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**The Personality Correlates of Projective and Behavioral
Social Distance Among White College Women**

by

Robert F. Massey

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfill-
ment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City Univer-
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1976

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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Abstract

This study first examined the relationships among attitudes, projective social distance, proxemic seating distances, and interpersonal interaction. And secondly it assessed the personality and social correlates of the above measures.

Fifty-six white, female undergraduates served as subjects. The Projective Social Distance Booklet (in which the subjects indicated the desired closeness between fourteen pairs of figures comprised of black female, black male, self, white female, white male), a modified Schuman-Harding Sympathy scale, subscales of the Woodmansee-Cook Racial Attitude Inventory, and the Embedded Figures Test were group administered by an outside researcher.

The subjects signed up for an interview and brought a completed questionnaire containing the Keniston alienation scales and measures of authoritarianism, anomy, affiliation, autonomy, social recognition, desirability, acquiescence, and self-esteem with them. They were asked to wait with a confederate at a rectangular table seating ten people (half encountered a black and half a white female confederate).

Towards the end of ten minutes the confederate invited the subject to a coffee break, or, if she declined, to exchange telephone numbers. The experimenter then collected two TAT stories. Afterwards the subjects agreeing to a coffee break went with the confederate. At the coffee break, the subject was invited to a party and asked to call the con-

federate that evening. Seating positions in the waiting room and at the coffee break were recorded as proxemic measures, and the confederates gave their impressions of the subjects on twenty-six bipolar adjectives. During a debriefing the subjects could sign permits for photographs with a black male.

Projective social distance measures, proxemic seating distances, and social interaction were found to not be significantly related. And attitudes did not consistently predict cross-racial interaction. An analysis of variance of the fourteen projective social distance measures revealed main effects for race, self vs. other, and sex and a significant interaction between race and sex. A higher proportion of subjects agreed to the black than to the white confederate's requests for telephone numbers, for a coffee break, and for attending a party at her house, but the same number telephoned to confirm it.

Several personality and social correlates were associated with both projective and behavioral social distance. The personality variables correlating with projective and behavioral social distance included the alienation subscales of Distrust, Unstructured Universe, and Interpersonal Alienation as well as Autonomy, Acquiescence, Authoritarianism, Anomy, and two tolerance subscales, Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. Personality correlates were linked more with behavioral interaction with the black confederate and with the ratings of the subjects by the white confederate. Field independence

was somewhat connected with greater projective social distance, but not with behavioral interaction. Authoritarianism inhibited interaction with the black confederate, but encouraged it with the white confederate.

The social correlates associated with projective and behavioral social distance consisted of the prestige of one's father's occupation and of one's expected profession, mother's educational level, political orientation, and Southern or Eastern vs. Northern or Western European ancestry. A multivariate strategy combining personality and social variables better predicted social distance measures than did a bivariate approach, though personality variables often accounted for more of the variance.

Since projective social distance, proxemics, behavioral interaction, racial attitudes, and cross-racial sympathetic identification showed few relationships to each other, and since a multivariate strategy combining personality and social correlates was generally effective in predicting social distance, the study suggests that a more comprehensive approach using behavioral and situational data as well as the person's conscious and preconscious social psychological dynamics and his perception of the specific situation might prove useful in understanding the complexity of projective and behavioral social distance.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Human beings experience feelings of closeness and distance, affection and aversion in their associations with other people. We often express our feelings towards others in our behavior, whether it be a warm embrace, a standing back, or a turning away from others. Though most people engage in both intimate and more formal relationships to some degree, we notice that some persons seem to be more disposed towards closer, friendlier relationships while others remain more distant and aloof. Cross-cultural studies have shown that various cultures socialize their members to maintain typical normative distances in various types of interaction. Still other research has indicated that personality as well as social norms influence how a person both feels about interaction and actually behaves in interpersonal situations. This study will explore the interrelationship of personality and social interaction, both as imagined and as demonstrated behaviorally.

Previous studies on social distance (Bogardus, 1925; Triandis, 1960, 1964; Koslin et al. 1971) have shown that normative expectations about appropriate racial and sexual social distances between both similar and dissimilar persons exist. Though the pervasiveness of racism and sex role stereotypes has been thoroughly documented (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967; Jones, 1972; Harris, 1970; Weisstein, 1969), the individual whether black or white, female or male, may respond to the social situation differentially according to

his or her personality. For within the sociocultural structure personality variables may function to induce compliance or to promote autonomy in the person's reaction to social norms (Asch, 1958; Angyal, 1969). Personality may shape perception to alter a person's interpretation of or projected and actual behavior in social reality (Combs and Snygg, 1959). Johnson (1966) observed that whites who were more closely involved with Afro-Americans view themselves as differing from other whites in their perceptions of both black people and social roles. Research on prejudiced and tolerant people suggests that various personality constellations approach ethnic groups other than one's own in differential ways (Adorno et al. 1950; Bettelheim and Janowitz, 1964; Williams, 1964; Katz and Benjamin, 1958; Weitz, 1972).

Adler proposed that both individual interpretation and situational determinants contribute to holistic behavior (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956). In an effort to understand the interaction between the individual and social norms in interracial situations, Robert K. Merton (1949) has constructed a four-fold typology stating that personality dispositions (prejudice or tolerance) and behavior (discrimination or nondiscrimination) will be congruent or discontinuous depending on the salience of situational cues and reinforcements. Thus race and sex serve not merely as "role signs" (Banton, 1967) specifying the exact behavior they will cue off, but as indicators of normative expectations that will be complied with or avoided autonomously depending on the

response of the person-in-situation to them.

The findings of LaPiere (1934) and Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (1952) demonstrate that behavior cannot be unequivocally predicted from attitudes, but the results of DeFleur and Westie's (1958) study show that some correspondence between attitudes and behavior does exist. Cook and Selltiz (1964) recommend a multiple-indicator approach to attitude measurement, and Campbell and Fiske (1959) suggest that a theoretical explanation can best be validated both congruently and discriminantly through a multitrait-multimethod approach. Triandis and Triandis (1967) have provided one of the few multivariate analyses of the personality correlates of social distance.

Social distance can be looked at from two angles. First, we can consider social distance as an attitude--the closeness a person imagines he would maintain in relation to a target person. Second, the behavioral level of intimacy--whether it be seating distance or taking part in a joint task--that is displayed in an actual encounter with another person can be gauged. And a researcher can investigate what personality variables tend to be associated with each aspect of social distance. This study proposed to examine the personality correlates of social distance not only through multivariate analysis but multidimensionally (both as social distance is perceived projectively and as it is acted out behaviorally).

In the following pages, we shall first review previous

studies on social distance and its possible personality correlates. Secondly, we shall propose hypotheses and a research design that will test the relationships between social distance and personality variables. Thirdly, we will summarize the results of the study. And finally we shall discuss the implications of this research.

Review of the Literature

Social Interaction, Imagined and Behavioral

An observer of human interaction notices that people often phantasize and verbalize differing degrees of comfort about associating with various people or groups of people. And people consistently arrange themselves spatially according to the intimacy or nature of their relationships. Both the distance that one imagines one would preserve between self and another and the actual distance that one maintains in social interaction have received considerable attention from social scientists. Robert E. Park (1924) introduced the concept "social distance" to provide an assessment of one's psychological willingness to engage in various relationships with others, particularly among ethnic and racial groups. For Park social distance meant the "grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy that characterize personal and social relations." Edward T. Hall (1969) coined the term "proxemics" to describe the physical interpersonal distances between and orientations among people, especially as these are influenced by one's socialization in a culture.

Social Distance

Bogardus (1925), a student of Park's, attempted to measure the social distance that people perceive between themselves and other groups of people. He defined social distance as "the degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other." Bogardus ascertained the willingness with which his subjects would admit members of different ethnic groups to varying degrees of association with them (from "would exclude from my country" to

acceptance "to close kinship by marriage"). The subjects placed check marks in those categories that they considered applicable to each group. Bogardus observed that the desired closeness of contact varies according to the ethnic identity of the target subject.

Brein and Rybach (1970) have summarized the findings of 78 studies on social distance since Bogardus. They note that the results depend first on the characteristics of the stimulus person and of the respondents and secondly on the perceived similarity between the two. Hill (1953) remarks that Park's conception of social distance as a mental construct or heuristic device "provides a convenient and useful frame of reference for studying the subtle psychological defense mechanism of individuals and groups in symbolic interaction" (p. 304). But he criticizes this line of research on three counts, first for assuming linearity along the continuum of interaction possibilities since research findings indicate that Bogardus' hierarchy is not universally applicable, secondly for presenting social distance as a static psychological description unrelated to the dynamics both of social structure and of socialized personalities, and thirdly for presupposing that attitudes as tendencies or predispositions to action result automatically in behavior. Hill advocates interdisciplinary studies of social distance that "place greater emphasis on actual behavior of groups in dynamic symbolic interaction... in order to uncover the total mobilization and orientation of the individual as he has been sensitized to enter into relations with others" (p. 300). Hill implies that we need to both distin-

guish and to relate social distance and proxemics as they function in concretely existing persons.

After evaluating the literature on social distance, Triandis and Triandis (1960) concluded that race, religion, nationality, occupation, and political ideology often function as determinants of social distance. They endeavored to discover how these characteristics in combination interact to influence the total social distance score. They found that the various combinations of characteristics (e.g., "French physician, white, and of different religion") were responded to reliably by their subjects. The social class, religion, national background, and level of prejudice as shown by their F scale scores of the respondents themselves appeared to moderate the perception of social distance between groups.

Rokeach (1960) contends that belief rather than race influences social distance more. Rokeach and Mezel (1966) tested the "belief congruence hypothesis" in three experiments, two on a college campus and the third in an employment office. They found some support for their position, but their measure of social distance--willingness to take a coffee break with discussion partners--was one-dimensional and not particularly intimate.

Triandis (1964) factor analyzed the responses of 120 subjects to the appropriateness of many types of interactions with various stimulus persons. Five factors emerged--1) Formal Social Acceptance with Subordination (e.g., "cooperate in political campaign with," "praise suggestions of"), 2) Marital Acceptance, 3) Same-sex Friendship Acceptance, 4) Hostile Acceptance (e.g., "prohibit from voting," "exclude from

my neighborhood"), and 5) Interaction with Superiors-Subordinates (e.g., "work for," "treat as a subordinate"). The appearance of five factors underscores the multidimensionality of social distance. Triandis and Davis (1965) examined the relevance of belief and race for the five factors just described. On Formal Social Acceptance belief precedes race as the more important element, and on Marital Acceptance race succeeds sex, but on Friendship Acceptance, Social Distance, and Subordination race outweighs belief. Thus a thorough analysis of social distance needs to consider several respondent-stimulus characteristics as well as various types of both positive and negative interaction possibilities.

Triandis and Triandis (1965) noted that subjects scoring high on social distance tended to be more often lower than middle class, more likely to have a Northern or Western than a Southern or Eastern European background, to be less sophisticated or broad in perspective as measured by the California F-scale, and to be more insecure about their own merit and to feel threatened by opposing beliefs. High social distance scorers also gave more "acquiescent" or "extreme" responses to statements on attitude questionnaires, displayed little independence of judgment (on the Barron scale), and showed a lower tolerance of ambiguity (on the Budner scale).

Hill (1953) argues for the use of interviews and projective techniques rather than objective indices in the assessment of social distance. Koslin et al (1971) developed a projective social distance measure for use with school children. Each child was given a booklet containing a series of pairs of figures on each page representing the various permutations

of age (child, adult), race (black, white), and sex. Each subject was asked to rate the similarity between the two figures on each page by placing them as close as the respondent deemed them akin to each other. Behaviorally observable differences emerged from the analysis of variance of the results. This study of projective social distance continues the Bogardus-inspired line of research since it gauges the imagined social differentiations between people, but it initiates a new development in that it pictorializes close or distant relationships.

Massey and Massey (1975) have developed an instrument for measuring the projective social distance considered appropriate for self and others across race and sex. The Projective Social Distance Booklet consists of fourteen pairs of figures that comprise all the combinations of five figures representing black female, black male, white female, white male, and self. The subject draws a vertical line through the horizontal line extending all the way across the page as close to the figure on the left as the subject believes the two figures would be comfortable being together. The pairs of figures have been drawn facing each other rather than the testee in order to induce a kinesthetic reaction in the respondent who can "project" himself into placing the figures near or far away through "the attribution of qualities, feelings, attitudes, experiences, and strivings of one's own to objects (people or things) of the environment" (Schachtel, 1966, p. 10).

Proxemics

Through careful and painstaking observation and interview Hall (1969) has discovered that four definable proxemic distances are used in the interaction between human beings. Hall explains that "[H]ow people are feeling toward each other at the time...[governs] a uniform way of handling distance from the fellows,...[and] the regularity of distances is the consequence of sensory shifts" (pp. 113-114). A person's "perception of space is dynamic because it is related to action--what can be done in a given space" (p. 115). Since action possibilities change as persons alter the distance between themselves, people possess "situational personalities" that generally respond according to prereflective culturally sanctioned patterns. Hall lists the four distances as 1) intimate, 2) personal, 3) social, and 4) public.

Each of the four distances has a close and a far phase. In intimate distance the partners can readily exchange sensory stimulation and become physically involved with each other. The close phase occurs within six inches, and the far phase ranges from six to eighteen inches. A person generally maintains "a protective sphere or bubble" between himself and others. In the close phase of personal distance (one and a half to two and a half feet), one can still touch the dyadic partner, but in the far phase (two and a half to four feet), people are literally at arm's length, thus limiting physical domination but promoting the discussion of topics of personal interest and involvement. At social distance touch requires an effort on the part of both partners, yet convers-

tion is quite possible. In the close phase (four to seven feet) details of skin texture can still be perceived clearly and impersonal business is transacted while in the far phase (seven to twelve feet) the finest details of the face can no longer be discerned, and business and social discourse of a more formal character takes place at a voice level noticeably louder than for the close phase. At the latter distance one "can continue to work in the presence of another person without appearing to be rude" (p. 123). At public distance people need not be involved with each other. In the close phase (twelve to twenty-five feet) where the body begins to look flat rather than round and eye color cannot be determined, interaction takes place in a louder voice and in a more formal style. The far phase (twenty-five or more feet) is used on public occasions, and the voice must be raised or amplified with gestures and bodily stance conveying the nonverbal aspects of communication. Hall adds that "measured distances vary somewhat with differences in personality and environmental factors" (e.g., noise level and illumination) (p. 116).

Robert Sommer (1969) writes that "the spacing of individuals in small groups is not random but follows from the personality and cultural backgrounds of the individuals involved, what they are doing, and the nature of the physical setting. Stated more simply, we can say that spatial arrangements in small groups are functions of personality, task, and environment" (p. 68). According to Sommer, Steinzar (1950) inaugurated the systematic study of spatial factors in face-to-face interaction. In his book Personal Space (1969) Sommer summarizes the research on "small group ecology." Russo (1967)

found that students rating diagrams of seating arrangements at rectangular tables indicated less acquaintance, friendliness, and talkativeness for the more distant positions, except when increased eye contact offset greater distance. When questioned about the psychological intimacy of seating positions, 100 college students in each of five countries (United States, England, Holland, Sweden, and Pakistan) agreed on the rank order of psychological closeness and remoteness from side by side, followed by corner seating, face-to-face, and distant or catty-corner arrangements. McNeill discovered that the quality of the relationship rather than the topic discussed determines seating arrangements at a rectangular table. Sommer noted that students at rectangular tables who were conversing preferred a corner (42%) or face-to-face (46%) arrangement while co-actors (at the same table but not interacting) occupied places at a distance, separated spatially and visually (59%).

Williams (1963) disclosed that introverts tend to keep others at greater conversational distances and do extroverts. Leipold (1963) noticed that subjects receiving praise sat closer to the experimenter than those in a neutral condition and that those under stress from having received blame distanced themselves the most, with the introverted and anxious subjects staying the furthest away. Rosenfeld (1965) induced more interpersonal proximity in subjects instructed to seek approval by being friendly nonverbally than in those directed to communicate unfriendliness nonverbally.

Personality Variables

Alienation

The basic meaning of the concept "alienation" implies that a person is somehow disconnected or distanced from himself, other people, social events, or the world. Gould (1969) has described alienation as "experienced estrangements." It hardly surprises us to think that alienation may be implicated in the phenomenon of social distance, but we need to define more precisely how and what aspects of alienation are associated with interpersonal distancing.

Schacht (1970) has provided an integrative overview of the writing on alienation. He has examined the philosophical (mainly Hegel and Marx), psychological (especially Fromm and Horney), and sociological analyses of alienation. He points out that alienation has both negative and positive connotations. On the positive side, Schachtel (1959) has indicated that becoming unembedded from the familiar leads to the discovery of uniqueness, including self-identity, and Parsons and Shils (1951) view alienation as the opposite of conformity. Schacht raises the questions of whether alienation is unidimensional or multidimensional and whether all that is encompassed under the rubric alienation should be, e.g., societal or interpersonal alienation, dissatisfaction with associates, felt inability to influence social-structural events, and disillusion. Schacht emphasizes the root meaning of alienation as a "process of becoming alienated." He judges the use of the term alienation for the two concepts of the nonacceptance of societal values and of dissociation from popular culture as probably most appropriate, for they

are consonant with both the root meaning of the word and with Hegel's formulation of alienation as the disruption of the relationship of the individual with the social substance.

The question of the unidimensionality or multidimensionality deserves some consideration since it touches on both theoretical and methodological issues. Seeman (1959) focusing chiefly on expectation and value, documented the need from a social-psychological point of view for an initial separation of at least five logically distinguishable usages of the term alienation. He differentiated powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. Neal and Rettig (1963) examined two of Seeman's components--normlessness and powerlessness--with factor analysis. Cartwright (1965) criticized Neal and Rettig for claiming that the two dimensions of alienation they studied were orthogonal when they performed only an orthogonal analysis. He states that orthogonality can be tested as an hypothesis only after allowing for obliqueness. For one can derive orthogonal factors by constraining rotations, but this does not constitute a test of orthogonality. Rather before proceeding to truly test orthogonality, one should demonstrate near-zero correlations in an oblique solution. Cartwright recommends inspecting the first unrotated factor to ascertain if it is unidimensional.

Taking Cartwright's critique into account, Neal and Rettig (1959) reexamined the unidimensional-multidimensional nature of alienation. They inferred that one first- or second-order factor explaining a considerable portion of the common variance provides evidence for alienation as a single dimen-

sion whereas additional first- or second-order group factors supply mathematical support for a multidimensional structure. Yet on different levels of abstraction alienation can be both multidimensional and unidimensional, for several components clearly specifiable in a lower-order structure may coalesce into a general, more abstract conception of alienation, and the results on both levels will be complementary. Nineteen of the twenty-nine alienation items used loaded on the first first-order factor; this indicated some relatedness, but also some separability of alienation items. Using an Oblimax criterion, Neal and Rettig obtained a range of correlations among the alienation items from $-.58$ to $.44$, with a mean absolute correlation of $.32$. They decided that if the intercorrelations of the oblique factors exceeded $.30$, they could perform a second-order analysis. Five of the intercorrelations surpassed $.30$, so a second-order operation that yielded a general alienation factor was carried out. Neal and Rettig conclude that predictable differentials with behavioral consequences among several criteria groups probably constitutes the best empirical demonstration of the separability of alienation constructs.

Ziller (1969) has observed an alienation syndrome that includes low self-esteem, low social interest, and high self-centrality (perception of the social environment from the point of view of the perceiver rather than of significant others). The alienated seem not to be accepted as members within a specific subgroup and consequently perceive themselves as unguided individuals in an uncharted environment. The process leading from exclusion to the alienation syndrome

can become a self-fulfilling prophecy since sociometrically unchosen children often have low self-esteem.

Keniston (1965a) has observed that the attitude of alienation ranges along a continuum from alienation to conformism. Also each individual generally manifests various alienations and conformisms and is thus not uniformly alienated or conforming. Keniston remarks that an important question centers around whom (or what) the person is alienated from. In an attempt to tap the multidimensionality of individual alienation, Keniston (1965b) has formulated items for eleven alienation scales. Some of the scales have only an alienation component, and others possess a set of questions relating to the positive contrary of the alienation theme. The scale titles occur as follows: Distrust vs. Trust, Pessimism vs. Optimism, Avowed Hostility, Unstructured Universe vs. Structured Universe, Outsider, Subspecion, Vacillation vs. Resoluteness, Self-Contempt vs. Self-Respect, Interpersonal Alienation, Social Alienation vs. Social Participation, and Cultural Alienation vs. Cultural Commitment. The scales also yield an acquiescence score.

Self-Esteem

Social psychological and self theorists have written extensively on the relationship between attitudes towards one's self and others. Fromm (1947) has described love or hostility toward both oneself and another as conjunctive phenomena. People who are destructive toward others are also hostile toward themselves, and one can love another only to the extent that one appreciates oneself. Horney (1950) also observed that insecurity about one's true worth and capacities distorts the

perception of others. Only a person who is realistically aware of and comfortable with himself as he is has the inner certainty necessary to value and relate to other individuals positively.

Rogers (1951) proposes that self-acceptance leads one to regard another person as a separate individual with his own meanings and perspective on reality. On the other hand, the defensive person sees others only as potential threats and can symbolize neither himself nor others accurately. Sheerer's (1949) research investigations into client-centered therapy sessions support this hypothesis by showing that as one's self-acceptance increases, one values others more positively. Stook (1949) also obtained high, positive correlations between self-acceptance and respect for others.

For Sullivan (1953) too, self-respect constitutes the necessary precondition for respect of others. Self-esteem builds on past interpersonal relationships and gives foresight of future ones. Low self-esteem makes the manifestation of good feeling toward other persons difficult. The positive personification of another individual requires refinement in the adequacy of personifying oneself. Inappropriate personification of oneself limits the ability to personify another in his uniqueness rather than stereotypically.

Adler observed that persons confident of their own self-esteem develop social interest or social feeling for others while those who feel insecure about their own worth erect barriers between themselves and others in order to safeguard themselves against outside demands. Adler lists some of these

safeguarding devices as depreciation of others, accusation of others, and distancing of self from others and the problems of life. Adler found optimism and courage to be correlates of self-esteem (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956). Allport (1961) describes self-esteem as one of the seven aspects of the proprium and echoes Adler in commenting that persons lacking in self-confidence try to compensate for their feelings of inferiority through defense mechanisms including projection, displacement, and reaction formation. Allport (1958) further notes that persons insecure about their own self-integrity may seek to vindicate themselves through striving for status and through enhancing their own feeling of status by disparaging unfavored outgroups. Rosenberg (1965) has devised a reliable ten-item self-esteem measure containing Guttman scales.

Birth Order

Since one's earliest impressions of and opportunities for social interaction occur in the family, it appears conceivable that the position one occupies in the birth order might influence a person's dispositions toward later social behavior. Alfred Adler first pointed out the importance of the birth-order position in establishing styles of relating to other people (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956).

In their program of experiments on empathy, Stotland, Sherman, and Shaver (1971) have discovered that ability to empathize tends to interact with ordinal position in the family. First-borns and only children seem to empathize more with those higher and lower in status than themselves while later borns find it easier to empathize with those similar in status to themselves. And later-born females tend to contrast empathize

with those different from themselves. Stotland et al propose that these patterns of empathy occur because of the way formative perceptual schema develop--first- and only-borns are used to relating to adults or to younger siblings whereas later-borns, because they enter a family that already has children, become accustomed to dealing with a peer group.

Ettinger, Nowichi, and Nelson (1970) reported that first-born and last-born females expressed more attraction to a stranger. Nowichi (1971) replicated this finding. The fact that only-born females exhibited the highest attraction to a stranger argues against automatically combining first-born and only-born scores in an analysis of research results.

Moran (1967) noted that females and first-borns of both sexes scored the highest on social desirability. Nowichi (1971) discovered that first-born and middle-born females obtained significantly higher scores on the Marlowe-Crowne social desirability measure. Ettinger, Nowichi, and Nelson (1970) recorded that high scorers on the Marlowe-Crowne social desirability scale expressed greater attraction toward strangers than middle and low scorers when viewing a similar proportion of agreeing attitudes with a stranger.

Bragg and Allen (1970) analyzed the effect that ordinal position and one's sex had on conformity behavior. Conformity seems to be mediated by sex-role expectations. Concordant with the assumption that first-borns (FB) and later-borns (LB) use different family members as a standard of comparison, conformity behavior varies according to ordinal position and/or sex of sibling. A LB female with a female sibling displays the most conformity and a LB male with a male sibling the

least. A LB with a cross-sex sibling shows intermediate amounts of conformity while FBs do not vary contingent on the sex of the sibling. Schachter (1968) discovered that first- and only-borns conform more than do later-borns.

The results of studies on social desirability, attraction to a stranger, and conformity can be tied together through an explication of traditional socialization patterns and Stotland et al's Social Schema Theory. Females raised traditionally are taught to conform to social standards and to the expectations of other people. Thus females in general score higher on social desirability. And girls with an older sister have an additional model of how to conform. First-borns and only-borns, because they relate primarily to adults, are both tuned in to normative social expectations and are used to interacting with someone different from themselves. Alexandra Adler (1973) has pointed out that last-borns frequently strike out in a direction divergent from the family pattern, so the fact that last-borns are more attracted to strangers does not refute the peer-orientation hypothesis of Stotland et al, but lends support to the "different-mold" premise of Alexandra Adler.

Empathy

Both Scheler (1970) and Stein (1970) associate empathy with "fellow feeling." Empathy enables one person to relate to another through assuming his point of view. Grief and Hogan (1973) point out that empathy as the "disposition or ability to anticipate or construe the feelings, expectations, and informational requirements of others" (p. 280) serves as a facilitative aspect of social interaction in role-theoretic-

cal accounts of interpersonal behavior (e.g., Mead and Goffman). Mead (Strauss, 1964) postulates that "taking the role of the other" leads not only to social sensitivity but to self-identity. Grief and Hogan (1973) conclude that "empathy facilitates social interaction" (p. 281).

Allport (1958) found "empathic ability" to be a characteristic of tolerant people. Empathy enables people to evaluate individuals realistically rather than to categorize groups stereotypically. Schuman and Harding (1963) composed a series of stories that allowed the reader to indicate which of four alternative reactions he imagined the victims of discrimination or prejudice would experience. If the respondent answered that the person would feel "hurt" or "angered," he was credited with displaying "sympathetic identification." The authors note that "sympathetic identification" is somewhat related to measures of tolerance in attitude, but that the two are not identical, and they can be inconsistent. Woodmansee and Cook (1965b) revised and added items to the original version and made reference only to black people in various situations. Massey and Haber (1975) enlarged the scale by retaining the multi-referent nature of the Schuman-Harding version by incorporating several parts from the Woodmansee-Cook revision and by adding six items that allow for an "action response" (the original selections permit the respondent to agree that the victim would feel hurt or anger, but in the additional six items the victim can take some action as a response to discrimination--e.g., "he gets upset and tells the woman her attitude is very unfortunate").

Field Dependence-Independence

Witkin et al (1954, 1962) have shown that different perceptual styles relate consistently to personality differences and that those perceptual styles remain remarkably stable over time (Witkin et al, 1967). Those who display a more global, field-dependent style tend to evidence more dependence in interpersonal relationships while the more articulated, field-independent people appear as more analytical, less authoritarian, and more willing to arrive at conclusions autonomously.

Several studies have examined the relationship between cognitive style and social distance or proxemics. Justice (1969) observed that when subjects were involved in the somewhat anxiety-provoking task of preparing a talk on a designated topic and delivering it in the presence of an experimenter seated in an adjoining room, relatively field-dependent speakers stood significantly closer to the experimenter than field-independent subjects. Witkin (1973) comments that "his behavior reflects in a very concrete way the field-dependent person's need for closeness to others, especially under conditions of discomfort" (p. 38).

Trego (1971) demonstrated that proxemic distance varies as a function of stimulus conditions and/or individual differences in perception depending on one's cognitive style. Each subject was exposed to four rooms of different lengths (30', 38', 46', and 54') and was instructed to approach a seated stimulus person to the point that he would normally maintain with others. Some subjects maintained a constant distance, others increased the distance as a function of room

size, and others varied the distance regardless of the room size. Scores on the rod-and-frame test correlated significantly with personal-space response styles; those maintaining a constant interpersonal distance were significantly more field-dependent.

Evans (1969) tested the relationships between psychological differentiation and the interpersonal orientations nine- and ten-year-old Caucasian boys demonstrated on both projective and behavioral tasks. Subjects were first requested to replace two yellow rectangles on a felt board and then to follow the same procedure for pairs of figures representing a woman and a boy and a man and a boy. The rectangle-condition acted as a neutral point of comparison with how much emotional distance the subjects felt from adults of both sexes. Responsiveness to social reinforcement was defined as how long a subject remained at a marble-dropping task while the experimenter (female for the first group of subjects and male for the second) administered verbal approval on a fixed-interval reinforcement schedule. Scores on the Children's Embedded Figures Test did not correlate significantly with either the emotional distance indicated on the projective measure or with responsiveness to social reinforcement.

Anomy

Most people feel more secure and able to act constructively when they experience the world as having guidelines or norms for behavior. But some people perceive the world as without norms ($\lambda\nu\acute{o}\mu\iota\alpha$ in the Greek or anomia transliterated into English). Sociologists have studied the structural rea-

sons for a state of normlessness. According to Durkheim industrialism and secularism have led to a disintegration of the established social order that results in anomie (Durkheim's transliteration of the term into French) (Nisbet, 1966, chapter 7). R. K. Merton states that a state of anomie exists when society does not provide persons with legitimate means to achieve culturally sanctioned goals (Deutsch and Krauss, 1965, chapter 6). McClosky and Shaar (1965) have attempted to complement the analyses of the sociostructural foundations of anomie with an assessment of the "contributions various psychic states may make to anomy independently of the person's social status" (p. 17). To emphasize their stress on the psychological aspects of anomia, they employ the original English spelling--anomy.

In their large-scale study (N = 2566) of anomy as a personality factor operating independently of sociocultural influences, McClosky and Shaar observed that high-scoring anomics more often expressed a rejective than a receptive orientation towards other people. Significant relationships were noted between anomy and alienation, pessimism, acquiescence, extreme beliefs, a lack of tolerance, little faith in people, and ethnocentrism. A failure in socialization resulting in a diminishing of communication, interaction, and learning might account for an anomic attitude that could function independently of or in concert with social conditions to produce a socially alienated and withdrawn individual.

Authoritarianism

A series of research studies has shown that some bias against social interaction with designated outgroups can be explained on the basis of personality dispositions. This line of research concludes that prejudiced people tend to be more ethnocentric and antidemocratic because of basic personality trends. Such persons appear to be more conventional, to be anti-intrceptive, to uncritically accept the idealized moral authorities of the ingroup, to be preoccupied with power and toughness that disdains the weak, to engage in projectivity, and to be overly concerned with illicit sexuality. This syndrome has become known as "the authoritarian personality."

The original study on the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950) obtained a high, positive correlation between ethnocentrism (including "anti-Negro prejudice") and implicitly prejudiced, antidemocratic personality trends (F-scale). Since the original F-scale was criticized for being more a measure of acquiescence than of fascistic tendencies (Bass, 1955), several attempts were made to balance the acquiescence factor by adding items consisting of the logical opposites of the original items (Messick and Frederiksen, 1958), or by devising the psychological contraries of the California items (Christie, Havel, and Seidenberg, 1958), or by composing statements representing a "naysaying, nonauthoritarian manner" (Couch and Keniston, 1960). Messick and Jackson (1967) conclude that an acquiescent response set increases the discriminatory power of the F-scale, for it is consistent with the foundational personality theory that

postulates "authoritarian submission."

Though the methodological deficiency of encouraging acquiescence cast some doubt on its validity, the original and revised forms of the F-scale have correlated consistently with measures of prejudice (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1954; Harding et al., 1968). Williams (1964) noted a correspondence between authoritarianism and prejudice, but not a perfect relationship because many people conform to community norms regardless of personality dispositions or because some status-roles encourage interaction of a less intimate nature across social-distance barriers. High-authoritarian whites were less able to work cooperatively in a biracial work situation (Katz and Benjamin, 1958). Level of authoritarianism appeared significant in Triandis' (1967) studies of social distance described earlier. Following Kelman and Barclay's (1963) lead, Triandis suggests that high F-scorers may lack social sophistication or a greater breadth of perspective. Or a person who is insecure about his own worth may feel threatened by others who might differ from himself in beliefs or values, so he avoids them.

After discovering that Rokeach's measure E of authoritarianism correlated significantly with low scores on three tests of self-esteem, Larsen and Schwendeman (1969) concluded that low self-esteem may provide fundamental motivation for the behavior patterns associated with the authoritarian personality. In interpersonal games Deutsch (1960) found that low-F scores correlated with trust and trustworthiness and high-F scores with suspiciousness and untrustworthiness, and he surmised that F scores may reflect content differences

in values learned through socialization or internalized with significant others rather than structural differences in personality. While the latter two studies raise developmental questions that can be settled only through longitudinal research, they also lend support to earlier findings regarding the dependence of high-F scorers on authority rather than on themselves and their discomfort in social interaction. Denmark (1968) observed that authoritarians did not conform more than nonauthoritarians in small discussion groups, but they maintained their original positions more firmly.

Those scoring high on ethnocentrism tend to be politically conservative (Adorno et al., 1950); the correlations center around .50 (Allport, 1958). Authoritarianism seems to be related to political conservatism both in attitude (Adorno et al., 1950) and in actual practice (Milton, 1952; Wrightsman, 1965).

Basic Personality Needs

In studying social distance it will be helpful to include several variables focusing on personality dispositions that can provide a means of determining why subjects would perceive social closeness or distance more on the basis of personality than on the social norms involved in the situation. These variables could provide a kind of divergent-convergent validity approach to being more specific about what kinds of factors increase or reduce the possibility of certain kinds of social interaction. The variables that might contribute to a divergent-convergent personality approach to social distance would be the basic personality needs of affiliation,

autonomy, social recognition, and desirability. In the Personality Research Form (PRF) Jackson (1967) has devised carefully constructed and extensively validated scales for measuring many of the basic personality needs described by Henry A. Murray and his collaborators (1938).

Jackson offers the following definitions for the four variables under consideration.

Affiliation: Enjoys being with friends and people in general; accepts people readily; makes efforts to win friendships and maintain associations with people.

Autonomy: Tries to break away from restraints, confinement, or restrictions of any kind; enjoys being unattached; free, not tied to people, places, or obligations; may be rebellious when faced with restraints.

Social recognition: Desires to be held in high esteem by acquaintances; concerned about reputation and what other people think of him; works for the approval and recognition of others.

Desirability: Describes self in terms judged as desirable; consciously or unconsciously, accurately or inaccurately, presents favorable pictures of self in responses to personality statements.

Schachter (1968) disclosed that first-borns exhibit higher need for affiliation in a situation of anxiety and that the affiliative response to anxiety decreases as one descends the ordinal position. Thus the exact ordinal position is implicated, so that the results do not depend on the size of the family. Mehrabian and Ksionzky (1970) sug-

gest that people cannot be summarily categorized as affiliators and non-affiliators. Rather the need for affiliation lies along a continuum with those in the middle either neutral (expecting only small positive and negative reinforcements from interaction) or ambivalent (conflicted over whether a particular interaction might be rewarding or aversive because of an inconsistent past reinforcement pattern). Hardy (1957) obtained meaningful relationships between affiliation and conformity by trichotomizing the affiliation scores of his subjects into high, medium, and low. The moderate scorer is ambivalently and anxiously motivated by affiliation needs and conforms more in a discussion setting where he is opposed by others supporting positions contrary to the subject's with arguments.

Crowne and Marlowe (1967) observed that the need for social recognition appears to manifest itself along with the goals of attaining status, protection, dependency, love, and affection in the approval-seeking person. Such persons seem to be motivated by the need for social support since they want to protect themselves and to avoid the failure they have come to expect will be their lot (as seen in their fear of rejection themes in the TAT). Those scoring high in the need for approval on social desirability scales are trying to cope defensively with anticipated failures. They appear to have learned that conformity and submission to the group's standards of normatively anchored behavior entails the fewest risks of social rejection and of threats to self-esteem.

We can hypothesize that subjects scoring higher on

Affiliation may display closer social distances regardless of the race and sex of the stimulus persons, and subjects scoring higher on Autonomy may be more willing to cross social barriers to interaction than low scorers. But subjects who score high on Social Recognition and Desirability may conform more to social norms and be more reluctant to cross socially approved barriers to interaction.

Response Styles

Psychometricians have discovered that some respondents to paper-and-pencil tests tend to answer questions more according to a style of responding (e.g., consistently answering yes or no irrespective of content) than according to the nature of the questions involved. A debate exists as to whether response styles result in interference with the validity of the instrument or indicate underlying personality dispositions.

Crowne and Marlowe (1967) note that the response sets of acquiescence and social desirability constitute a source of variance in personality tests. Cronbach (1946, 1950) endeavored to remove response sets from tests, so that the content and not the significant habits of the respondents would be primary. Edwards (1957) recorded that both females and males are more likely to endorse items judged socially desirable by one's culture. Crowne and Marlowe (1967) argue that response sets, social desirability in particular, do not necessarily detract from the subject's honesty nor only contribute error variance, but may represent a personality variable. They hypothesize that "people describe themselves

in favorable, socially desirable terms in order to seek the approval of others" (ix). They draw upon social learning theory in stating that a person acts according to his needs to attain goals whose probability of attainment he has learned through social interaction. Thus behaviors in a testing situation represent one's response to socially evaluative situations, and one will answer items in what one perceives to be a socially desirable way to the extent that he feels the need to seek the social approval of others.

Through a series of experiments Crowne and Marlowe ascertained that those scoring high on social desirability display some consistent personality trends. Low self-esteem seems to accompany high need for approval. Approval-dependent persons conform more since they expect to fail and consequently submit to the group in an attempt to avoid confrontation with their own insufficiency. They protect themselves from social rejection and from threats to self-esteem by being more cautious and persuasible and by engaging in more normatively anchored behavior. High scorers show a greater concern in fantasy for affiliation, yet their peers like them less well. They expect social rejection in fantasy, but not in verbal communication.

The findings thus suggest that more is involved than a contrived and deliberate presentation of self in the sense of Goffman's (1959) analysis of impression management in social relationships. They imply that self-evaluation, dependence on the favorable esteem of others, and lack of assertiveness act in the service of self-protection, avoidance, and defense. Taken together, the studies of the approval motive suggest a set of self-reflexive attitudes--a self-conception--in which an idealized version of the self (Horney, 1950) is maintained and defended. Many of the behaviors which are associated with

self-evaluation appear to follow from, to be closely articulated with, and to support the approval-dependent person's self-esteem (p. 190).

The tendency to acquiesce has emerged as a major source of variance in both the F scale (Bass, 1955) and the MMPI (Jackson and Messick, 1967). Bass found acquiescence to account for 59% of the variance on the F scale in his study, and Jackson and Messick attributed from 18 to 31.4% of the total variance on the MMPI in three different samples to acquiescence. Since these studies show acquiescence to account for a considerable amount of variance on tests that are widely held to discriminate meaningfully among criteria groups, we must at least take notice of and hopefully explain the dominant presence of a response style in reputedly content-valid measures. The appearance of response styles in rationally designed tests has led Jackson and Messick (1958) to distinguish between content and style in personality assessment. Some psychometricians have attempted to eliminate acquiescence as a source of error variance by devising two logically opposite scales as constituent parts of a total F scale (Messick and Frederiksen, 1958) or by devising a forced-choice format (Berkowitz, 1968). Jackson and Messick (1967) have concluded that "stylistic response determinants, such as the tendency to respond desirably or to acquiesce to heterogeneous or neutral item content, might not only be considered as sources of systematic error, but as reflections of predispositions in the respondents which possibly represent important personality traits" (p. 541). Recognizing the pervasive stylistic tendency to acquiesce, Keniston (1965b) has provided a formula for scoring for acquiescence on his alien-

tion scales.

Couch and Keniston (1960) hypothesized that the acquiescent response set and its contrary (naysaying) comprise "deep-seated personality syndrome[s]" (p. 151). They constructed a criterion measure of "the agreeing response set" (the Overall Agreement Scale--OAS--for which they provide a short, 15-item version) and empirically derived its correlates. The extreme and enthusiastic item tone of the OAS appeals to the extrovertive impulsivity of the yeasayer. Those scoring high on the OAS

tend to emphasize an impulsive acceptance of immediate internal stimuli...and the desire for external stimuli in the form of emotional sensations and thrill-seeking...while the central theme of the naysaying position is the effort to control and minimize internal and external forces seeking expression, naysayers emphasize ego control of libidinal impulses (pp. 160-161).

Naysayers agree more with a qualified and hesitant statement that appears reasonable. Hundleby (1966) in summarizing a series of research concludes that the OAS may elicit social desirability and a broad questionnaire factor of anxiety that admits maladjustment.

Attitudes and Behavior

Although the classical studies of LaPiere (1934) and Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (1952) cast doubt on the inevitability of attitudes predicting behavior, some studies report at least a partial correspondence between attitudes and behavior. More tolerant subjects were more willing to pose for interracial photographs (DeFleur and Westie, 1958; Linn, 1965; Green, 1969) and to attend an N.A.A.C.P. meeting and to work on a civil rights project (Fendrich, 1967). Mann

(1959, 1960) observed that cognitive attitudes, affective preferences, and observable individual behaviors were not correlated consistently for whites and that a change in one of the three dimensions does not necessarily entail an alteration of the other two. In their review of the literature on ethnic-preference studies, Brand, Ruiz, and Padilla (1974) report that most research uncovers a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior; the findings of Linn (1965) and Green (1969) represent notable exceptions.

Wrightsmann (1972) suggests that a multivariate analysis may reveal the relative influence of various components in the attitude-behavior relationship. Weitz (1972) concludes that proxemic measures may contribute partially to a clearer understanding of how attitudes interact with overt behavior. However, she did not find the Schuman and Harding (1964) Irrational Pro and Anti scales to correlate with the behavioral measures of task selection, waiting together, willingness to return for more experimental sessions, and chair placement.

Reference and friendship groups rather consistently modify attitudes and behavior (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962; Secord and Backman, 1974). DeFleur and Westie (1958) asked their subjects if they had thought of anyone when considering whether to sign a "photograph release" form and were told by the majority that a peer rather than a parent or nobody had come to mind.

Kelman (1974) has written a thoughtful and comprehensive integrative account of the relationship between attitudes and

action. Kelman states that Wicker's (1969) conclusion that attitudes are frequently unrelated to or only slightly predictive of action undercuts "the naive assumption that attitudes are direct indicators of overt responses and that assessment of attitudes can thus serve as a cheap substitute for more elaborate studies of social behavior" (pp. 311-312). But Kelman does not accept the implication of cognitive-dissonance theory that attitudes are epiphenomenal. Besides attitudes, which often assess general beliefs whereas the subject engages in a specific behavior in a particular situation, the experimenter needs to examine the social constraints, the interpersonal demands, and the normative expectations salient to the subject. Also the attitudes evoked in the subject may not necessarily be the ones the experimenter wishes to focus on or manipulate. New attitudes or self-perceptions following from an action may predispose one towards future behaviors. Kelman considers an attitude "not [as] an index of action, but [as] a determinant, component, and consequence of it" (p. 316). Researchers need to look at the motivational and cognitive contexts of attitude-evoking behaviors that have functional significance for individuals. Thus an attitude constitutes "a range...of commitment to the attitude object...rather than just a point on a scale" (p. 321). "[T]he engagement of attitude and action...[involves] a continuing, reciprocal, circular process. Not only is attitude an integral part of action, but action is an integral part of the development, testing, and crystallization of attitudes" (p. 324).

Hypotheses

This study deals with attitudinal and behavioral aspects of social distance and their personality correlates. The main measure included pictorial representations of pairs of figures for which subjects indicated what they considered to be appropriate social distances. Subsequently the subjects were exposed to one or more actual situations with a confederate with whom their behaviors exhibited various degrees of social distance. The study was designed to test the relationship between attitudinal and behavioral social distance and to measure their relationship to personality as specifically predicted below.

Three types of social distance are being examined in this study. The first aspect concerns the amount of distance a subject projects between pairs of figures on a paper-and-pencil measure. The second records how far away a subject sits from a confederate during a conversation at a table in a waiting room and at a coffee break. And the third notes the willingness of the subject to let the confederate into her more intimate, on-going life space by accepting an invitation to a coffee break and to a party at the confederate's house. Each of the hypotheses below predicts a relationship between a personality variable and social distance. The analysis of each hypothesis involves determining the relationship between the personality variable in question and each of the three aspects of social distance described above. The hypotheses regarding social distance are presumed to hold for all three aspects.

In order to link the present study with previous research (as examined in the "Review of the Literature" section), we shall present a theoretical rationale for each hypothesis and then state it explicitly.

HYPOTHESIS 1--ALIENATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Since we can describe alienation as "experienced estrangements," we expect various facets of alienation to affect the perception of and behavior regarding interpersonal intimacy. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Several facets of alienation (especially Self-Contempt, Avowed Hostility, Interpersonal Alienation, lack of Trust, lack of Optimism, lack of a feeling of living in a Structured Universe, not having a feeling of Social Participation, and Alienation in general) are associated with social distance.

Statistical Test: Pearson Produce-Moment Correlations will be used to test the significance of hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9a, and 12.

HYPOTHESIS 2--SELF-ESTEEM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

The literature on self-esteem emphasizes that a person who feels more positively about himself looks more favorably on others and will conceivably relate to others more readily. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The higher one's self-esteem, the less social distance one will place between two persons.

HYPOTHESIS 3--ACQUIESCENCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Acquiescers want to make a good impression others. They view social norms as not encouraging excessive intim-

acy between people. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Respondents who tend to acquiesce on the Keniston Alienation Scales place significantly more distance between two persons.

HYPOTHESIS 4--TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

The definition of an attitude as a psychic readiness to act indicates that those expressing more tolerant inter-racial attitudes should interact more freely cross-racially. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The more tolerant are one's attitudes about cross-racial interaction, the less distance one will place between cross-racial partners.

HYPOTHESIS 5--AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

The expression of a need for friendship would likely prompt a person to actually engage in friendly behavior. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The greater the subject's need for affiliation, the less social distance she will express.

HYPOTHESIS 6--AUTONOMY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

A person articulating a need for autonomy or independence would be likely not to adhere as closely to social norms as would a dependent person. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The greater the subject's need for autonomy, the more she will cross racial lines in social interaction.

HYPOTHESIS 7--SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

A subject experiencing the needs for social recognition or for behaving in a socially desirable manner would recognize that social norms discourage interracial contact and would consequently be more reluctant to interact cross-racially. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The greater the subject's need for social recognition, the less likely she will be to cross racial lines in social interaction.

HYPOTHESIS 8--DESIRABILITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

See hypothesis seven for rationale. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The greater the subject's need for behaving in a socially desirable manner, the less likely she will be to cross racial lines in social interaction.

HYPOTHESIS 9--FIELD INDEPENDENCE-DEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Persons who are more field-dependent tend to be more authoritarian and to adhere more closely to cues generated by the interpersonal environment. We could thus anticipate that females would conform to the social expectation of viewing a heterosexual relationship with a same-race male as desirable especially if they were field-dependent. Conversely field-independent females who are less attentive to social cues might be more willing to cross socially sanctioned interpersonal barriers. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

9a. More field-dependent women place less social distance between themselves and same-race men than do field-independent women.

9b. More field-dependent women put more social distance between themselves and other people except same-race men than do field-independent women.

The following hypotheses that specify predictions about variables other than the relationships between the three aspects of social distance and particular personality correlates as stated above will also be tested.

HYPOTHESIS 10--DIFFERENTIAL PROJECTIVE SOCIAL DISTANCE

Since the criterion of similarity along several dimensions has been found to operate in interpersonal perception and attraction, we can expect subjects to project more or less distance between pairs of figures depending on their similarity. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Respondents tend to project social distance between dyadic partners differentially according to the sexual and racial characteristics of the pair. (I.e., projective social distance will be greater between cross-sex and cross-race stimuli than it will be for like-sex and like-race stimuli.)

Statistical Test: Analysis of variance will be used to test the significance of hypothesis ten.

HYPOTHESIS 11--BEHAVIORAL INTIMACY

A request from a stranger for a less intimate inter-

action is more likely to be granted than one requiring closer association. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

The more intimate the association requested by the confederate, the less likely will be a positive response by the subject.

Statistical Test: The percentages of the subjects cooperating on the various social interactions will be computed.

HYPOTHESIS 12--ATTITUDES AND INTERACTION

Previous studies have revealed discrepancies between attitudes and behaviors, so they cannot be expected to be perfectly related. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Racial attitudes, projective social distance, cross-race sympathetic identification, and behavioral social distance function relatively independently of each other. (I.e., the correlations between attitudes, projective social distance, sympathy, and actual behavior will not show a one-to-one correspondence.)

HYPOTHESIS 13--REFERENCE GROUP AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

If people differ in their perception of norms from a reference group, they might be more likely to vary in their actual behavior. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

Subjects who differ significantly from their reference group on the relevant projective social distance measures will display a lesser (if their expressed social distance is less) or a greater (if their expressed social distance is greater) reluctance to en-

gage in social interaction with the confederate.

Statistical Tests: T-tests to examine the mean differences of continuous variables will be used in hypotheses 13 and 14a.

Chi square will be employed to test the significance of dichotomous variables in hypotheses 13, 14a, and 14b.

HYPOTHESIS 14--AUTHORITARIANISM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Whites scoring high on authoritarianism have been shown to idealize same race male-female relationships and to display more prejudice especially regarding cross-race and sexual contacts and to conform to apparent tolerance norms in a specific situation but to experience difficulty and be perceived by blacks as having difficulty in really being co-operative. Therefore, we hypothesize that:

14a. Women who score high on authoritarianism will tend to see more distance between themselves (and their peers) and a male cross-race partner and will perceive same-race, opposite sex partners as being significantly closer.

14b. Women who score high on authoritarianism will comply more with the request for a coffee break irrespective of the race of the confederate, but decline further social interaction .

Method

Subjects

Fifty-six white females recruited from undergraduate courses at St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn, New York, served as subjects. St. Joseph's College has a student body that is about 80% female, and less than 5% of the students belong to non-European ethnic groups. A preponderance of the students come from Italian, Irish, and Polish Catholic backgrounds. There are few psychology majors, though the lower-division psychology courses (introductory, abnormal, adolescent, and child development) are well-attended. The subjects were enlisted from psychology, philosophy, and sociology courses.

Whereas their fathers have completed an average of 12.4 years of education and their mothers 12.1, only 11 of the subjects (19.6%) anticipate discontinuing their education at the B.A. while 35 (62.5%) expect to obtain an M.A. and 10 (17.9%) the doctorate. The subjects intend to average 5.8 years of education more than their fathers and 5.7 than their mothers. The mean score of the subjects' expected occupation on the NORC Prestige Scale (Blau and Duncan, 1967) of 77.9 outranks their fathers' employment status by 10.2 points and their mothers' by 5.6 (only half of the subjects reported an occupation for their mothers). Only eight subjects (14.2%) claim a family income under \$10,000 while 21 (37.5%) state their family earnings as between \$10-15,000 per annum, 22 (39.3%) as between \$15-20,000, and three (5.4%) exceed \$20,000. Fifty per cent rate their political orienta-

tions as "moderate" with 23.2% being "liberal" and 19.6% "conservative" and 1.8% being either "very liberal" or "very conservative."

Overview of the Procedure

Potential subjects were approached as a group during a class period and invited to participate in some psychological research. In order to not give off cues about the nature of the research design, the project was presented as two separate studies. One outside, off-campus researcher administered several psychological measures during a class period. The subjects were also asked to complete a questionnaire outside of class for the on-campus instructor for which they were paid \$2.00. The subjects were requested to arrange a brief (30-minute) appointment with him to individually respond to a final measure and to have the nature of the research explained to them. During this session they interacted with a confederate.

Detailed Plan of the Research

During the class meeting with the outside researcher, the subjects first completed a Projective Social Distance Booklet (Massey and Massey, 1975) containing 14 combinations of figures (consisting of five basic figures--black female, black male, self, white female, white male) by drawing a vertical line across a horizontal line running between the two figures on each page as close to the figure on the left as the subjects felt that the two figures would be comfortable. Secondly, the subjects responded to the Empathy Scale (Schuman and Harding, 1963; Woodmansee and Cook, 1965b; Massey and

Haber, 1975). And subjects answered nine representative items from three subscales (Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Ease in Interracial Contacts, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships) of the Racial Attitude Inventory (Woodmansee and Cook, 1965a). Third, the subjects filled out a "General Information Questionnaire" indicating birth order; handedness; frequency, remembrance of, and meaningfulness of dreams; family income; religious preference; political views (radical, very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, or very conservative); age; father's and mother's highest grade completed; father's and mother's occupation; own anticipated occupation and educational level; places of mother's, father's, and grandparents' births (if they were all born in the U.S.A. the national origins of mother's and father's lineages). And fourthly, the subjects were allowed ten minutes to take Part I of the Embedded Figures Test (Form Cf-1) (ETS, 1962).

The questionnaire to be filled out for the on-campus instructor contained the following scales--Anomy (McClosky and Schaar, 1965), the F-scale (Couch and Keniston, 1960; Messick and Frederiksen, 1958), the Keniston (1965b) Alienation scales, Self-Esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), the Coopersmith (1967) Lie measure, and selected items from the Personality Reference Form (Jackson, 1967) regarding Affiliation, Autonomy, Social Recognition, and Desirability. Response styles were derived from the Overall Agreement Scale (Couch and Keniston, 1960) and Keniston's (1965b) formula for measuring acquiescence on the Alienation scales. (All scales have been

placed in the appendices.)

The return rate for the questionnaires was 100%. After the distribution of the questionnaires, the subjects were asked to indicate their availability for an appointment with the researcher on a sign-up sheet.

When the subject showed up for her appointment, she was told by the researcher that he would be busy for a couple of minutes since the projector that he was using was not working properly, and he suggested that she wait in an adjoining room. An undergraduate, female confederate was already seated in the waiting room at the far corner of a table seating ten people. The researcher told the subject that he would try to fix the projector for a couple of minutes, but that he would talk with her very soon and asked her to have a seat while he worked on the machine. The confederate endeavored to engage the subject in conversation. (Half of the subjects waited with a black confederate and half with a white confederate.)

The confederate attempted to establish a relationship with the subjects. She inquired about what courses the subject was taking, her major, how she felt about the tuition situation (being able to take less credits and being charged more money), the lack of diversification in course selection, and the evaluation of instructors. If the time was not consumed, they talked about clothes fashions and family situations (e.g., how many brothers and sisters each has).

After eight minutes the experimenter returned to the room and announced that he could not seem to fix the machine, but

that his assistant upstairs had an extra set of the materials that he was going to project on cards. And he mentioned that because the machine was broken, the session would not take as long as he had expected.

He then went upstairs and returned with the cards. The confederate suggested in the meantime to the subjects that since the session would not take as long as planned, they could go for a coffee break to continue their conversation after they finished telling their stories.

Since some subjects might decline to meet the confederate immediately after the experimental session but be willing to engage in other social activities, it was necessary to provide the subjects with the possibility of further participating in all the experimental conditions in which social distance could be expressed in this study. This possibility was afforded in order to obtain a complete profile of the subjects' social distance responses and to not have an extraneous variable (e.g., time) interfere with the completeness of the data. Consequently, if the subject refused a coffee break because she was too busy, the confederate suggested that they exchange telephone numbers, so they could set up a time for coffee in a week or so. The confederate asked the subject to call her when she would be free to have coffee together. If the subject did not call after a full week, the confederate telephoned her and said that she was sorry she had not talked with her again and asked if she were free to have coffee together.

When the experimenter returned, he told the subject

that he would interview her and that his assistant would see the confederate upstairs. The researcher then led the subject into an adjoining room and presented her with two TAT cards (Murray, 1943), numbers 4 and 6GF. (The stories collected were not used in the analysis of the data, but served as a plausible reason for an individualized session to provide an opportunity for interaction with the confederate.) While upstairs, the confederate rated the subject on several characteristics (e.g., friendly-unfriendly) on eight-point semantic-differential scales. After the subject had finished the two stories, the researcher answered any questions that were asked spontaneously about the study and informed the subject that he would like to speak to her again to discuss the research.

If the subject had agreed to meet the confederate, they got together for a "coffee break." During the encounter the confederate continued her conversation with the subject (e.g., about relationships to brothers and sisters) and included a discussion about socializing on week ends. The confederate also told the subject that she was planning a party and asked the subject if she would like to come to an informal get together. If the subject reacted positively, the confederate added that she had not yet finalized the date with her parents, but that she planned to do so after classes that afternoon and requested the subject to call her that evening, and the confederate gave her telephone number to the subject and asked the subject to exchange hers also. If the subject telephoned the confederate, the latter in-

formed her that she had set the party for three weeks from then.

The confederate noted carefully at what place at the table the subject sat and if she changed chairs, who exchanged telephone numbers, who met her for a coffee break and where she sat, who telephoned her, and who was willing to come for a party. The confederate also recorded the reasons the subjects stated for breaking off interaction.

Within two weeks the researcher arranged to meet the subject for a debriefing session and paid her at that time for participating in the study. (Those who accepted a party invitation were seen as soon as possible.) As a further attempt to assess willingness to act in an interracial situation, the experimenter asked the subject if she were willing to pose with a black male for a photograph for the several uses described by DeFleur and Westie (1958).

During the debriefing the researcher tried to ascertain the subject's knowledge of the proceedings (her interpretation of the study, what she thought he was interested in, and what she was aware of about the procedure) and the feelings and impressions she formed during the interactions. He debriefed her about the party if she was aware of it. He asked her to promise not to discuss the project with anyone until after the semester so as not to influence other potential participants.

Statistical Tests of the Hypotheses

1. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the Keniston Alienation Scales (hypothesis 1).
2. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (hypothesis 2).
3. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the acquiescence scores on the Keniston Alienation Scales (hypothesis 3).
4. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with three subscales of the Woodmansee-Cook Racial Attitude Inventory (hypothesis 4).
5. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the need for affiliation (PRF) (hypothesis 5).
6. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the need for autonomy (PRF) (hypothesis 6).
7. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the need for social recognition (PRF) (hypothesis 7).
8. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with desirability (PRF) (hypothesis 8).
9. The three aspects of social distance were correlated with the Embedded Figures Test (hypotheses 9a and 9b).
10. The significance of the differences between the mean scores for the pairs of figures in the Projective Social Distance Booklet were computed by analysis of variance (hypothesis 10).
11. The percentages of the number of responses for each level of behavioral interaction with the confederates

were computed (hypothesis 11).

12. Racial attitudes, projective social distances, cross-racial sympathetic identification, and behavioral social distances were placed in Pearson Product-Moment Correlations with each other (hypothesis 12).

13. T-tests for the differences between the means for the seating distances of subjects above and below the median and in the extreme quartiles on the relevant projective social distance measures were computed (hypothesis 13).

14. Determination of whether subjects who differ from their reference group on the relevant projective social distance measures interacted more or less with the confederate was made by Chi square (hypothesis 13).

15. T-tests for the differences between the means on the appropriate projective social distance measures and the number of photograph releases signed for subjects above and below the mean on authoritarianism were computed (hypothesis 14a).

16. Determination of whether women high in authoritarianism tend to go for a coffee break with a confederate irrespective of the latter's race but decline to engage in further social interaction was made by Chi square (hypothesis 14b).

17. The major personality variables were placed in multiple-regression equations with the three aspects of social distance to discover the best predictors.

18. The major social variables were placed in multiple-regression equations with the three aspects of social distance to discover the best predictors.

Results

In this chapter we shall examine whether the hypotheses were supported by the results of this study. Before looking at specific relationships among the variables among consideration, we will present the personality characteristics of the subjects by describing their scores on the various psychometric scales.

SUBJECT CHARACTERISTICS

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for the major personality measures. All the questionnaire items allowed for a range of from one to nine representing the highest possible score on a given variable (e.g., a subject obtaining a mean score of 9.0 on Distrust is as distrustful as can be shown on this questionnaire). The questionnaire items in Table 1 include the variables from Distrust to Desirability, except for Field Independence-Field Dependence. The possible Self-Esteem scores ranged from 10 to 40 with 40 being the highest. One could score from 14 to 42 on Empathy with the lower score being the more empathic. The overall Tolerance score and the three subscales (Ease in Interracial Contacts, Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships) permitted a range of from one to seven with seven being the most tolerant score. The score for Field Independence-Field Dependence represents the number of figures correctly identified on the Embedded Figures Test minus a correction factor (-.25) for each wrong answer. A subject could score from 0 to 16.

Except for the Subspeciation and Vacillation scales all

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations on Major Personality Variables

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S.D.</u>
Distrust	4.34	1.38	Reversed F Scale (Messick)	4.64	0.82
Pessimism	3.32	1.02	Low F Scale (Couch)	5.29	1.32
Hostility	3.45	1.46	Anomy	4.70	1.46
Unstructured Universe	3.66	0.88	Overall Agreement Scale	4.70	0.94
Outsider	3.58	1.06	Affiliation	6.47	1.23
Subspection	5.48	1.04	Autonomy	4.28	0.90
Vacillation	5.02	1.06	Social Recognition	4.72	1.04
Self-Contempt	4.27	1.04	Desirability	6.58	0.92
Interpersonal Alienation	3.42	1.20	Self-Esteem	30.62	4.36
Social Alienation	3.80	1.12	Empathy	25.60	5.16
Cultural Alienation	4.31	0.83	Action	1.21	0.98
Total Alienation	4.10	0.74	Tolerance	4.93	1.06
Acquiescence on Alienation	609.07	80.64	Ease in Interracial Contacts	3.58	1.57
Field Independence- Field Dependence	3.34	2.98	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships	5.40	1.28
Authoritarianism (Messick)	5.12	0.64	Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships	5.81	1.15
Authoritarianism (Couch)	5.17	1.22			

N = 56

the individual alienation scales and the overall alienation scale have mean scores in the non-alienated direction. The great majority of the subjects in this sample tend to be optimistic, not hostile, to believe that they live in a structured universe, not to feel like an outsider, not to be interpersonally alienated, and to feel that they participate in society. And they seemed to have responded more to item content than to have acquiesced to the items, for the mean score on Acquiescence was 609.07 whereas acquiescing on every item would have resulted in a score of at least 852.

The subjects were slightly authoritarian on both the Messick-Frederiksen and the Couch-Keniston scales, but only moderately so since the means are just above the midpoint. They tend to be somewhat less authoritarian on reversed F-scale items designed as logical opposites of the original statements than on low-F-scale questions constructed to appeal to the "naysayer" who qualifies his declarations and shies away from explanatory enthusiasm.

The subjects scored somewhat below the midpoint on Anomy and on the Overall Agreement Scale. On the Basic Personality Needs the subjects appear as rather oriented towards Affiliation and Desirability, but these high scores fall within the female norms for the Personality Reference Form. The subjects score a little below the midpoint on Autonomy and Social Recognition.

The average Self-Esteem scores are moderate with many subjects showing basic self-acceptance. Most subjects are somewhat empathic cross-racially ($\bar{M} = 25.6$) since 14 is the

most empathic score and 42 the least, and most identify with at least one action taken against discrimination. Overall the subjects are more tolerant than prejudiced in their verbal racial attitudes, but are more likely to accept black people in official (Status-Superior) or friendship (Close Personal) relationships than to break social norms regarding interracial interaction (Ease in Contact). The subjects in this sample displayed a rather field-dependent orientation.

PROJECTIVE SOCIAL DISTANCE--OVERALL MEANS

Prior to using the Projective Social Distance Booklet as a measure of social distance, let us look at its power of discrimination. Table 2 shows the mean amount of distance in millimeters placed between the fourteen pairs of figures. Inspection of the average scores indicates that in general more distance was perceived when the pairing of the figures represented a cross-sex or cross-race combination with the greatest distance being put between pairs crossing both racial and sexual boundaries. The statistical significance of the subjects' placements of the various pairs of figures will be discussed later (under hypothesis ten).

CONFEDERATES' RATINGS OF SUBJECTS

In addition to the behavioral measures of interaction, ratings of the subjects on twenty-six bipolar adjective pairs (e.g., harmonious-discordant) were obtained from the confederates. A factor analysis of the adjectives on the eight-point semantic-differential scales revealed three factors in a varimax rotation. Because of the clusters of adjectives loading on them we labeled the factors as follows:

Table 2
Average Scores on the Projective Social Distance Measures

<u>Dyad</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S. D.</u>	<u>Dyad</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S. D.</u>	<u>Dyad</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>S. D.</u>
WWS ¹	39.30	33.76	WWM	29.78	21.40	WBM	41.84	23.70
SBW	52.07	41.28	BMB	31.36	31.64	WNBW	48.09	29.92
SWM	53.34	43.22	WWW	31.94	26.36	BWWM	57.94	37.90
BMS	67.76	45.86	BWBW	36.07	34.35	BMWW	66.25	43.68
WWW	28.16	27.64	BMBW	32.30	42.34			

¹ The following symbols are used to represent the members of the dyads: WW = white woman, BW = black woman, WM = white man, BM = black man, and S = self. The same symbols will also be employed in subsequent tables.

N = 56

1: Intimacy, 2: Leadership, Dominance, and 3: Competency, Adaptability. Table 3 displays the loadings of each adjective pair on the factors. The personality correlates of the subjects' selves as perceived by the confederate with whom she interacted have been incorporated into the pertinent tables along with the correlations with the behavioral measures of interaction.

HYPOTHESIS TESTING--GENERAL FORMAT

We will now examine whether the data have supported the hypotheses. In testing the first nine hypotheses, we shall be comparing the relationship of various personality variables to three aspects of "social distance." For the first aspect of symbolic-interaction distance we shall be using measures of the imagined closeness of pairs of figures pictured in the Projective Social Distance Booklet. Secondly, we shall consider proxemics or the amount of actual physical seating distance a subject maintains from a confederate in an interview situation and at a coffee break (if she consents to one) with the confederate. Thirdly, we shall observe the willingness of the subjects to engage in social interaction with the confederates in accepting or refusing an invitation to a coffee break, in exchanging telephone numbers or refusing to, and in accepting an invitation to a party at the confederate's home and telephoning to confirm one's desire to attend. Signing an agreement to be photographed with a black male constitutes another measure of social interaction. In the remaining hypotheses (10-14) we shall test certain specific relationships among particular variables.

Table 3

Factor Loadings of Adjectives on Semantic Differential

	Factor 1 "Intimacy"	Factor 2 "Leadership"	Factor 3 "Competency"
warm-cool	.902	.064	-.016
good-bad	.800	-.050	.063
close-distant	.789	.251	.173
trusting-untrusting	.784	.133	.383
friendly-unfriendly	.768	.154	.446
sincere-insincere	.718	.164	.395
sensitive-insensitive	.710	-.080	.397
trustworthy-untrustworthy	.697	-.052	.440
accepted-rejected	.676	.068	.296
harmonious-discordant	.651	.126	.448
soft-hard	.584	-.329	.246
central-peripheral	.561	.331	.168
included-excluded	.556	.415	.068
important-unimportant	.317	.304	.098
leads-follows	-.087	.906	-.013
assertive-submissive	-.002	.903	-.008
independent-dependent	-.011	.867	.130
active-passive	.096	.711	.195
silent-talkative	.374	.680	.000
strong-weak	.182	.661	.368
involved-excluded	.502	.517	.305
successful-unsuccessful	.218	.304	.727
peaceful-hostile	.298	-.030	.614
adaptable-rigid	.295	.274	.608
competent-incompetent	.320	.266	.605
tolerant-intolerant	.524	.064	.553

HYPOTHESIS 1--ALIENATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

The first hypothesis states that "Several facets of alienation (especially Self-Contempt, Avowed Hostility, Interpersonal Alienation, lack of Trust, lack of Optimism, lack of a feeling of living in a Structured Universe, not having a feeling of Social Participation, and Alienation in general) are associated with social distance." The following abbreviations will be used for the figures in the Projective Social Distance Booklet: BM = black man, BW = black woman, S = self, WM = white man, and WW = white woman. On the alienation dimensions (e.g., Distrust) a positive correlation indicates that a form of alienation is related to greater phantasized social distance.

ALIENATION AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Alienation, particularly the facets hypothesized, does seem to be somewhat implicated in projective social distance, especially when we speak of self interacting with another partner. Table 4 shows that a person projecting greater social distance tends to score significantly higher on Distrust (Dist) for all four pairs including self (WWS, SWM, SBW, BMS) and for three of the four non-self-related, cross-race dyads (WWBW, BMWW, BWWM). Table 5 illustrates that the positively worded half of the Distrust scale (Trust) either correlates significantly or shows a tendency towards significance in 11 of 14 instances (on the positively worded subscales a positive correlation represents greater social intimacy). Pessimism (Pessim) (see Table 4) goes along with a desire for greater social distance regarding interaction for three self-other

Table 4

Correlations between Social Distance and Total Alienation Scale Scores

	Dist ¹	Pessim	Unstruc	Vacil	Slf-Cont	SocAl	CuAl	Hostil	Outside	Subspec	Interp
WWS	.25** ²	.31***	.22**	-.01	.21**	.32***	.17*	.10	.14	-.06	.24**
SWM	.25**	.38***	.22**	-.01	.26**	.24**	.21**	.24**	.27***	.04	.26**
SBW	.22**	.32***	.20*	.08	.30***	.13	-.07	.21*	.24**	-.02	.19*
BMS	.36***	.18*	.28***	.04	.31***	.15	-.01	.26**	.23**	.21**	.22**
WWW	.10	.03	.02	.09	.06	.12	.18*	-.03	-.01	-.12	.01
WMW	.03	-.02	.01	.05	-.12	.01	.12	-.04	-.02	-.10	-.06
BWB	.06	.14	.03	.00	.07	.16	.19*	.13	.06	-.08	.11
BMB	.08	.13	-.01	-.08	.15	-.03	.16	.17*	-.05	-.19*	.02
WWW	.07	.06	-.05	-.02	.04	.14	.10	.05	.09	-.14	-.09
BMB	.10	.13	-.01	-.04	.12	.15	.06	.17*	.23**	-.05	.02
WWB	.30***	.08	.28***	.07	.17*	.25***	.02	.19*	.12	.12	.14
WMB	.16	-.05	.16	-.01	.15	.20*	.10	.03	.02	.11	.04
BMW	.27**	.19*	.12	.18*	.26**	.05	.04	.32***	.18*	.12	.18*
BWM	.22**	-.01	.13	.09	.20*	.03	-.01	.08	.10	.20*	.10

1 The scales in this table are abbreviated as follows: Distrust = Dist, Pessimism = Pessim, Unstructured Universe = Unstruc, Vacillation = Vacil, Self-Contempt = Slf-Cont, Social Alienation = SocAl, Cultural Alienation = CuAl, Hostility = Hostil, Outsider = Outside, Subspecion = Subspec, and Interpersonal Alienation = Interp. The same abbreviations will be used in Tables 7 and 8.

2 * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01.

Table 5

Correlations between Social Distance and Positive Alienation Scores,
Total Alienation Score, Acquiescence regarding Alienation, and Self-Esteem

	Trust	Optim ²	Struc	Resol	SlfResp	SocPar	CulCom	TotalAl	Acqles	Self-Est
WWS	.28*** ¹	.25**	.24**	-.01	.17*	.34***	-.04	.26**	.07	-.21**
SWM	.29***	.32***	.23**	-.06	.11	.18*	.06	.32***	.15	-.33***
SBW	.26**	.30***	.10	.04	.12	.14	-.20*	.24**	.13	-.14
BMS	.32***	.06	.18*	-.07	.18*	.03	-.17*	.31***	.26**	-.24**
WWW	.14	-.02	.09	.08	.15	.14	.06	.07	-.04	-.08
WWM	.04	-.14	.01	.11	.00	.00	-.02	.00	-.01	.12
BWB	.13	.09	-.02	-.05	-.04	.12	.02	.12	.09	-.10
BMB	.18*	.19*	.02	-.08	.15	.03	.11	.06	-.05	.00
WWW	.19*	.14	.06	.05	.06	.22**	.02	.02	-.14	-.03
BMB	.21**	.20*	.05	-.01	.03	.16	-.12	.11	.01	-.20*
WWB	.32***	-.01	.18*	-.03	.05	.24**	-.14	.25**	.16*	.05
WMB	.18*	-.13	.06	-.09	.10	.12	-.08	.13	.12	.12
BMW	.23**	.04	.02	.02	.16	-.01	-.13	.27**	.25**	-.14
BWM	.17*	-.11	.04	.03	.15	-.09	-.16*	.16	.18*	-.12

¹ * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01.

² The scales in this table are abbreviated as follows: Optimism = Optim, Structured Universe = Struc, Resoluteness = Resol, Self-Respect = SlfResp, Social Participation = SocPar, Cultural Commitment = CulCom, Total Alienation = TotalAl, Acquiescence = Acqles, and Self-Esteem = Self-Est. The same abbreviations will be used in Tables 9 and 10.

pairs (WWS, SWM, SBW) and has a tendency to do so for the fourth (BMS). The feeling of living in an Unstructured Universe accompanies greater social distance regarding self-other interaction for three pairs (WWS, SWM, BMS) and tends to do so for the fourth (SBW). Unstructured Universe also correlates significantly with social distance with the same-sex-as-self, cross-race partner (WWBW).

Greater social distance seems to be perceived when one is alienated from self (Self-Contempt--Slf-Cont) for the self-other pairs (WWS, SWM, SBW, BMS) and one of the cross-race, cross-sex pairs is significantly correlated (BMWV) while two others (WWBW, BWWM) are almost significant in the predicted direction. Social Alienation (SocAl) appears to encourage the perception of greater social distance for self-same-race pairs (WWS, SWM) and for same-sex, cross-race partners (WWBW, WMBW). Avowed Hostility (Hostil) distances perception of social distance, especially of the self with men (SWM, BMS) and with the black man-white woman pair and contributes somewhat to social distance in four other pairs (SBW, BMBM, WWBW, BMBW).

High scores on Interpersonal Alienation (Interp) are associated with greater social distance for three self-other pairs (WWS, SWM, BMS) and with the fourth (SBW) showing a trend towards significance. Finally greater social distance goes along with a high score on all the alienation scales (TotalAl) for the self-other dyads (WWS, SWM, SBW, BMS) and for the same-sex counterpart with a cross-racial person of either sex (WWBW, BMWV). Cultural Alienation (CulAl) cor-

relates with greater distance on the SWM pair. Both the Vag-
cillation (Vacil) and Subspection (Subspec) subscales appear
as generally unrelated to projective social distance.

In summary, we can say that greater social distance is
associated, especially for the self-other dyads, with high
scores on most of the alienation subscales and with the total
alienation score. The subscales of alienation showing some
relationship to projective social distance are Distrust, Pes-
simism, a feeling of the universe being unstructured, Self-
Contempt, Social Alienation, Avowed Hostility, and Interper-
sonal Alienation.

ALIENATION AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

In analyzing the correlates of proxemics and social interac-
tion, we have separated the data according to the race of the
confederate since the patterns of correlations appear to dif-
fer in this regard. We shall look at the alienation corre-
lates of social interaction with the black confederate first.

There were significant correlations indicating that sub-
jects sat further away from the black confederate in the wait-
ing room (see Table 6) if they were interpersonally alien-
ated, pessimistic, or felt the universe to be unstructured.
And there was a trend toward greater seating distance among
the distrustful and socially alienated. A trend emerged for
those feeling less like an outsider to accept an invitation
to coffee. Those who exchanged telephone numbers were likely
to feel less distrustful and less like an outsider (both sig-
nificant findings) and showed a tendency to feel less that
the universe is unstructured.

Table 6
Correlations between Alienation and Social Interaction for Black Confederate

	Dist1	Pessim	Unstruc	Vacil	Slf-Cont	SocAI	CulAI	Hostil	Outside	Subspec	Interp
Seat ²	.26*3	.38**	.36**	-.01	.24	.24*	.11	-.04	-.04	-.11	.42***
Sec Seat	.11	.54***	.20	.07	.22	.11	.14	.13	.00	-.23	.32**
CofAcep	-.02	.06	.12	-.20	.00	.11	.14	-.03	-.24*	-.20	.04
CofPost	-.04	-.02	.08	.04	.03	.19	.04	.17	.02	.09	-.20
CofRef	.04	.01	-.12	.13	-.04	-.23	-.32**	.00	.30*	-.01	-.04
Telexh	-.30*	-.02	-.29*	-.24	-.04	.01	-.07	-.11	-.30**	-.16	-.16
Factor1	-.34**	-.07	-.50***	-.01	-.07	-.16	-.02	-.10	-.21	-.17	-.40***
Factor2	.09	.16	.24*	-.20	.10	.24*	.12	.23	.16	-.08	.20
Factor3	.00	.18	-.08	-.11	.02	-.01	.12	.11	.10	.03	.01
Photo	-.08	.24*	-.11	.13	.03	.07	.19	.17	.09	-.31**	.02
CofSeat ⁴	.14	.33	.04	.16	.28	-.02	-.15	.50**	-.35	-.44*	-.34
ParAcep	-.23	.32	.02	.56**	.24	.36	.45*	.49**	-.23	-.45*	-.26
PartTel	-.38*	.30	-.22	.24	-.04	.21	.62***	.20	-.22	-.18	-.08
PartRej	.24	-.32	-.02	-.56**	-.24	-.36	-.45*	-.49**	.23	.45*	.26

Table continued next page.

Table 6 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 4.
- 2 The variables in the columns are abbreviated as follows: Sec Seat = Final Seating Position, CofAcep = Coffee Acceptance, CofPost = Coffee Postponement, CofRef = Coffee Refusal, Telexch = Telephone Number Exchange, Photo = Photograph Releases Signed, CofSeat = Coffee Seating Position, ParAcep = Party Acceptance, PartTel = Telephone to Accept Party Invitation, and PartRej = Reject Party Invitation.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to those who accepted a coffee break ($N = 12$).

Since the number of photograph releases was significantly higher if a subject had interacted with the black rather than the white confederate ($M_{\text{black}} = 3.18$ vs. $M_{\text{white}} = 1.60$, $t = 1.98$, $p < .05$), we shall consider the correlates of signing the photographic releases separately according to which confederate the subject interacted with. Subjects were more willing to sign after waiting with the black confederate the less they engaged in Subspecion (see Table 6) and the more they lacked Optimism (see Table 7).

Subjects who sat closer to the black confederate during the coffee break were less hostile (see Table 6), were higher on Trust (see Table 7), on Optimism, and on Cultural Commitment. Those who accepted an invitation to the party scored higher on Vacillation (see Table 6), Cultural Alienation, Avowed Hostility, and were more lacking in Optimism (see Table 7), in Self-Respect, and displayed a trend toward lacking a sense of living in a Structured Universe. Those who phoned to accept the party were more culturally alienated (see Table 6) and showed a trend toward being more trusting (see Table 7). Subjects whom the black confederate rated as higher on Intimacy (Factor 1) scored significantly lower on Unstructured Universe (see Table 6), Interpersonal Alienation, Distrust, and Total Alienation (see Table 7). In sum, the alienation dimensions most often implicated in interaction with the black confederate were Distrust, Unstructured Universe, and Pessimism.

Now let us examine what alienation correlates are associated with interaction with the white confederate. Sub-

Table 7

Correlations between Social Interaction with Black Confederate and Positive Alienation Scores, Total Alienation Score, Acquiescence regarding Alienation, and Self-Esteem

	Trust ¹	Optim	Struc	Resol	SlfResp	SocPar	CulCom	TotalAl	Acquies	Self-Est
Seat ²	.40*** ³	.38**	.49***	-.06	.39***	.37**	.24*	.26*	-.24*	-.17
Sec Seat	.32**	.52***	.34**	.07	.37**	.24	.37**	.22	-.29*	.05
CofAcep	.02	.19	.28*	-.16	-.09	.13	.28*	-.02	-.22	-.07
CofPost	.01	-.05	.01	.05	.01	.21	-.05	.05	.03	.12
CofRef	.04	-.02	-.16	.09	.02	-.19	-.32**	-.04	.07	.20
TelExch	-.24*	.16	-.05	-.05	-.07	.12	.03	-.26*	-.32**	-.22
Factor 1	-.37**	-.03	-.51***	.02	-.05	-.09	-.03	-.30**	-.11	.13
Factor 2	.14	.18	.22	-.28*	-.01	.23	.04	.17	.10	.04
Factor 3	-.01	.11	-.32	-.10	-.13	-.10	-.03	.04	.24	.07
Photo	.09	.34**	.18	.16	.26*	.20	.25*	.05	-.32**	.02
CofSeat ⁴	.48**	.54**	.35	.23	.33	.22	.47**	.10	-.64***	.30
ParAcep	.05	.52**	.46*	.68***	.51**	.38	.84***	.19	-.64***	.22
PartTel	-.37	.30	-.02	.31	.22	.18	.40*	.03	-.12	.22
PartRej	-.05	-.52**	-.46*	-.68***	-.51**	-.38	-.84***	-.19	.64***	-.22

Table continued next page.

Table 7 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 5.
- 2 The abbreviations for the columns can be located in Table 6.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to those who accepted a coffee break ($N = 12$).

jects accepting a coffee break were more interpersonally alienated (see Table 8), engaged more in Subspecion, and had a tendency to feel more like an Outsider. Those who exchanged telephone numbers felt less that the universe is unstructured, were less vacillating, and showed a trend toward being more culturally and interpersonally alienated. Subjects accepting an invitation to a party by telephone scored higher on Pessimism and a feeling of living in an Unstructured Universe and had a tendency to do so on Distrust and Self-Contempt.

Subjects whom the white confederate rated as higher on the semantic-differential pairs of adjectives made significantly lower scores on several of the alienation scales. The adjectives loading on the first factor (Intimacy) (see Table 8) correlated negatively with Unstructured Universe, Vacillation, Self-Contempt, Hostility, Distrust, Outsider, and Total Alienation (see Table 9). Adjectives on the second factor (Leadership) (see Table 8) related negatively to Unstructured Universe, Outsider, Subspecion, Interpersonal Alienation, and Vacillation. Subjects receiving high ratings on Factor 3 (Competency) scored significantly lower on Unstructured Universe, Vacillation, Self-Contempt, Hostility, Outsider, and Distrust.

In conclusion, no dimension of alienation correlates consistently with behavioral interaction with the white confederate. However, Unstructured Universe, Vacillation, and Outsider are inversely related to high scores on all three semantic-differential factors, and Self-Contempt, Hostility,

Table 8

Correlations between Alienation and Social Interaction for White Confederate

	Dist ¹	Pess1m	Unstruc	Vac11	Slf-Cont	SocA1	CulA1	Host11	Outside	Subspec	Interp
Seat ²	-.04 ³	-.07	.11	.06	-.13	.23	-.13	.05	-.01	.01	.03
Sec Seat	.02	.04	.09	.06	-.12	.26*	-.13	.07	.03	.03	.08
CofAcept	.15	.10	-.02	-.23	.17	-.04	.21	.07	.26*	.36**	.44***
CofPost	.10	.06	-.12	.04	-.06	-.20	.08	-.06	.07	-.04	.16
CofRef	-.15	-.10	.02	.23	-.17	.04	-.21	-.07	-.26*	-.36**	-.44***
Telexch	.07	.13	-.36**	-.42***	-.04	-.03	.26*	-.02	.15	.24	.25*
Factor 1	-.32**	-.28*	-.68***	-.46***	-.40***	-.06	-.03	-.38**	-.32**	-.18	-.24
Factor 2	-.08	-.20	-.46***	-.32**	-.27*	-.10	-.25*	-.20	-.37**	-.34**	-.34**
Factor 3	-.32**	-.27*	-.62***	-.46***	-.39***	-.12	-.16	-.38**	-.36**	-.20	-.28*
Photo	.09	.02	-.20	-.24	-.18	.02	.12	-.06	-.22	-.36**	-.09
CofSeat ⁴	-.46	.05	-.23	.32	-.01	-.19	-.36	-.20	-.01	-.40	-.20
ParAcep	.57*	.76**	.72**	.35	.59*	-.02	.13	.09	.46	-.04	.40
PartTel	.57*	.76**	.72**	.35	.59*	-.02	.13	.09	.46	-.04	.40
FartHeJ	-.57*	-.76**	-.72**	-.35	-.59*	.02	-.13	-.09	-.46	.04	-.40

Table continued next page.

Table 8 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 4.
- 2 The abbreviations for the columns can be located in Table 6.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to those who accepted a coffee break ($N = 7$).

Table 9

Correlations between Social Interaction with White Confederate and Fositive Alienation Scores, Total Alienation Score, Acquiescence regarding Alienation, and Self-Esteem

	Trust ¹	Optim	Struc	Resol	SlfResp	SocPar	CulCom	TotalAI	Acquies	Self-Est
Seat ²	-.14 ³	-.28*	-.02	.02	-.15	.20	-.17	.01	.11	.13
Sec Seat	-.03	-.16	-.05	.05	-.10	.25*	-.07	.07	.11	.06
CofAcep	.07	.20	-.02	-.22	-.24	-.10	.08	.17	.23	-.22
CofPost	.11	.01	-.01	.03	-.11	-.04	.15	.02	-.01	.06
CofRef	-.07	-.20	.02	.22	.24	.10	-.08	-.18	-.23	.22
TelExch	.02	.24*	-.24*	-.40***	-.18	-.05	.21	.02	.09	-.05
Factor 1	-.19	.00	-.44***	-.28*	-.33**	.04	.13	-.43***	-.32**	.32**
Factor 2	.11	.16	-.23	-.06	-.11	.10	-.10	-.35**	-.42***	.16
Factor 3	-.19	.09	-.28*	-.24	-.25*	.04	.23	-.46***	-.43***	.32**
Photo	.30**	.32**	.19	-.10	-.08	.20	.24	-.10	-.34**	-.01
CofSeat ⁴	-.55*	.07	-.34	.53*	-.18	-.02	.11	-.25	-.18	.27
PartAcep	.60*	.74**	.29	.16	.74**	.16	-.01	.52	.14	-.72**
PartTel	.60*	.74**	.29	.16	.74**	.16	-.01	.52	.14	-.72**
PartRej	-.60*	-.74**	-.29	-.16	-.74**	-.16	.01	-.52	-.14	.72**

Table continued next page.

Table 9 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 5.
- 2 The abbreviations for the columns can be located in Table 6.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to those who accepted a coffee break ($N = 7$).

and Distrust correlated negatively with two of the factors.

In summary, we see that the alienation correlates of social interaction seem to vary somewhat depending on whether the confederate is of the same or a different race than oneself. Among the several alienation dimensions only a feeling of distrust and of living in an unstructured universe appear frequently with both confederates. More significant relationships with personality emerge in connection with behavioral interaction with the black confederate while the white confederate's ratings of the subjects show more consistent relationships with the subjects' stated personality traits.

HYPOTHESIS 2--SELF-ESTEEM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

The second hypothesis stated that "The higher one's self-esteem, the less social distance one will place between two persons."

SELF-ESTEEM AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Ten of the fourteen correlations of self-esteem with the projective social distance measures are in the predicted direction (a high self-esteem score correlates negatively with social distance), but only three of them reach an acceptable level of statistical significance (WWS, SWM, BMS), and one is directional (BMBW) (see Table 5).

SELF-ESTEEM AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

Self-esteem was unrelated to either proxemic seating distance or social interaction with the black confederate (see Table 7). The white confederate rated subjects with higher self-esteem more favorably on the adjectives on both Factors One (Intimacy) and Three (Competency) (see Table 9). And subjects higher on self-esteem significantly more often rejected the white confederate's invitation to a party.

Thus self-esteem appeared to relate positively to the imagined closeness between self and others (three of the four pertinent projective dyads are significantly correlated). But self-esteem did not consistently play a role in actual behavioral interaction in this study, though it was positively related to the white confederate's ratings of intimacy and competency.

HYPOTHESIS 3--ACQUIESCENCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis three predicted that "Respondents who tend to acquiesce on the Keniston Alienation Scales place significantly more social distance between two persons."

ACQUIESCENCE AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. The data in Table 5 show that the predicted relationship holds true for two cross-race pairs (BMS, BMWW) and tends to do so for two others (WWBW, BWWM). However, the hypothesis does not hold true for all cases and is reversed, though not significantly, for some pairs of figures.

ACQUIESCENCE AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION. With the black confederate high scorers on acquiescence show a trend toward sitting closer in the waiting room (see

Table 7) and to even move closer; this tendency for acquiescers to sit closer is highly significant at the coffee break. High scorers are likely not to exchange telephone numbers, not to accept a party invitation, and to sign less photograph releases.

The same reluctance to acquiesce to sign photograph releases held true for those subjects who interacted with the white confederate (see Table 9). The white confederate rated high scorers on acquiescence significantly lower on the adjectives on all three semantic-differential factors.

It seems somewhat paradoxical that yea-sayers have a tendency to sit closer to the black confederate but to decline further interaction with her just as the acquiescers displayed greater social distance on a number of the projective cross-racial dyads. It may be that yea-saying goes along with an uncritical adherence to prevalent social norms, but in a face-to-face situation their impulsiveness inclines them to conform to a friendliness norm but to break off the interaction at the earliest convenient point.

HYPOTHESIS 4--TOLERANCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis four specified that "The more tolerant are one's attitudes about cross-racial interaction, the less distance one will place between partners." A general Tolerance score has been computed by adding together the totals from the three types of tolerance inquired about in the questionnaire: Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (PersRela), Ease in Interracial Contact (EaseCon), and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (StatRela).

TOLERANCE AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Since the tolerance scales deal with interracial situations, it seems appropriate to examine only the interracial pairs. General Tolerance (see Table 10) appears to relate to the interracial pairs (a high tolerance score correlates negatively with social distance) since the correlations are significant for three of the six pairs (BMS, WWBW, BMWW) and tend toward significance for two other pairs (SBW, WMBM). Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships goes along with more perceived intimacy for three projective pairs (BMS, WWBW, WMBM) and has a tendency to do so with a fourth (BMWW). Ease in Interracial Contact does not correlate significantly with the self-other dyads, but only with two non-self-related pairs (WWBW, BMWW) and tends to do so for a third (WMBM). Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships facilitates favorable perception of self-other, interracial closeness (SBW, BMS) and of the non-self pairs containing one's own-sex, own-race counterpart (WWBW, BMWW).

In summary, it is evident that more tolerant interracial attitudes contribute to more perceived intimacy in phantasmized social distance. And just as the subjects scored higher on relating cross-racially in personal or official relationships than on willingness to transgress social norms, so the self-other dyads are correlated with cross-racial acceptance in personal and public interaction, but only non-self pairs correlate with ease in going against social expectations.

TOLERANCE AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

Those who professed more cross-racial acceptance in interper-

Table 10

Correlations between Social Distance and Tolerance, the Tolerance Subscales, the Basic Personality Needs, and Field Independence-Dependence

	Total ¹ Tolerance	Subscore PersRela	Subscore EaseCon	Subscore StatRela	Affil	Auton	SocRec	Desir	FI-FD
WWS	-.142	-.19*	.00	-.18*	-.21**	.31***	.19	-.30***	.13
SWM	.11	.01	.17*	.06	-.13	.35***	.00	-.29***	.14
SBW	-.20*	-.14	-.06	-.33***	-.19*	.00	.23**	-.35***	.24**
BMS	-.28***	-.23**	-.18	-.30***	-.26**	-.03	.10	-.26**	.15
WWW	.00	-.07	.03	-.03	-.19*	.15	.09	-.24**	.00
WMWM	.01	-.03	.01	.05	-.09	.06	.04	-.04	.25**
BWBW	-.01	-.09	.05	-.02	-.09	.15	.15	-.13	.08
BMBM	.00	-.01	.07	-.09	-.02	.17*	.26**	-.11	.05
WWW	.22**	.10	.20*	.21**	-.15	.29***	.04	-.14	.08
BMBW	.11	.14	.12	-.01	-.14	.37***	.03	-.23**	.00
WWBW	-.39***	-.40***	-.28***	-.25**	-.22**	.00	.12	-.22**	.18*
WMBM	-.18*	-.24**	-.18*	.00	-.17*	-.03	.05	-.02	.21**
BMWW	-.35***	-.21*	-.26**	-.37***	-.22**	-.03	.19*	-.26**	.13
BWWM	-.12	-.04	-.12	-.13	-.09	-.13	-.03	-.14	.22**

Table continued next page.

Table 10 continued.

1 The scales in this table are abbreviated as follows: Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships = PersRela, Ease in Interracial Contact = EaseCon, Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships = StatRela, Affiliation = Affil, Autonomy = Auton, Social Recognition = SocRec, Desirability = Desir, Field Independence = FI-FD. The same abbreviations will be used in Tables 11 and 12.

2 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.

sonal relationships were less likely to accept a coffee break with the black confederate (see Table 11) and showed a trend toward postponing a coffee break. Here we note a discrepancy between attitude and behavior, but a hesitancy to outrightly contradict one's supposed attitude. Subjects who accepted an invitation to a party at the confederate's house scored significantly higher on Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships, and those who actually telephoned were significantly higher on Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. Willingness to sign photograph releases was related to Ease in Interracial Contact.

In conclusion, the tolerance scales correlated significantly with several projective measures; both sets of which are paper-and-pencil instruments. However, tolerant attitudes appeared as unrelated to, contradictory to, or ambivalent in an initial interpersonal situation. But tolerant attitudes were associated with behaviors that required a commitment beyond the initial meeting. Accepting a cross-racial party invitation or signing photograph releases seemed to be viewed more as formal or social relationships than as personal ones.

HYPOTHESIS 5--AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis five stated that "The greater one's need for affiliation, the less social distance she will express."

AFFILIATION AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Though all of the correlations (see Table 10) are in the predicted direction (high affiliation correlates negatively with social distance), only four reached significance (WWS, EMS, WWBW,

Table 11

Correlations between Social Interaction with Black Confederate and Tolerance, the Tolerance Subscales, the Basic Personality Needs, and Field Independence-Dependence

	Total ¹ Tolerance	Subscore PersHela	Subscore Easecon	Subscore StatRela	Aff11	Auton	SocRec	Desir	FI-FD
Seat ²	-.10 ³	-.22	-.09	.08	-.30*	.30*	-.03	-.22	.02
Sec Seat	.02	-.10	.06	.09	-.15	.24	.08	-.18	.12
CofAcep	-.26*	-.32*	-.10	-.22	.10	.12	-.07	.16	-.04
CofPost	.26*	.26*	.18	.17	.01	.36**	-.17	.09	.20
CofRef	.02	.13	-.04	-.01	.03	-.37**	.20	.05	-.20
TelExch	-.17	-.19	-.08	-.13	.02	.31**	-.06	-.14	.06
Factor 1	.24*	.15	.12	.32**	.13	.08	-.12	.16	-.19
Factor 2	-.04	-.06	.08	-.16	-.01	.32**	-.14	-.04	-.30*
Factor 3	.06	.26*	-.01	-.07	-.05	.18	-.07	.08	-.14
Photo	.40***	.12	.60***	.14	.01	.48***	-.18	-.13	-.34**
CofSeat ⁴	.07	-.16	.33	-.01	.06	.00	.28	-.26	.15
ParAcep	.52**	.17	.48**	.56**	.10	.17	.11	-.36	-.13
PartTel	.42*	.31	.18	.51**	.16	.09	-.17	.01	-.25
PartRej	-.52**	-.17	-.48**	-.56**	-.10	-.17	-.12	.36	.13

Table continued next page.

Table 11 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 10.
- 2 The abbreviations for the columns can be located in Table 6.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to those who accepted a coffee break ($N = 12$).

BMW), and three approached significance (SBW, WWW, WMBM).

AFFILIATION AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

Subjects scoring higher on Affiliation displayed a trend toward initially sitting closer to the black confederate (see Table 11). The white confederate rated high scorers on Affiliation significantly more favorably on the first semantic-differential factor of "intimacy" and tended to rate them higher on the other two factors as well (see Table 12). Thus, scores on the Affiliation scale seem more apt to predict projective rather than behavioral interaction relationships.

HYPOTHESIS 6--AUTONOMY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis six predicted that "The greater the subject's need for autonomy, the more she will cross racial lines in social interaction."

AUTONOMY AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. This hypothesis was not confirmed (see Table 10). The need for Autonomy did not facilitate crossing racial barriers in projective social distance. However, there were indications that the need for Autonomy leads to perceiving greater social distance in relationships normally thought of as normatively close (WWS, SWM, WWW, BMBW).

AUTONOMY AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION.

In interaction with the black confederate subjects scoring high on Autonomy were more likely to postpone a coffee break (see Table 11) rather than to refuse one, and they displayed a trend toward sitting further away in the waiting room. But

high scorers more readily exchanged telephone numbers and were more willing to pose for cross-racial photographs. The exchange of telephone numbers and signing the consent for photographs support the hypothesis. And the black confederate rated subjects scoring higher on Autonomy more positively on the semantic-differential Factor Two (Leadership).

With the white confederate those scoring high on Autonomy were more likely to accept a coffee break (see Table 12) and to consent to pose for cross-racial photographs, and they showed a trend toward being more amenable to telephone to agree to attend a party.

The expressed need for Autonomy seems to have led subjects to imagine that dyadic partners would feel more comfortable if there were a greater amount of distance in relationships normally thought of as close and to possibly express some distancing initially in seating position. But the feeling of Autonomy may also have acted to provide subjects with the impetus to break away from peer-group pressure for established cliques in order to engage in some interaction initiated in the experimental setting.

HYPOTHESIS 7--SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis seven postulated that "The greater the subject's need for social recognition, the less likely she will be to cross racial lines in social interaction."

SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Social Recognition correlates significantly with projective social distance for two pairs of figures (SBW, BMBM) and tends

Table 12
 Correlations between Social Interaction with White Confederates,
 the Basic Personality Needs and Field Independence-Dependence

	Affil ¹	Auton	SocRec	Desir	FI-FD
Seat ²	.08 ³	.05	-.05	.14	-.29*
Sec Seat	.01	.04	.06	.06	-.29*
CofAcep ⁴	-.06	.34**	.04	.08	-.06
CofPost	.10	.07	.24	-.14	.03
CofRef	.06	-.34	-.04	-.08	.05
TelExch	.02	.18	.01	.03	-.02
Factor 1	.34**	-.06	.13	.34**	-.10
Factor 2	.28*	.14	-.09	.02	.20
Factor 3	.26*	-.10	.00	.36**	-.04
Photo	.21	.38**	.10	-.04	.14
CofSeat ⁴	.13	-.18	.01	.11	-.20
FarAcep	.28	.63*	-.37	-.80***	.02
PartTel	.28	.63*	-.37	-.80***	.02
PartRej	-.28	-.63*	.37	.80***	-.02

Table continued next page.

Table 12 continued.

- 1 The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 10.
- 2 The abbreviations for the columns can be located in Table 6.
- 3 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 4 The following correlations apply only to subjects who accepted a coffee break ($N = 7$).

in that direction for a third (BMW) (see Table 10).

SOCIAL RECOGNITION AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION. Scores on the Social Recognition scale seem unrelated to interaction with either the black or white confederate (see Tables 11 and 12).

HYPOTHESIS 8--DESIRABILITY AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis eight postulated that "The greater the subject's need for behaving in a socially desirable manner, the less likely she will be to cross racial lines in social interaction."

DESIRABILITY AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE. Rather than inhibiting interracial interaction, the need to describe oneself in favorable terms was significantly associated in eight instances with portraying the pairs of figures as rather close (WWS, SWM, SBW, BMS, WWW, BMBW, WWB, BMW) (see Table 10).

DESIRABILITY AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION. Scores on the Desirability scale were not related significantly to any interaction with the black confederate (see Table 11). The white confederate rated subjects scoring higher on Desirability more positively on the first (Intimacy) and third (Competency) semantic-differential factors (see Table 12). And high scorers were more likely to reject an invitation to a party. Desirability seems to be connected with making a good impression, expressing closeness on the projective measures and presenting oneself so as to be perceived favorably, at least by the same-race confederate.

HYPOTHESIS 9--FIELD INDEPENDENCE-DEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis nine (9A) states that "More field-dependent women place less social distance between themselves and same-race men than do field-independent women."

FIELD DEPENDENCE AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE (9A).

The data (see Table 10) do not support the hypothesis. The three relevant correlations of projective social distance with field independence-dependence (SWM, WWWM, BMBW) are not significant.

FIELD DEPENDENCE AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION (9A). Since relevant dyads (same-race, cross-sex pairs) were not employed in this study, this part of the hypothesis could not be tested.

Hypothesis nine (9B) predicted that "More field-dependent women put more social distance between themselves and other people except same-race men than do field-independent women."

FIELD DEPENDENCE AND PROJECTED SOCIAL DISTANCE (9B).

This hypothesis was not supported on the projective measures (see Table 10). In four instances it was reversed because field-independent women projected more distance (WMWM, SBW, BWWM, WMBM) and a fifth (WWBW) tended in that direction.

FIELD DEPENDENCE AND PHYSICAL DISTANCE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION (9B). In the black-confederate condition (see Table 11) field-dependent subjects showed a trend toward being rated higher on Factor 2 (Leadership), and they signed significantly more photograph releases. Field-independent subjects had a tendency to sit closer to the white confederate (see

Table 12).

HYPOTHESIS 10--ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF PROJECTIVE SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis ten states that "Respondents tend to project social distance between dyadic partners differentially according to the sexual and racial characteristics of the pairs. (I.e., projective social distance will be greater between cross-sex and cross-race stimuli than it will be for same-sex and same-race stimuli.)"

An analysis of variance of the fourteen pairs of figures yielded highly significant main effects for race, sex, and self vs. other (see Table 13). The means and standard

Table 13

Analysis of Variance of Projective Social Distance Pairs

<u>Main Effects</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Race	49.48	.001
Sex	13.16	.001
Self vs. Other	12.36	.001
<u>Interactions</u>		
Race x Sex	7.57	.006
Race x Self vs. Other	2.32	.123
Sex x Self vs. Other	1.94	.161
Race x Sex x Self vs. Other	2.22	.133

Note. Means and standard deviations for the raw data are presented in Table 2.

deviations for the raw data were presented in Table 2. Thus the pairs of figures were viewed as being more comfortable

when they were further apart if they were not of the same race or sex. Subjects generally portrayed themselves as further away from a target person than their same-sex, same-race counterpart would be from a similar target person (e.g., WWS \bar{M} = 39.3, WWW \bar{M} = 31.9). And there was a significant interaction for race by sex. Thus pairs of figures differing on both race and sex are pictured as farther apart than pairs sharing either race or sex in common (e.g., BWWM \bar{M} = 57.9, WWBW \bar{X} = 48.09).

HYPOTHESIS 11--LEVELS OF BEHAVIORAL INTIMACY

Hypothesis eleven predicted that "The more intimate the association requested by the confederate, the less likely will be a positive response from the subject."

Table 14 shows that the data supported this hypothesis. It should be noted that the rate of compliance was higher for requests made by the black confederate than for those by the white confederate except for telephoning for the party.

Table 14

Percentages of Behavioral Interaction

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Total %</u>	<u>% White Confederate</u>	<u>% Black Confederate</u>
Exchange Telephone Numbers	50.0%	39.2%	60.7%
Coffee Break	33.9%	25.0%	42.8%
Party Acceptance	10.7%	7.1%	14.2%
Telephone Acceptance of Party	7.1%	7.1%	7.1%

HYPOTHESIS 12--ATTITUDES AND INTERACTION

Hypothesis twelve postulated that "Racial attitudes, projective social distance, cross-race sympathetic identification, and behavioral social distance function relatively independently of each other. (I.e., the correlations between attitudes, projective social distance, sympathy, and actual behavior will not show a one-to-one correspondence.)"

This hypothesis was confirmed, for the data (see Table 15) show that while some significant relationships among the variables pertaining to interracial interaction occur, these correlations do not account for all of the variance. Though meaningful relationships among the variables do emerge (e.g., a number of correlations between the tolerance scales and projective social distance are significant), not all of the variables associated with interracial interaction are significantly related (e.g., empathy and projective social distance). These results indicate that we cannot presuppose a relationship between attitudinal and behavioral variables, but must examine the interrelationships among them more precisely. We shall discuss the predictive value of these variables later in the Results section and in the Discussion chapter.

HYPOTHESIS 13--REFERENCE GROUP AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis thirteen stated that "Subjects who differ from their reference group averages on the relevant projective social distance measures will display a lesser (if their expressed social distance is less) or a greater (if their expressed social distance is greater) reluctance to

Table 15

Correlations between Interracial Attitudes, Projective Social Distance, Sympathetic Identification, and Cross-Race Interaction

	Total ¹ Tolerance	Subscore PersRela	Subscore EaseCon	Subscore StatRela	Empathy	Action	Total
SBW ³	-.20* ²	-.14	-.06	-.33***	.14	.16	.08
BMS	-.28***	-.23**	-.18	-.30***	-.03	.26**	-.13
WWBW	-.39***	-.40***	-.28***	-.25**	.07	.06	.05
WMBM	-.18*	-.24**	-.18	.00	.17	.07	.14
BMWW	-.35***	-.21*	-.26**	-.37***	-.05	.11	-.09
BWWM	-.12	-.04	-.12	-.13	.00	.17*	.18*
Photo	.29***	.03	.54***	.03	-.21**	-.12	-.16
Seat ⁴	-.10	-.22	-.09	.08	-.02	-.07	.01
Sec Seat	.02	-.10	.06	.09	-.10	-.26*	-.01
CofAcep	-.26*	-.32**	-.10	-.22	-.02	-.06	.00
CofPost	.26*	.26*	.18	.17	.24*	-.17	.29*
CofRef	.02	.13	-.04	-.01	-.11	.28*	-.20
TelExch	-.17	-.19	-.08	-.13	.12	-.16	.18
CofSeat ⁵	.07	-.16	.33	-.01	-.37	-.36	-.20
ParAcep	.52**	.17	.48**	.56**	.14	-.52**	.36
PartTel	.42*	.31	.18	.51**	.09	-.33	.23
Empathy	-.01	-.05	-.04	-.07	--	--	--
Action	-.14	-.20*	-.04	-.11	.18*	--	--
Total	.04	.02	-.02	.12	--	--	--

¹ The abbreviations for the rows can be found in Table 10.

² * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01.

³ N = 56 for variables from SBW to Photo, Empathy to Total.

⁴ The abbreviations for the columns can be found in Table 6.

N = 28 for variables from Seat to TelExch.

⁵ N = 12 for variables from CofSeat to PartTel.

engage in actual social interaction with the confederate." The scores of the entire sample were used as a reference group since the subjects represented a selective subsample (all female, white, and undergraduates) from a rather homogeneous population (undergraduates at a private, church-related institution). Each of the relevant projective social distance measures (WWW and WWS for the subjects interacting with the white confederate and WWB and SBW in conjunction with the black confederate) was divided into quartiles and median splits. Then the number of subjects making a response (e.g., exchanging telephone numbers) was noted for each category. T-tests were used to compare proxemic seating distances, and Chi square analyses were performed for judging the significance of the discrete behavioral measures.

Table 16 shows how the high and low scorers on the relevant projective social distance measures actually sat in the initial meeting with a confederate. It indicates that only when subjects in the extreme quartiles on WWB were compared did the mean difference in their seating distances from the black confederate approach statistical significance. While the other comparisons are not significant, it is interesting to note that subjects projecting social distance below the median on WWS actually sat somewhat further away from the white confederate than those projecting more social distance. Table 16 also shows that this relationship is not true for those scoring in the extreme quartiles on WWS, but that it holds for those scoring in the extreme quartiles and below and above the median on WWW.

Table 16
 Mean Seating Distance Compared to Scores
 on Projective Social Distance

<u>Confederate</u>	<u>Projective Pair</u>	<u>Close Mean</u>	<u>Distant Mean</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Black	SBW (Median)	4.25	4.42	.24	n.s.
	SBW (quartiles)	4.66	5.40	.77	n.s.
	WBBW (median)	3.86	4.78	1.38	.15
	WBBW (quartiles)	3.20	4.86	1.91	.07
White	WWS (median)	3.92	3.68	.37	n.s.
	WWS (quartiles)	3.16	3.33	.62	n.s.
	WWW (median)	4.13	3.38	1.25	n.s.
	WWW (quartiles)	3.66	3.57	.14	n.s.

Table 17 demonstrates how the high and low scorers on the relevant projective social distance measures actually interacted socially with the confederates. It indicates that only for subjects scoring above or below the median on WWW was there even close to a tendency for low scorers to be more apt to accept a coffee break with the white confederate. In essence, projective social distance does not predict behavioral interaction.

HYPOTHESIS 14--AUTHORITARIANISM AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis fourteen (A) contends that "Women who score high on authoritarianism will tend to see more distance between themselves (and their peers) and a male, cross-race partner and will perceive same-race, opposite-sex partners as being significantly closer." In comparing the extreme quartiles on both F-scales (Messick-Frederiksen and Couch-Keniston) (see Table 18), we observe that high and low authoritarians differ in some instances significantly on their projective social distances. High F-scorers put more distance between the BMS and BMW pairs, significantly on the BMS with the Couch-Keniston scale. As predicted, high F-scorers place less distance between the WWM pair, significantly so with the Couch-Keniston scale. Conversely, high F-scorers place somewhat greater distance between the SWM pair, though it does not reach statistical significance.

Hypothesis fourteen (B) reads: "Women who score high on authoritarianism will tend to comply more with the request for a coffee break irrespective of the race of the confederate, but will decline further social interaction."

Table 17
 Comparisons of Projective Social Distance
 and Behavioral Interaction

Projective Pair	Behavior	Below Median Refuse	Below Median Accept	Above Median Refuse	Above Median Accept	Chi Square	p
WWW	Telephone Numbers	8	7	9	4	1 <	n.s.
	Coffee	9	6	12	1	2.35	.12
	Party ¹	4	2	1	0	1 <	n.s.
WWS	Telephone Numbers	8	4	9	7	1 <	n.s.
	Coffee	8	4	13	3	1 <	n.s.
	Party	3	1	2	1	1 <	n.s.
WWB	Telephone Numbers	5	9	6	8	1 <	n.s.
	Coffee	8	6	8	6	1 <	n.s.
	Party	4	2	4	2	1 <	n.s.
	Telephone Acceptance	5	1	5	1	1 <	n.s.
SBW	Telephone Numbers	7	9	4	8	1 <	n.s.
	Coffee	10	6	6	6	1 <	n.s.
	Party	3	3	5	1	1 <	n.s.
	Telephone Acceptance	4	2	6	0	1 <	n.s.

¹ For the WWW and WWS pairs only Party is reported since all the subjects accepting an invitation from the white confederate also telephoned whereas some subjects accepting the black confederate's party invitation did not telephone, so Party and Telephone Acceptance are reported for the WWB and SBW dyads.

Table 18

Influence of Authoritarianism on Projective Social Distance

<u>Measure</u>	<u>Low Scorers Mean</u>	<u>High Scorers Mean</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
<u>Messick-Frederiksen Scale</u>				
SWM	56.30	63.13	.41	n.s.
WWWM	30.92	18.40	1.45	n.s.
BMS	62.30	85.00	1.16	n.s.
BMWW	65.08	67.06	.12	n.s.
Photograph	4.23	1.73	2.13	.05
<u>Couch-Keniston Scale</u>				
SWM	44.50	60.60	.94	n.s.
WWWM	44.42	14.53	2.78	.01
BMS	50.78	91.86	2.72	.01
BMWW	67.00	80.00	.78	n.s.
Photograph	4.28	1.66	2.35	.05

For both measures of authoritarianism, the results are in the predicted direction, but not significant (see Table 19). The high scorers are more likely to go to coffee and to not engage in further interaction, but low scorers seem to go to coffee and to continue or not not continue to interact in about even numbers, so the contrast is not significant.

Table 19

Influence of Authoritarianism on Accepting a Coffee
Break But Not a Party Invitation

Authoritarianism (Messick-Frederiksen)			
	Low	High	
Coffee but not party	5	8	Chi Square = 1.76
Coffee and party	5	1	n.s.
Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston)			
	Low	High	
Coffee but not party	6	7	
Coffee and party	4	2	Chi Square = 1 < n.s.

FURTHER DATA ANALYSES

Thus far in this chapter we have looked at how well the data have supported the individual hypotheses concerning specific variables and their relationships to social distance, both projective and behavioral. Since the study was intended

to pursue a multivariate approach to the correlates of social distance, we need to examine the individual variables in concert as combined predictors of social distance.

Since anomy was not mentioned in an hypothesis and yet was related significantly to several social distance measures, and since the role of authoritarianism was postulated to play a rather specific role by the hypotheses whereas its influence was more pervasive than hypothesized, we need to first discuss these two variables. Then we shall enumerate which congeries of personality and social characteristics accompany the several aspects of social distance.

From Table 20 we can see that the relationships of authoritarianism to projective social distance occurs along the lines the theory would predict. Subjects high on the F-scale view the two cross-race, self-other dyads (SBW, BMS) as decidedly further apart than low F-scorers. And authoritarians perceive five same-race dyads, including both heterosexual pairs, as comparatively closer than do non-authoritarians (BMBW, WWWM, WWS, WWW, BMBM). Subjects who scored higher on anomy place greater distance between three dyads (SBW, WWBW, BMWW). Since these pairs involve three of the four relating directly to one's self as a white woman interacting cross-racially, it's as if one needs to feel secure that a firm social order exists before one crosses decreed social boundaries. The interesting aspects about the correlations of projective social distance and empathy center not only on self being considered further apart from a black male if the subject saw black people as actively protesting

Table 20

Correlations between Projective Social Distance and Authoritarianism, Anomy, and Empathy

	<u>OpposAuth (MF)</u> ¹	<u>Low-F (CK)</u>	<u>Auth (MF)</u>	<u>Auth (CK)</u>	<u>Anomy</u>	<u>Empathy</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Total</u>
WWS	-.01 ²	-.24**	.02	-.22**	.10	.01	.06	-.01
SWM	.04	-.03	.06	-.01	.12	.03	.08	.00
SBW	.06	-.09	.18*	-.02	.21**	.14	.16	.08
SMS	.02	.14	.24**	.25**	.18*	-.04	.26**	-.13
WWW	-.21**	-.29***	-.15	-.28***	.01	.16	.08	.12
WWW	-.02	-.06	.08	-.11	.02	.10	-.02	.12
BWB	-.12	-.18	.00	-.16	-.01	.22**	-.10	.25**
BMB	.01	-.22**	-.07	-.23**	-.02	.08	-.19*	.16
WWW	-.14	-.35***	-.28***	-.39***	-.12	.16	-.16	.22**
BMB	-.13	-.28***	-.14	-.22**	.03	.04	-.14	.09
WNB	-.02	-.17*	.14	-.07	.26**	.08	.06	.05
WMB	-.07	-.10	.06	-.09	.12	.18*	.07	.14
BMW	-.11	-.10	.07	.06	.22**	-.05	.12	-.09
BWW	-.09	.10	.13	.16*	.10	.00	.18*	-.06

¹ The row labels are abbreviated as follows: OpposAuth (MF) = Messick-Frederiksen Reversed F-scale items, Low-F (CK) = Couch-Keniston's Low-F Scale, Auth (MF) = Messick-Frederiksen's F Scale, Auth (CK) = Couch-Keniston's F Scale, Empathy = Sympathy subscore, Action = subscore, Total = Empathy and Action combined.

² * p < .10, ** p < .05, *** p < .01.

discrimination (high Action score on the Sympathy scale), but that subjects scoring in the non-empathy direction on the Total Empathy scale placed more distance between the WWMM pair. This suggests that if a person cannot express positive emotion in one instance, it is difficult to do so in another.

The most interesting aspect of the relationship between authoritarianism and social interaction results from the twin facts that authoritarians complied with the white confederate in some instances and refused the black confederate in similar circumstances (see Table 21). Authoritarians were more likely to not exchange telephone numbers, to not accept a party invitation, and to not telephone to confirm it with the black confederate whereas they did so more readily with the white confederate. And high authoritarians agreed to sign fewer photograph releases with both confederates. A contrast regarding anomy is that subjects accepting and telephoning to confirm a party invitation from the black confederate score lower on anomy while the more anomic respond more positively to the white confederate.

MULTIVARIATE PERSONALITY PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

Table 22 specifies which personality variables combined in multiple-regression equations best predict the subjects' scores on the projective social distance measures. The variables are presented in order of selection by the computer program, and the beta coefficients of the final equation are given. Variables beyond those that did not contribute an "r² change" of .01 were excluded from the analysis. Multiple Regression was used for the analysis of both continuous and

Table 21
Correlations between Social Interaction
and Authoritarianism and Anomy

	<u>Oppos Auth (MF)¹</u>	<u>Lo-F (CK)</u>	<u>Auth (MF)</u>	<u>Auth (CK)</u>	<u>Anomy</u>
		<u>Black Confederate²</u>			
Seat ³	.04 ⁴	-.06	-.19	-.22	.06
CofAcep	-.02	-.23	-.19	-.22	-.22
TelExch	-.14	-.38**	-.33**	-.29*	-.38**
Factor 1	-.32**	-.34**	-.21	-.20	-.10
Factor 2	-.18	-.40***	-.14	-.28*	-.01
Factor 3	-.18	-.20	.05	-.06	.01
Photo	-.28*	-.48***	-.46***	-.40***	-.18
CofSeat ⁵	.64***	-.02	.23	-.01	-.11
ParAcep	.17	-.52**	-.23	-.64***	-.26
PartTel	-.24	-.54**	-.32	-.53**	-.29
		<u>White Confederate</u>			
Seat	-.16	.07	-.19	.14	.22
CofAcep	.15	.18	.22	.26*	.02
TelExch	.10	.29	.36**	.51***	-.04
Factor 1	-.04	-.03	-.15	.01	-.42***
Factor 2	.22	-.06	-.06	-.22	-.26*
Factor 3	.19	.11	-.02	.05	-.42***
Photo	.19	-.15	-.04	-.26*	-.20
CofSeat	-.06	-.16	-.08	-.17	-.47
ParAcep ⁶	.47	-.26	.55*	-.06	.30
PartTel					

Table continued next page.

Table 21 continued.

- 1 Abbreviations for row variables can be found in Table 20.
- 2 N = 28 in each of the black-confederate and white-confederate conditions.
- 3 Abbreviations for column variables can be located in Table 6.
- 4 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$.
- 5 N = 12 for the following variables in the black-confederate condition; N = 7 for the corresponding variables in the white-confederate condition.
- 6 Subjects accepting the party also telephoned in the white-confederate condition.

Table 22

Optimal Personality Predictors of Projective Social Distance

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
WWS	Desirability (-.11), Autonomy (.22), Social Alienation (.14), Pessimism (.14)	.45
SWM	Pessimism (.30), Autonomy (.30), Self-Esteem (-.18), Outsider (.24), Interpersonal Alienation (-.25)	.55
SBW	Pessimism (.28), Overall Agreement (.22), Field-Independence-Dependence (.20), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.14)	.49
BMS	Distrust (.04), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (.32), Self-Esteem (-.18), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.17), Affiliation (-.20), Unstructured Universe (.12)	.54
WWW	Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.24), Desirability (-.20)	.34
MMW	Field Independence-Dependence (.22)	.22
BWB	Cultural Alienation (.14), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.14)	.22
BMB	Social Recognition (.46), Autonomy (.38)	.45
WWW	Authoritarianism (Messick-Frederiksen) (-.27), lack of Trust (.21), Autonomy (.12)	.39
BWB	Autonomy (.32), Outsider (.16), Desirability (-.12)	.42

Table continued next page.

Table 22 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
W _{WBW}	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.26), Distrust (.14), Social Alienation (.16), Ease in Interracial Contacts (-.14)	.48
W _{WBW}	Social Alienation (.19), Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.18), Field Independence-Dependence (.11)	.32
B _{MWW}	Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.36), Affiliation (-.22), Acquiescence (.28), Anomy (-.16)	.46
B _{WWM}	Subspection (.21), Distrust (.17), Field Independence-Dependence (.10)	.34

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

discrete variables since Cohen (1968) has demonstrated that multiple regression can not only perform valid operations on both types of variables but has the advantage of including interaction effects within the analysis.

Except for the WMWM dyad a multivariate approach offers more power of prediction than do single Pearson product-moment correlations. We can see that several of the variables contribute to the prediction of a number of the projective social distance measures. Autonomy appears in five of the equations, Authoritarianism, Field Independence-Dependence, and Distrust (or Trust) in four, and Desirability, Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships, and Pessimism in three.

Table 23 displays the optimal personality predictors of interaction with the black confederate. Acquiescence, Anomy, and Cultural Commitment (or Alienation) occur in four or more equations, and Authoritarianism, Distrust (or Trust), and Pessimism (or Optimism) in three. With the white confederate (see Table 24) Optimism, Autonomy, Authoritarianism, and Interpersonal Alienation each emerges thrice as personality correlates of social interaction. Authoritarianism, Pessimism (or Optimism), Anomy, and Distrust (or Trust) come up frequently as correlates of social interaction with both confederates.

MULTIVARIATE SOCIAL PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

In addition to the internalized personality characteristics of the subjects, we can also gain some predictive information about the subjects' desired and expressed social dis-

Table 23

Optimal Personality Predictors of Closeness of Interaction with Black Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Interpersonal Alienation (-.82), Acquiescence (.80), Unstructured Universe (-.44), Social Alienation (.40), Affiliation (.32), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.26), Autonomy (-.16), Distrust (.20)	.80
Second Seat	Pessimism (-.32), Acquiescence (.49), Interpersonal Alienation (-.44)	.68
Coffee Acceptance	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (.38), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.22), Anomy (-.19), Cultural Commitment (-.14)	.50
Coffee Postponement	Autonomy (-.29), Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.23), Empathy (-.21)	.48
Coffee Refusal	Autonomy (.18), Anomy (-.32), Cultural Commitment (-.26)	.52
Telephone Number Exchange	Anomy (-.24), Autonomy (.26), Unstructured Universe (-.25)	.50
Photograph	Ease in Interracial Contact (.45), Field Independence (-.42), Pessimism (.15), Autonomy (.30), Empathy (-.22)	.80
Farty Acceptance	Cultural Commitment (-.71), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (.50), Vacillation (.16), Acquiescence (-.48), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.34), Optimism (-.30), Hostility (.58), Self-Respect (.68), Ease in Interracial Contact (-.62)	.98

Table continued next page.

Table 23 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Telephone for Party	Cultural Alienation (.74), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (.38), Distrust (-.54), Anomy (.28)	.88

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

Table 24

Optimal Personality Predictors of Closeness of Interaction with White Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Field Independence (.19), Lack of Optimism (.24) Anomy (-.20)	.40
Second Seat	Field Independence (.30), Social Alienation (-.28)	.40
Coffee Acceptance	Interpersonal Alienation (.56), Autonomy (.31), Authoritarianism (Couch-keniston) (.26), Outsider (-.36)	.57
Coffee Postponement	Social Recognition (-.26), Social Alienation (.22)	.32
Coffee Refusal	Interpersonal Alienation (-.56), Autonomy (-.31), Authoritarianism (Couch-keniston) (-.26), Outsider (.36)	.57
Telephone Number Exchange	Authoritarianism (Couch-keniston) (.32), Vacillation (-.18), Lack of Optimism (.18), Cultural Alienation (.27), Unstructured Universe (-.42), Interpersonal Alienation (.20)	.74
Photograph	Autonomy (.37), Subsection (-.24), Optimism (-.18), Acquiescence (-.17)	.54
Coffee Seat	Resoluteness (-.40), Distrust (-.20)	.56
Farty Acceptance and Telephone	Desirability (-1.14), Anomy (-.146), Distrust (.92)	.99

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

tances from factors in their social-developmental backgrounds. These social influences can include their parents' educational levels and occupations, the family income, one's political orientation, how many generations removed from immigration they are, and whether they are of Southern and Eastern or Northern and Western European extraction. The occupational level to which the subject aspires as well as the difference between her parents' educations and hers and between the prestige values of their occupations and her expected one may alter the perception of a behavior regarding social intimacy. We can obtain a clearer understanding of some of these variables by looking at their magnitude. The subjects have an average of 5.86 years more education than their fathers and 5.74 than than their mothers. The prestige of the subjects' chosen profession exceeds their fathers' by 10.23 points on the NORC scale (Blau and Duncan, 1967) and their mothers' by 5.63 (however, the 50% reporting mother's occupation as housewife were not included in this analysis).

In Table 25 we notice that a multivariate approach provides us with greater predictive power about the social indicators of projective social distance than do bivariate comparisons. Also a number of the variables occur in several of the multiple-regression equations. Political orientation and national origins show up five times and one's own and one's mother's years of education four times. Political Conservatism and being from Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western European ancestry encourages placing the figures closer together while a greater amount of education

Table 25

Optimal Social Predictors of Projective Social Distance

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
WWS	Mother's Highest Grade (.11), Years of Education (.10), Difference in Occupation from Mother (-.13), Expected Occupation (.11)	.24
SWM	Political Conservatism (-.40), Fourth Generation (.12)	.42
SEW	Difference in Education from Mother (-.14)	.14
BMS	Mother's Highest Grade (.24), Difference in Occupation from Mother (-.19), Political Conservatism (-.20), Fourth Generation (.14), Father's Occupation (-.14)	.36
WWW	Higher Degree (.24), Difference in Education from Mother (.12), Father's Highest Grade (-.10)	.32
WWM	Second Generation (.16)	.16
BWB	Political Conservatism (-.34), Father's Occupation (-.12)	.34
BMB	Third Generation (.16)	.16
WWW	Political Conservatism (-.13), Southern vs. Northern European origins (-.28), Mother's Highest Grade (.25), Second Generation (.20), Higher Degree (.19)	.46
BMB	Political Conservatism (-.36), Southern vs. Northern European origins (-.24), Mother's Highest Grade (.20)	.49

Table continued next page.

Table 25 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
WJBW	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.22)	.22
WMBM	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.17)	.17
BWAW	Higher Degree (-.24), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.18)	.32
BWWM	Difference in Occupation from Father (.22)	.22

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

on the part of one's mother or one's self is generally conducive to projecting greater distance. It may be that women seeking higher education feel they have to resist the pressure to find their fulfillment in social rather than intellectual endeavors.

With the black confederate (see Table 26) political orientation and being second generation emerge four times as correlates and income, expected occupation, and years of father's education three times. Expecting a more prestigious occupation and having a father with more education generally facilitate more closeness with the black confederate, but being politically conservative, second generation, or having a higher income generally inhibit interaction. Only national origin arises frequently as a correlate of interaction with the white confederate, and Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western European ancestry promotes more interaction (see Table 27). Political orientation and national origins show up often on both projective and behavioral social distance. Being of Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western stock leads to closeness on both the projective dyads and with the white confederate while political conservatives tend to project less distance, but display less closeness of the black confederate.

In the Results section we have examined how adequately the data supported the original hypotheses. And we have begun to synthesize the data by looking at how well social psychological correlates predict social distance and interaction. **Now** we shall turn to discuss the relationships of projective and behavioral social distance and their correlates.

Table 26

Optimal Social Predictors of Closeness of Interaction with Black Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Second Generation (.24)	.24
Second Seat	Income (-.40), Fourth Generation (-.32), Father's Occupation (.24)	.40
Coffee Acceptance	Difference in Occupation from Mother (.28), Expected Occupation (.26), Second Generation (-.24)	.42
Coffee Postpone-ment	Political Conservatism (.38), Mother's Highest Grade (-.34), Second Generation (-.26)	.64
Coffee Refusal	Political Conservatism (-.44), Father's Highest Grade (.30), Difference in Occupation from Mother (.20)	.60
Telephone Number Exchange	Father's Highest Grade (.29), Expected Occupation (.36), Second Generation (-.16)	.47
Photograph	Income (.22), Father's Highest Grade (-.34), Mother's Highest Grade (.21)	.42
Coffee Seat	Mother's Occupation (-.44), Expected Occupation (.55), Fourth Generation (-.05), Income (-.69), Difference in Education from Mother (-.54)	.86
Farty Acceptance	Political Conservatism (-.70)	.70
Telephone for Farty	Political Conservatism (-.44), Father's Occupation (.18), Difference in Education from Father (-.11)	.51

¹ Beta coefficients for the variables are in parentheses.

Table 27
Optimal Social Predictors of Closeness of Interaction with White Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (.29)	.29
Second Seat	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (.44), Mother's Occupation (-.12)	.42
Coffee Acceptance	Difference in Occupation from Mother (-.32), Difference in Education from Mother (-.29)	.47
Coffee Postpone- ment	Higher Degree (-.38)	.36
Coffee Refusal	Difference in Occupation from Mother (-.32), Difference in Education from Mother (-.29)	.47
Telephone Number Exchange	Difference in Occupation from Father (.23)	.23
Photograph	Higher Degree (.24), Second Generation (.27), Mother's Highest Grade (.18)	.40
Coffee Seat	Father's Highest Grade (.79), Difference in Occupa- tion from Father (.45), Southern vs. Northern Euro- pean Origins (-.42)	.90
Party Acceptance and Telephone	Father's Occupation (-.27), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (.86), Mother's Highest Grade (-.54)	.99

¹ Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

Discussion

This study was designed to assess the correlates arising from both personality and social development of social distance through a multivariate, multimethod approach. We examined three aspects of social distance. We first looked at how close together subjects placed various pairs of figures drawn on paper, secondly we noted the proxemic distance that subjects sat from a confederate in a waiting room and at a coffee break, and thirdly we observed which subjects were willing to continue to interact with the confederate beyond the experimental situation by exchanging telephone numbers, by accepting an invitation to a party, and by telephoning to confirm one's acceptance. We were interested in both how these aspects of social distance might relate to each other and what their correlates might be.

SUBJECT CHARACTERISTICS

Before proceeding to fit this study into a wider context, let us summarize the main research findings. We were studying a group of female undergraduates of European descent who were generally upwardly mobile both educationally and occupationally in comparison to their parents. They fell well within the expected normal range of functioning on several personality measures. On almost all the alienation subscales and on alienation in general the respondents scored below the midpoint, and on several variables even those scoring one standard deviation above the mean fell below the midpoint. Thus the respondents present themselves as more committed than alienated. They express moderately

high self-esteem and are somewhat empathic cross-racially. They display high needs for affiliation and to make socially desirable responses and less of an urge to behave according to social recognition or to be autonomous. They scored in the middle range on anomy, but appeared as somewhat authoritarian. In their interracial attitudes they show more tolerance for accepting black people in formal or personal relationships than for breaking social norms about cross-racial interaction.

SOCIAL DISTANCE MEASURES

In the Projective Social Distance Booklet, a test designed to measure what distances subjects would consider comfortable between the fourteen pairs of figures composed of all the possible combinations of five basic representational figures--black man, black woman, self, white man, white woman--several main effects and an interaction emerged in an analysis of variance. Subjects viewed the dyads as being significantly farther apart if they differed in race or sex or if the pair contained a self-figure rather than two non-self figures, and combinations dissimilar in both race and sex were seen as being more distant than dyads sharing either of these characteristics.

Although subjects sat somewhat farther away from the black confederate in the waiting room, the difference was not significant ($M_{\text{black}} = 4.3$ vs. $M_{\text{white}} = 3.8$, $t = 1.18$, $p < .24$). Nor was the seating distance at a coffee break statistically significant ($M_{\text{black}} = 1.6$ vs. $M_{\text{white}} = 1.4$, $t = .41$, n.s.). Yet the subjects somewhat surprisingly seemed

to comply more with the black than the white confederate's requests for further interaction. Seventeen subjects exchanged telephone numbers with the black confederate, but only eleven with the white confederate; twelve subjects joined the black confederate for a coffee break, but only seven did so with the white confederate; four accepted a party invitation from the black confederate, though only two telephoned to confirm it; the white confederate also had two subjects accept and telephone for the party. Thus both the projective and behavioral measures of social distance served to elicit some significant and apparently meaningful differences in closeness as well as avoidance responses from this sample of subjects. Now we shall summarize what personality and socio-economic correlates cluster around the several aspects of social distance.

PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF PROJECTIVE SOCIAL DISTANCE

On the projective social distance measures the greatest number of personality correlates emerge in conjunction with the four self-other pairs (WWS, SBW, SWM, BMS) and with the two dyads containing the white woman cross-racially (WBBW, BBWW). Thus with the exception of the WWWM pair a number of personality correlates cluster around the combinations of figures in which the respondents would presumably perceive themselves being involved as white women. The personality correlates contributing frequently to greater social distance on the set of self-other projective measures are Distrust, Pessimism, Unstructured Universe, Self-Contempt, Outsider, Social Alienation, Hostility, Interpersonal Aliena-

tion, low Self-Esteem, Autonomy, low Affiliation, and a low Desirability score. Greater distance for the WWBW dyad is associated with the following personality correlates: Distrust, Unstructured Universe, Social Alienation, a lack of Tolerance in general and on the three subscales (Ease in Interracial Contact, Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships, the latter also occurs with SBW), and low scores on both Affiliation and Desirability. Greater distance is perceived in the BMW dyad the higher the subject scores on Distrust, Self-Contempt, Hostility, Affiliation, or Desirability, or the lower she scores on Acquiescence (also for BMS), Tolerance in general (also for BMS) or the two subscales of Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (also for BMS). The other projective dyads do not have more than one or two significant correlates.

PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Some personality correlates were connected with interaction with the white confederate, but more were found with the black confederate. Subjects who are more interpersonally alienated, engage more in Subspeciation, and are higher on Autonomy accept a coffee break with the white confederate while those who indicate less Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships go with the black confederate (a clear discrepancy between attitude and behavior). Participants with a need for Autonomy were likely to postpone, but not refuse, a coffee break with the black confederate. Subjects who exchanged telephone numbers with the black confederate scored

lower on Distrust, Acquiescence, or feeling like an Outsider and higher on Autonomy. The white confederate received telephone numbers from subjects who were less vacillating and less inclined to conceive of the universe as unstructured. Subjects accepting a party invitation from the black confederate tend to be vacillating, avowedly hostile, lacking in Optimism and Self-Respect, not acquiescent, and in favor of both Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. Since all the subjects who accepted the party invitation from the white confederate also telephoned, the personality correlates of being more Pessimistic, feeling that the universe is unstructured, and scoring lower on Desirability were the same for both actions. Telephoning the black confederate related to Cultural Alienation and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. Subjects higher on Self-Esteem more often rejected the white confederate's party invitation. Acquiescing less and needing more Autonomy led subjects to sign more photograph releases after interacting with both confederates; in addition, engaging less in Subspecion and being less optimistic as well as being more field dependent and feeling more Ease in Interracial Contact disposed subjects to approve more permits for photographs after relating to the black confederate.

It appears as if for the most part expressed attitudinal tolerance, not acquiescing, and some alienation facilitates a positive response to interpersonal interaction. That behavior follows from attitudes is logical, though not always demonstrable. An acquiescent response set seems to approve

normally sanctioned, ongoing behavior, but the person who does not acquiesce and may be slightly alienated may break away from the complacent conformity of routine.

PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF INTERPERSONAL RATINGS

Numerous personality correlates were associated with the white confederate's semantic-differential ratings of the subjects while fewer correlates emerged with the black confederate's ratings. Some personality correlates related consistently either positively (Self-Esteem, Affiliation, Desirability) or negatively (several alienation subscales and Acquiescence) to scores on the semantic-differential factors. With the black confederate the total alienation score and three alienation subscales (Unstructured Universe, Distrust, and Interpersonal Alienation) correlated negatively with the first factor (Intimacy), and Autonomy related positively with the second factor (Leadership). With the white confederate Unstructured Universe, Vacillation, Outsider, and Acquiescence correlate negatively with all three factors while Affiliation and Desirability related positively to all three. Self-Esteem was associated positively and Self-Contempt, Hostility, and Distrust negatively to the first (Intimacy) and third (Competency) factors. The fact that personality variables correlate more consistently with the white confederate's ratings than with the black confederate's ratings may reflect the subjects' behavior in the two conditions. Or it may reflect differences in the confederates' styles of rating (there was a significant difference in the mean scores between the raters on the first factor with the

white confederate giving considerably more positive ratings to the subjects regarding intimate dimensions, but they did not differ on the other two factors). Without having more than one confederate in each condition we cannot determine whether to attribute differences of ratings to personality or to cross-racial perception.

PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF ALL THE ASPECTS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

Several personality variables appear as correlates of the different aspects of social distance. Three of the alienation subscales, Unstructured Universe, Interpersonal Alienation, and Distrust, relate to all of the aspects of social distance. Subjects having a sense of the universe as unstructured place several of the projective dyads significantly farther apart, sit at a greater distance from the black confederate in the waiting room, are more likely to accept a party invitation from the white confederate, and are rated significantly lower on the first semantic-differential factor by the black confederate and on all three factors by the white confederate. High scores on Interpersonal Alienation lead one to put more distance between projective figures, to sit further away from the black confederate in the waiting room, to accept a coffee invitation from the white confederate, and to be judged more negatively on the first semantic-differential factor (Intimacy) by the black confederate and on the second (Leadership) by the white confederate. More distance occurs between projective figures if the respondents score high on Distrust, those lacking in Trust sit less close to the black confederate at a coffee break, and

those high on Distrust are inclined not to exchange telephone numbers with the black confederate and are evaluated more poorly on the semantic-differential Factor One (Intimacy) by both confederates and on Factor Three (Competency) by the white confederate.

The need for Autonomy encourages greater distance between projective figures, a tendency for subjects to initially sit further from the black confederate, subjects to accept a coffee break with the white confederate but to postpone it with the black confederate. High scorers on Autonomy more willingly exchange telephone numbers with the black confederate and sign more photograph releases subsequent to interacting with both confederates, and the black confederate rated them higher on the second semantic-differential factor (Leadership).

Acquiescers project more distance between themselves and a cross-race man (BMS, BMW), sit closer to the black confederate at a coffee break (and have a tendency to do so in the waiting room), refuse to exchange telephone numbers with or to accept a party invitation from the black confederate, sign less photograph permits after being with both confederates, and are regarded less favorably on all three semantic-differential factors by the white confederate.

The two tolerance subscales Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships play some part in facilitating closeness on the projective measures, in accepting a party invitation from the black confederate and telephoning to accept it, in agreeing to more photographs,

and in having the black confederate rate one higher on the first semantic-differential factor (Intimacy).

Authoritarians viewed some projective pairs homogeneous for race as significantly closer while they portrayed the BMS dyad as further apart. Authoritarians were inclined not to sit close during a coffee break, to not exchange telephone numbers, to not accept a party invitation or to telephone to confirm it, and to not agree to being photographed in the black-confederate condition whereas with the white confederate they were more likely to exchange telephone numbers and showed trends toward more frequently accepting a coffee break and a party invitation. The black confederate rated authoritarians lower on both semantic-differential Factors One (Intimacy) and Two (Leadership). Thus high scores on Authoritarianism seem to inhibit interaction with the black confederate and to encourage interaction with the white confederate. The anomic depicted several projective pairs as further apart, were less amenable to exchanging telephone numbers with the black confederate, and were assessed lower by the white confederate on the first (Intimacy) and third (Competency) semantic-differential factors.

In this study several personality variables related significantly to all the aspects of social distance. Three of the alienation subscales, Unstructured Universe, Interpersonal Alienation, and Distrust, appeared as correlates of the three aspects of social distance examined. Autonomy, Acquiescence, Authoritarianism, Anomy, and two of the Tolerance subscales, Ease in Interracial Contact and Acceptance in Sta-

tus-Superior Relationships, repeatedly accompanied the measures of social distance.

SOCIAL CORRELATES OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

Ten social variables emerge as significant predictors of projective social distance on from three to five of the projective dyads (as was seen in Table 25). The amount of education completed by both parents and their occupational statuses and the subject's own expected occupational status as well as the subject's political orientation contribute to how one views social distance. Political Conservatism and being of Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western European origin leads one to see pairs of figures as closer while higher education on the mother's part, being fourth generation, expecting to hold a higher-status job, and having a larger difference in occupational status from one's father are conducive to wanting more distance in a number of relationships. Though interaction with each of the confederates has social correlates, the correlates do not overlap, and they at times lead to closeness and at others to distance (as we observed in Tables 26 and 27)

Five social correlates were associated with both projective social distance and with interaction with one of the confederates from three to five times on each aspect of social distance. The status of one's father's occupation, the status of one's expected occupation, and one's political orientation appeared as correlates of both several projective social distance pairs and of interaction with the black confederate. The number of years of education one's mother

completed as well as being of Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western European origin are variables associated with both projective social distance and with interaction with the white confederate. In summary, we can see that several social-development correlates emerge in conjunction with interaction with the confederates, though the correlates are not the same for each, and that a number of social correlates arise on both the projective and behavioral aspects of social distance

Guilford and Fruchter (1973) caution us that in using multiple-regression analysis, we need to regard a sample of less than one hundred subjects with circumspection. They explain that each predictor contributes both directly through unique variance to the prediction and also indirectly through its relationship with the other predictors. And a multiple-regression analysis takes advantage of chance variation as well as true variance in providing a measure of the relationship between a dependent variable and a weighted combination of independent variables. Since the relationship is maximized by multiple-regression, a subsequent analysis might not show as high of a multiple correlation, and thus the generalizability of a small sample has limits. Consequently smaller samples need to allow for sampling error that might overestimate a stated relationship. However, multiple-regression analysis does offer a description of the interdependence of variables even in a sample smaller than one hundred.

RELATIONSHIP OF ASPECTS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

The prediction of behavior from psychological predispositions has intrigued social psychologists for a long time. The classical conception of attitudes articulated by Gordon Allport regards them as psychic states of readiness for physical action. The cognitive dissonance and behavioral approaches look upon attitudes as epiphenomenal. A more comprehensive approach entails the examination not only of the individual's articulated attitude but also his reference group, social norms, and the context of behavior (Kelman, 1974).

The term "social distance" has assumed a variety of meanings in the various theoretical formulations and studies in which it has been employed. Bogardus (1925) investigated the extent to which the members of a list of several national groups would be accepted in broad social categories from admission to one's country to allowing close kinship through marriage. Triandis (1964) also analyzed the degree to which subjects anticipate interacting with persons with various characteristics. Koslin et al (1971) focused on children's perception of "similarity" between pairs of pictorially represented figures varying on the dimensions of sex, age, and race. This present investigation extends the representational approach of Koslin et al to an adult population. Thus "social distance" in this context signifies "perceived interpersonal comfortableness among pairs of figures differing on the stimulus dimensions of sex and race."

Studies of social distance begun by Bogardus fifty years ago presuppose some congruency between attitudes and behavior.

Hill (1953) criticized the assumption that such predispositions eventuate in behavior. And experimental studies frequently fail to elicit behavior largely consistent with verbal attitudes (Brand, et al, 1974). The present investigation sought to examine whether an expression of perceived closeness would actually predict behavior.

Previous social psychological research, even though it has sometimes inquired into the personality or social correlates of different dimensions of intergroup behavior, has not dealt with the interrelationships among the several measures of intergroup orientation. The connection between racial attitudes and cross-racial interpersonal attraction has received the most attention (Raab and Lipset, 1970; Brand, et al, 1974). Paper-and-pencil verbalizations and more recently projective measures of social distance have scrutinized the imagined comfortableness or lack thereof of interacting cross-racially. Very little, if any, work has been done on the proxemic (seating and standing) distances maintained cross-racially. No study, to the author's knowledge, has yet attempted to consider how the three phenomena of social distance, proxemics, and social interaction are related to each other.

Table 28 shows us that of the fifty-eight correlations among projective social distance, proxemics, and social interaction only two reach statistical significance, one in each condition. However, the one significant correlation in the white-confederate condition (WWS and exchanging telephone numbers) as well as the two correlations that showed trends toward significance ($p < .10$) predicted the opposite of what

Table 28

Correlations among Relevant Projective Social Distance
Measures and Proxemics and Social Interaction

	<u>White Confederate</u>				<u>Black Confederate</u>			
	<u>WWW</u>	<u>WWS</u>	<u>Seat</u>	<u>Coffee Seat</u>	<u>WBEW</u>	<u>SEW</u>	<u>Seat</u>	<u>Coffee Seat</u>
Seat	-.18 ¹	-.06	--	--	.34**	.18	--	--
Second Seat	-.14	-.02	--	--	.24	.19	--	--
Coffee Acceptance	-.18	.26*	-.02	--	.13	.16	.20	--
Coffee Postponement	.01	.00	-.24	--	.30*	.24	-.24*	--
Coffee Refusal	.18	-.26*	.02	--	-.23	-.22	-.03	--
Telephone Number Exchange	.01	.30**	.15	--	.07	.12	.10	--
Coffee Seat ²	-.36	.32	-.09	--	.36	.40*	.22	--
Party Acceptance	-.24	.39	-.05	.09	.02	-.15	.27*	.34
Telephone for Party	.3	"	"	"	-.18	-.33	.18	-.30
	<u>BWW</u>	<u>BWS</u>			<u>BWEW</u>	<u>BES</u>		
Photograph Releases	.08	-.06			-.13	.02		

Table continued next page.

Table 28 continued.

1 * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$.

2 Seven of twenty-eight subjects accepted a coffee break with the white confederate and twelve of twenty-eight with the black confederate.

3 All subjects accepting a party invitation from the white confederate also telephoned.

actually occurred (projected closeness on the WWS dyad led to a refusal both to accept a coffee invitation and to exchange telephone numbers). In the black-confederate condition placing greater distance between the WWBW pair correctly predicted sitting further away from the confederate in the waiting room. Two of the trends toward significance also follow logically (projecting more distance on the WWBW dyad and postponing a coffee break and indicating greater separateness for the SBW pair and sitting further away during the coffee break), but the original seating position forecast contrary to what actually happened (sitting further away preceded not postponing a coffee break and accepting a party invitation). In summary, projective social distance and proxemics neither correlate to any significant degree with each other and social interaction nor indicate consistently and accurately what behavior will ensue.

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS

Let us examine how well the present study comports with previous findings. Schachter (1959) noted that first-borns display more affiliation under conditions of stress. And Stotland, et al, (1971) observed that first- and only-borns demonstrated more empathy to those higher and lower in status than themselves. The Affiliation scores of the first-borns (FBs) on a paper-and-pencil measure under conditions not designed to induce stress did not differ significantly from later-borns (LBs). But Affiliation was found to correlate meaningfully with several interaction variables irrespective of the subject's birth order. First-borns displayed more

empathy on the modified Schuman-Harding (1963) scale than did later-borns ($M_{FB} = 23.06$ vs. $M_{LB} = 26.16$, $t = 2.12$, $p < .03$; a lower score is more empathic). But first-borns did not project social distance differently from later-borns on any of the fourteen dyads, and only with regard to exchanging telephone numbers with either confederate was there even a trend for first-borns to be significantly friendlier ($\chi^2 = 2.77$, $p < .10$). Birth-order position does not appear to offer a suitable explanation for our data.

Katz, Glass, and Cohen (1973) propose that not only tolerance and the ability to identify cross-racially but also ambivalence (i.e., being high on both sympathy and prejudice) are operative in interracial situations. They observed that under guilt-inducing situations of stress ambivalent whites derogated black victims. We have examined the data according to the schema of comparing the four groups of subjects composed of the various combinations of high and low sympathy and prejudice to determine if ambivalence serves as a meaningful rubric in our study of person perception and interpersonal attraction.

On the projective measures three F ratios (SBW, BWW, BMS) were not significant. However, the other three F ratios (WWBW, BMWW, WMBM) did reach significance. On the WWBW dyad both the low sympathy-high prejudice and the high sympathy-high prejudice (ambivalent according to the above paradigm) subjects placed greater distances between the pair than did the sympathetic, tolerant and the low sympathy-low prejudice subjects (see Table 29). A similar pattern emerged on the

Table 29

Mean Scores on Projective Social Distance according to Ambivalence Paradigm

	<u>Low Sympathy- Low Prejudice</u>	<u>High Sympathy- Low Prejudice</u>	<u>High Sympathy- High Prejudice</u>	<u>Low Sympathy- High Prejudice</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
BMWW	40.46	52.42	92.15	78.25	4.70	.006
WWBW	33.46	38.07	59.25	60.38	3.42	.02
WMBM	31.54	37.92	41.15	54.18	2.60	.06
BMS	50.69	59.71	81.08	77.88	1.40	.25
SBW	40.08	44.57	55.00	66.93	1.20	.32
BWWM	44.38	55.00	61.76	68.44	1.04	.38

BMW pair where those low on prejudice but low on sympathy resembled the low prejudice-high sympathy subjects more than the prejudiced, non-sympathetic or the high prejudice-high sympathy subjects. The same trend for the high sympathy, prejudiced subjects to differ from the low sympathy-low prejudice subjects also shows up on the WWBM pair. While there are statistical differences here, they are not in line with the direction of the earlier reported study. Rather for all six measures the low sympathy-low prejudice subjects place the least amount of distance between the pairs of figures, and this same group and the high sympathy-low prejudice subjects project less distance than do the other two groups. The tolerance-ambivalence paradigm does not yield significant results on any of the proxemic or interaction variables for either of the confederates. This study does not controvert the Katz, Glass, and Cohen hypothesis; rather it provides discriminant-validity support for the premise that ambivalence may function in a guilt-induction situation, but it does not necessarily do so in a non-stressful interaction such as person perception or interpersonal attraction.

National origin has been mentioned as a determinant of social distance (Triandis and Triandis, 1960). In the Triandis' study persons of Northern or Western European origin expressed more social distance than did those of Southern or Eastern European ancestry. This tendency held true on three projective social distance dyads (BMBW, WWWM, BMWW) and showed a trend toward doing so on a fourth (WWBW). It is interesting to notice that the Latins view normative heterosexual dyads

(EMSW, WWWM) as more intimate than Nordics. But surprisingly with the white confederate subjects of Northern and Western European background demonstrated a trend toward being more willing to accept a coffee break than the subjects with Southern and Eastern European origins ($\chi^2 = 3.13, p < .10$). Here we observe a seeming contradiction between anticipatory perception and actual behavior. Thus classifying the data according to the subjects' national origins does not provide us with a completely satisfactory explanation.

We noted earlier that subjects who had interacted with the black confederate signed significantly more photograph releases ($M_{\text{black}} = 3.18$ vs. $M_{\text{white}} = 1.61, t = 1.98, p < .05$). This tendency was even more pronounced for subjects who did not accept an invitation to coffee ($M_{\text{black}} = 3.38$ vs. $M_{\text{white}} = 1.28, t = 2.33, p < .02$). This finding seems to replicate "the foot-in-the-door technique" examined earlier by Freedman and Fraser (1966). Subjects were found to comply more with a second larger request, even if the issue and task were different, than for subjects to agree to the exact same request if it were their first contact with the experimenter. In this study too just having interacted with a black female confederate without necessarily acceding to an invitation to go for a coffee break or to exchange telephone numbers seemed to predispose subjects to later consent to sign more releases to be photographed with a black male.

Witkin (1973) has pointed to the importance of field independence-dependence in interpersonal attraction. The influence of this cognitive style was assessed in the present

study. The scores of the two confederates on field independence-dependence were similar (black confederate: two correct responses and five errors, corrected score = .75; white confederate: three right answers and one mistake, corrected score = 2.75). The confederates were compared with the subjects with whom they interacted by computing the quartile scores on field independence-dependence for each confederate and considering those subjects in the quartiles just above and below them as similar in cognitive style and subjects whose scores fell outside the immediate quartiles as unlike them. The seating positions of the subjects either in the waiting room or at the coffee break did not vary reliably as a function of cognitive style, nor did the ratings on the semantic-differential factors. None of the behavioral measures as compared to similarity-dissimilarity on cognitive style reached an acceptable level of statistical significance; two rather unexplainable trends emerged in the white-confederate condition, those dissimilar in cognitive style were more likely to accept a coffee break ($\chi^2 = 3.04, p < .08$) and to sign more photograph releases ($t = 1.90, p < .06$). In this study similarity of cognitive style seems not to have facilitated social interaction nor to have made persons like oneself more attractive on adjective-rating scales.

It should be noted that the experimental method used in this design because of its particular sequencing of interaction may have had an effect on the results. From an experimental design point of view, incorporating more than one dependent behavioral measure could possibly induce reactance among the

measures. That is, the opportunity for the first behavioral response might serve as a "preamble effect" (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest, 1966) that would affect the subject's responsiveness to a second and further opportunities for responding behaviorally. However, Hill's (1953) criticism that the measurement of social distance does not by itself account for its relationship to ecological and personological variables and Triandis' (1964) demonstration of the multidimensionality of social distance need to be considered. Only a multivariate approach can hope to examine several dimensions simultaneously, thus approximating real-life interaction to a greater degree.

Another possible limitation on the generality of this study stems from the use of only two confederates--one black and one white. It is conceivable that the subjects' differential responses to the confederates may have resulted from their personality rather than their racial characteristics. Consequently, a validating study using more than one confederate from each racial group is needed.

SUBJECT REACTIONS

When the subjects returned to see the experimenter the second time, they were first invited to sign the photograph release form if they wished, and then the experimenter asked them to share their impressions of the experiment with him.

None of the subjects spontaneously indicated that they thought that the administration of questionnaires by the outside researcher and the experimental situation were connected.

Thus the attempt to not cue off subjects as to the exact nature of the experimental design seems to have been successful. A couple of subjects mentioned that they wondered why another person (the confederate) was present when this had not been announced, and a few were curious about why the session took less time than expected. But all the respondents to the questionnaire showed up for the experimental session, and all cooperated until the end.

The subjects' most common remark was that they thought that the items on the questionnaire were rather pessimistic and negative (a likely reaction from subjects who generally scored in the optimistic, friendly, and non-alienated direction). They seemed to have not communicated with each other (as the experimenter requested), or to have been aware of the experimental procedure before actually participating. A few who had gone to the coffee break and had talked afterwards with their friends about being invited to a party by another person present in the experimental situation wondered why they had had similar experiences, but this occurred after the experiment was over, so it did not influence the experimental manipulation. And the fact that they spoke of the party invitation but refused to divulge what went on in the experimental situation provides evidence for their non-awareness of the experimental design. During the debriefing the subjects' questions were directed more towards finding out how the questionnaires would be interpreted, what they meant, and what connection they had with the interview session.

We noted earlier that subjects who had interacted with the black confederate were willing to sign significantly more photograph releases; this may have been a conscious process since a couple of subjects made remarks to the effect that they were more amenable to permitting themselves to be photographed with a black male since it would be a similar experience to having conversed with a black female while waiting for the experimenter to administer the TAT cards.

The experimenter had expected more subjects to go on a coffee break and to be willing to attend a party at the confederate's house. Further inquiry into the possible reasons for this trend revealed that, though subjects consider themselves friendly at this small, private school, they tend to form friendship cliques and to spend most of their non-class time with established relationships and so do not feel a great need to make new friendships, especially in so short a period as ten to thirty minutes. Thus an in-group spirit as well as the brevity of the experimental interaction probably contributed to the lower than expected rate of interaction outside the experimental situation itself.

COMPARISON OF PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL VARIABLES AS PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

We have seen in the Results section that both personality and social variables when combined in multiple-regression equations with other personality or social indicators enable us to predict both projective and social distance and social interaction better than do single measures. Before proceeding to assess the results of combining both personality and

social-developmental variables, let us assess whether personality or social variables yield relatively more predictive power. We have obtained higher correlations on eleven of fourteen projective social distance measures with personality than with social predictors. On four of six proxemic measures personality forecasted seating distance more effectively than did social variables. Personality rather than social variables provide better predictors of social interaction with both confederates in ten of thirteen instances. Thus personality measures produce more predictive power than do social indices in a multivariate approach to most projective social distance dyads, to most proxemic measures, and to most social interaction possibilities included in this study. Since both sets of measures generally produce significant results and since the multiple correlations are at times close, we are not attempting to justify a rigorous dichotomization of the data, but are examining the relative contributions of each in preparation for placing them both in a holistic perspective as the following section shows.

PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL VARIABLES AS COMBINED PREDICTORS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE

On projective social distance the multiple R's produced by a combination of personality and social correlates exceed those generated by either personality or social variables alone on eleven of fourteen measures (see Table 30). Several variables emerge three or four times. Subjects projecting more distance are frequently more pessimistic, autonomous, socially alienated, feel like an outsider, score high on

Table 30

Optimal Combined Personality and Social Predictors of Projective Social Distance

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
WWS	Pessimism (.21), Autonomy (.22), Social Alienation (.17)	.44
SWM	Political Conservatism (-.16), Pessimism (.30), Mother's Highest Grade (.22), Autonomy (.22), Outsider (.12)	.58
SBW	Desirability (-.18), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.24), Pessimism (.26), Outsider (.18), Interpersonal Alienation (-.18), Hostility (-.16), Overall Agreement (.14)	.50
BMS	Distrust (.02), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (.30), Self-Contempt (.16), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.20), Affiliation (-.19), Unstructured Universe (.18), Father's Occupation (.12)	.55
WWW	Higher Degree (.28), Desirability (-.22), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston)	
WMM	Field Independence (.25), Second Generation (.16)	.30
BWB	Political Conservatism (-.32), Empathy (.12), Father's Occupation (-.12), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.11)	.38
BMB	Social Recognition (.42), Autonomy (.36), Third Generation (.18)	.45
WWW	Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.37), Mother's Highest Grade (.35), Trust (-.13), Second Generation (.18), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.21), Higher Degree (.12)	.58

Table continued next page.

Table 30 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
BMBW	Political Conservatism (-.14), Autonomy (.32), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.21), Mother's Highest Grade (.34), Desirability (-.28), Self-Esteem (.20), Outsider (.12)	.60
WNBW	Distrust (.20), Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.16), Ease in Interracial Contacts (-.18), Social Alienation (.12)	.44
WYBW	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.14), Social Alienation (.16), Empathy (.12), Ease in Interracial Contacts (-.12)	.33
BMW	Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (-.32), Hostility (.06), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.09), Higher Degree (-.13), Affiliation (-.14), Acquiescence (.12)	.51
BWBM	Difference in Occupation from Father (.26), Field Independence (.27), Acquiescence (.20), Self-Contentment (.14)	.42

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

Desirability and low on Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships, are politically conservative, have mothers with higher levels of education, and are generally less authoritarian and expect to have more education.

The combined personality and social predictors produce higher correlations for five of six proxemic measures and for eight of the fourteen interactions studied. Subjects interacting with the black confederate (see Table 31) were less authoritarian and generally less pessimistic, more autonomous and acquiescent, and less anomic. Those responding to the white confederate (see Table 32) were more pessimistic, and generally autonomous, interpersonally alienated, less distrustful and authoritarian, and of Southern or Eastern rather than Northern or Western European origins.

In order to facilitate an understanding of the overall relationships between the personality variables and social distance measures in this study, a summary table (Table 33) has been provided. All of the behavioral measures but only the projective social distance measures showing consistent relationships with personality variables have been included.

RATIONALE FOR FINDINGS

In order to ascertain whether more general constructs might underlie the host of personality and social variables employed in this study, a factor analysis was performed. Twelve identifiable factors accounting for 77.4% of the initial estimate of the variance emerged from an oblique factor analysis. The factor pattern and the factor loadings of the individual variables are presented in Table 34.

Table 31

Optimal Combined Personality and Social Predictors
of Closeness of Interaction with Black Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors¹</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Interpersonal Alienation (-.82), Acquiescence (.80), Unstructured Universe (-.44), Social Alienation (.40), Affiliation (.32), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.26), Autonomy (-.16), Distrust (.20)	.80
Second Seat	Pessimism (-.48), Income (-.54), Structured Universe (.42), Father's Occupation (.28), Fourth Generation (-.25), Acquiescence (.27), Interpersonal Alienation (-.41), Trust (-.22), Cultural Commitment (-.16)	.82
Coffee Acceptance	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships (-.52), Expected Occupation (.47), Difference in Occupation from Mother (.31), Second Generation (-.19)	.62
Coffee Postponement	Political Conservatism (.39), Mother's Highest Grade (-.32), Empathy (-.22), Second Generation (-.20)	.66
Coffee Refusal	Political Conservatism (-.34), Father's Highest Grade (.34), Anomy (-.24), Cultural Alienation (.20), Authoritarianism (-.16), Father's Occupation (-.12)	.66
Telephone Number Exchange	Anomy (-.25), Father's Highest Grade (.33), Autonomy (.20), Mother's Occupation (-.18), Authoritarianism (Messick-Frederiksen) (-.16)	.58
Photograph	Ease in Interracial Contacts (.52), Field Independence (-.44), Pessimism (.29), Mother's Highest Grade (.32), Empathy (-.19), Autonomy (.18)	.86

Table continued next page.

Table 31 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Coffee Seat	Acquiescence (.48), Trust (.74), Difference in Education from Mother (.50), Expected Occupation (.25), Fourth Generation (.25)	.94
Party Acceptance	Cultural Commitment (-.52), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (.22), Vacillation (.30), Acquiescence (-.26), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.20), Optimism (.20)	.96
Telephone for Party	Cultural Alienation (.74), Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships (.38), Distrust (-.56), Anomy (.28)	.88

1 Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

Table 32

Optimal Combined Personality and Social Predictors
of Closeness of Interaction with White Confederate

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u> ¹	<u>Multiple R</u>
Seat	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (.22), Optimism (-.26), Field Independence (.26), Mother's Highest Grade (-.30), Anomy (-.34), Income (-.16)	.54
Second Seat	Southern vs. Northern European Origins (.32), Field Independence (.23), Social Alienation (.12)	.48
Coffee Acceptance	Interpersonal Alienation (.41), Difference in Occupation from Mother (-.41), Autonomy (.44), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (.22), Outsider (-.26), Difference in Education from Father (-.13)	.72
Coffee Postponement	Higher Degree (-.34), Social Recognition (-.26), Social Alienation (.17)	.47
Coffee Refusal	Interpersonal Alienation (-.41), Difference in Occupation from Mother (.41), Autonomy (-.44), Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (-.22), Outsider (.26), Difference in Education from Father (.13)	.72
Telephone Number Exchange	Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston) (.32), Vacillation (-.24), Optimism (-.22), Unstructured Universe (-.32), Interpersonal Alienation (.30)	.72
Photograph	Autonomy (.35), Subsection (-.15), Optimism (-.01), Acquiescence (-.26), Trust (-.24), Mother's Highest Grade (.13)	.60

Table continued next page.

Table 32 continued.

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Multiple R</u>
Coffee Seat	Father's Highest Grade (.92), Resoluteness (.61), Distrust (-.34), Difference in Occupation from Father (.50), Southern vs. Northern European Origins (-.26)	1.00
Party Acceptance and Telephone	Desirability (-1.18), Anomy (-1.48), Distrust (.95), Political Conservatism (.12)	.99

¹ Beta coefficients for the variables are enclosed in parentheses.

Table 33
Summary Table of Main Variables

	Projective Social Distance					
	WWS ¹	SWM	SBW	BMS	WWBW	BMWW
Dist ²	.25 ³	.25	.22	<u>.36</u>	<u>.30</u>	.27
Pessim	<u>.31</u>	<u>.38</u>	<u>.32</u>			
Unstruc	.22	.22		<u>.28</u>	<u>.28</u>	
Vacil						
Slf-Cont	.21	.26	<u>.30</u>	<u>.31</u>		.26
SocAl	<u>.32</u>	.24			.25	
CulAl		.21				
Hostil		.24		.26		<u>.32</u>
Outside		<u>.27</u>	.24	.23		
Subspec				.21		
Interp	.24	.26		.22		
TotalAl ⁴	.26	<u>.32</u>	.24	<u>.31</u>	.25	.27
Acquies				.26		.25
Self-Est	-.21	<u>-.33</u>		-.24		
Tolerance ⁵	not applicable			<u>-.28</u>	<u>-.39</u>	<u>-.35</u>
PersRela	"	"		-.23	<u>-.40</u>	
EaseCon	"	"			<u>-.28</u>	-.26
StatRela	"	"		<u>-.30</u>	-.25	<u>-.32</u>
Affil	-.21			-.26	-.22	-.22
Auton	<u>.31</u>	<u>.35</u>				
SocRec			.23			
Desir	<u>-.30</u>	<u>-.29</u>	<u>-.35</u>	-.26	-.22	-.26
FI-FD			.24			
Auth (MF) ⁶				.24		
Auth (CK)	-.22			.25		continued

Table 33 continued.

	Interaction with Black Confederate									
	Seat ⁷	Cof	Tel	Fac1	Fac2	Fac3	Phot	CSeat	Par	PTel
Dist				-.34						
Pessim	.38									
Unstruc	.36			-.50						
Vacil									.56	
Slf-Cont										
SocAl										
CulAl										.62
Hostil								.50	.49	
Outside			-.30							
Subspec							-.31			
Interp	.42			-.40						
TotalAl				-.30						
Acquies			-.32				-.32	-.64	-.64	
Self-Est										
Tolerance							.40		.52	
PersRela										
EaseCon							.60		.48	
StatRela				.32					.56	.51
Affil										
Auton			.31			.32	.48			
SocRec										
Desir										
FI-PD							-.34			
Auth (MP)			-.33				-.46			
Auth (CK)							-.40		-.64	-.53

Continued.

Table 33 continued.

	Interaction with White Confederate									
	Seat	Cof	Tel	Fac1	Fac2	Fac3	Phot	CSeat	Par	PTel
Dist				-.32		-.32				
Pessim									.76	.76
Unstruc			-.36	-.68	-.46	-.62			.72	.72
Vacil			-.42	-.46	-.32	-.46				
Slf-Cont				-.40		-.39				
SocAl										
CulAl										
Hostil				-.38		-.38				
Outside				-.32	-.37	-.36				
Subspec		.36			-.34		-.36			
Interp		.44			-.34					
TotalAl				-.43	-.35	-.46				
Acquies				-.32	-.42	-.43	-.34			
Self-Est				.32						
Affil				.34						
Auton		.34					.38			
SocRec										
Desir				.34		.36			-.80	-.80
FI-FD										
Auth (MF)			.36							
Auth (CK)			.51							

Continued next page.

Table 33 continued.

- 1 These abbreviations can be found in Table 2.
- 2 These abbreviations can be found in Table 4.
- 3 All correlations without underlining are significant at the .05 level; those with underlining at the .01 level.
- 4 These abbreviations can be found in Table 5.
- 5 These abbreviations can be found in Table 10.
- 6 These abbreviations can be found in Table 20.
- 7 These variables are abbreviated as follows: Seat = Seat in waiting room; Cof = Coffee Acceptance; Fac1 = Ratings received from confederate on adjectives on Factor 1; Fac2 = Ratings received on Factor 2; Fac3 = Ratings received on Factor 3; Phot = Agreement to sign photograph releases; CSeat = Coffee seat; Par = Party Acceptance; Ptel = Telephone to accept party invitation.

Table 34

Factor Loadings for Personality and Social Variables

I Acquiescent Alienation (30.7%) ¹		II Acceptance of Status Quo (15.6%)	
Acquiescence	.862	Political Conser- vatism	.718
Subspection	.745	Autonomy	-.562
Overall Agreement	.662	Ease in Interracial Contact	-.525
Interpersonal Alienation	.655	Lie (Coopersmith)	-.386
Outsider	.596	Cultural Alienation	-.326
Anomy	.498		
Unstructured Universe	.486		
Distrust	.452		
Hostility	.340		
III Authoritarian Decisiveness (10.8%)		IV Upwardly Mobile Tolerance (8.6%)	
Vacillation	-.720	Highest Degree Expected	.868
Social Recognition	-.548	Occupation Expected	.744
Authoritarianism (Couch-Keniston)	.352	Empathy	.413
V Mother's Educational and Occupational Advantages (7.2%)		VI Social Acceptance Cross- Racially (5.8%)	
Mother's Occupation	.823	Acceptance in Status- Superior Relationships	.774
Mother's Highest Grade	.634	Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships	.711
Income	.456	Social Alienation	-.352

Continued next page.

Table 34 continued.

VII Assimilated Non-Protestor (5.1%)		VIII Favorable Self-Presentation (4.1%)	
Third Generation	-.745	Self-Esteem	.766
Fourth Generation	.630	Affiliation	.615
Action Against Discrimination	-.426	Desirability	.550
		Self-Contempt	-.546
		Pessimism	-.419
		Oldest Child	-.329
IX Father's Status (3.9%)		X Authoritarianism (3.2%)	
Father's Highest Grade	-.686	Authoritarianism (Messick-Frederiksen)	.709
Father's Occupation	-.644		
XI Old Northern European Stock (2.6%)		XII Field Independence- Dependence (2.4%)	
Northern or Western European Ancestry	.572	Field Independence- Dependence	.653
Second Generation	-.493		

¹ Percentage of the variance after rotation with Kaiser normalization.

Subsequently simple composite scores were formed for each factor by adding together the standard scores of all the variables loading on each factor.

As we can see in Table 35 four of the factors composed of composite variables correlate significantly with four or five of the projective social distance measures. Acquiescent Alienation (factor 1) seems to be associated with greater projective social distance for both self and other pairs and some cross-racial dyads. Acceptance of the Status Quo (factor 2), Social Acceptance Cross-Racially (factor 6), and Favorable Self-Presentation (factor 8) accompany perception of more intimate social distance.

Six factors relate to behavioral interaction with the confederates in two or three instances (see Table 35). In the initial interaction situation with the black confederate both Upwardly Mobile Tolerance (factor 4) and Old Northern European Stock (factor 11) relate positively to behavioral measures. And Acquiescent Alienation (factor 1), Acceptance of Status Quo (factor 2), Mother's Educational and Economic Advantages (factor 5), and Authoritarianism (factor 10) correlated negatively. Social Acceptance Cross-Racially (factor 6) related negatively to coffee acceptance, but positively to ratings on Semantic Differential Factor One (Intimacy). With the white confederate Acquiescent Alienation (factor 1) had a negative relationship with all three Semantic Differential Factors. Whereas for the black confederate Authoritarianism (factor 10) militated against the exchange of telephone numbers, for the white confederate

Table 35

Correlations of Personality-Social Factors with Social Distance Measures

Factors	Projective Social Distance													
	WWS	SWM	SBW	BMS	WWW	MMW	BWB	BMB	WWW	BWB	WMB	BWB		
Acquiescent Alienation (I)	.26 ¹	.22	<u>.34</u>								<u>.28</u>	<u>.29</u>		
Accept Status Quo (II)	<u>-.34</u>										<u>-.26</u>	<u>-.34</u>		
Authoritarian Decisiveness (III)														
Upwardly Mobile Tolerance (IV)												.22		
Mother's Educational and Economic Advantages (V)												.25		
Social Acceptance Cross- Racially (VI)												<u>-.26</u>	<u>-.31</u>	
Assimilated Non-Protestor (VII)												<u>-.34</u>	<u>-.30</u>	
Favorable Self-Presen- tation (VIII)													-.22	
Father's Status (IX)														
Authoritarianism (X)												<u>-.28</u>		
Old Northern European (XI)												<u>-.28</u>	<u>-.22</u>	
Field Independence- Dependence (XII)													.21	.22

¹ All correlations without underlining significant at .05 level; if underlined, at .01 level.
Table continued next page.

Table 35 continued.

Factors	Photo Seat CofAcep ²	CofPost CofRef	Teleich Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	CofSeat	ParrTel	ParAcep
I								
II	<u>-.40</u>	-.37	.32					
III								.59
IV			-.33	.34				
V		.34			-.30			.59
VI						.30		
VII								
VIII								
IX								
X	<u>-.46</u>							
XI								
XII	<u>-.34</u>							

² Explanations for abbreviated variables can be found in Table 6.

Table continued next page.

authoritarianism facilitated this interaction.

In subsequent interaction between the subjects and the confederates Authoritarian Decisiveness (factor 3) correlated with accepting a party invitation from a black confederate. Mother's Educational and Economic Advantages correlated with sitting closer to both confederates. With the white confederate Favorable Self-Presentation (factor 8) was associated negatively with accepting a party invitation and Father's Status (factor 9) positively.

We can see that a factor analysis of the battery of personality and social variables reduces the complexity of interpreting the results. Several of the more general constructs revealed by the factor analysis correlated significantly with projective and behavioral social distance as was recorded above. Factors 1 (Acquiescent Alienation), 2 (Acceptance of Status Quo), and 8 (Favorable Self-Presentation) show relationships with both projective and behavioral social distance.

This research project allows us to draw at least two firm conclusions. First, the presupposition that measures of social distance, proxemics, and interpersonal behavioral interaction are significantly, consistently, and meaningfully related is not supported by our data. This means that the closeness one imagines between pairs of people will not necessarily lead people to sit closer or to engage in activities together and that those who assume closer seating positions will not inevitably continue to interact under other circumstances. This finding is underscored by the

fact that though the interracial tolerance subscales correlated significantly with some dimensions of interacting with the black confederate, one of the correlations was in the direction opposite to its logical sequel (i.e., those espousing acceptance in close personal relationships were likely not to accept a coffee invitation), and thirty-three correlations were nonsignificant. Second, a multivariate approach (using multiple-regression equations) provides more predictive power regarding the correlates of social distance, proxemics, and social interaction than do single indicators. Further analysis showed that personality variables enunciated as internalized dispositions (e.g., self-esteem) many times accounted for more variance in predicting social distance than did variables constituting one's social-developmental environment, that could or could not be influential in one's personal functioning (e.g., mother's level of education).

Thus we discover that better predictive power emanates from the person, but we cannot discount social-developmental factors, for they do not remain peripheral to personality functioning. Though they are not always operative, they often guide behavior, sometimes too subtly to detect as when they help to form internalized dispositions that play a part within the total personality. Evidence for the interaction of internalized personality variables and social-developmental factors arises from obtaining greater predictive power from combining personality and social variables in multiple-regression equations than from treating them separately as we have seen.

Now let us seek a theoretical rationale for our empirical findings. Frankl (1969) has alluded to the phenomenon whereby elements that are abstracted out of a meaningful entity for purposes of specific analysis may seem to relate to each other in contradictory ways. But the same phenomena when viewed as constituents of an holistic process fall naturally into place. The discontinuity of attitudes, projective social distance, proxemics, and behavioral interaction may result from treating multilevel phenomena separately without trying to understand how they are meaningful within a more comprehensive, multidimensional gestalt unity. That is, a person exists as a multidimensional unity. A person possesses continuity and integrity and, except for extenuating circumstances, experiences one's self as a unity. Yet a person can also be analyzed by an observer into several dimensions (e.g., cognitive, emotional, interpersonal). Examining these dimensions can sometimes yield interesting information, but these dimensions function only within the unity of the person. Thus prediction of what a unique individual person will do proceeds from a comprehensive understanding of the person in question, for behavioral analysis without an explication of personality dynamics may depict a confusing picture. D. Katz et al (1956, 1957) uncovered how personality dynamics operate differentially according to the character development of the persons involved in attitude-related behavior. Social constraints can act to induce compliance and conformity in an individual, but how the person responds

to a social situation depends on how one interprets the situation as Adler stressed (Ansbacher and Ansbacher, 1956) and as Murray (1938) emphasized in his distinction between alpha and beta press.

Studying the multidimensional-unified-person-in-specific-situations may provide greater predictive power than focusing on separable behaviors of a conscious person in the absence of either an interpretation from the person of why he acted in a specific situation or of psychometric information. For an individual acts according to his "phenomenal self," i.e., according to how one perceives oneself and according to how one views the situation one is in (Combs and Snygg, 1959). The conception of the phenomenal self entails not merely private, esoteric knowledge, but is conducive to understanding how a person exists within the field-theoretical notion of one's life-space (Lewin, 1935). That is, a person experiences one's self within a multitude of situations and develops a concept of how he/she should or wants to act within specific situations. The life-space encompasses not only the individual's goals and the means or obstacles to obtaining them, but also interpretations of the various social and physical forces impinging on the person.

A comprehensive analysis of how a person behaves in specific situations will take into account not only the situation in which the individual finds himself and how he articulates his conscious awareness of his actions, but also both those aspects of his behavior that belong to his unconscious or "not understood" dimension because defense mechanisms or

safeguarding strategies are protecting his threatened self-esteem and those parts of one's existence that are pre-consciously taken-for-granted because of effective socialization.

Now let us consider the consequences for research of using a model of human existence as a multidimensional unity with analyzable aspects that acts in specific situations according to both situational determinants and individual interpretation, both conscious and preconscious. Cronbach (1958) proposed that researchers make use of both historical data as supplied by a clinical-longitudinal approach and of findings obtained from psychometric and experimental analyses. A combined historical-psychometric-experimental approach will reveal how the person was socialized to react to certain situations and if he customarily responds according to the norms of the general society or of a particular reference group and the habit-family hierarchy of his values and actions. We know that situations can be structured to facilitate interaction as Deutsch and Collins (1951) showed, but some self-selection is operative, and individuality of response remains a factor. Fishbein (1967) suggests that the intensities and valences of attitudes can change, and these need to be assessed regarding the concrete situation.

Practically, conducting a multivariate, multidimensional, multimethod research approach involves three sources of information, behavioral (what interaction occurs and proxemic measures), situation (both as it can be described physically and normatively by an observer and how the subject interprets it),

and personological (both as the person articulates his phenomenal-self-in-situation and as a psychologist specifies what unconscious motivation is functioning), Interaction can be observed and proxemics measured. Norms can be ascertained through an analysis of the public and informal consensual agreements of large numbers of people and/or of the reference group(s) to which the subject relates. Unconscious motivation can be assessed through life-style analysis. Probably the best way in addition to psychometric data to discover the influence of personal experience on behavior in specific situations would come from putting into practice Hill's (1953) suggestion that researchers use in-depth, open-ended, but structured, interviews to better understand the subjective experience and definition of social distance. Giorgi (1971a, b) and Sardello (1971) contend that the subject can be a valuable source of data in the psychological experiment. An added source of information can be derived from the expressive but generally unguarded dimension of nonverbal communication through voice tone (Weitz, 1972) and facial reactions as well as bodily gestures. Only a more comprehensive approach to the relationships of attitudes, behavior, and situations will allow us to possibly understand better the perplexing complexity of socialized persons acting according to social norms and their phenomenal realities in situations providing an opportunity for behavior.

In conclusion we can say that this study attempted to examine the interrelationship of several lines of research whose focus on aspects of social interaction (viz., the im-

aged closeness of interacting pairs of figures--projective social distance--proxemic seating distances, and various forms of interpersonal interaction) relates to a common theme, but whose interrelationship has been more taken-for-granted than examined. We discovered that social distance, proxemics, and social interaction do not consistently correlate nor predict each other, either intraracially or cross-racially.

We were also interested in the personality and social correlates of the different aspects of projective and behavioral social distance. We found that, though measures of projective and behavioral social distance did not relate significantly, each had a number of personality and social correlates. And we were generally able to obtain greater predictive power of both projective and behavioral social distance from combining the personality and social correlates in multiple-regressions equations.

We suggested that a better strategy for studying projective and behavioral social distance and their relationships to personality functioning might result from a more comprehensive approach than trying to unravel the meaning of correlations that do not seem to relate consistently in a number of studies. Such a comprehensive approach would include information about what behavior occurs, the specific situation in which the subject responds and how he interprets the situation, what norms are operative in the specific situation, and the conscious and preconscious motivation of the subject at the time.

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Appendix

The following scales used in this study are commonly available in published works:

Anomy: McClosky, H., & Schaar, J. H. Psychological dimensions of anomy. American Sociological Review, 1965, 30, 14-40.

Authoritarianism: the Couch-Keniston scale: Eales, R. F. Personality and interpersonal behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970, pp. 506-507.

The Messick-Frederiksen scale: Messick, S., & Frederiksen, N. Ability, acquiescence, and "authoritarianism." Psychological Reports, 1958, 4, 687-697.

Overall Agreement Scale: Couch, A., & Keniston, K. Yeasayers and naysayers: Agreeing response set as a personality variables. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 60, 1960, 151-174.

The following scales in this study are not commonly available in published works and are included in the appendices:

Affiliation (Jackson PRF)
 Alienation (Keniston)
 Autonomy (Jackson PRF)
 Desirability (Jackson PRF)
 Empathy (Schuman, Harding, Woodmansee, Cook, Massey, Haber)
 Social Recognition (Jackson PRF)
 Tolerance (subscales from Woodmansee, Cook)

The Projective Social Distance Booklet and the General Information Questionnaire have also been incorporated as appendices. Copies of the Hidden Figures Test (Form Cf-1) are available from the Educational Testing Service.

Alienation Scales

I Distrust

1. Expect the worst of others and you will avoid disappointment.
2. Nice as it may be to have faith in your fellow human beings, it does not pay off.
3. He who is gullible enough to believe the "truths" that others tell him is headed for disillusionment, mortification, and regret.
4. You are likely to be trampled on by others if you place too much reliance on them or their promises.
5. Only by keeping on guard against the possible untrustworthiness of others can we spare ourselves the continual pain of disillusionment.
6. Very few people can be trusted.
7. The world is full of people who are eager to take advantage of you if you give them the slightest opportunity.
8. Very few people will help another person out unless it benefits them in some way.
9. The world abounds with people who experience their keenest satisfactions in exposing the weaknesses and defects of others.
10. Most people are basically unreliable when their own security or pride is at stake.

vs. Trust

1. Believe that a person will keep his promise and he will keep it.
2. If you have faith in your friends, they will seldom disappoint you.
3. He who places his confidence in others will find it truly repaid.
4. If you trust others to the limit, they will trust you to the limit.
5. Faith in others breeds happiness and good will; suspicion engenders only suspicion in return.

6. You can rely on most people you meet.
7. There are always plenty of people ready to extend a helping hand.
8. Most people are generous in their judgment of you and inclined to give you the benefit of the doubt.
9. You can count on the vast majority of people you come in contact with to be trustworthy and dependable.
10. Most people you meet are friendly and obliging, more disposed to aid you than to refuse aid.

II Pessimism

1. The future looks black as pitch, with little to justify a core of hope or faith.
2. Wise people know there is more pain and misery in life than pleasure and delight.
3. The real substance of human life consists of a procession of disillusionments, with but few goals that are worth the effort spent in reaching them.
4. You can be certain that beyond every obstacle you encounter, your chosen path is blocked by a succession of further obstacles--some of which are unsurmountable.
5. No longer can a young person build his character and his hopes on solid ground; civilization is crumbling, the future is dreadfully uncertain, and his very little life hangs by a thread.
6. There is little chance of ever finding real happiness.

vs. Optimism

1. The world is teeming with opportunities and promises of success for anyone with sufficient imagination to perceive them.
2. Satisfaction is the rule; dissatisfaction the exception.
3. Most endeavors are worthwhile--pleasurable in their execution and rewarding in their results.
4. We can be confident that conditions will improve in due time.
5. There are few people who do not have it within their reach to enjoy life.
6. In the long run, things almost always work out for the best.

III Avowed Hostility

1. I often am aware that I really loathe someone.
2. I daydream occasionally of getting revenge on those who have injured me.
3. Love and hate are inseparable: we often hate most those who are supposedly closest to us.
4. There are times when I can hardly control my irrational hatred.
5. To get back at someone who has injured you, to hear of the humiliation and defeat of an enemy--this is both delicious and invigorating.
6. I sometimes wish someone I knew was dead.
7. I find I frequently feel hatred for someone I love.
8. I sometimes think to myself how much I hate someone.
9. Most people secretly despise those who depend on them.
10. There have been times when I have been so mad at someone I almost could have killed him.

IV Unstructured Universe

1. Attempts to predict the future are doomed to failure: random, fickle chance governs all.
2. Honesty compels us to admit that our lives are without any inherent regularity, purpose, or form.
3. You can never tell what will happen next, and attempts to find out are predestined to fail.
4. The notion that people and nature are governed by regular laws is an illusion based on our insatiable desire for certainty.
5. Human relations follow inconstant, unstable courses.
6. Anyone who believes he can "see what the future will bring" is either blind or self-deceived.
7. Human life rests on blind, unknowable chaos.
8. One of the greatest delusions of our time is the belief that we can know the future.

vs. Structured Universe

1. Increasing knowledge and understanding will permit us to predict the future with ever increasing confidence.
2. A person's relations with others are normally stable and predictable.
3. People who are wise have always known that our lives are intelligible, purposeful, and coherent.
4. Increasing human knowledge will some day permit humans to control the future with far greater exactness than they do today.
5. Although we may not always perceive them directly, the principles that govern the universe are forever the same.
6. Regularity, constancy, predictability--these are the ground rules of the world.
7. As a general rule, a person's past experience is a reliable guide to the future.
8. We live in a stable, intelligible universe.

V Outsider

1. I will either be a colossal success or a colossal failure, nothing in between.
2. Only very rarely do things turn out for the best: disappointments, complete or partial failures--these are the inevitable bitter lessons of experience.
3. There are sad and depressing times when the world strikes the eye as a huge, heartless, impersonal machine, almost devoid of understanding, sympathy, and mercy.
4. I feel strongly how different I am from most people, even my close friends.
5. The older I get, the more I see the differences that divide and separate me from other people.
6. I don't think I'll ever find a person of the opposite sex who really understands me.
7. I have very little in common with most of the people I meet.
8. Only cows are contented.

9. Suffering is the only source of wisdom.
10. Most people who say they are happy close their eyes to the sufferings of the world.

VI Subspec^tion

1. Appearances are usually deceptive.
2. First impressions cannot be relied upon; what lies beneath the surface is often utterly different.
3. Too many people lead shallow drab lives: I want to look into the depths, beneath the superficialities and conventionalities of everyday life.
4. I cannot simply take life as it comes: I must penetrate to the heart of it, see people stripped of their externals.
5. Most people wear masks: we can never really know a person unless we probe below the surface.
6. Beneath our personable facades lie depths of human nature which many people would find unimaginable.
7. Most ideologies and beliefs serve primarily to hide people's unpleasant motives from themselves.
8. I cannot accept appearances: I must go beneath them to the secret sources of dignity and shame, strength and weakness.
9. Much of our conventionality and rationality is an attempt to gloss over the deeper well-springs of human action.
10. The reasons people give for their actions should not be accepted at face value; they are usually very far removed from true motives.

VII Vacillation

1. I make few commitments without some inner reservation or doubt about the wisdom of undertaking the responsibility or task.
2. Second thoughts about things we have undertaken are completely natural: almost every endeavor has disadvantages which only become apparent once we are embarked on it.
3. I often wonder after I have promised to do something whether I was wise to have made the commitment.

4. I am not what would ordinarily be called a "decisive" or "resolute" person.
5. I am frequently led to abandon a projected course of action when I begin to worry about its consequences.
6. Sometimes when I dislike my current situation, I hesitate to change it because I am uncertain about the consequences of my contemplated vow.
7. My attitudes and feelings about people often change back and forth rather abruptly.

vs. Resoluteness

1. Once I have made up my mind to do something, I seldom have second thoughts or doubts about it.
2. It is hard for me to understand people who are always vacillating--wondering whether they made the right choice or did the right thing.
3. I generally make up my mind fairly quickly: and once it is made up, it usually stays made up.
4. When I embark on a given course of action, I seldom turn back or hesitate.
5. A good deal of new evidence has to be brought in before I am likely to question my established attitude about an issue or a person.
6. I sometimes devote myself almost without reservation to a person or a task.
7. In an emergency, I am always among the first to suggest what action should be taken.

VIII Self-Contempt

1. Any person who has really known himself has had good cause to be horrified.
2. Unless a person has been filled with revulsion, he cannot claim to possess self-knowledge.
3. I am given to self-accusation and self-recrimination about things I have done or might have done.
4. In personal relationships, I sometimes have an acute feeling of my own inadequacy and worthlessness.

5. I sometimes lose perspective and really hate myself after I have done something wrong.

vs. Self-Respect

1. There is really no good reason for a person not to trust his inner self.
2. My confidence in my own value is strong enough so that if people don't like me, it does not bother me greatly.
3. There is rarely a valid basis for self-contempt: this should be seen as a symptom of some other disorder or disappointment.
4. It takes a lot to shake my self-respect or feeling of my ultimate worth.
5. I generally go into a new situation with a feeling that other people will like me, or at least respect me for what I am.

IX Interpersonal Alienation

1. The longer I live, the more I realize how basically alone and friendless we all are.
2. I doubt if I will ever find anyone who really understands me.
3. It is generally advisable to avoid intense personal attachments.
4. I expect neither help nor praise nor sympathy from others.
5. Emotional commitments to others are usually the prelude to disillusion and disappointment.
6. Here today, gone tomorrow--that's my motto!
7. A person must learn to tolerate loneliness and solitude: it is very rare that he can find a companion who is prepared to accept him for what he is.
8. One should build his life around things which will not require the support of other people, for there is no more potent source of dissatisfaction than unfulfilled hopes about others.
9. Much as a person may seek true understanding from others, he must reconcile himself to living without it.
10. A wise person expects little from others; thus he avoids the frustration of failure and the despair of disillusion.

X Social Alienation

1. The whole idea of "taking an active part in the life of my community" leaves me cold.
2. Trying to cooperate with other people brings mainly strains, rivalry, and inefficiency; consequently, I much prefer to work by myself.
3. There's little more ruinous for an original person than to try to carry out his ideas in cooperation with other people.
4. "Teamwork" is the last refuge of mediocrity.
5. Few people can preserve (much less find) their identity within a group.

vs. Social Participation

1. To be an active and appreciated member of a group means a tremendous amount to me.
2. It is generally more satisfying to work with others than alone.
3. The individual can seldom be genuinely productive without some active role in the life of his community.
4. We find ourselves through a full life with others, not through isolation.
5. Membership in organized groups is a valuable if not essential part of a person's education.

XI Cultural Alienation

1. American culture is inclined to be trashy, cheap, and commercial.
2. In this age of conformity to advertising slogans and the shibboleths of big business, integrity demands that we stand against the main trends of our society.
3. I am simply not susceptible to the general enthusiasm for success, togetherness, and material accomplishments.
4. Ours is an age of cheap publicity, of ballyhoo, eye-wash, pretense, hypocrisy, and downright lies.
5. The idea of trying to adjust to society as now constituted fills me with horror.

6. Pursuit of the shallow values of success, popularity, and adjustment has led our society far towards moral bankruptcy.
7. In the last analysis, the "American way of life" is pretty shallow and tawdry.
8. Senseless conformity is the dominant trend of our times.
9. In this saccharine age of empty banalities and hollow affirmations, opposition or withdrawal are the most honest solutions for the individual.
10. American culture seldom rewards people of genuine ability: the "soft sell" and the "fast pitch" are rapidly becoming the keys to "artistic" success.

vs. Cultural Commitment

1. The American on the street shows a much higher standard of taste than most "intellectuals" give him credit for.
2. The values of the average American express many of the highest human aspirations.
3. Most people in this country lead productive and fulfilling lives.
4. Twentieth century societies have permitted people to reach a higher standard of culture than ever before.
5. If I had it in my power to change the values of the average American, I would leave them much as they are now.
6. Americans have a right to be proud of the levels of cultural appreciation which our country has reached in recent years.
7. One should not carp about those many Americans who place great emphasis on success and the approval of their fellows: these are important and necessary values.
8. There is little to be gained by opposing mass culture or middle-class standards; they aren't really that bad anyway.
9. It is all too easy to over-emphasize the faults in modern society, forgetting the benefits that come from a truly democratic culture.
10. The intelligent observer cannot help but marvel at the cultural achievements of the modern worlds; not only the individual peaks of accomplishment, but the high plateau of the average person.

Basic Personality Needs

Affiliation (Item number from Form AA of PRF in parenthesis)

1. Loyalty to my friends is quite important to me.(69).
2. I am considered friendly (113).
3. I try to be in the company of friends as much as possible (201).
4. I spend a lot of time visiting friends (377).
5. I go out of my way to meet people (421).
6. Trying to please people is a waste of time (47).
7. Most of my relationships with people are businesslike rather than friendly (91).
8. Usually I would rather go somewhere alone than go to a party (179).
9. I have relatively few friends (223).
10. When I see someone I know from a distance, I don't go out of my way to say "Hello" (311).

Autonomy

1. When I was a child, I wanted to be independent (71).
2. I would like to have a job in which I didn't have to answer to anyone (159).
3. If I have a problem, I like to work it out alone (203).
4. I delight in feeling unattached (247).
5. Having a home has a tendency to tie a person down more than I would like (379).
6. Adventures where I am on my own are a little frightening to me (49).
7. I don't want to be away from my family too much (93).
8. I often do things just because social custom dictates (181).
9. I respect rules because they guide me (269).
10. I can do my best work when I have the encouragement of others (401).

Social Recognition

1. The good opinion of one's friends is one of the chief rewards for leading a good life (106).
2. I constantly try to make people think highly of me (150).
3. When I am doing something, I often worry about what other people will think (238).
4. I would not consider myself a success unless other people viewed me as such (370).
5. I do a good job more to gain approval than because I like my work (414).
6. I give little thought to the impression I make on others (40).
7. I will not go out of my way to behave in an approved manner (216).
8. I don't care if my clothes are unstylish, as long as I like them (260).
9. If I have done something well, I don't bother to call it to other people's attention (304).
10. Inner satisfaction rather than fame is my goal in life (436).

Desirability

1. I always try to be considerate of the feelings of my friends (22).
2. I often take some responsibility for looking out for newcomers in a group (66).
3. In the long run humanity will owe a lot more to the teacher than to the salesman (110).
4. I am seldom ill (154).
5. My memory is as good as other people's (198).
6. Most of my teachers were helpful (242).
7. My life is full of interesting activities (286).
8. I am able to make correct decisions on difficult questions (330).
9. Rarely, if ever, has the sight of food made me ill (374).

10. I am always prepared to do what is expected of me (418).
11. Nothing that happens to me makes much difference one way or the other (44).
12. I have a number of health problems (88).
13. I often have the feeling that I am doing something evil (132).
14. I almost always feel sleepy and lazy (176).
15. I am not willing to give up my own privacy or pleasure in order to help other people.(220).
16. We ought to let the rest of the world solve their own problems and just look out after ourselves (264).
17. I often question whether life is worthwhile (308).
18. I believe people tell lies any time it is to their advantage (352).
19. I find it very difficult to concentrate (396).
20. Many things make me feel uneasy (440).

Empathy Scale

REACTIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

How do different groups react in typical situations? Below are some situations involving various groups. After each situation four possible choices are given. Please rank the choices from 1 to 4. Put a "1" before what you think is the most likely reaction. Put a "4" before what you think is the least likely reaction, and use "2" and "3" for the reactions in between the extremes.

This is a questionnaire rather than a test: your own personal opinion is the best way to answer each question. This questionnaire takes only about eight minutes to complete.

1. In a large Ohio factory a white man was promoted to foreman ahead of a black man who had been there longer. The Personnel Manager explained to the black man that since many of the workers were from the South and not used to having a black man over them, it might seriously damage the harmony and production of the plant if the black man were foreman. The black man was given a raise, instead. How do you think he reacted to this?
 - (a) He is probably not bothered since he didn't expect the promotion anyhow.
 - (b) After getting that far in the plant, he likely feels some resentment.
 - (c) He probably feels satisfied with the salary increase since he would understand the situation.
 - (d) Without knowing the black man himself there is no way to predict exactly how he would react.

2. A black couple is out for a drive in the country, and they pass a fine private club. The club has a sign out front describing the advantages of membership in the club, and at the bottom it says "Membership for whites only." How do you think the black couple is likely to react to this?
 - (a) It makes them unhappy to realize that they are not wanted in the club.
 - (b) They might think that they could easily join a black club with twice the advantages of the club they are passing.
 - (c) It is hard for a white person to know for certain just how black people react to a sign of this sort.
 - (d) They may read the sign quickly, but probably wouldn't think much of it for very long.

3. A black student is sitting on campus listening to a student speaker. The speaker is saying that the quality of the school has recently deteriorated due to the increase in the number of black students. How does the student react?
- (a) He understands the speaker may be making a valid point.
 - (b) He is very angry and thinks the speaker is incorrect.
 - (c) He becomes infuriated and tells the speaker that he is spreading racist ideas without knowing the proper facts.
 - (d) It probably makes little difference to him since he is getting his education.
4. A black man who is working on a construction gang is always called "boy" or "Black Sambo" by the Superintendent whereas the white workers doing the same job are called by their actual first names. How is the black man likely to react to this?
- (a) It probably makes little difference since over the years he is likely to have become used to it.
 - (b) He probably resents it and may even hate the Superintendent for talking to him in this way.
 - (c) He may well regard it as a friendly, informal way of speaking to him, especially if the Superintendent is generally a nice person.
 - (d) The story does not give enough information to tell how he would react in this particular case.
5. A black person reads that some teen-age boys have painted anti-Negro slogans on local places of business operated by black people. What is his reaction likely to be?
- (a) One cannot judge fairly without knowing more about the particular black person and his make-up.
 - (b) Unless it was a store he owned or traded in, he would probably not pay too much attention to the incident.
 - (c) He probably regards it as a harmless boyish prank, something the boys will grow out of in time.
 - (d) He takes this seriously and doesn't like it at all.

6. Two black girls get jobs in a large American business office. The white girls in the office are polite, but do not want to become too friendly with them. What is the reaction of the black girls likely to be?
- (a) They might prefer it this way since they have each other as friends and would rather not mix too much with white people.
 - (b) Probably it makes little difference if the job is good in all other ways.
 - (c) Black people are so different in some of their customs that it would be difficult for a person who is not colored to figure out exactly what they would think.
 - (d) They would certainly feel sad or angry or both.
7. A black man and his family are spending their vacation at a predominately white resort area. As his children enter the swimming pool, he hears a white mother tell her children that she doesn't want them swimming with Negroes. How do you think the black man reacted?
- (a) He gets quite upset and tells the woman her prejudiced attitude is very unfortunate.
 - (b) He understands that many people feel this way and is not surprised at her reaction.
 - (c) When he hears her comment, he feels very angry.
 - (d) He is glad because now there is more room for his family in the pool.
8. A black man in New York is trying to find an apartment and goes to an attractive apartment building. The agent meets him and explains that he would like to rent to him but that the tenants wouldn't like having a colored person in the building. The agent suggests another very good looking building that specializes in apartments for non-whites. How do you think the black man is likely to react to this?
- (a) He will probably appreciate the agent's help in recommending another good building.
 - (b) It is not easy to know what such a person would really think.
 - (c) He may well be sad to learn that the people in the building don't want to live near him.
 - (d) Very likely he would think nothing special of it, but just keep on looking until he finds a good place that takes black people.

9. A popular black boy attended an all-school dance with his classmates. Many of the white girls there welcomed him and sought him out for friendly conversation, but found many excuses not to dance with him. What was his reaction likely to be?
- ___ (a) It probably makes little difference to him since he would not expect a white girl to dance with him.
 - ___ (b) The story does not given enough information about the boy to know how he would react.
 - ___ (c) He probably feels that the girls should excuse themselves since everyone concerned would be better off not to start this sort of thing.
 - ___ (d) He probably feels a bit hurt by this.
10. The daily newspaper carries a story describing how a certain club in another city refused to admit a woman to membership because of her African ancestry. How do you suppose black readers of the newspaper are likely to react when they read the story?
- ___ (a) The black people are so different that it is hard for a person who hasn't really studied them to know for sure how they would react.
 - ___ (b) They might very much resent having a black person treated in this way.
 - ___ (c) They would probably read the article with interest but not worry over it if the people in the other city were not known personally to them.
 - ___ (d) They would probably think that the woman was wrong in trying to join a white club in the first place when there are plenty of fine black clubs.
11. The white school board in a community builds two new schools and fixes the school lines so that almost all the black children go to one new school and all the white children to the other new school. How do you suppose most of the black people in the community would react to this?
- ___ (a) While there are some exceptions, many blacks are mainly concerned with getting money for food, rent, and other things, and so do not have too much interest in the matter of schools one way or the other.
 - ___ (b) Every community is different, and it is almost impossible for someone not living there to know enough about the situation to judge.

- ___ (c) The average black mother or father would not like what the school board has done about drawing school lines.
- ___ (d) The average black parent would simply be pleased to have a new school for their children, especially if it was equal to the white school in every way.
12. A black woman is in the laundromat when she overhears two of her white neighbors mention her name. Apparently, the two white women are afraid that a black family on the block will cause their houses to lose value. What is the black woman's reaction likely to be?
- ___ (a) Although annoyed, she realizes that property values often decline when a minority family moves in.
- ___ (b) She becomes extremely upset and tells the white women that since she cares as much for her home as they do for theirs, there is no reason for the value of the houses to go down.
- ___ (c) She probably realizes that any minority group must expect a few difficulties when they first move into an all-white neighborhood.
- ___ (d) She becomes very angry and feels hostile towards the white women.
13. A well-dressed black man answers a "Home for Sale" advertisement in the newspaper. It happens that the home is in an all-white neighborhood. Despite the fact that the real estate agent clearly doesn't want to sell the home to him, the black man asks to look it over. After he had looked it over, he asks to fill out an application to buy it and to leave a deposit. What is most likely the black man's real reason for this action?
- ___ (a) He may have connections with a business group or some other kind of group that is trying to scare white owners into selling their homes at lower prices.
- ___ (b) He probably thinks it is a good house for his family at the price and convenient to his work.
- ___ (c) Probably he is well-meaning enough, but just doesn't realize that the neighborhood is completely white and wants to stay white.
- ___ (d) It is impossible to know in this case whether the colored person is simply making a mistake, or has some scheme in the back of his mind--only a careful investigation of his real motives could answer the question.

14. In a crowded restaurant where many business people eat lunch a black salesman finds that no one will take the empty seat beside him at the counter. The white customers appear to prefer to wait until they can sit next to another white person. How does the man react to this.

- ___ (a) Though the average white person might feel embarrassed, black people don't let this kind of thing bother them.
- ___ (b) He most likely feels a bit uncomfortable and hurt that people avoid him because of his color.
- ___ (c) He probably would not even offer the seat to anyone since he knows that people like to sit where they want to.
- ___ (d) I would have to be in the same situation myself to say about his reaction.

Tolerance Scales

Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships

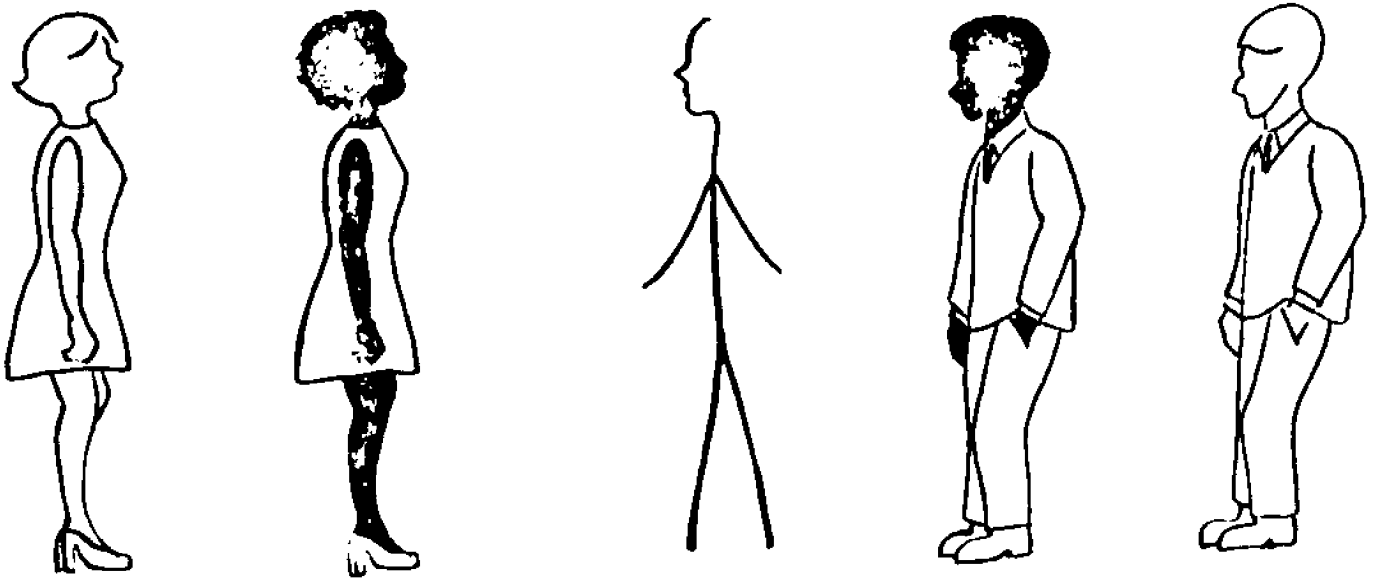
1. I would not take a black person to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.
2. I am willing to have black people as close personal friends.
3. I would rather not have blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.

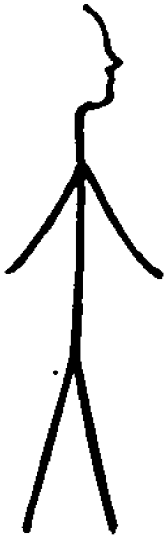
Ease in Interracial Contact

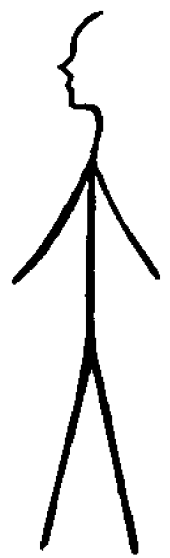
1. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a black person in a public place.
2. Before I sponsored a black for membership in an all-white club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.
3. If I were eating lunch alone in a restaurant with a black person, I would be less self-conscious if the black person were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.

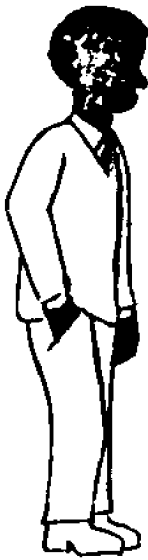
Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships

1. It would be a mistake to have blacks for foremen and leaders over whites.
2. Blacks should be given every opportunity to get ahead, but they could never be capable of holding top leadership positions in this country.
3. If he were qualified, I would be willing to vote for a black person for Congress from my district.







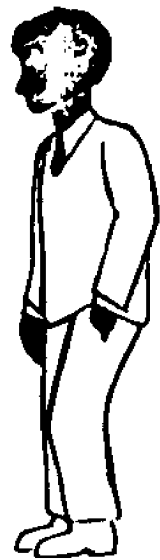
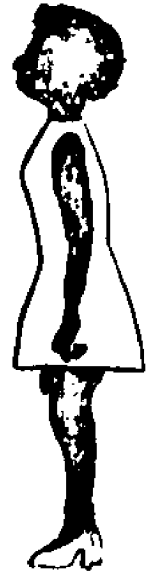






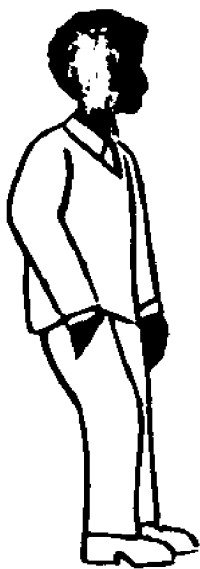




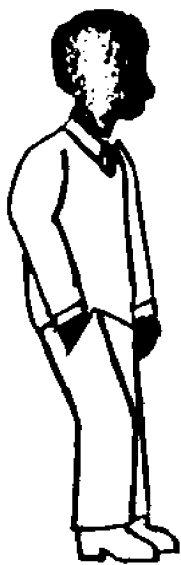


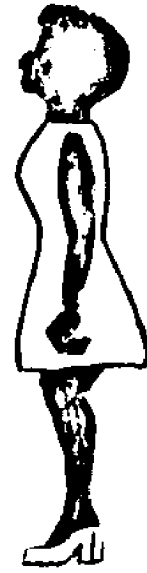












GENERAL INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How many older brothers do you have? ___ Older sisters? ___
Younger brothers? ___ Younger sisters? ___
 2. Are you ___ left-handed or ___ right-handed?
 3. Do you dream frequently? ___ Yes. ___ No.
Do you remember your dreams? ___ Yes. ___ No.
Are your dreams meaningful to you? ___ Yes. ___ No.
 4. What is the approximate annual income of your family?
___ Five thousand dollars or less. ___ \$5 - 10,000.
___ \$10 - 15,000. ___ \$15 - 20,000. ___ Over \$25,000.
 5. What is your religious preference (please check only one)?
___ Atheist, agnostic. ___ Judaism. ___ Protestant.
___ Roman Catholic. ___ Other (please specify) _____.
 6. How would you describe your political views?
___ Radical ___ Very liberal ___ Somewhat liberal
___ Moderate ___ Somewhat conservative ___ Very conservative
 7. Your sex: ___ Female, ___ Male.
 8. Your age: _____.
 9. Highest grade father completed _____.
 10. Highest grade mother completed _____.
 11. Father's occupation _____.
 12. Mother's occupation _____.
 13. Highest degree you expect to earn _____.
 14. Occupation you would like to work in _____.
 15. If all parents and grandparents were born in U.S.A.,
please state where your ancestors came from:
father's side _____;
mother's side _____.
- If all parents and grandparents were not born in U.S.A.,
please state their country of birth:
father _____, father's father _____, father's mother _____.
mother _____, mother's father _____, mother's mother _____.

Autobiographical Statement

Robert Franklin Massey was born in Los Angeles, California, on June 9, 1943. He graduated from San Luis Rey College (California) with a bachelor's degree in 1966. He studied theology at the Franciscan Theologate in Santa Barbara, California, and sociology at the University of California at Santa Barbara. He obtained his master's degree in 1970 in Inner City Studies from Northeastern Illinois State College in Chicago, Illinois. While in Chicago, he worked in the Neighborhood Youth Corps as a counselor, with the Cook County Department of Public Aid as a caseworker, and as a public elementary school teacher. He entered the doctoral program in Social/Personality in 1971. The topics of his second doctoral examinations consisted of the psychology of tolerance and prejudice; the three approaches to personality: psychoanalytic, social learning and behaviorism, and existential, phenomenological, and humanistic; personality development cross-culturally; sensitivity and encounter groups. He has studied with Dr. Viktor Frankl and at the Center for the Study of the Person at La Jolla, California, and is currently receiving training in Marriage and Family Counseling at the Alfred Adler Institute. He taught at Ramapo College of New Jersey as an adjunct lecturer from 1972-1973, at St. Joseph's College in Brooklyn as an Instructor from 1973-1975, and is currently Assistant Professor of Psychology at St. Peter's College in Jersey City, New Jersey. He is married to Dr. Sharon Davis Massey and is the father of Sarah Elizabeth, born on the octave of his dissertation defense.