,"The effects of serial position and design difficulty on recall of the Bender-Gestalt Test designs." J.Consult. Psychol., 1955,19,230-234. Freely adapted from Peek, R.M., and Quest, W., A Scoring System for the Bender-Gestalt. Hastings, Minn. (Box 292).

Design 3 (cont'd.)
are very small and an attempt has been made to fill them in, score correct. If both dots and circles are present and if more than half have been filled in, score correct.
2. The angle formed by the four upper units of the elements with the axis must be 45 to 80 degrees. The line of units from the extreme to the axis may be slightly bowed.

Design 4
1. Element two must be at lower right corner of base element.
2. The middle third of element two must touch the base element (A maximum separation of 1mm. permitted).
3. The abscissa of element two should form an angle of 30 to 60 degrees with the axis.
4. The ends of element 2 should be continued out and/or up.

Design 5
1. Units must be dots (see criterion for Design 2).
2. Base element should be semicircular in form.
3. The axis must be at least half as long but not more than three times as long as the perpendicular distance from the axis to the most remote unit.
4. Lower ends of loops should not flare out.
5. Element two must be approximately in the form of a straight line which is 30 to 60 degrees to the axis and must not pierce the base element.

Design 6
1. The elements must intersect. The axis must be 0-30 degrees with the horizontal.
2. The diagonal element must intersect the axis to the right of center at an angle of 45 to 85 degrees.

Design 7
1. The elements must be elongated hexagons approximately equal in size (the largest axis no more than 1-1/3 of the smaller).
2. The base element is approxiamtely vertical (90-115 degrees).
3. The second element must <u>overlap</u> the base element but must not completely cross.
4. The acute angle between the axis of the overlapping elements must be 25-60 degrees.

Design 8
1. Horizontal elongated hexagon with a diamond approximately in the center.
2. No piercing, no absorption, no separation.
3. Diamond must intersect the middle fifth of the axis.

Appendix E:

Post Experimental Questionnaire with Representative Replies

How are you feeling?

FAA,SLA,RA - "All right" or "a little nervous"

FAM,SLM,RM,STA,STM,PA,PM - "All right"

Did you have any trouble getting her?

"Yes, I went to 323" or "Yes, I was told to go to the wrong place." Sometimes the addition of a story - "First I went to 104 and the girl told me to go to 323..."

What happened in there? (if not volunteered)

Described situation -- i.e., "Two people were kissing" or "Someone was sleeping and I disturbed", or "Some guy was just sitting there."

Did this experience bother you? -- Why?

FAA - In instances with B_G scores of 4 and under, "Yes"

"I wouldn't want to be interrupted" or

"They were, well, being intimate."

FAA - with scores of 5 and over, "No" - 3 instances

"It seemed like a set-up"

"They shouldn't have been doing that in an office building."

FAM - with scores of 3 and under, "Yes"

"The boy was very upset and I was embarrassed."

"I wouldn't want someone to walk in on me."

"I should have knocked."

FAM - with scores of 4 and over, "No"

"It seemed fake"

"I knocked"

"I was told to go to room 323"

SLA - with scores of 3 and under, "Yes"

"He was sleeping and I startled him - I know how I'd feel."

"He was sleeping"

SLA - with scores of 4 and over, "No"

"I was supposed to be there."

"He wasn't doing anything."

"He didn't seem to mind my being there."

RA - with scores of 3 and under,

"I really disturbed and frightened him.I wouldn't want someone to walk in on me."

"He was startled by my entry."

"He was doing something."

RA - with scores of 4 and over,

"I knocked"

"I was told to go to that room."

RM - with scores of 4 and over, "No"

"He wasn't doinganything."

"I knocked."

RM - with scores of 3 and under, "Yes"

"He was busy."

STA - three cases with score of 3, Typical response -

"Yes, he was angry."

STA - Twelve cases with score over 3, Typical response -

"No, but he was annoyed. He wasn't doing anything."

STM - "No, he wasn't doing anything."

PA - "No, he was a knucklehead." - one case

PM - "No, should I have been?"

(Only asked in those cases where the subject did not offer to talk about privacy when asked about the events in 323.)

Did you think you had invaded his (their) privacy? Why?

93% of those who had scores of 3 or less answered in the affirmative to being upset. Of these, 98% stated that they felt they had invaded privacy and re-iterated as the reason for feeling this way the same thing they upset them, i.e.,

"I wouldn't want someone to walk in on me."

"I disturbed his sleep."

"They were fooling around and I interrupted."

Of those who had scores of 4 or more, 96% stated that they were not upset by the events in 323 and virtually all of these people stated that they had not felt they had invaded anyone's privacy generally for one of three reasons:

"I was supposed to go there."

"The person in the room wasn't doing anything."

"I knocked before I entered."

What do you think this study is about?

"Memory"

"Perception of objects in 323."

Appendix F:

Hypothetical Considerations

The apparent reversal in the effectiveness of the FA and SL cues could be a function of the role of cultural definitions of privacy. Sexual behavior seems to be defined by our culture as a more private and more important behavior than is sleeping. It could be that because of this, possible difference in clarity and magnitude of privacy value, the response cue or the personal definition is less effective in ameliorating the effect of the activity cue in the FAM condition. Even though the confederate is, if effect, saying, "Don't worry, you didn't invade my privacy and I'm not upset," the subject's own culturally produced value system says, "It is wrong to disturb people engaged in a sexual behavior." Thus, the subject is less able to accept the confederate's definition of the situation as not being private. In the SLM condition, the cultural definition is neither so clear nor so strong and so the personal definition is more easily accepted, at least to some degree. This supposition, of course, goes contrary to the results of the Newman-Keuls test and assumes that the difference is not merely a function of chance which is the most probable explanation since the magnitude of the difference is quite small. In fact, the only reason any supposition is tendered is due to the fact that though the magnitude of the difference is small, its direction reversal and the interview data seem to

indicate that perhaps there is something important operating and so should be considered. The next obvious question in the light of this explanation however, is why then should it be suggested that FAA might be less effective than SLA in signalling privacy? Before addressing this very reasonable question, we would like to discuss some of the factors that might lead to the rejection of the confederate's definition of the situation; i.e., to the effectiveness of the activity and response cues on the Ss.

What we are referring to here are the instances in which a subject in the post-experimental interview stated that he felt that he had not invaded privacy and which produced decreases in the disruption of performance on the Bender-Gestalt test. As was mentioned in the results section, the reasons most often alluded to concerned the cues of activity and confederate response; however, in some cases other reasons were offered. In this "other" group, there were three categories that were most often presented. The lease common reason for feeling that no privacy invasion had occurred had to do with time spent in the invasion site. That is, the subject said, for example, "I was only in there for a second." This might relate to a cultural idiosyncrasy in terms of privacy definitions on the order of having to have completely entered the room before considering that one had intruded. (13) Presumably, if one was in the room for only a short period of time, the disturbance caused as a result of the intrusion

would be minimal. If this is the case, then the temporal relationship to privacy experience would be intimately related to the activity variable.

A somewhat more common reason given for not feeling one had invaded privacy had to do with the announcement of the intrusion. A few subjects stated that, "I knocked before I went in". Apparently the act of knocking reduces one's responsibility for interrupting someone in a closed off space. This was particularly interesting in view of the fact that subjects were told that the rooms were soundproofed and thus the occupant would not hear anyone knocking. It should also be pointed out that the subject entered after knocking even though there was no response to that knock from the occupant that would grant permission to enter. Perhaps this phenomenon could be related to Goffman's idea about the backstage and the ability if gives the occupant to discard his mask, thus disqualifying himself from readiness to interact. By knocking, the subject is in a sense signalling the occupant that he will enter and thus tells the occupant to don his mask once again. Beyond this, it might be that the knock changes the locus of responsibility from the intruder to the occupant. That is,if the occupant cannot recompose himself, it is his responsibility to signal the potential invader that his entrance is not desired, or at least to defer the entrance to a later time. If these considerations are in fact in operation, than it is quite possible that the act of knocking can beoome ritualized and

its performance sufficient to waive the added responsibility of waiting for the response to the signal. Again, as in the case of the temporal variable, the analysis presented is based on supposition and thus is in need of conformation from future research.

The final category that was used with some frequency had to do with volition. Subjects in a few cases responded as if they had no choice in their actions and because of this lack of volition also could bear no responsibility. For example, a typical response in this category was, "I was told to go into 323." The subject's disregard for the ambiguity and lack of authority behind the direction to try 323 to see if that was where the experiment was being held should be noted. This suggestion was taken as an order to enter 323 which they were bound to follow and therefore could not be held responsible for the consequence of that act. This kind of result bears a strong resemblance to a number of results that Milgram found in his studies on obedience where subjects, when relieved of responsibility, became much more obedient. In the film of that study, one subject appeared to feel that he, in fact, had stopped following the experimenter's orders after the point at which the experimenter said the learner's safety was the experimenter's responsibility. We also have a case where freedom of choice is connected to privacy in a different aspect than the one that Proshansky, Ittelson, and Rivlin considered. Those authors felt that freedom of choice was intimately

related to the feeling that one had privacy. Here we may have some evidence that it is also intimately related to the experience that one has invaded someone else's privacy. If one feels that his action of intruding into a closed-off space was not done of his own choice, then he cannot have been held to have invaded the privacy of the occupant of that space. This conception would also seem worthy of further study to understand the relationship of freedom of choice to the responsibility for privacy invasions.

Let us how return to the question formerly posed as to why the FAA condition could possibly be less effective in producing feelings of privacy invasion than the SLA condition. It is suggested that such a result, if it could be empirically established, would be indicative of another variable operating on the definition of privacy. This variable will here be termed the"legitimacy factor". Evidence from this study indicates that there is a definite relationship between the physical setting of a behavior and the cues produced by the occupants of that setting in terms of defining the privacy of that situation. Specifically, in a potentially private physical setting, the closed office, the eventual effective definition of whether privacy is involved in an entrance to that physical space depends upon the activity and possibly the response cues of the occupant of that setting. The legitimacy factor is hypothesized to operate on the effectiveness of those cues within the con-

text of that physical setting. The crucial question may be, is that activity a legitimate one to occur in that physical setting?

Undoubtedly the FAA condition, being representative of sexual behavior, constitutes a culturally defined private behavior. What has to be asked is, does that behavior seem appropriate to the location in which it is being performed? It was noted that there were two very extreme atypical results found in the measurement of the exit time of subjects in the FAA condition. Connected with these extreme times were comments in the post-experimental interview indicating that the subjects felt that they had not invaded privacy because the confederates "should not" have been engaged in that kind of behavior in an office building. The subjects felt that the confederates had no right to engage in sexual activity within that physical setting and thus were not entitled to any consideration of their privacy. The SLA condition was not so affected because sleeping is acceptable or legitimate in the physical setting. It is quite understandable that a person engaged in important work in his office might feel the need to, and have the right to nap for a bit so that he may continue his work. Thus in the SLA condition there would be no reason to deny the occupant's right to his privacy and hence no way of avoiding the consequences of having invaded that privacy. The two or three subjects who suggested the effect of the legitimacy factor in the FAA condition tended to discount the privacy of the

situation in spite of the activity going on, and this influenced the results in both the Bender-Gestalt scores and in the exit time measure.

What is being suggested is that the anger displayed in the FAA condition when it was considered illegitimate further tenuated the subject's empathy with the confederates, in fact that the anger acted as it seemed to in the PA condition. The anger would seem inappropriate if displayed as a response to the interruption of an activity that was illegitimate in the first place. This inappropriate anger might tend to make the subject feel the confederates were personally unpleasant and hence further add to his feeling that there was no reason to feel guilty about his action. In fact, there is some evidence for this is that one subject did state that she thought the people in 323 were decidedly unpleasant. She even voiced this feeling while she was still in Room 323.

In the FAM condition, although the subject may also consider the behavior illegitimate, he may be denied the privilege of totally discounting the privacy of the situation by the apparent reasonableness of the confederates. The result being hypothesized is that the subject may not be as affected by the activity cue if the activity is considered illegitimate. Again it must be noted that the evidence for the operation of the legitimacy factor showed up in only a few subjects and so we are talking about a few results

that appeared as a non-significant difference in scores. However, taking these results together with the evidence for the post-experimental interview, I feel that there may be real substance to the legitimacy factor which merits further research. An additional suggestion as to the reality of this factor may be adduced from a study done on the judged privacy invasion by test items. It was found in this study that the judged invasion of privacy of the test items on a psychological test varied with the judged benefit of the inquiry. When benefits were dubious, as in the case of test use for judicial purposes, judged invasion of privacy increased. (41) This would seem to be dealing with how legitimate the respondents considered the activity to be. This concerns the legitimacy of the invasion of the test whereas our subjects were dealing with the legitimacy of the behavior they invaded and, therefore, reflexively, the legitimacy of their own invasion.

The relationship between privacy cues, the physical setting, and the legitimacy factor may exist on a graded continuum. For example, we could suppose a high privacy combination such as sexual behavior in a bedroom (privacy cues and legitimate in setting), a medium combination such as sexual behavior in an office (privacy cues but not legitimate), and a low combination such as sexual behavior in the public square (privacy cues but highly illegitimate) to constitute such a continuum. The last combination also presents an interesting possibility, that is, the case where

the privacy of the viewer is violated by the activity of the performers of a private behavior. This is a case considered in the legal code as indecent public behavior. In regard to a continuum, we have the option of varying the privacy cues, activity and/or response, and/or the physical setting which in concert determine the operation of the legitimacy factor. Research along these lines could provide some hard evidence as to the existance of a legitimacy factor.

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