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Self-Protective Thoughts of Women with Physical Disabilities
Regarding Interactions with Nondisabled People

by
Robert Joseph

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

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Abstract

SELF-PROTECTIVE THOUGHTS OF WOMEN WITH PHYSICAL DISABILITIES REGARDING INTERACTIONS WITH NONDISABLED PEOPLE

by

Robert Joseph

Advisor: Professor Charles P. Smith

Previous studies have documented that discomfort is experienced by participants in interactions between people with and without disabilities. The purpose of this study was to investigate conceptualizations of these interactions. It was proposed that when people with disabilities are faced with an interaction with nondisabled people they will anticipate that the interaction may be discomforting. They are likely to respond with self-protective thoughts concerning (a) defensive withdrawal to avoid rejection, (b) defensive role playing, and (c) defensive denigration. Although such thoughts may help the person with a disability avoid the pain of rejection, they may also limit any potential for positive interaction.

Self-protective thoughts and affiliative tendencies were investigated by means of thematic apperceptive stories and questions about the stories. The 138 female volunteers (69 with cerebral palsy, and 69 nondisabled comparison subjects) made up stories to pictures that depict potential mixed interactions (between characters with and without disabilities), or potential uniform interactions (between

characters of the same disability status). Stories were scored for self-protective thoughts, and for intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust.

The results revealed that subjects with disabilities conceptualized a significantly greater difference in the expected direction between uniform and mixed interaction pictures than did nondisabled subjects with respect to: (a) negative affect (one aspect of defensive withdrawal to avoid rejection), (b) intimacy motivation, and (c) need for affiliation. In response to questions about their stories, subjects with disabilities attributed significantly more feelings of rejection and role playing to characters with disabilities in the mixed interaction pictures than in the uniform interaction pictures. Nondisabled subjects did not differentiate between the conditions, except for attributing significantly more role playing to nondisabled characters in the mixed interaction pictures than in the uniform interaction pictures. There was no evidence for the defensive denigration self-protective thought.

Implications of these findings for interactions between people with and without disabilities, and a new approach to scoring thematic apperceptive stories are discussed.

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Scoring of thematic apperceptive stories is a very demanding task. Assisting me were Nirit Shelowitz and Shari Axelrod. Their intelligence and dedication were essential to the completion of this research. I offer special thanks to Donna Lehman who lent her artistic talent to this research by drawing the pictures used for thematic apperception.

I have worked for United Cerebral Palsy of New York City, Inc. for the past fifteen years. I am proud to say that this dissertation is the natural extension of my professional work. I want to thank United Cerebral Palsy of New York City, and particularly Giovanna Nigro, for the support and assistance they provided in helping me complete this research.

This dissertation is dedicated to the many people with disabilities who contributed their time and energy to this research. It is essential to know that people with disabilities are fundamentally the same as all of us. They want the same things we all want; to like and be liked, to love and be loved, and to have meaning in their lives. It is my great pleasure to be part of that pursuit.

I offer thanks to my sister Corey Lucas, and nieces Danielle and Jennifer, for the special sense of family love that is so important when one is involved in a task such as this. Also, very loving thanks to my dear friends Randy Mysel, Bennet Weiner, Howie Rose, Mike Rossman, Mitch Neuhauser, and Bennett Hirsch for providing so much support in their own unique way.

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work, has been a splendor to experience and learn from, over the course of my life. The honor of earning this Ph.D. is as much theirs as it is mine.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Purpose of the Research

The present research represents an attempt to contribute to the literature on stigma by means of an investigation of one particular stigmatized group, persons with physical disabilities. The research investigates the possibility that persons who have obvious physical disabilities will tend to make self-protective responses when interacting with persons who have no disabilities, especially if the latter are not close acquaintances. The research attempts to document self-protective responses, and the effect of conceptualizing interactions on the expression of affiliative tendencies.

It has been the experience of many individuals, and the finding of researchers, that interactions between persons with disabilities (P_D s) and persons with no disabilities (P_{ND} s)¹ are often strained and difficult, with both parties experiencing discomfort (Davis, 1961; Goffman, 1963; Kleck, Ono & Hastorf, 1966; Marinelli, 1974). Most research has focused on the experience of the P_{ND} s when interacting with P_D s. I propose to focus primarily on the experience of the P_D s, and to study not actual interactions but rather

¹Because the terms persons with disabilities and persons with no disabilities will be used numerous times throughout the text, the abbreviations will be used to facilitate the presentation.

thoughts about interactions. Self-protective thoughts, intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative trust-mistrust will be studied primarily by means of thematic apperception. That is, the associative thoughts of both P_D s and P_{ND} s in response to pictures of social interaction will be examined and compared.

In the discussion that follows, the term mixed interaction will be used to refer to an interaction between persons of dissimilar disability status, that is, P_D s and P_{ND} s. The term uniform interaction will be used to refer to an interaction between persons who have the same status with respect to disability (P_D with P_D , or P_{ND} with P_{ND}).

In my view, when P_D s are faced with the possibility of a mixed interaction they will anticipate that this interaction may be discomforting to them. This anticipation derives from their past experiences that such interactions have frequently been awkward and sometimes have involved the pain of rejection, and also from learning that they may have to "play a role" simply to be tolerated. As a result, P_D s are likely to respond to the possibility of a mixed interaction with self-protective thoughts or behaviors. The interaction may never occur because such thoughts may lead P_D s to avoid it. On the other hand, if the interaction actually occurs, such thoughts may lead P_D s to terminate the interaction early. One effect of these self-protective

thoughts could be to limit the potential for any relationship development.

The present view recognizes that most people, with or without disabilities, possess the ability to engage in close and intimate relationships. This researcher has observed, in working with persons with disabilities, that they have at times developed extraordinarily good and intimate relationships with nondisabled people. However, it is not the intent of the present research to explore the occasions of fully developed intimacy. The purpose is to study the earliest stage of relationship development. This period includes the time just prior to a first interaction between two people, and during that first interaction if one of the parties attempts to make contact.

A Potential Contribution of the Research

The importance of understanding interactions between P_D s and P_{ND} s may be increased by the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) which was signed into law on July 26, 1990.

The Americans with Disabilities Act gives civil rights protections to individuals with disabilities similar to those provided to individuals on the basis of race, sex, national origin, and religion. It guarantees equal opportunity for individuals with disabilities in public accommodations, employment, transportation, State and local government services, and telecommunications (U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, The Americans with Disabilities Act Questions and Answers, Thornburgh & Kemp, 1991).

The key aspect of ADA is the removal of all physical

obstacles to easy access into the community for people with disabilities. The result should be increased involvement of people with disabilities in their communities. This will inevitably lead to interactions between people with and without disabilities where there were none, or where they were limited. If the ADA is effective, people with disabilities will be exposed to every type of interaction that already exists amongst nondisabled people. Hopefully, the present study suggests a way, or ways, in which the discomfort of mixed interactions may be lessened, possibly leading to improved relations. This study offers the possibility of better understanding the effects of self-protective thoughts in stigmatized persons. Such understanding may help bring stigmatized persons into the mainstream of American life.

Background Research

Relevant prior research will be reviewed in four areas, (a) responses of P_{ND} s to P_D s, (b) responses of P_D s to P_{ND} s, (c) the need for self-protection in P_D s, and (d) the thematic measures of intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative trust-mistrust.

Responses of nondisabled persons to persons with disabilities. In commenting on the behavior of P_{ND} s in interactions with P_D s, Davis (1961) observed:

the guarded references, the common everyday words suddenly made taboo, the fixed stare elsewhere,

the artificial levity, the compulsive loquaciousness, the awkward solemnity (p. 123).

Davis also observed:

a pronounced stickiness of interactional flow and the embarrassment of the normal by which he conveys the all too obvious message that he is having difficulty in relating to the handicapped person as he would to just an ordinary man or woman (p. 120).

Goffman, in his classic book Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, referred to Davis' comments as reflecting the "pathology of interaction" between P_{ND} s and P_D s (1963, p. 19). To convey the uncertainty inherent in the mixed interaction for the P_D , Barker wrote:

The blind, the ill, the deaf, the crippled can never be sure what the attitude of a new acquaintance will be, whether it will be rejective or accepting, until the contact is made (1948, p. 33).

Experimental research suggests that P_{ND} s experience more state anxiety (Marinelli, 1974) and less emotional comfort (Kleck, 1966) in the mixed interaction than in interactions with other P_{ND} s. Marinelli randomly assigned 14 undergraduate students to interact with a peer disguised by a facial disfigurement, and 14 students to interact with the same peer as he appeared normally. Heart rate was monitored before and during the standardized interactions. Marinelli's results showed that students who interacted with the visibly disabled peer showed an increase in heart rate over the same two periods of time. The results tend to support the notion that interactions with visibly disabled

persons result in increased state anxiety for the "normal" person.

In Kleck's (1966) study, an interview situation was employed in which the interviewer was either apparently physically disabled or able-bodied. Psychogalvanic skin response, information seeking, and behavior were the dependent variables. Kleck concluded that the P_{ND} s who interacted with the physically disabled person experienced less emotional comfort than P_{ND} s who interacted with other P_{ND} s. This conclusion was based on the findings that these subjects (a) tended to demonstrate less variability in their behavior as a group than did P_{ND} s interacting with a physically normal stimulus person, (b) terminated the interaction sooner than P_{ND} s in the nondisabled interaction, and (c) expressed opinions which were less representative of their actual beliefs than those expressed by P_{ND} s in the nondisabled group. Additional studies of interactions between P_D s and P_{ND} s are reviewed by Katz (1981) in Stigma: A Social Psychological Analysis. In summary, it appears that P_{ND} s tend to alter their thinking, feeling, and behavior when interacting with P_D s.

Responses of persons with disabilities to nondisabled persons. Prevalent in the study of stigma are anecdotal accounts of the stress and strain that stigmatized persons are subjected to. Carling (1962) wrote eloquently about the interactions between the stigmatized and the unstigmatized

drawing heavily from the personal experiences of both:

I also learned that the cripple must be careful not to act differently from what people expect him to do. Above all they expect the cripple to be crippled; to be disabled and helpless; to be inferior to themselves, and they will become suspicious and insecure if the cripple falls short of these expectations (p. 54).

Goffman (1963) suggested that in the mixed interaction both participants are far more concerned about the "management" of the interaction than either one of them would be if they were interacting with "their own kind." In illustrating this "management" concern of the person with a disability, Goffman referred to Carling's observation:

I once knew a dwarf who was a very pathetic example of this, indeed. She was very small, about four feet tall, and she was extremely well educated. In front of people, however, she was very careful not to be anything other than 'the dwarf' and she played the part of the fool with the same mocking laughter and the same quick, funny movements that have been the characteristics of fools since the royal courts of the Middle Ages. Only when she was among friends, she could throw away her cap and bells and dare to be the woman she really was: intelligent, sad, and very lonely (Goffman, 1963, p. 110).

Comer and Piliavin (1972) interpreted these writings to be, in essence, telling people with disabilities to "act out the role expected of them, not being either too depressing or too normal" (p. 34). According to Goffman (1963) role playing will have the effect of allowing "normals to remain relatively uncontaminated by intimate contact with the stigmatized" (p. 121).

A few studies have dealt with mixed interactions from

the P_os' perspective. Comer and Piliavin (1972) recognized that a lot of the literature on stigma explored the P_{ND}s' perspective. In response to this imbalance they wrote an article to which they gave a title similar to that of Kleck's well-known article "The Effects of Physical Deviance Upon Face-to-Face Interaction." Comer and Piliavin added the words "The Other Side" to represent their study as one that explored the effects of this interaction on people with disabilities. They studied interactions to explore the behavior of the "disabled person." Their subjects were 30 physically disabled male patients from a university hospital setting. They investigated differences between subjects with disabilities who were interviewed by either a physically normal interviewer, or an interviewer who appeared to have a disability. Their results revealed that the subjects with disabilities who were interviewed by a physically normal interviewer, (a) terminated the interaction sooner, (b) showed greater motoric inhibition, (c) smiled less, (d) demonstrated less eye contact with the interviewer, and (e) reported feeling less comfortable during the interaction, than the subjects with disabilities who were interviewed by an interviewer who appeared to have a disability.

In another experimental study dealing with the perspective of the stigmatized person, Freeman and Kastenbaum (1956) commented that illiterates (educationally

handicapped), in their interactions with one another, drop their mask of accommodative adjustment. The inference is that in mixed interactions the stigmatized person, as Goffman suggested, must alter himself or herself in some manner to be accepted by the unstigmatized.

In summary, this research indicates that when people with disabilities interact with nondisabled people they tend to experience discomfort, and feel unsure how to act. It was shown experimentally that P_os behaved in ways that limited the length of time of the interaction. P_os limited, or altered, the conversation in ways that did not allow the nondisabled person to know the P_os' true feelings. The various anecdotal accounts reflect the pain people with disabilities endure when situations demand that they interact with nondisabled people. It is implied that they may prefer isolation or to be only with, as Goffman wrote, "their own kind."

The need for self-protection in persons with disabilities. Past research has suggested that people in stigmatized groups may adopt certain self-protective responses especially when interacting with nonstigmatized groups (Crocker and Major, 1988). Social comparison theory posits a tendency to obtain information about oneself by comparing oneself to others (Festinger, 1954). Crocker and Major suggested that if stigmatized people compared themselves with nonstigmatized people it would lead to

lowered self-esteem.

Why is self-protection important for P_Ds? It is because P_Ds tend to experience a persistent fate in society. Most P_Ds have been subjected to rejection and discrimination by P_{ND}s (Fine & Asch, 1981; Zola, 1982). Historically, P_Ds have been made to feel that they are less than whole people and that they are unworthy and not entitled to be in close intimate contact with P_{ND}s. Although it would not be surprising to find that P_Ds experience higher levels of depression and less satisfaction with life because of the interpersonal problems they face, researchers have shown that P_Ds are not more depressed, nor are they any less satisfied with their lives than P_{ND}s (Cameron, 1973; Weinberg, 1984).

Weinberg wrote that theorists have suggested that the "disabled" introject society's perceptions of them as different and come to devalue themselves because of their inability to measure up to the able-bodied. Weinberg compared the self-ratings on a variety of personality traits and attitudes of "disabled persons with able-bodied persons." Her analyses indicated that disabled persons perceive themselves in much the same way that able-bodied persons perceive themselves. Weinberg's findings seriously questioned the assumption that disabled persons introject the majority's view of them as different.

Weinberg's finding is consistent with Crocker and

Major's (1988) concept of self-protection. Self-protection allows stigmatized people to maintain a high level of self-esteem by not using nondisabled people as a comparative frame of reference. Crocker and Major noted that although several psychological theories predict that members of stigmatized groups should have low global self-esteem, empirical research typically does not support this prediction. Crocker and Major propose that to protect self-esteem, members of stigmatized groups may (a) attribute negative feedback to prejudice against their group, (b) compare their outcomes with those of the ingroup, rather than with the relatively advantaged outgroup, and (c) selectively devalue those dimensions on which their group fares poorly and value those dimensions on which their group excels.

The main relevance of the Crocker and Major work to the present study is the mechanism in which stigmatized people avoid comparing their outcomes with the outgroup. By not using relatively advantaged nondisabled people as a comparative frame of reference, persons with disabilities avoid thinking that they are less capable, or less worthy, than nondisabled people. If comparisons were made, the person with a disability would be unable to avoid these self-esteem damaging thoughts.

Research on affiliative tendencies. The literature on intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of

rejection, and affiliative trust-mistrust will be reviewed next. These variables are included to obtain evidence of differences that may exist between the thoughts of subjects conceptualizing the mixed interaction as compared with subjects conceptualizing the uniform interaction.

McAdams (1992) defined intimacy motivation as the preference for warm, caring, and close communicative contact with others. He proposed that people ranged from high to low on intimacy motivation. He developed a measure of intimacy motivation based on imagery produced in thematic apperceptive stories written in response to ambiguous stimulus pictures (McAdams, 1992). Construct validity studies showed the measure to be related to information obtained from an experience-sampling procedure in which subjects carried electronic pagers with them for a week (McAdams & Constantian, 1983), from descriptions of recent friendship episodes--interactions with friends that lasted at least 15-20 minutes (McAdams, Healy, & Krause, 1984), and from participation in multisession psychodrama (McAdams & Powers, 1981). People who wrote stories that included higher levels of intimacy imagery engaged in more thinking about interpersonal relations, experienced more positive affect in interpersonal situations, engaged in more conversations, and wrote more letters, than did people low in intimacy imagery. In addition, individuals high in intimacy motivation, (a) had more dyadic friendship

episodes, (b) engaged in more self-disclosure among friends, (c) listened more, (d) exhibited more concern for the well-being of friends, and (e) constructed more personal scenarios characterized by themes of mutual delight, reciprocal dialogue, and surrender of manipulative control in the process of relating to others, than did those people low in intimacy motivation.

A related motive is the need for affiliation. A scoring system for need for affiliation from thematic apperceptive stories was first developed by Shipley and Veroff (1952). Their system was revised by Heyns, Veroff, and Atkinson (1958) who defined affiliation motivation as a concern over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person or group of persons. Their original conception of need for affiliation was that it was an approach motive and that people high in need for affiliation would be rewarded with successful interpersonal interactions and relationships. However, contrary to expectation a negative relationship between need for affiliation and social success was discovered (Atkinson, Heyns, & Veroff, 1954; Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Shipley & Veroff, 1952). In reviewing the literature on need for affiliation, Koestner and McClelland (1992) conclude that the need for affiliation score may not be measuring a positive drive to be with others, but rather a fear of being rejected, or a deprivation of affiliation.

Heyns, Veroff, and Atkinson (1958) suggested that the standard need for affiliation score should be composed of need for affiliation categories that are positive, but they also suggested the possibility of a score for fear of rejection based on the following subcategories: Unsuccessful Instrumental Activity, Negative Anticipatory Goal State, Negative Affective State, and Personal Obstacle. In the present research, fear of rejection in the subjects' stories is assessed by scoring for these subcategories.

McAdams and Constantian (1983) compared intimacy motivation and need for affiliation in their work with the experience-sampling procedure. They found that subjects high in need for affiliation were no more likely to report positive affect when with others than were the low-affiliation subjects. They concluded that the affiliation motive is characterized by an "agentic," active, striving orientation toward relationships rooted in a fear of rejection. The high-intimacy person, on the other hand, tends to appraise interpersonal situations in a highly favorable light. For this type of person, relationships did appear to live up to their expectations, leading to a relatively "nonagentic," communal orientation toward others. Although intimacy motivation has discriminant validity as a construct and differs from need for affiliation, McAdams (1992) acknowledges that the two variables are related and reports correlations between intimacy motivation and need

for affiliation that range from +.25 to +.55. The relevance of need for affiliation for the present research is, therefore, in its ability to identify themes of affiliative need and/or fear of rejection in the subjects' thematic apperceptive stories.

The concept of affiliative trust-mistrust was introduced by McKay (1991). He proposed that people, largely based on their early childhood experiences, possess internal representations of relationships. These representations influence their comfort level and orientation towards relationships. The work on affiliative trust-mistrust provides another relevant measure of affiliative tendencies. McKay wrote that:

People high in affiliative mistrust are supposed to possess harsh, malevolent, or generally negative internal representations of relationships and to carry around with them the experience of rejection, loss, and disappointment. They may experience considerable stress and dysphoria because of their conscious and unconscious beliefs about how they will be treated by others. People high in affiliative trust are supposed to anticipate good things from relationships. They are expected to experience less stress in dealing with others than persons high in affiliative mistrust (p. 641).

Because the mistrust scores in McKay's research appear to be accounting for most of the variance in his results, my hypotheses deal only with differences in mistrust scores obtained from the thematic apperceptive stories between different groups of subjects. The mistrust scores may be particularly informative because they capture and quantify

negative thoughts and feelings about relationships. Such negative thoughts and feelings are not reflected in the measures of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation.

Present Research

The previously mentioned research on mixed interactions suggests that each participant emits certain cues that the other person responds to. The conception that underlies the present research is that a potential for mixed interaction arouses self-protective responses in P_0 s which in turn limit the possibility of relationship development. This research does not seek to "blame" the P_0 s for the problems in mixed interactions. Rather, it seeks to explore the P_0 s' potential contribution as a counterpoint to the previous research that predominantly explored the contribution of the P_{ND} s.

Self-protective thoughts. It is suggested that in a potential mixed interaction situation P_0 s may sense rejection cues, feel discomfort, and want to avoid further contact. The research deals with three types of defensive self-protective thoughts that are assumed to be aroused in order to protect self-esteem: (a) thinking that terminating the interaction will avoid rejection, (b) thinking it is necessary to play a role in order to be accepted, and (c) denigrating thoughts about the P_{ND} . These three types of thoughts will be referred to as (a) Defensive Withdrawal to Avoid Rejection, (b) Defensive Role Playing, and

(c) Defensive Denigration.

The notion of Defensive Withdrawal to Avoid Rejection developed out of the work of Kleck (1966), Davis (1961), Marinelli (1974), and Goffman (1963). Their work suggested that P_{ND}s experience a higher level of anxiety and less emotional comfort when interacting with P_Ds than when interacting with P_{ND}s. Throughout the literature are examples of P_Ds being rejected, made to feel awkward or ill-at-ease, and humiliated by P_{ND}s. The defensive withdrawal process assumes that the person with a disability becomes aware of the discomfort, rejection, and hostility coming from the nondisabled person. The person with a disability recognizes that conversations are guarded or cut-off short, certain topics and words are taboo, and discomfort pervades the interaction. As this person senses these rejection cues, he or she thinks "If this nondisabled person who doesn't even know me, is rejecting me for what appears to be for no other reason than my having a disability, am I opening myself up for even more negative reactions if I become more intimate with this person?" This self-questioning is discomforting and he or she may end the interaction prematurely in order to protect his or her self-esteem.

The notion of Defensive Role Playing developed out of the work of Carling (1962), Goffman (1963), and Comer and Piliavin (1972). Carling suggested that the person with a

disability learns how to behave so that he (she) may become ingratiated in the nondisabled world. Goffman offered suggestions to people with disabilities on how they should act if they want to be accepted by nondisabled people. Comer and Piliavin's experimental work showed how people with disabilities adjust their behavior and attitudes to become acceptable to nondisabled people. These suggestions have had the effect of restricting the person with a disability from being his or her real self. Some of the empirical research cited earlier has indicated that P_D s have responded to these suggestions. However, the person with a disability may be averse to role playing and think "Is there any worth in role playing if this nondisabled person will never really know the true me anyway?" The resulting problem is that intimacy is suppressed for either of two reasons, either the P_D engages in role playing and thereby does not permit the P_{ND} to know the P_D 's real self, or the P_D is reluctant to play a role and curtails the interaction.

The notion of Defensive Denigration developed out of Wills' (1981) theory of downward comparison. According to Wills, persons can enhance their subjective well-being and maintain self-esteem through comparison with a less fortunate other. For instance, P_{ND} s may enhance their well-being by comparing themselves to the less fortunate P_D s. Wills wrote that downward comparison may be elicited when self-esteem is threatened. I propose that in mixed

interaction, P₀s may protect their self-esteem by using a kind of reverse downward comparison. To initiate downward comparison, P₀s must first alter their status relative to the P_{ND}s, rendering the latter less fortunate. P₀s may do this by denigrating the P_{ND}. A defensive denigrating thought might be: "This nondisabled person is uncomfortable and unable to interact with me because I have a disability. I am fully capable of interacting. He (she) has the real problem." Subsequently, any comparison that is made is done toward a P_{ND} as the less fortunate other. Presumably the threat to self-esteem is diminished by this defense, but the possibility for relationship development is also severely limited.

Restriction of intimacy. The person with a disability who is anticipating an interaction with a nondisabled person may desire intimacy but may make self-protective defensive responses that will limit intimate contact (defined as close personal relationships, friendships) with P_{ND}s. On the other hand, when a person with a disability anticipates a uniform interaction, he or she may often feel comfortable when considering the possibility of a warm and close communicative exchange.

The importance of using intimacy motivation theory lies in the conflict that P₀s face when conceptualizing an interaction with a nondisabled person. For subjects with disabilities the conflict is represented by the desire for

intimacy versus fear of rejection or loss of self-esteem. The result of this conflict would be reflected in differences in the expression of intimacy motivation as a response to the social interaction depicted in the pictures that are presented to the subjects.

The role of the need for affiliation measure in the present research is to explore (a) the affiliation motive conceived as a concern over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person or group of persons, and (b) the possibility that people with disabilities avoid close contact with nondisabled people because of fear of rejection. In a mixed interaction one or more of the parties may feel that this is an uncomfortable situation. The nondisabled person may contribute to the awkwardness of the situation by being overly solicitous. The person with a disability may contribute by being suspicious. This suspiciousness may be motivated by fear of rejection.

The role of the affiliative mistrust measure is to identify subjects who express negative thoughts towards the different types of interactions. This measure may provide a direct way to understand the discomfort the P_D 's and P_{ND} 's experience when conceptualizing the mixed interaction as compared to the uniform interaction.

The present research attempts to determine whether subjects conceptualizing the mixed interaction express

different levels of intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust than subjects conceptualizing the uniform interaction.

An additional measure is employed. A series of questions about their thematic apperceptive stories was administered to the subjects. The practice of asking subjects questions about their stories was first introduced by Murray (1943), and later used by Lane and Singer (1954). These questions explore the subjects' thoughts about the interactions, and are relevant to the self-protective thought processes.

Hypotheses

The first research question concerns the existence of self-protective thoughts in people with disabilities. It is proposed that P_D s experience the mixed interaction as a threat to self-esteem. To defend against this threat P_D s may have self-protective thoughts. Hypotheses about self-protective thoughts will be tested using two different measures, (a) obtained from thematic apperceptive stories and (b) from questions about the stories.

Hypothesis 1a: P_D s should express more self-protective thoughts than P_{ND} s when both are conceptualizing the mixed interaction.

Hypothesis 1b: P_D s should express more self-protective thoughts in response to mixed interaction pictures than to uniform interaction pictures.

There is no basis for a comparable hypothesis to 1b for the P_{ND} s. Previous research has shown that P_{ND} s often experience

discomfort and anxiety in mixed interactions. They subsequently may avoid P_0 s because of these past experiences. Threat to self-esteem has not been identified as a reason why P_{ND} s may avoid P_0 s. Therefore, I do not expect the P_{ND} s to use the self-protective thoughts that are assumed to occur in the P_0 s.

Hypothesis 1c: There should be an interaction such that the difference between self-protective thoughts in response to uniform versus mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

The second research question deals with the expression of intimacy motivation. It is proposed that the mixed interaction condition would have the effect of inhibiting the expression of intimacy motivation.

Hypothesis 2a: For P_0 s the mean intimacy score should be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures.

Hypothesis 2b: For P_{ND} s the mean intimacy score should also be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures.

Although it has been hypothesized that both P_0 s and P_{ND} s may want to limit intimacy in the mixed interaction, I assume the motivation to limit intimacy is stronger for P_0 s because of their past negative experiences and their greater need for self-protection. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 2c: There should be an interaction such that the difference in mean intimacy score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

The hypotheses for need for affiliation follow the same

pattern as for intimacy motivation, namely:

Hypothesis 3a: For P_0 s the mean affiliation score should be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures.

Hypothesis 3b: For P_{ND} s the mean affiliation score should also be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures.

Hypothesis 3c: There should be an interaction such that the difference in mean affiliation score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

Hypothesis 4a for fear of rejection is in the opposite direction of Hypothesis 3a for need for affiliation.

Hypothesis 4a: For P_0 s the mean fear of rejection score should be greater in response to mixed interaction pictures than in response to uniform interaction pictures.

Hypothesis 4b: There should be an interaction such that the difference in mean fear of rejection score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

The role of affiliative mistrust is to identify subjects who express negative thoughts about interactions.

Hypothesis 5a: For P_0 s the mean affiliative mistrust score should be greater in response to mixed interaction pictures than in response to uniform interaction pictures.

There is no basis for a comparable hypothesis for the P_{ND} s. P_{ND} s may feel awkward, uncomfortable, and/or uncertain how to act around P_0 s. However, these feelings could be related to their lack of experience with P_0 s, not because they mistrust P_0 s.

Hypothesis 5b: There should be an interaction such that the difference in mean affiliative mistrust score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

Chapter II

Method

Overview

During individual assessment sessions, thematic apperceptive stories to pictures that depict uniform and mixed interactions were obtained from subjects with and without disabilities. These stories were scored for (a) self-protective thoughts, (b) intimacy motivation, (c) need for affiliation, (d) fear of rejection, and (e) affiliative mistrust. In addition, the subjects were asked a series of questions about their stories. A brief social desirability scale was administered, and demographic data were obtained.

Design

A 2 X 2 factorial design was employed. Persons with two types of disability status (P_D and P_{ND}) were shown two types of pictures (uniform and mixed interaction). Uniform pictures show persons with the same disability status (either P_D with P_D , or P_{ND} with P_{ND}). Mixed pictures show persons of different disability status (P_D with P_{ND}). All subjects produced one story to each of four pictures.

There were four groups of subjects; the P_D s were randomly assigned to a uniform interaction (P_D with P_D) pictures group, and a mixed interaction (P_D with P_{ND}) pictures group, the P_{ND} s were randomly assigned to a uniform interaction (P_{ND} with P_{ND}) pictures group, and a mixed interaction (P_D with P_{ND}) pictures group. The design is

shown in Table 1.

Subjects

Approval for this study was obtained from the Human Subjects Review Committee of the City University of New York Graduate School. The subjects participated voluntarily, and procedures were designed in accordance with the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association.

A power analysis was performed to determine the number of participants that would be required for the main effects and interaction effects to be detected. The sample size was determined by the following parameters: (a) an alpha level of $p = .05$, (b) a power level of $.80$, and (c) a predicted medium effect size, $f = .25$ (Cohen, 1988, p. 286). For the present research, one hundred thirty-two subjects would be required (thirty-three per cell). In order to allow for attrition, oversampling to 140 subjects (thirty-five per cell) was completed. However, six subjects were dropped because their data were unusable. When this came to light it was necessary to test four additional subjects so that 34 subjects would be included in each mixed interaction condition. Although the original goal in the study was for a sample of 140 subjects, the data from 138 subjects were used in all analyses.

Only females were selected as subjects because the use of both sexes would double the sample size. The final 138 subjects were obtained as follows. Data were obtained from

Table 1Research Design

| Type of Subject | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Type of Picture | P_D | P_{ND} |
| Uniform | $P_D - P_D$ | $P_{ND} - P_{ND}$ |
| Mixed | $P_D - P_{ND}$ | $P_D - P_{ND}$ |

144 female volunteers of whom 6 were dropped for reasons to be explained subsequently. Of the remaining number, 69 were females with the physical disability of cerebral palsy and 69 were nondisabled females. Of the 138, 35 were in each of the uniform interaction conditions and 34 were in each of the mixed interaction conditions.

All data from six subjects were excluded from the study because their stories to picture 4 (four people seated in a semi-circle) misperceived the stimulus in a way that rendered it inappropriate to use these scores. These subjects (3 P_Ds and 3 P_{ND}s) identified the nondisabled characters portrayed in the mixed interaction picture as having disabilities. These characters were described as hearing impaired, paralyzed, using crutches, or having unidentified disabilities.

The present research studied only individuals with cerebral palsy as subjects for two reasons, (a) they exemplify people with obvious physical disabilities, and (b) they were available as a subject pool to the experimenter.

Subjects with cerebral palsy. All subjects have had their disability since birth, and it will be a permanent life long condition. Cerebral palsy is a neuromuscular condition that affects movement and often speech. There is permanent loss of ability to move or to control movement.

The severity of cerebral palsy can range from mild to profound. As an illustration, a person with mild cerebral

palsy might walk with a limp, have a misshapen arm, and/or a noticeable slurring of speech. A person with profound cerebral palsy might be unable to control spastic movements of his or her arms and legs, use a wheelchair exclusively, and have unintelligible speech due to severe dysarthria. Persons with cerebral palsy often will use some type of assistive device for ambulation (e.g., crutches, rollator walker, or wheelchair).

In the present study, none of the subjects with cerebral palsy had mental retardation. The P₀s included 26 subjects whose severity of disability was mild (no assistive device for ambulation), 10 who used crutches, and 33 who used a wheelchair. All of the P₀ subjects had intelligible speech, although 11 had a mild speech disorder, and 10 had a moderate disorder.

Comparison group. As a group, the nondisabled females had similar demographic characteristics to the group of subjects with cerebral palsy. To be included in the comparison group, a subject must not have been an immediate family member of a person with a disability nor have had vocational or avocational activities that entailed extensive interaction with a person with a disability. In other words, the comparison subjects were persons who had only limited or superficial interaction with people who have disabilities.

The P₀s' ages ranged from 20 to 45, with a mean age of

35. The P_{ND}s' ages ranged from 20 to 45, with a mean age of 32. The mean level of completed education for the P_Ds was 12.3 years and for the P_{ND}s it was 13.1 years. Forty P_Ds attended a vocational workshop or day training program in a large New York City rehabilitative agency, 20 worked competitively in nonprofessional positions, and 9 were employed in professional positions. The occupations of 60 P_{ND}s were generally nonprofessional and 9 P_{ND}s were employed in professional positions. Forty-three P_Ds and 39 P_{ND}s were never married. Sixty-six P_Ds and 36 P_{ND}s did not have any children. Thirty-three P_Ds were Caucasian, 18 were African-American, 11 were Hispanic, 2 were Asian, and 5 were other. Thirty-two P_{ND}s were Caucasian, 22 were African-American, 8 were Hispanic, 1 was Asian, and 6 were other. All subjects resided in New York City. Sixty-three P_Ds and 58 P_{ND}s were born in the United States. Sixty-one P_Ds and 61 P_{ND}s predominantly spoke English in their homes.

Recruitment of subjects. The subjects with disabilities were recruited through United Cerebral Palsy of New York City, Inc., (UCP). UCP is an agency that offers a wide range of programs (vocational workshop, supported employment, day training, and recreational) to persons with cerebral palsy. The subjects in the comparison group were recruited through various means (e.g., law firms, businesses, work training programs, community colleges, trade schools, and social clubs). Individuals were asked to

volunteer to participate in a research project on imaginative thought processes.

Measures

Thematic apperceptive measure. Thematic apperceptive stories were used to sample the thoughts of the subjects. The stories were analyzed for evidence of self-protective thoughts (see the scoring system in Appendix A). In addition, the stories were scored for intimacy motivation according to McAdams' (1992) scoring procedures, for need for affiliation and fear of rejection according to Heyns, Veroff, & Atkinson's (1958) scoring procedures, and for affiliative mistrust according to McKay's (1992) scoring procedures.

Scoring and intercoder reliability. All scoring was completed by this researcher. In addition, two independent coders were trained in the scoring systems. One was trained in the self-protective thoughts and intimacy motivation scoring systems, and the other was trained in the need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust scoring systems. The correlations between this researcher's scores and "expert" scores on practice stories in the scoring manuals (for intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust) were greater than $\rho = +.85$, and the correlations between the independent coders' scores and the "expert" scoring were also greater than $\rho = +.85$.

With respect to intercoder reliability, the researcher and the first independent coder scored the stories for self-protective thoughts for the same 75 subjects, and for intimacy motivation for the same 77 subjects. The intercoder reliability correlation coefficient for self-protective thoughts was $r = .90$, and for intimacy motivation it was $r = .86$. The researcher and the second independent coder scored the stories for need for affiliation and for fear of rejection for the same 79 subjects, and for affiliative mistrust for the same 80 subjects. The intercoder reliability correlation coefficient for need for affiliation was $r = .92$, and for fear of rejection it was $r = .90$. Few stories were judged to have affiliative mistrust imagery. Both scorers agreed on 20 out of 21 occurrences of affiliative mistrust imagery. The final scores for subjects for all variables were obtained after any differences between the coders' scores and the researcher's scores were discussed and reconciled. These conventions for scoring reliability in thematic apperceptive tests are adapted from the recommendations given by Smith, Feld, & Franz (1992).

Pictures for thematic apperception. As a result of extensive pilot testing, three sets of pictures were drawn especially for this research. Four pictures were administered to each subject. The pictures are reproduced in Appendix B. Each picture depicts a different social

situation with potential for interaction. These situations were chosen because they are common situations with which both P_D s and P_{ND} s would be familiar.

Picture 1 depicts two females sitting in a park. For P_D s, the uniform interaction picture shows one female seated in a wheelchair, and one female seated on an adjacent bench with her (Lofstrand) crutches placed next to her. For P_{ND} s, the uniform interaction picture shows two nondisabled females seated on adjacent benches. The mixed interaction picture shows one female in a wheelchair, and one nondisabled female on an adjacent bench. The picture is drawn to suggest approximately eight feet of distance between them.

Picture 2 depicts six people waiting in line at a movie theater. There are three males and three females pictured in alternating male-female fashion. For P_D s, the uniform interaction picture shows the four people on the left as having disabilities (three using crutches and one seated in a wheelchair). For P_{ND} s, the uniform interaction picture shows these same four people without disabilities. The mixed interaction picture depicts these four people as follows (viewing from left to right): a male without a disability, a female using crutches, a male using crutches, and a female without a disability. All three types of pictures show the two people on the right side of the line as nondisabled. They are not focal but rather in the

background of the picture.

Picture 3 depicts two females in a cafeteria. One female is seated at a table, and the other female is standing near the table looking in her direction. There is also an available empty table in the background. This situation suggests that the standing female may be considering whether to sit at the table with the seated female, or to choose the table away from this person. For P_0s , the uniform interaction picture shows the standing female using crutches, and at the table the female is in a wheelchair. For $P_{ND}s$, the uniform interaction picture shows both females without disabilities. The mixed interaction picture shows the standing female without a disability, and at the table the female is in a wheelchair.

Picture 4 depicts four people (alternating male-female) seated in a semi-circle. For P_0s , the uniform interaction picture shows all four people seated in wheelchairs. For $P_{ND}s$, the uniform interaction picture shows the same four people seated in regular chairs. The mixed interaction picture depicts these four people seated as follows (viewing from left to right): a female in a wheelchair, a male in a regular chair, a female in a regular chair, and a male in a wheelchair.

Each picture includes at least one female in order to permit the female subjects to identify with one character of the same disability status. Pictures 2 and 4 also include

male characters. This allows for the possibility of male-female romantic themes to be expressed--an important aspect of intimacy motivation. The pictures also permit the subjects to identify with a same sex, same disability status person in every case. The persons depicted across both sets of the uniform interaction pictures are identical except for whether the person is seated in a wheelchair or a regular chair, or using or not using crutches. The mixed interaction pictures are identical for P_D s and P_{ND} s.

Story relevant questions. Questions following the stories used five point Likert-type scales to assess the subjects' endorsement of the presence of self-protective thoughts in their stories (see Appendix C).

Social desirability. Because of the possibility that subjects might produce stories that reflected a need to give socially acceptable responses instead of true responses, a measure of socially desirable responding was obtained. A short (twelve item) version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social-Desirability Scale was administered to all subjects (see Appendix D).

A socially desirable story might include exaggerated themes of feeling sympathy for, or wanting to help, people with disabilities. The scale was intended to identify subjects who may have altered their responses to be more socially desirable rather than expressed their true feelings.

Demographic data. A short questionnaire requested basic demographic and background data. Each subject reported her age, education, marital status, number of children, place of birth, native language, language spoken in her home, and borough of residence. In addition, the nondisabled subjects were asked if they have had extensive contact with, or were an "immediate family member of, a person with a disability.

Procedure

For all subjects, the individual assessment session lasted approximately thirty minutes. It took approximately twenty minutes to obtain the four stories, and five minutes to administer the story relevant questions. Instructions and debriefing took approximately five minutes. With the permission of the subject the entire session was tape recorded. (The researcher used a tape recorder because of the high incidence in people with cerebral palsy of inability to write due to uncontrolled arm movements.) Two P_{ND}s objected to having the session tape recorded. Both stated that they did not like to have their voices tape recorded. Therefore, the experimenter wrote down their stories as the subjects told them.

Just prior to the arrival of the subject for the assessment session the experimenter randomly assigned the subject to a group. The experimenter had ten pre-packaged unmarked envelopes available. Each envelope contained

either the uniform or mixed interaction pictures appropriate to the type of subject (P_D or P_{ND}). A research assistant ordered the envelopes into a pile according to a table of random numbers. The experimenter selected the top envelope to use during the assessment of one subject. When the session was complete the experimenter placed the pictures back into the envelope and placed it at the bottom of the pile of envelopes. This method randomly placed the subject into a group. The group was not known to the experimenter until just prior to picture administration. The procedure also ensured that there was an equal number of experimental and control subjects.

When the subject arrived for her session the experimenter explained that it was necessary to obtain her signed consent to participate. The consent form (see Appendix E) was given to her and she was asked to read it. If the potential subject agreed to participate she was asked to sign the consent form. The experimenter kept the signed form and gave the subject a copy.

Thematic apperceptive task. At this point the tape recorder was turned on. The following instructions (adapted from Smith, Feld, & Franz, 1992) were then read to each subject:

You are going to see a series of pictures, and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each picture. Try to imagine what is going on in each picture. Then tell what the situation is, what led up to the situation, what the people are thinking and feeling, and what they will do.

In other words, tell as complete a story as you can--a story with plot and characters. There is no right or wrong story, so you may feel free to tell whatever story is suggested to you when you look at the picture. It is important to talk as fully and as quickly as possible about the story that comes into your mind.

The first picture was then placed on the table in front of the subject, and she was instructed to begin. The picture remained on the table during the entire time that she told a story. During the first story the experimenter had the option to stop the subject at any point if he felt that the subject was telling an unsatisfactory story (e.g., just describing a picture, giving a simple story that did not respond to any of the instructions, using fewer than fifteen words). When this occurred, as it did approximately 10% of the time, the experimenter interrupted the subject and repeated the instructions to remind her of what the task requires. When the subject completed a satisfactory first story the experimenter acknowledged this by stating, "that was a good story, you have the idea, here is the next picture, this time really let your imagination flow." If the subject told a satisfactory first story, she was not interrupted. When she completed her first story she was also told "that was a good story, you have the idea, here is the next picture, this time really let your imagination flow." As the subject completed each story the picture was removed and replaced by the next picture.

The order of picture administration was the same for

all groups. The four pictured situations all appeared to engage the subjects. Although it was possible that some subjects may have suspected that the study concerned attitudes towards persons with disabilities, the subjects did not express any thoughts that would suggest that their stories were influenced by such suspicions.

Story relevant questions. After the last story was told, the following instructions were read prior to administering the questions about the stories:

I am now going to ask you a series of questions about the characters in your stories. Please answer freely about what they might be thinking.

The experimenter then asked the questions (see Appendix C) and marked down the subject's answers on the score sheets.

Social desirability and demographic questionnaires.

These measures were administered immediately after the story relevant questions.

Debriefing. When the subject completed the questionnaire the experimenter debriefed her on the study. The experimenter stated:

This study involved the thoughts that people have about interactions between people with disabilities and nondisabled people. One way to get at people's thoughts is to ask them to make up stories to pictures and then to ask them questions about their stories. I am particularly interested in that period of time when people who are either strangers, or not closely acquainted, have the opportunity to interact or not interact with each other. It is during this time that people may be most ill-at-ease or uncomfortable about approaching or making contact with others especially if one of the people has an apparent physical disability. A future goal of the

research is to be able to help people who have a disability interact more comfortably and easily with nondisabled people, and to help nondisabled people interact more comfortably and easily with people who have disabilities.

The experimenter then encouraged the subject to ask any questions or make any statements that she desired. A majority of the subjects wanted to talk about their past experiences of meeting and interacting with people of the other disability status.

At the end of the debriefing the experimenter thanked the subject for participating. The tape recorder was then turned off. The experimenter transcribed the tape after each session was completed.

Chapter III

Results

Self-Protective Thoughts

Self-protective thoughts were assessed by means of two different measures, one obtained from thematic apperceptive stories and the other from questions about the stories. The hypotheses are the same for both measures. (For the benefit of the reader, due to the length and complexity of each self-protective thought and their different types of expression, as will be described below, they will be capitalized throughout the remainder of the report.)

Each self-protective thought consists of three categories. For the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION thought they are: (a) the presence of negative affect (NA), (b) negative affect followed by withdrawal from the potential or actual interaction (NAW), and (c) negative affect followed by no further interaction between the characters (NANI). The three categories are not independent or mutually exclusive in that negative affect must be present for each of the three types to be scored.

For the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING thought the three categories are: (a) role playing (RP), (b) role playing for acceptance (RPA), and (c) role playing rejected (RPR).

For the DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION thought the three categories are: (a) defensive denigrating thought (DDT), (b) defensive denigration followed by withdrawal from the

potential or actual interaction (DDW), (c) defensive denigration followed by no further interaction (DDNI).

Thematic apperceptive measure. Each self-protective thought variable as scored from the thematic apperception task was analyzed using two different types of scores. The first was a total score reflecting the overall presence of the self-protective thoughts of all characters in a story. The second was a "character based" score, that is, a score for the self-protective thoughts of the P_D characters and the P_{ND} characters separately. The character based score may reveal interesting findings regarding self-protective thoughts attributed by the subject to characters with the same disability status as her own or to characters that have the other disability status.

Because it only became apparent after the stories were collected that they could be scored in terms of the self-protective thoughts of P_D characters and P_{ND} characters, hypotheses were not formulated specifically for analyses with character based scores. However, it is clear that some of the findings obtained using these scores are consistent with the hypotheses.

To test Hypotheses 1a and 1b regarding self-protective thoughts using total scores, a oneway analysis of variance with planned comparisons was used. To test Hypothesis 1c, a 2 (Disability Status) by 2 (Picture Type) analysis of variance was used. A oneway analysis was also used for the

character based scores, because only three of the four cells yielded scores for P_0 characters and only three out of the four cells yielded scores for P_{ND} characters. That is, the uniform P_0 condition does not yield a score for P_{ND} characters, and the uniform P_{ND} condition does not yield a score for P_0 characters.

Planned comparisons using total scores. Hypothesis 1a stated that P_0 s should express more self-protective thoughts than P_{ND} s when both are conceptualizing the mixed interaction. For NA total score the difference between the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = 1.68$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = .56$) achieved significance, $F(1,134) = 6.63$, $p < .05$. This means that P_0 subjects in the mixed interaction condition told stories that included significantly more negative affect, than stories told by P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction condition. The frequency of scores for the NAW and NANI variables was too low for any meaningful interpretation and therefore any further analyses were discontinued.

For RP total score the difference between the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .94$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.38$) did not achieve significance, $F(1,134) = 1.92$, n.s. For RPA total score the difference between the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .44$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.03$) achieved significance, $F(1,134) = 3.90$, $p < .05$. This finding on RPA was in the opposite

direction to that predicted. In the mixed interaction, P_{ND} subjects' stories included more RPA than P_0 subjects' stories. Because the ROLE PLAYING REJECTED variable did not appear in any story of any subject there will be no further analysis of this variable.

Because DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thoughts appeared in the stories of only six subjects all analyses for this variable, (i.e., total score, P_0 score, and P_{ND} score) were discontinued. It is possible that the picture cues did not elicit the kind of stories in which denigration would occur, or that all subjects felt it was not appropriate (socially acceptable) to tell such a story.

In summary, the analysis on the NA variable using total scores from the thematic apperceptive measures provided the only support for Hypothesis 1a. The analysis on the RPA variable revealed a significant difference in the opposite direction to that predicted.

Hypothesis 1b stated that P_0 s should express more self-protective thoughts in response to mixed interaction pictures than to uniform interaction pictures. For NA total score the difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .83$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = 1.68$) achieved significance, $F(1,134) = 3.57$, $p < .05$. This means that P_0 subjects in the mixed interaction condition told stories that included significantly more NA, than stories told by P_0 subjects in the uniform interaction condition.

For RP total score the difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .71$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .94$) did not achieve significance, $F(1,134) = .51$, n.s. For RPA total score the difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .46$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .44$) also did not achieve significance, $F(1,134) = .00$, n.s.

Hypothesis 1b, is supported by the analyses on the NA variable using total scores from the thematic apperceptive measures.

Interaction analysis using total scores. Hypothesis 1c stated that there should be an interaction such that the difference between self-protective thoughts in response to uniform versus mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s. For NA total score, the 2 X 2 ANOVA revealed that there was a significant interaction effect, $F(1,134) = 5.5$, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 2, the difference between the NA total score means for P_0 s between the uniform and mixed conditions was .85, the difference between the NA total score means for P_{ND} s was -.58. For P_0 s the NA total score mean was higher in the mixed condition than in the uniform condition, whereas for P_{ND} s the NA total score mean was higher in the uniform condition than in the mixed condition.

The analysis of the RP total score variable did not reveal an interaction effect, $F(1,134) = .45$, n.s. The

Table 2

Negative Affect Scores by Group

| Group | <u>n</u> | Mean | <u>SD</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------|------|-----------|
| Uniform P _D Subjects | 35 | .83 | 1.42 |
| Mixed P _D Subjects | 34 | 1.68 | 2.35 |
| Uniform P _{ND} Subjects | 35 | 1.14 | 2.00 |
| Mixed P _{ND} Subjects | 34 | .56 | 1.13 |

Analysis of Variance

| Source of Variance | <u>df</u> | Mean Square | <u>F</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| Picture Type | 1 | .60 | .19 |
| Disability Status | 1 | 5.28 | 1.65 |
| Picture Type by Disability Status | 1 | 17.68 | 5.52* |
| Residual | 134 | 3.20 | |

* $p < .05$

analysis of the RPA total score variable also did not reveal an interaction effect, $F(1,134) = .86$, n.s.

The analyses reported above using total scores indicate support for Hypothesis 1c in the form of a significant interaction effect only for the NA variable.

Self-protective thoughts score for P_D and P_{ND} characters. As explained above, oneway analysis of variance was used on the self-protective thoughts scores for P_D or P_{ND} characters. Character based scores were obtained from the thematic apperceptive stories and the results of analyses of these scores (hereafter designated "original" scores) are presented in Table 3. Only two of these analyses achieved significance. However, these analyses will not be discussed in further detail because, as will be explained, it was decided that adjusted scores would more meaningfully represent the extent to which subjects' self-protective thoughts are reflected in their stories.

The decision to score the stories for P_D and P_{ND} characters separately called attention to the fact that subjects in the uniform interaction conditions would have two times the opportunity to tell a story about a character of the same disability status as theirs than subjects who told stories to pictures in the mixed interaction conditions. For example P_D subjects in the uniform interaction condition told stories about pictures that depicted either two or four P_D characters whereas P_D

Table 3

Oneway Analyses of Variance on Self-Protective Thoughts Variables from Thematic Apperception Using Original Scores

| Variable | Oneway Analysis ^a | p | Groups that differed at the .05 level ^b |
|---|------------------------------|---------|--|
| NEGATIVE AFFECT- P _D CHARACTER | F(2,100) = 2.14 | n.s. | None |
| ROLE PLAY - P _D CHARACTER | F(2,100) = 5.08 | p < .05 | Uniform P _D (M=.71) and Mixed P _D (M=.18) |
| ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE - P _D CHARACTER | F(2,100) = 2.58 | n.s. | None |
| NEGATIVE AFFECT- P _{ND} CHARACTER | F(2,100) = 4.28 | p < .05 | Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.14) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.18) |
| ROLE PLAY - P _{ND} CHARACTER | F(2,100) = .83 | n.s. | None |
| ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE - P _{ND} CHARACTER | F(2,100) = 1.45 | n.s. | None |

^aThe groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_D characters were the uniform P_D, mixed P_D, and mixed P_{ND} groups; the groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_{ND} characters were the mixed P_D, uniform P_{ND}, and mixed P_{ND} groups.

^bStudent-Newman-Keuls Test

subjects in the mixed interaction condition told stories about pictures that depicted only one or two P_0 characters. Therefore, to more accurately reflect the expression of the variables, analyses were carried out that weighed each score by the possibility of its occurrence. Because the possibility of a score in the uniform interaction conditions is twice as great as that of a score in the mixed interaction conditions, the mixed interaction condition scores were multiplied by two and the uniform interaction condition scores were multiplied by one.

Adjusted self-protective thoughts score for P_0 characters. For the adjusted NEGATIVE AFFECT- P_0 CHARACTER variable the oneway analysis of variance revealed a significant difference between the means of the groups, $F(2,100) = 4.00, p < .05$. The Student-Newman-Keuls procedure revealed a significant difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($M = .77$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($M = 1.94$). This means that P_0 subjects told stories that attributed significantly more negative affect to P_0 characters when these characters were interacting with P_{ND} characters than when these characters were interacting with other P_0 characters. This finding clearly is consistent with Hypothesis 1b.

The oneway analysis of variance did not reveal any significant differences between groups for the adjusted ROLE PLAY- P_0 CHARACTER variable, $F(2,100) = .81, n.s.$ or for the

adjusted ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE- P_0 CHARACTER variable, $F(2,100) = .76$, n.s.

Adjusted self-protective thoughts score for P_{ND} characters. The oneway analysis of variance did not reveal any significant differences between groups for the adjusted NEGATIVE AFFECT- P_{ND} CHARACTER variable, $F(2,100) = 3.00$, n.s.

For the adjusted ROLE PLAY- P_{ND} CHARACTER variable the oneway analysis of variance revealed a significant difference between the means of the groups, $F(2,100) = 4.91$, $p < .05$. The Student-Newman-Keuls procedure revealed a difference between the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = .86$) and the mean of mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 2.21$) that achieved significance. This means that P_{ND} subjects attributed significantly more role playing to P_{ND} characters when they were interacting with P_0 characters than when P_{ND} characters were interacting with other P_{ND} characters.

For the adjusted ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE- P_{ND} CHARACTER variable the oneway analysis of variance also revealed a significant difference between the means of the groups, $F(2,100) = 3.15$, $p < .05$. The Student-Newman-Keuls procedure revealed a difference between the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = .66$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.53$) that achieved significance. This means that P_{ND} subjects attributed significantly more role playing to be accepted by others to P_{ND} characters when they were

interacting with P_D characters than when P_{ND} characters were interacting with other P_{ND} characters.

The two significant findings reported above reveal that P_{ND} subjects engaged in role playing in the mixed interaction condition. This finding was unexpected, and sheds light on what the P_{ND} subjects may be thinking about the mixed interaction, a matter to be given further consideration in the discussion section.

Attributions to characters of the same or different disability status. It is interesting to note how often subjects in the mixed interaction condition attributed a self-protective thought to a character of the other disability status. Of the 34 P_D subjects, 12 attributed NEGATIVE AFFECT to P_{ND} characters, whereas of the 34 P_{ND} subjects, 7 attributed NEGATIVE AFFECT to P_D characters. The two types of subjects were not significantly different with respect to this variable, $X^2 (1, N = 68) = 1.83, n.s.$ Of the 34 P_D subjects, 21 attributed DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING to P_{ND} characters, whereas only 2 out of 34 P_{ND} subjects attributed DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING to P_D characters. For this variable the two types of subjects did differ significantly, $X^2 (1, N = 68) = 23.72, p < .05.$

Story relevant questions. The second way of assessing self-protective thoughts was by means of questions asked about the stories. This method explores the presence of self-protective thoughts as indicated by the subjects'

attribution of certain thoughts and feelings to characters in their stories. The questions about characters having feelings of rejection are intended to assess the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought. The questions about characters having to play a role are intended to assess the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thought, and the questions about characters being more accepting than others are intended to assess the DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thought. This last category is intended to recognize the possibility that a subject can express a kind of denigrating thought without actually denigrating someone by just claiming to be "more accepting" than another person.

Oneway analysis of variance was used for all analyses unless otherwise noted. Each analysis could only include three out of the four groups. For example, the FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P_0 CHARACTERS variable could only be scored in the uniform P_0 group, the mixed P_0 group, and the mixed P_{ND} group. Subjects in the uniform P_{ND} group viewed pictures that did not include any P_0 characters.

Adjustment on story relevant questions scores. The story relevant questions were worded in a manner that required the subject to identify which character in their story was having a particular feeling, (e.g., The subject was asked, "Was any one person in your story particularly concerned about being rejected?" If the subject responded

"yes," she was then asked to "please point to that person."). The subjects in the uniform condition had two times the opportunity to respond "yes" for a character of the same disability status than subjects in the mixed condition who responded "yes" for a character of the same disability status as theirs. Therefore, additional analyses of the story relevant responses will be carried out that weigh each score by the possibility of its occurrence. Because the possibility of a score in the uniform conditions is twice as great as the possibility of a score in the mixed conditions, the mixed condition scores were multiplied by two and the uniform condition scores were multiplied by one.

Table 4 lists the findings concerning the variables using original (nonadjusted) scores. Because analyses using the adjusted scores should provide a more meaningful description of what the subjects are expressing about the characters in their stories, no further consideration will be given to analyses using original scores.

The outline below shows the order in which the results will be presented and the measures used to assess each type of self-protective thought. Note that the variables measured within each category are not identical to those used in the thematic apperceptive analyses.

- I. Defensive Withdrawal to Avoid Rejection
 - a. Feelings of rejection

Table 4 (continued on next page)

Oneway Analyses of Variance on Story Relevant Questions Variables Using Original Scores

| Variable | Oneway Analysis ^a | p | Groups that differed at the .05 level ^b |
|---|------------------------------|---------|---|
| FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P _D CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 1.57 | n.s. | None |
| FEELINGS OF REJECTION STOP INTERACTION IN P _D CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 1.94 | n.s. | None |
| ROLE PLAYING IN P _D CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 5.00 | p < .05 | Mixed P _D (M=1.05) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.50); Uniform P _D (M=1.20) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.50) |
| MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS IN P _D CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 8.92 | p < .05 | Uniform P _D (M=1.25) and Mixed P _D (M=.67); Uniform P _D (M=1.25) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.47) |

^aThe groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_D characters were the uniform P_D, mixed P_D, and mixed P_{ND} groups; the groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_{ND} characters were the mixed P_D group, uniform P_{ND} group, and the mixed P_{ND} groups.

^bStudent-Newman-Keuls Test

Table 4 (continued from previous page)

Oneway Analyses of Variance on Story Relevant Questions Variables Using Original Scores

| Variable | Oneway Analysis ^a | p | Groups that differed at the .05 level ^b |
|--|------------------------------|---------|---|
| FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P _{ND} CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 30.58 | p < .05 | Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.74) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.58); Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.74) and Mixed P _D (M=.35) |
| FEELINGS OF REJECTION STOP INTERACTION IN P _{ND} CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 14.44 | p < .05 | Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.57) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.23); Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.57) and Mixed P _D (M=.23) |
| ROLE PLAYING IN P _{ND} CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 13.97 | p < .05 | Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.34) and Mixed P _{ND} (M=.50); Uniform P _{ND} (M=1.34) and Mixed P _D (M=.47) |
| MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS IN P _{ND} CHARACTERS | F(2,100) = 3.13 | p = .05 | None |

^aThe groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_D characters were the uniform P_D, mixed P_D, and mixed P_{ND} groups; the groups included in the oneway analysis for variables in P_{ND} characters were the mixed P_D group, uniform P_{ND} group, and the mixed P_{ND} groups.

^bStudent-Newman-Keuls Test

b. Feeling of rejection stop interaction

II. Defensive Role Playing

a. Role playing

III. Defensive Denigration

a. More accepting than others

The results for each of these categories are first presented for P_0 characters and then separately for P_{ND} characters. Following these results are the results obtained from the story relevant questions asked regarding picture 1. This somewhat different set of questions was also intended to assess the self-protective thoughts, but the wording was altered to get at these thoughts in a different way.

Analyses with adjusted scores. For the FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P_0 CHARACTERS variable, the oneway analysis of variance yielded an $F(2,100)$ of 2.51 ($p = .086$). The two groups with the largest difference between their means were the uniform P_0 group ($M = 1.37$) and the mixed P_0 group ($M = 2.23$). Although this difference is not significant, it suggests that P_0 subjects may attribute more feelings of rejection to P_0 characters when those characters interact with P_{ND} characters than when P_0 characters interact with other P_0 characters. This difference is consistent with Hypothesis 1b. That is, for P_0 s the mean self-protective thoughts score (as measured by responses to questions) should be greater in response to mixed interaction pictures than in response to uniform interaction pictures.

For FEELINGS OF REJECTION STOP INTERACTION IN P₀ CHARACTERS the frequency of subjects in the uniform P₀ group, the mixed P₀ group, and the mixed P_{ND} group who obtained scores greater than zero was too low for meaningful analysis. Therefore no further analyses on this variable will be completed.

With the adjusted scores for the ROLE PLAYING IN P₀ CHARACTERS variable the oneway analysis of variance revealed significant differences between the means of the groups, $F(2,100) = 4.70$, $p < .05$. The Student-Newman-Keuls procedure revealed a significant difference between the mean of the uniform P₀ group ($\bar{M} = 1.20$) and the mean of the mixed P₀ group ($\bar{M} = 2.11$). This difference reveals that P₀ subjects perceived P₀ characters as engaging in more role playing when interacting with P_{ND} characters than when P₀ characters were interacting with other P₀ characters. This finding supports Hypothesis 1b. That is, for P₀s the mean self-protective thoughts score should be greater in response to mixed interaction pictures than in response to uniform interaction pictures.

With the adjusted scores for the MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS IN P₀ CHARACTERS variable, the oneway analysis of variance revealed no significant differences between the means of the groups, $F(2,100) = .89$, n.s.

For FEELINGS OF REJECTION STOP INTERACTION IN P_{ND} CHARACTERS the frequency of subjects in the mixed P₀ group,

the uniform P_{ND} group, and the mixed P_{ND} group who obtained scores greater than zero was too low for meaningful analysis. Therefore no further analyses on this variable will be completed.

With the adjusted scores for the ROLE PLAYING IN P_{ND} CHARACTERS variable, the oneway analysis of variance did not reveal any significant differences between the means of the three groups, $F(2,100) = 1.02$, n.s.

Additional analyses on story relevant questions. P_D and P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction conditions had the opportunity to respond to the role playing for acceptance questions in a manner that could have a character of one disability status role playing for acceptance by a character of the other disability status (e.g., ROLE PLAYING BY A P_D CHARACTER FOR ACCEPTANCE FROM A P_{ND} CHARACTER). This could not occur in either of the uniform interaction conditions. Similarly, for the MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS variable, P_D and P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction conditions had the opportunity to respond to the more accepting than others questions in a manner that could have a character of one disability status feeling more accepting than a character of the other disability status (e.g., a subject could respond that a P_D character could feel more accepting than a P_{ND} character). Differences between the means of the mixed P_D group and the mixed P_{ND} group on these two variables were assessed by using t -tests. All p values are two-tailed.

On the ROLE PLAYING BY A P_D CHARACTER FOR ACCEPTANCE FROM A P_{ND} CHARACTER variable the difference between the mean of the mixed P_D group ($\bar{M} = 2.91$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.62$) approached significance, $t(66) = 1.83$, $p = .07$. The finding suggests that P_D subjects to a greater extent than P_{ND} subjects may perceive P_D characters as engaging in more role playing for acceptance from P_{ND} characters.

Three additional t -test analyses were not significant: For the ROLE PLAYING BY A P_{ND} CHARACTER FOR ACCEPTANCE FROM A P_D CHARACTER variable the difference between the mean of the mixed P_D group ($\bar{M} = 1.06$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.26$), $t(66) = -.44$, n.s. For the P_D CHARACTER BEING MORE ACCEPTING THAN A P_{ND} CHARACTER variable the difference between the mean of the mixed P_D group ($\bar{M} = 1.38$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = .97$), $t(66) = .85$, n.s. For the P_{ND} CHARACTER BEING MORE ACCEPTING THAN A P_D CHARACTER variable the difference between the mean of the mixed P_D group ($\bar{M} = 1.29$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 1.00$), $t(66) = .58$, n.s.

The subjects were asked a different set of questions regarding picture 1 (two people sitting in a park). These questions asked the subject whether (a) each person in the picture felt comfortable and accepted by the other person, (b) each person felt that they were their real self in front of the other person, and (c) any person felt superior or

inferior to any other person. These are feelings that a character could have which would suggest that self-protective thoughts would not be necessary. The interesting comparison is between the P_D subjects' responses about the P_D character reacting to the P_{ND} character, and the P_{ND} subjects' responses about the P_{ND} character reacting to the P_D character (mixed interaction condition). Comparisons were also made between subjects' responses about characters of the other disability status from their own. Differences between the means of the P_D groups and the P_{ND} groups were assessed by using t -tests.

Because multiple t -tests will be used, to be conservative in interpreting findings, the more stringent .01 level of significance will be used for these comparisons.

For the COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED variable the mean for P_D subjects believing that the P_D character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_{ND} character was .59, the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_{ND} character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_D character was 2.26. The difference between these means was significant, $t(66) = -4.99$, $p < .01$. The mean for P_D subjects believing that the P_D character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_{ND} character was .59, whereas the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_D character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_{ND} character was 1.94. The difference between these means was

significant, $t(66) = -3.77$, $p < .01$. The mean for P_0 subjects believing that the P_{ND} character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_0 character was .97, whereas the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_{ND} character felt comfortable and accepted by the P_0 character was 2.26. The difference between these means was significant, $t(66) = -3.59$, $p < .01$.

For the REAL SELF variable the mean for P_0 subjects believing that the P_0 character was his or her real self in front of the P_{ND} character was 1.82, the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_{ND} character was his or her real self in front of the P_0 character was 2.53. The difference between these means did not attain significance, $t(66) = -1.76$, n.s. The mean for P_0 subjects believing that the P_0 character was his or her real self in front of the P_{ND} character was 1.82, the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_0 character was his or her real self in front of the P_{ND} character was 1.85. The difference between these means did not attain significance, $t(66) = -.07$, n.s. The mean for P_0 subjects believing that the P_{ND} character was his or her real self in front of the P_0 character was 1.56, the mean for P_{ND} subjects believing that the P_{ND} character was his or her real self in front of the P_0 character was 2.53. The difference between these means was significant, $t(66) = -2.55$, $p < .01$.

The SUPERIOR-INFERIOR variable was originally devised

to assess the presence of the DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thought. The frequency of subjects obtaining scores greater than zero on this variable was too low for meaningful analysis. One possibility is that subjects may not be willing to overtly denigrate either character in their story.

Summary of results from story relevant questions. It will be recalled that analyses of the data obtained from the story relevant questions were carried out both with the original scores and with adjusted scores. Because it was felt that the analyses with the original scores were misleading, they were presented in Table 4 without further discussion. Analyses that employed adjusted scores revealed that P_D subjects attributed to P_D characters more FEELINGS OF REJECTION and more ROLE PLAYING when these characters were interacting with P_{ND} characters (mixed interaction condition) than when they were interacting with other P_D characters (uniform interaction condition). These findings are consistent with Hypothesis 1b. P_{ND} subjects did not express any significant difference on FEELINGS OF REJECTION or ROLE PLAYING for P_{ND} characters between the mixed interaction and uniform interaction conditions. It appears that P_D subjects were more concerned about interactions with nondisabled people than with people who also have disabilities. P_{ND} subjects do not appear to make a distinction between interactions between people with and

without disabilities from interactions between nondisabled people only. On the MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS IN P_{ND} CHARACTERS variable, in the mixed interaction condition the attributions of P_D subjects to P_{ND} characters were greater than the attributions of P_{ND} subjects to P_{ND} characters. This suggests that P_D subjects perceive P_{ND} characters as thinking that they are more accepting than P_D characters more often than P_{ND} subjects perceive P_{ND} characters as thinking that they are more accepting than P_D characters.

The subjects' responses to the altered questions to picture 1 revealed that in the mixed interaction condition, P_D subjects believed that the P_D character felt less COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED than P_{ND} subjects believed that the P_{ND} character felt. In addition, in the mixed interaction condition P_D subjects believed that both the P_D and P_{ND} characters felt less COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED than P_{ND} subjects believed that the P_D and P_{ND} characters felt. It appears that the mixed interaction condition is not as discomfoting for P_{ND}s as it appears to be for P_Ds. It was also revealed that P_{ND} subjects believed that the P_{ND} character was his or her REAL SELF in the mixed interaction significantly more than P_D subjects believed that the P_{ND} character was his or her REAL SELF. The mixed interaction condition is potentially more stressful and more likely to arouse self-protective thoughts in P_Ds, which make these findings consistent with previous findings.

Intimacy Motivation

To test Hypotheses 2a and 2b regarding intimacy motivation, a oneway analysis of variance with planned comparisons was used. To test Hypothesis 2c, a 2 (Disability Status) by 2 (Picture Type) analysis of variance was used. Hypothesis 2a stated that for P_0 s the mean intimacy score should be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures. The difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($\bar{M} = 3.80$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = 2.56$) was in the expected direction but did not achieve significance, $F(1,134) = 3.31$, n.s.

Hypothesis 2b stated that for P_{ND} s the mean intimacy score should also be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures. The difference between the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 3.03$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 3.65$) also did not attain significance, $F(1,134) = .82$, n.s. Moreover, it was in the opposite direction to that predicted.

Hypothesis 2c stated that there should be an interaction such that the difference in mean intimacy score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s. The 2 X 2 ANOVA revealed that there was an interaction effect, $F(1,134) = 3.7$, $p = .056$. As shown in Table 5, the difference between the intimacy means

Table 5

Intimacy Motivation Scores by Group

| Group | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Uniform P ₀ Subjects | 35 | 3.80 | 2.83 |
| Mixed P ₀ Subjects | 34 | 2.56 | 2.55 |
| Uniform P _{ND} Subjects | 35 | 3.03 | 2.97 |
| Mixed P _{ND} Subjects | 34 | 3.65 | 2.96 |

Analysis of Variance

| Source of Variance | <u>df</u> | Mean Square | <u>F</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| Picture Type | 1 | 3.34 | .42 |
| Disability Status | 1 | .73 | .09 |
| Picture Type by Disability Status | 1 | 29.82 | 3.72* |
| Residual | 134 | 8.02 | |

* $p = .056$

for P_0 s between the uniform and mixed conditions was -1.24 and the difference between the intimacy means for P_{ND} s was $.62$. For P_0 s the intimacy mean was higher in the uniform condition than in the mixed condition, whereas for P_{ND} s the intimacy mean was higher in the mixed condition than in the uniform condition. Hypothesis 2c is supported at the $p = .056$ level, indicating that intimacy scores decrease more in response to the mixed interaction pictures for P_0 s than for P_{ND} s.

Need for Affiliation

Need for affiliation scores were used to test Hypotheses 3a, 3b, and 3c. In comparing the results for need for affiliation with those for intimacy motivation, it is helpful to know that the two sets of scores were correlated $.59$. This value is similar to those that have been found between these variables in previous research (McAdams, 1992) and indicates that they both reflect aspects of affiliative needs.

To test Hypotheses 3a and 3b regarding need for affiliation, a oneway analysis of variance with planned comparisons was used. To test Hypothesis 3c, a 2 (Disability Status) by 2 (Picture Type) analysis of variance was used. Hypothesis 3a stated that for P_0 s the mean affiliation score should be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures. The difference between the mean of the uniform P_0

group ($\bar{M} = 5.80$) and the mean of the mixed P_D group ($\bar{M} = 3.68$) achieved significance, $F(1,134) = 10.33$, $p < .05$.

Hypothesis 3b stated that for P_{ND} s the mean affiliation score should also be greater in response to uniform interaction pictures than in response to mixed interaction pictures. The difference between the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 3.69$) and the mean of the mixed P_{ND} group ($\bar{M} = 3.85$) did not reach significance, $F(1,134) = .06$, n.s.

Hypothesis 3c stated that there should be an interaction such that the difference in mean need for affiliation score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_D s than for P_{ND} s. The 2 X 2 ANOVA revealed that there was a significant interaction effect, $F(1,134) = 6.01$, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 6, the difference between the need for affiliation means for P_D s between the uniform and mixed conditions was -2.12 , the difference between the need for affiliation means for P_{ND} s was $.16$. For P_D s the need for affiliation mean was higher in the uniform condition than in the mixed condition, as expected, whereas for P_{ND} s there was a slightly higher, but nonsignificant, need for affiliation mean in the mixed condition than in the uniform condition.

The above analyses for intimacy motivation and need for affiliation reveal the same pattern of affiliative processes indicating that with respect to Hypotheses 2a and 3a there is a reduced arousal of affiliative needs in the mixed

Table 6

Need for Affiliation Scores by Group

| Group | <u>n</u> | Mean | <u>SD</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------|------|-----------|
| Uniform P _D Subjects | 35 | 5.80 | 2.95 |
| Mixed P _D Subjects | 34 | 3.68 | 2.28 |
| Uniform P _{ND} Subjects | 35 | 3.69 | 2.92 |
| Mixed P _{ND} Subjects | 34 | 3.85 | 2.77 |

Analysis of Variance

| Source of Variance | <u>df</u> | Mean Square | <u>F</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| Picture Type | 1 | 33.00 | 4.38* |
| Disability Status | 1 | 33.51 | 4.45* |
| Picture Type by Disability Status | 1 | 45.25 | 6.01* |
| Residual | 134 | 7.53 | |

* p < .05

interaction condition for P_0s , and with respect to Hypotheses 2c and 3c this reduced arousal is greater for P_0s than for $P_{ND}s$.

Fear of Rejection

Fear of rejection scores were used to Hypotheses 4a and 4b. Hypothesis 4a was tested by means of a oneway analysis of variance with a planned comparison. Hypothesis 4b was tested by means of a 2 (Disability Status) by 2 (Picture Type) analysis of variance. Hypothesis 4a stated that for P_0s the mean fear of rejection score should be greater in response to mixed interaction pictures than in response to uniform interaction pictures. The difference between the mean of the uniform P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .54$) and the mean of the mixed P_0 group ($\bar{M} = .45$) did not achieve significance, $F(1,134) = .30$, n.s.

Hypothesis 4b stated that there should be an interaction such that the difference in mean fear of rejection score between uniform and mixed interaction pictures is greater for P_0s than for $P_{ND}s$. The 2 X 2 analysis of variance did not reveal any significant interaction effect, $F(1,134) = 2.09$, n.s.

Affiliative Mistrust

Only twenty-one of the 138 subjects obtained scores greater than zero on the affiliative mistrust variable. This number did not permit meaningful analyses.

Social Desirability Analyses

The possibility that subjects made up stories to the pictures that reflected a need to give socially desirable responses was examined using a short (twelve item) version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Greenwald & Satow, 1970). Crowne and Marlowe (1964) theorized that socially desirable responses on their test are indicative of a need for social approval. They then argued that these responses are important in determining behavior in settings other than test taking. Because the social desirability measure was given at the end of the testing session in order not to influence story telling it is possible that the social desirability scores reflect whatever different degrees of social desirability were aroused in the four different groups. For example, social desirability may have been aroused to a greater extent for P_{ND} s by the mixed condition than by the uniform condition. However, a comparison of the means of the four conditions (P_D uniform = 6.89; P_D mixed = 7.26; P_{ND} uniform = 7.31; P_{ND} mixed = 7.65) by a oneway analysis of variance does not reveal any difference among the groups ($F(3,134) = .56, n.s.$). Also, correlations between social desirability scores and other variables within each group, as reported in Table 7, do not reveal any significant relationships between social desirability and intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, or NEGATIVE AFFECT. None of the analyses, therefore,

Table 7

Correlation Coefficients Between Social Desirability Scores
and Dependent Variable Scores by Group

| Group | Intimacy Motivation | Need for Affiliation | Negative Affect |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Uniform P _D Subjects | -.06 | .03 | -.02 |
| Mixed P _D Subjects | .24 | .04 | .04 |
| Uniform P _{ND} Subjects | -.17 | .01 | -.13 |
| Mixed P _{ND} Subjects | -.23 | .05 | .01 |

Note. No correlation coefficients attained the .05 level of significance.

indicates that subjects' story telling was influenced by socially desirable responding.

Summary of Results

Because many statistical tests have been reported, it may be helpful to summarize them and single out only those that were significant, either in the predicted direction or in the opposite direction.

To test for interaction effects, 2 X 2 ANOVAs were used for each of the categories of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION and the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thoughts, and for the four affiliative measures. There were too few instances of DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION and affiliative mistrust to permit statistical analyses. Significant interactions (all in the predicted direction) were obtained only for the NEGATIVE AFFECT category of DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION, and for the intimacy motivation and need for affiliation variables.

To test hypothesized planned comparisons oneway analyses of variance were used. There were significant differences between the means of the P_0 versus P_{ND} mixed groups for the NEGATIVE AFFECT (total scores) variable, between the means of the P_0 uniform and P_0 mixed groups for the NEGATIVE AFFECT (total scores) variable, and between the means for the P_0 uniform and P_0 mixed groups on the NEGATIVE AFFECT- P_0 CHARACTER variable. These findings provided support for Hypotheses 1a and 1b. The results also revealed

a significantly higher mean in the mixed interaction groups for the P_{ND} subjects versus the P_D subjects on the ROLE PLAY FOR ACCEPTANCE (total scores) variable (opposite to the predicted direction), and a significant difference between the means for the P_{ND} uniform and the P_{ND} mixed groups on the ROLE PLAY- P_{ND} CHARACTER and ROLE PLAY FOR ACCEPTANCE- P_{ND} CHARACTER variables.

For the story relevant questions oneway analyses of variance were used for the FEELINGS OF REJECTION, ROLE PLAYING, and MORE ACCEPTING THAN OTHERS variables in both P_D and P_{ND} CHARACTERS. There were significant differences in the predicted direction, between the means of the P_D uniform and P_D mixed groups for the FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P_D CHARACTERS and ROLE PLAYING IN P_D CHARACTERS VARIABLES. For P_{ND} subjects no significant differences were revealed in the analyses of the story relevant question variables.

A series of questions were asked which allowed for meaningful responses from only subjects in the mixed interaction conditions. These questions asked about role playing by a character of one disability status for acceptance by a character of the other disability status, and a character of one disability status believing that he or she was more accepting than a character of the other disability status. Four t -tests were run on these variables. The only difference that approached significance was between the means of the P_D mixed and P_{ND} mixed groups on

the ROLE PLAYING BY A P_D CHARACTER FOR ACCEPTANCE FROM A P_{ND} CHARACTER variable ($p = .07$). P_D subjects believed that the P_D characters in their stories needed to play a role for acceptance by the P_{ND} characters. A different set of questions were asked to picture 1 only. Three t -tests each were run on the COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED and REAL SELF variables. There were too few instances of scores greater than zero on the SUPERIOR-INFERIOR variable to permit statistical analyses. These findings were summarized above.

Chapter IV

Discussion

The present research attempted to contribute to the literature on stigma by means of investigation of one particular stigmatized group, persons with disabilities. The research investigated the possibility that persons who have obvious physical disabilities may tend to make self-protective responses when interacting with persons who have no physical disabilities, especially if the latter are not close acquaintances. In this researcher's view, when people with disabilities are faced with the possibility of an interaction with nondisabled people they will anticipate that this interaction may be discomfoting to them. This anticipation derives from their past experiences that such interactions have frequently been awkward and sometimes have involved the pain of rejection, and also from learning that they may have to "play a role" simply to be tolerated. It was suggested that people with disabilities in the potential mixed interaction will sense rejection cues, feel discomfort, and may want to avoid contact. It was then proposed that people with disabilities respond with thoughts that help protect them from experiencing the pain in mixed interactions. These "self-protective" thoughts are (a) thinking that terminating the interaction will avoid rejection, (b) thinking it is necessary to play a role in order to be accepted, and (c) denigrating thoughts about the

nondisabled person. Consequently, the research attempted to document the effect of anticipated interaction on self-protective thoughts, intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust.

It was suggested that although self-protective thoughts may be effective in helping people with disabilities avoid the pain of rejection, they may also have the effect of limiting any relationship development that may occur because interactions are either avoided altogether or terminated prematurely.

This chapter will discuss the effect of potential interactions with persons of the same or different disability status on the quality of the interpersonal relationships as conceptualized by the subjects. I will close by discussing the significance of the research and implications for future research.

The overall pattern of results for the thematic apperception and the story relevant questions measures with respect to self-protective thoughts is that P_D subjects make a distinction between the uniform and mixed interaction conditions, whereas P_{ND} subjects do not make a distinction, except for role playing, between the uniform and mixed interaction conditions. Role playing for P_{ND} s may be their method of dealing with the discomfort they may feel when conceptualizing interactions with P_D s. For P_D s there are many instances where they see the mixed interaction as being

more stressful than the uniform interaction, or that they anticipate stress in the mixed interaction where they do not anticipate it in the uniform interaction. The difference in level of involvement between the uniform and mixed interaction conditions is greater for P_D s than for P_{ND} s. The findings using the thematic apperceptive measure of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation also provide support for the notion that people with disabilities make a distinction between mixed and uniform interactions whereas nondisabled people do not.

Subjects With Disabilities Conceptualizing Interactions

Self-protective thoughts in subjects with disabilities.

Self-protective thoughts were uncovered using two different measures, one from thematic apperceptive stories and the other from questions about the stories. The results provided mixed support for the presence of self-protective thoughts in people with disabilities. From the thematic apperceptive measure there was evidence for the presence of the NEGATIVE AFFECT part of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought. However, the thematic apperceptive measure provided no evidence in support of the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING or DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thoughts. From the story relevant questions measure there was evidence for the presence of the FEELINGS OF REJECTION IN P_D CHARACTERS part of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-

protective thought, and for the ROLE PLAYING IN P₀ CHARACTERS part of the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thought. The story relevant questions measure provided no evidence in support of the DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thought.

In the following paragraphs, the results from both the thematic apperceptive measure and the story relevant questions measure will be reported and discussed for each type of self-protective thought.

DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION. NEGATIVE AFFECT was the primary component of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought. NEGATIVE AFFECT was scored when subjects included in their stories themes of rejection, discomfort, anxiety, and anger. The support for Hypothesis 1c came in the form of an interaction effect on the NEGATIVE AFFECT variable. The difference in mean NEGATIVE AFFECT score between P₀s in the mixed interaction condition and P₀s in the uniform interaction condition was significantly greater than the difference between P_{ND}s in the mixed versus uniform interaction conditions. NEGATIVE AFFECT increased for P₀s and decreased for P_{ND}s from the uniform to the mixed interaction. Increased NEGATIVE AFFECT in mixed interactions should lead P₀s to avoid closer contact with P_{ND}s.

Hypotheses 1a and 1b were supported on the NEGATIVE AFFECT component of DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION,

in that P_Ds had a significantly higher mean score for NEGATIVE AFFECT than P_{ND}s in their respective mixed interaction conditions, and P_Ds had a significantly higher mean score for NEGATIVE AFFECT in the P_D mixed versus uniform interaction conditions. However, there was no support for the avoiding, curtailing, or terminating the interaction component. However, NEGATIVE AFFECT alone should be sufficient to protect the P_Ds from the negative effects of the mixed interaction that they anticipate. The impact of NEGATIVE AFFECT on the potential interaction and relationship development will be explored further when the findings on the affiliative tendencies are discussed.

The character based scoring provided additional evidence that P_Ds were experiencing NEGATIVE AFFECT when conceptualizing interactions with P_{ND}s. P_D subjects told stories that specifically identified P_D characters as having a significantly higher mean score for adjusted NEGATIVE AFFECT-P_D CHARACTER in the mixed interaction condition than in the uniform interaction condition.

The following stories were selected to highlight the kinds of differences that are reflected in the results. These stories were told to Picture 1 (two people sitting in a park). The story below was told by a person with a disability in the mixed interaction condition.

This handicapped woman is sitting in the park. She's sitting by herself. She sees this other woman, I'll name her Sue. She's looking straight, looking

towards this other woman. Maybe she's shy, maybe she's scared to speak to her. I don't know. I think that maybe she's lonely because she's just sitting there by herself and maybe she's thinking about, well should I speak to this woman or not speak to this woman?

The next story was told by a nondisabled person in the mixed interaction condition.

O.K., I'm looking at this and I'm seeing two people not in a park but looking at a tree of life and each of their branches have gone differently. This one being an invalid in a wheelchair and looking back at all the different routes that her life has gone and this one here being more of, of healthier state is also reminiscing about a way that her life has gone and all its different roads that it's taken. I just look at the tree as being a center for the both of them as a reflection point.

These two stories highlight the differences between the subjects in their conceptualization of the potential mixed interaction. The first story conceptualized the situation as a potential for interaction but included feelings of being "scared" and "lonely" which were scored for NEGATIVE AFFECT. The story teller is fearful of making contact possibly because further contact may lead to rejection. The NEGATIVE AFFECT may act to protect her from experiencing closer contact with the nondisabled person which, in her conceptualization, would most likely lead to rejection. In the second story, the nondisabled person's conceptualization of the picture did not include any potential for interaction between the characters.

Additional stories will be reproduced later in the chapter to illustrate some aspects of the results. To further illustrate the results, full sets of stories from eight subjects and their responses to the story relevant questions, are reproduced in Appendix F.

From the story relevant questions the P₀s' responses also provided some support for the presence of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought. P₀ subjects tended to attribute to P₀ characters more feelings of rejection when they were conceptualizing an interaction with P_{ND} characters than when they were conceptualizing an interaction with other P₀ characters ($p = .086$, two-tailed).

The findings above provide support for the concept that people with disabilities contribute to the problems in mixed interactions, and that it is their NEGATIVE AFFECT and feelings of rejection that may be responsible for the mixed interaction not occurring or being terminated prematurely. One may further speculate that nondisabled people sense the NEGATIVE AFFECT given off by people with disabilities and then the former feel discomfort and avoid the interaction.

DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING. This study did not uncover any evidence for the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thought on the thematic apperception measure. It was originally thought that P₀s would try to ingratiate themselves with P_{ND}s by playing a role that P_{ND}s would not find discomforting. P_{ND}s would then allow P₀s to remain in

the interaction. There were no differences between the mixed and uniform interaction groups on this variable. However, the author is reluctant to discard DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING as a self-protective thought because of its long history in the founding literature (Goffman, 1963) of being used to help people with disabilities integrate themselves in the nondisabled world. If people with disabilities are being counseled to act in a certain manner then the possibility exists that they are doing this with the idea that they have to hide their real selves to protect themselves from rejection. The thematic apperception pictures used in this research may not have been the best way to study this self-protective thought. The pictures did not suggest that the characters were definitely involved in an interaction. Therefore the P_0 s' primary response, if they were seeking to protect themselves from feelings of rejection, may have been to have negative feelings about the potential interaction. For DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING to be used, subjects would have had to first make up a story that included interaction and then state that the P_0 was playing a role in the interaction. The percentage of times that interaction was present would provide some support for this possibility. For example, in picture 1 the percentage of times interaction was present (described as one character saying something to the other character, or that the two characters were clearly together) was 43% for the P_0 uniform

group, 32% for the P₀ mixed group, 23% for the P_{ND} uniform group, and 32% for the P_{ND} mixed group. NEGATIVE AFFECT may take precedence over DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING when subjects conceptualize potential interactions. If the subjects were told that there was an interaction occurring between the characters then there may have been more use of DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING in the P₀s' stories.

The story relevant question measure, however, did provide support for the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thought. P₀ subjects attributed significantly more role playing to P₀ characters when they were interacting with P_{ND} characters than when they were interacting with other P₀ characters. P₀ subjects expressed through P₀ characters that mixed interactions create the feeling in them that they have to play a role for acceptance when interacting with P_{ND}s.

DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION. Neither measure found the DEFENSIVE DENIGRATION self-protective thought. This does not mean it does not exist, but rather its possible existence was not uncovered in this research. It is possible that the picture cues did not elicit the kind of stories in which denigration would occur or that most subjects felt it was not appropriate (socially acceptable) to tell such a story.

Further information about self-protective thoughts is provided by the story relevant questions asked to picture 1

only (two people sitting in a park). This different set of questions asked about feelings that characters could have that would suggest that self-protective thoughts would not be necessary in the mixed interaction. The results revealed that, in the mixed interaction, (a) P_D subjects believed the P_{ND} character felt significantly less COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED than P_{ND} subjects believed the P_{ND} character felt, (b) P_D subjects believed the P_D character felt significantly less COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED than P_{ND} subjects believed the P_D character felt, and (c) P_D subjects believed the P_D character felt significantly less COMFORTABLE AND ACCEPTED than P_{ND} subjects believed the P_{ND} character felt. In response to the questions about each character being his or her REAL SELF, P_D subjects believed the P_{ND} character was his or her REAL SELF significantly less than P_{ND} subjects believed the P_{ND} character was his or her REAL SELF. P_D subjects appear to underestimate the possibility that the P_{ND} character can be his or her REAL SELF in the mixed interaction. These findings suggest that people with disabilities may be imagining the mixed interaction as being more threatening than it really is, which would lead them to use self-protective thoughts because they believe that it will protect them from rejection. However the rejection may not occur, but the use of self-protective thoughts will insure that the interaction will not occur or will be unsatisfactory, and subsequently decrease the possibility of

relationship development. The findings on these questions are consistent with the previous findings in that people with disabilities in mixed interaction consider it to be stressful, or that they anticipate stress, whereas nondisabled people do not experience mixed interaction similarly.

Different thought processes underlie the thematic apperception and story relevant question measures. The thematic apperceptive measure taps the spontaneous thoughts of subjects as they make up stories to pictures, whereas the story relevant question measure requires that subjects respond to a direct inquiry. Thematic apperception seeks to bypass subjects' self-conscious processes which are more prone to manipulation and the effects of social desirability. Responding to questions allows the subjects the opportunity to think about the relationships between the characters in their stories. The subjects may elaborate on their spontaneous stories or try to represent their feelings in a manner that is different from what they told in their stories. For example, a subject may not project in her thematic apperceptive story that a character needs to play a role. However, when she is asked about it, at that time she may think that role playing by a character would be a good idea especially if the interaction did, or was to, occur. Future research needs to investigate how these two types of data collection interact with each other.

Affiliative tendencies. An effective indicator of the impact that the type of interaction has on subjects' conceptualization of interactions would be the quality of the interpersonal relationships depicted by the subjects in the different interaction conditions. This quality of interpersonal relationships would be represented by measures of affiliative tendencies, including intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, fear of rejection, and affiliative mistrust. The results indicated that the fear of rejection variable did not make a contribution to understanding the processes being investigated, therefore, no further discussion of this variable will be made.

Summary of results from affiliative tendencies.

Briefly, the results for Hypotheses 2a, b, and c, and 3a, b, and c, using closely related variables intimacy motivation and need for affiliation, revealed an identical pattern of means for the two variables. These results provided support for Hypotheses 2a and 3a in the form of a nonsignificant tendency in the expected direction for intimacy motivation, and a significant difference for need for affiliation. No support was provided for Hypotheses 2b and 3b concerning differences between the two conditions for P_{ND} s. Hypotheses 2c and 3c were supported significantly for both variables revealing that the difference in mean affiliative tendencies between the two conditions was greater for P_D s than for P_{ND} s.

Implications for subjects with disabilities. McAdams (1992) defined intimacy motivation as the preference for warm, caring, and close communicative contact with others. The results suggest that for P₀ subjects there was a tendency to conceptualize these two types of interactions as being different from each other, whereas P_{ND} subjects did not conceptualize the uniform and mixed interaction conditions as being particularly different from each other. One possibility is that there was a suppression of intimacy motivation occurring in P₀ subjects who made up stories in response to mixed interaction pictures. P₀ subjects in the mixed interaction condition told stories that had the lowest amount of intimacy imagery in the four groups which suggests that the quality of these imagined interpersonal relationships was the poorest.

The following stories were selected to highlight the kinds of differences with respect to intimacy that are reflected in the results. These stories were told to Picture 3 (two people in a cafeteria, one standing and one seated). The story below was told by a person with a disability in the uniform interaction condition.

This lady is getting, she going to the table to eat and this lady she's already at the table eating and she's watching this lady and I think she's also waiting for three more people to come and join her for breakfast or either lunch or snack. And then maybe they will go out for a walk and do some shopping that they always wanted to do. Also maybe they haven't seen each other for a long,

long time so they have to sit and talk about things that you can't really respond over the phone. Like maybe somebody had a baby that they do not know about. Somebody that they would always thought, that would not have a child at all and they surprised everybody. So now they are very happy to be together. It is real nice to have friends close to you.

The next story was told by a person with a disability in the mixed interaction condition.

This one's in a restaurant. The lady is waiting to be served on and she's alone by herself. So she gets her food. This other woman that's serving her is just wasting time and she's waiting, and waiting, and waiting for her food. And then she finally, she gets waited on after two hours later, to have coffee and donuts, whatever.

These two stories highlight the difference in the quality of the interpersonal relationships as described by P_0 s in the uniform and mixed interaction conditions. The person with a disability in the uniform interaction condition told a story that included themes of intimacy, whereas the person with a disability in the mixed interaction condition told a story that did not include any intimacy imagery.

Need for affiliation was defined by Heyns, Veroff, and Atkinson (1992) as a concern over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person or group of persons. Similar to the results obtained with the intimacy variable, the results obtained with the affiliation variable revealed that P_0 subjects conceptualized these two types of interactions as being

significantly different from each other, whereas P_{ND} subjects did not conceptualize the uniform and mixed interaction conditions as being particularly different from each other.

The following stories were selected to highlight the kinds of differences in need for affiliation that are reflected in the results. These stories were told to Picture 4 (four people seated in a semi-circle). The story below was told by a person with a disability in the uniform interaction condition.

These are four people in wheelchairs that just met each other and they're having a conversation about maybe the weather. And then to get to know each other better they're going to keep talking about different things in their lives like where they come from, where they live, and their family. And they're pretty happy people and they're going to have a good time.

The following story was told by a person with a disability in the mixed interaction condition.

This is two people, normal people and two handicapped people. They may try, what, to talk. They are making fun at them because they're handicapped. They have nothing to ask them. "Oh, you can't talk, you can't do nothing." And that girl in the chair, and that girl in the chair was mad at that girl on.

These two stories highlight the difference in the quality of the interpersonal relationships as described by P_D s in the uniform and mixed interaction conditions. The person with a disability in the uniform interaction condition told a story

that included themes of making friends and engaging in an affiliative activity, whereas the person with a disability in the mixed interaction condition told a story that included hostility and a rejection of any affiliative content.

Although it was not hypothesized, there was a tendency for P_D s to have higher levels for intimacy motivation and need for affiliation in the uniform interaction condition than P_{ND} s in the uniform interaction condition. Also, for P_D s, the difference in intimacy motivation between uniform and mixed interaction conditions was in the predicted direction (but not significant), whereas for need for affiliation the difference between the uniform and mixed interaction conditions was significant. This raises the possibility that in entering a situation of possible interaction with a person of a similar status, people with disabilities may have a greater need aroused for intimacy and affiliation than nondisabled people. It is speculated that people with disabilities may have a characteristically higher level of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation. This may be due to their experience of deprivation of intimacy and affiliation. People who have not had enough experience with gratification of their intimacy motivation and need for affiliation needs, because of lack of opportunity or exposure to others, may express a greater need for it when presented with the opportunity.

The uniform interaction also presents the opportunity for contact with others that does not entail the fear of rejection or the discomfort and anxiety that is associated with interacting with nondisabled people. Future research should focus on possible differences in resting level of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation between people with disabilities and nondisabled people.

The above speculation leads to an implication for counseling. People with disabilities may be in an approach-avoidance conflict situation in the mixed interaction. If people with disabilities want to establish friendships more strongly on the average than nondisabled people but they fear rejection more strongly, then they are in conflict over how to act (i.e., should they initiate or avoid contact, engage in friendly conversation or leave the situation).

It is interesting that for affiliative mistrust, the stories did not generate enough scores greater than zero for meaningful analysis. Similar to the earlier discussion concerning the lack of ROLE PLAYING in the stories of P₀ subjects, I reiterate that subjects were not required to tell stories that had characters engaging in interaction or that characters were in some type of affiliative relationship. For affiliative mistrust to be scored, the characters would have to be in an affiliative relationship. If subjects were required to make up stories that had characters in an affiliative relationship, a more accurate

assessment of affiliative mistrust (especially between people with and without disabilities) could be made.

Nondisabled Subjects Conceptualizing Interactions

Self-protective thoughts in nondisabled subjects.

Hypotheses were not formulated for self-protective thoughts in nondisabled subjects. The concept of self-protective thoughts was originally developed as a response used by people with disabilities when they felt their self-esteem was being threatened in the mixed interaction. It was suggested that nondisabled people do not conceptualize the mixed interaction as a threat to their self-esteem. They may feel discomfort or awkwardness, but not fear that damage would be done to their self-esteem. Nevertheless, all analyses in this research did include scores on self-protective thoughts for P_{ND} s. This proved to be worthwhile in that an interesting picture of P_{ND} s' feelings about the mixed interaction appeared.

DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION. From the thematic apperception measure the mean self-protective thoughts score on the NEGATIVE AFFECT part of the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought for P_{ND} s was greater in the uniform interaction condition than in the mixed interaction condition, although this difference was not significant. Although P_{ND} s may have more negative feelings towards potential uniform interactions than towards potential mixed interactions, most likely they conceptualize

both types of interactions as being similar with respect to NEGATIVE AFFECT.

From the story relevant questions measure there was no significant difference between P_{ND} s in the uniform and mixed conditions on the DEFENSIVE WITHDRAWAL TO AVOID REJECTION self-protective thought.

DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING. From the thematic apperception measure, the results revealed that P_{ND} s had a significantly higher mean score than P_D s for ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE in their respective mixed interaction conditions. The results also revealed that for character based scoring for self-protective thoughts, P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction condition had a significantly higher mean score for adjusted ROLE PLAY- P_{ND} CHARACTER, and adjusted ROLE PLAYING FOR ACCEPTANCE- P_{ND} CHARACTER than P_{ND} subjects in the uniform interaction condition. P_{ND} subjects included more role playing in mixed interactions than P_D subjects did. P_{ND} subjects also had P_{ND} characters engage in more role playing when these characters were interacting with P_D characters than when P_{ND} characters were interacting only with each other.

The following stories were selected to highlight the kinds of ROLE PLAYING that nondisabled people expressed in the mixed interaction condition. These stories were told to Picture 2 (people in line at a movie theater), and Picture 3 (two people in a cafeteria, one standing and one seated),

respectively:

This appears to be a picture of a group, again some that are handicapped and kind of a social group and they've decided to go to the theater together. And it's a social activity for both, for all of them. This is harder than I thought it was gonna be. This picture is telling me a story about some youths in a community that are, have gotten together to help some other children of their age, their peers enjoy some of the same social functions that they do. They have helped them out in both the community center and this is a out-of-center activity for them. They've gone out to help them interact with the community. And hopefully help them adjust to an acceptance by society of their handicap and to let them know that they are able to do the same things as any other person that isn't handicapped.

O.K., this woman apparently is feeling helpless because she's handicapped and nobody is helping her get her breakfast so this person decided to bring her breakfast and make her feel as comfortable. And I guess they'll become friends after that.

Since DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING was not hypothesized as a self-protective thought for P_{ND} s, is there another factor that could account for this role playing by P_{ND} s. One possibility is that P_{ND} s are desirous of contact with P_D s but they are uncertain how to initiate contact. To rectify this uncertainty P_{ND} s may be engaging in role playing to initiate contact. Once contact is made only then can the P_{ND} s begin to feel comfortable enough to engage in "real" interaction. If P_D s bring NEGATIVE AFFECT into mixed interactions, P_{ND} s may feel that they need to overcome this obstacle by

engaging in role playing which they believe communicates to the P_D that it is safe to interact with them. However, the P_D s' conceptualization of the mixed interaction precedes any possibility of recognizing the P_{ND} s' desire for contact and the manner in which they might be expressing it. Another possibility is that the P_{ND} believes that role playing to be accepted by a P_D is a way to gain social approval.

When discussing two findings on the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING variable together, a compelling interpretation on the mixed interaction can be made. P_{ND} subjects told stories that had P_{ND} characters engaging in significantly more DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING in the mixed interaction condition than in the uniform interaction condition, and 21 out of the 34 P_D subjects in the mixed interaction condition attributed DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING to P_{ND} characters. P_D and P_{ND} subjects believed that P_{ND} characters engaged in DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING when interacting with P_D characters. People with disabilities may believe that nondisabled people engage in role playing to hide their discomfort (possibly creating some of the NEGATIVE AFFECT that has been revealed in P_D s). Nondisabled people may feel that they need to engage in role playing to avoid showing their discomfort to people with disabilities. People with disabilities may view role playing in nondisabled people as an obstacle to successful interactions and relationship development, whereas nondisabled people may view their own role playing

as a way to enhance the possibility of successful interactions and relationship development. The consequence of these opposing beliefs is that neither participant in the mixed interaction experience it as being comfortable enough for successful interactions and relationship development to then occur.

From the story relevant questions measure there was no significant difference between P_{ND} s in the uniform and mixed conditions on the DEFENSIVE ROLE PLAYING self-protective thought.

Affiliative tendencies, implications for nondisabled subjects. The results do not indicate that P_{ND} s distinguish between the two types of interactions with respect to intimacy and affiliation. P_{ND} subjects expressed comparable levels of intimacy motivation, and comparable levels of need for affiliation, in both interaction conditions. The type of interaction condition the P_{ND} subjects were in did not alter the quality of the interpersonal relationship conceptualized.

Although the differences in mean intimacy score and mean affiliation score between the P_{ND} uniform and mixed interaction conditions were not significant it is interesting that in both cases the mean score was higher in the mixed interaction condition than in the uniform interaction condition. For P_{ND} subjects the quality of the relationships described between P_{ND} and P_D characters was

slightly better than the relationships described between P_{ND} characters only. This is contrary to the notion that nondisabled people conceptualize mixed interactions as being discomfoting and that they will reject people with disabilities. It is suggested that people with disabilities may be altering their interest in contact and relationship development with nondisabled people because they are anticipating cues of rejection when, in fact, these cues do not actually exist. An alternative explanation may be that although there were no significant differences between the groups on social desirability the P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction condition may have been trying to provide the "politically correct" response by being sensitive to the P_D characters in the mixed interaction pictures. In fact, the highest level of social desirability was in the mixed P_{ND} condition.

The Implications of the Present Research for Previous Research

The study of stigma has primarily focused on the experience of nondisabled people engaged in actual interactions with people with disabilities. Previous research has shown that interactions between people with and without disabilities are often strained and difficult, with both parties experiencing discomfort (Davis, 1961; Goffman, 1963; Kleck, Ono & Hastorf, 1966; Marinelli, 1974). The present research investigated an important part of this

problem that has not been sufficiently studied. That is the P₀s' conceptualization of mixed interactions before the interactions actually occur. Support for previous research would be in the form of uncovering thoughts in P₀s which reveal that the strain and discomfort are already being experienced prior to any interaction.

Much background work on people with disabilities interacting with nondisabled people is anecdotal suggesting that people with disabilities experience stress and strain when interacting with nondisabled people, and then act in a manner that inhibits the potential interaction, thereby decreasing any possibility of relationship development. The present research provided some support for this view in that the P₀s' level of NEGATIVE AFFECT in mixed interactions indicates that P₀s are experiencing stress and strain in their conceptualizations of mixed interactions.

Comer and Piliavin's (1972) study of mixed interactions found that compared with P_{ND}s, P₀s (a) terminated the interaction sooner, (b) showed greater motoric inhibition, (c) smiled less, (d) demonstrated less eye contact with the interviewer, and (e) reported feeling less comfortable during the interaction. Support is provided here for their study in that P₀s in the mixed interaction condition had a significantly lower score for affiliation imagery in the mixed interaction condition than P₀s in the uniform interaction condition.

Carling (1962) wrote that "the cripple must be careful not to act differently from what people expect him to do." However, the concept of ROLE PLAYING by people with disabilities was not supported in the present research. In response to the stimulus pictures used, P₀s did not conceptualize potential mixed interactions as requiring that they play a role in order to be accepted by P_{ND}s.

The present research also is consistent with Crocker and Major's (1988) theory of self-protection. Because of lack of arousal of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation in the mixed interaction, P₀s effectively are not motivated for relationship development with P_{ND}s. Without motivation to affiliate P₀s would tend not to seek out situations which may result in their thinking of themselves as less capable, or less worthy than the people they are comparing themselves to.

Previous research showed that P_{ND}s experience more state anxiety (Marinelli, 1974) and less emotional comfort (Kleck, 1966) when interacting with P₀s than when interacting with P_{ND}s. Davis (1961) wrote that the normal person "is having difficulty in relating to the handicapped person as he would to just an ordinary man or woman." Goffman (1963) referred to the mixed interaction as a "pathology of interaction." The results of present research are not consistent with these views. For the most part, P_{ND}s basically did not appear to conceptualize the potential

mixed interaction in any manner different than they conceptualize the uniform interaction. Comparable levels of NEGATIVE AFFECT, intimacy motivation, and need for affiliation existed across both types of interaction conditions for P_{ND} s.

However, it is possible that the prior research was correct. The P_D characters portrayed in the pictures used in this study had disabilities that were not particularly threatening or difficult for the "average" nondisabled person to cope with. The results that revealed no differences between mixed and uniform interactions for P_{ND} s may be a function of the type and severity of the disability of the P_D . For example, P_D characters depicted as blind (or having limb amputations or facial disfigurements) may create the discomfort in P_{ND} s that will lead them to conceptualize mixed interactions differently from uniform interactions.

Significance of Research

Much of the previous research focused on the contribution of nondisabled people to the uncomfortable and awkward interactions that occurred between people with and without disabilities. An important contribution of this research to theory regarding stigma is the suggestion that people with disabilities make their own contribution to the difficulties experienced in mixed interactions. The results of the study support this notion. Difficult or unsatisfactory mixed interactions are not solely the result

of nondisabled people experiencing discomfort when interacting with people with disabilities. People with disabilities also experience negative feelings towards potential mixed interactions which then alter their conceptualization of how these interactions will proceed if they are initiated. People with disabilities tend to conceptualize potential mixed interactions and the quality of relationships with nondisabled people in a manner that creates an obstacle to satisfactory interactions and relationships.

This research also extended prior work on need for affiliation and intimacy motivation to a new area, stigma, and to a new population, people with disabilities. A comparison of levels of need for affiliation and intimacy motivation across the uniform conditions, suggests the possibility that people with disabilities have a different level of need than nondisabled people. The difference between the mean need for affiliation score of the uniform P_D group and the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group was significant. The difference between the mean intimacy motivation score of the uniform P_D group and the mean of the uniform P_{ND} group did not attain significance but was in the same direction as the difference in means for need for affiliation. People with disabilities may have higher levels of need for affiliation and intimacy motivation than nondisabled people as a result of their experiences of

isolation and rejection associated with being stigmatized. This deprivation of satisfied needs may lead to increased levels of these needs which is expressed when the opportunity is presented.

The innovative use of the thematic apperceptive measure is theoretically significant. Theoretically, the measure normally assesses the characteristic level of a motive in a subject. The scores in the uniform condition of the present research probably represent that kind of assessment. However, in the mixed interaction condition the measure is used in a different way. In this condition the measure is not intended to assess an individual's characteristic disposition, but rather the individual's level of the motive within the mixed interaction condition. The measure is intended to reflect the condition, in that the condition may fail to arouse the motive, or it may inhibit the expression of the motive.

The novel use of thematic apperceptive stories in the present research is also methodologically significant. Much of the previous research employed actual interactions. This study explored the idea that the problems in mixed interactions have their root in the participants' conceptualizations of these interaction before they even occur. It is at the time of thinking about what may happen if contact is made that creates discomfort for the person with a disability. It is here that any potential for

interaction may be eliminated. Thematic apperception provides a way to investigate what people are thinking about interactions before they occur and how this might influence their behavior. In addition, thematic apperception may be relatively unsusceptible to social desirability bias.

In addition a new method of scoring (character based) was introduced which provided a good deal of information about how subjects were conceptualizing interactions in terms of which characters were using self-protective thoughts in their stories. Future research may consider using this method of scoring for the established scoring systems of intimacy motivation and need for affiliation. Subjects who project feelings onto characters of the same disability status as theirs may be expressing their feelings about mixed interactions in a very different manner than subjects who are projecting similar feelings onto characters of the other disability status from theirs. For example, two P_0 subjects may both score very high on intimacy motivation. However, upon closer examination it turns out that one subject's stories attribute all of the intimacy imagery to P_0 characters whereas the other subject's stories attribute all of the intimacy imagery to P_{ND} characters. This further analysis of the stories would offer more information about the subjects' feelings about potential mixed interactions than the original overall score.

The potential applied significance of the present

research lies in the interventions that may be suggested that can help people with disabilities recognize and deal with their self-protective thoughts which would, in turn, permit more effective mixed interactions and the development of relationships. The NEGATIVE AFFECT that people with disabilities experience as part of their conceptualization of mixed interactions may be having an excessive influence on their willingness to interact with nondisabled people. This reluctance and avoidance of the interaction limits the possibility that the person with a disability may experience positive mixed interactions. When facing a potential interaction the person with a disability may recall that he or she did not experience discomfort previously because he or she avoided the interaction, and then they avoid the interaction again. The person with a disability limits his or her own opportunity for positive interactions and the development of good relationships with nondisabled people. People with disabilities need to recognize that the NEGATIVE AFFECT they are experiencing is not in response to the actual interaction. Even at the expense of incurring some pain due to the anticipation of rejection, people with disabilities need to delay avoiding the interaction, or prematurely terminating the interaction, until they have proof that the nondisabled person is unwilling to interact positively with them.

Limitations of Study

Because this study deals only with people with physical disabilities, any findings here may not necessarily represent the thought processes of people with other stigmatizing conditions. The pattern of results in this study were supportive of the basic concept that people with disabilities contribute to the problems that occur in mixed interactions. Future research may investigate the contribution that other stigmatized groups may be making to the problems they have experienced in interactions with nonstigmatized people.

Another limitation of this study is that all of the P₀s had cerebral palsy so they do not represent all types of physical disability. Also, people with mild cerebral palsy may conceptualize interactions with nondisabled people differently than people with profound cerebral palsy. As an example, those subjects with speech that is more difficult to understand may have experienced less patience from nondisabled people than subjects with clear speech over the course of their history of interactions.

The thematic apperceptive pictures also presented a somewhat limited range of disabilities. The characters with disabilities either used wheelchairs or crutches. If characters are depicted as having more severe disabilities different conceptualizations of interactions may appear. In addition, despite the pilot studies it has not yet been

thoroughly determined that these pictures possess the necessary reliability and validity for future research. Additional psychometric work would be required before these pictures were used for future research. Another concern about the pictures was that some subjects identified certain characters as females whereas other subjects identified the same characters as males (e.g., the character on the left in picture 1). However, it is not unusual for subjects in thematic apperception research to identify characters as being male or female, regardless of how explicit the drawings were made.

A further limitation of this study concerns the generalizability of results obtained with projective tests to actual interactions. Conceptualizations of interactions may not necessarily lead to actions and actual interactions may trigger feelings in subjects that they did not have to consider when making up stories to pictures.

With regards to social desirability, although the statistical analysis showed that there were no significant differences among the four interaction conditions on mean social desirability, and that the correlations between social desirability, intimacy motivation, need for affiliation, and NEGATIVE AFFECT suggested no relationship between social desirability and any of the three variables, it is possible that the twelve item version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale was not sensitive enough to

uncover the presence of socially desirable responding.

Implications for Future Research

The results of this study suggest several interesting areas for future research. For greater clarity they will be discussed under separate headings although they do complement each other in the pursuit of improved design and method.

Research on people with disabilities. The history of research that has focused on the behaviors and feelings of nondisabled people towards people with disabilities can be viewed as another way in which people with disabilities have been devalued. People with disabilities are not solely the passive recipients of the issues, concerns, and problems that nondisabled people have with them. People with disabilities are active participants, for better or worse, in all of their interactions. Therefore they very much shape the opinions that nondisabled people will have of them. To ignore this in research is a fundamental flaw. Future research on mixed interactions needs to focus on people with disabilities as much as on nondisabled people.

Gender of subjects. The participants in the present study were females. Future research should explore whether males use self-protective thoughts, and conceptualize mixed interactions differently than uniform interactions. It would also be informative to look at potential gender differences in the use of self-protective thoughts and

conceptualizations of interpersonal relationships depending on the type of interaction (i.e., uniform or mixed).

Thematic apperception in experimental research on stigma. The use of thematic apperception in experimental research on stigma holds interesting promise for exploring the thoughts that people have about interactions and interpersonal relationships. By altering the pictures in specific ways researchers can study differences between groups of people in how they conceptualize different types of interactions and relationships. As the present study sought to compare and contrast the conceptualizations of people with disabilities when telling stories to pictures that only varied on one factor, whether or not the characters had physical disabilities, future studies in stigma can vary the characters on other variables such as race, color, and weight status.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research investigated stigma primarily from the perspective of people with disabilities, using an innovative method to get at their thoughts, and suggests that the way people with disabilities think about potential interactions with nondisabled people may greatly influence what they do when interacting with nondisabled people.

Appendix A

Scoring Systems for Self-Protective ThoughtsDefensive Withdrawal to Avoid Rejection (DWAR)

Scoring Directions. Scored 1 for the P_D category and/or P_{ND} category if the potential or actual interaction evokes negative affect (A) in a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) followed by him or her considering, or exhibiting, behaviors (B) that tend to curtail the potential or actual interaction with the other character(s) in the story. Scored 0 for the P_D category if no P_D character expresses both the affect (A) and the behavior (B). Scored 0 for the P_{ND} category if no P_{ND} character expresses both the affect (A) and the behavior (B).

- (A) Examples of negative affect a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) would have that result in a P_D category and/or P_{ND} category being scored 1.

1. The character has feelings of rejection that are evoked by the presence of another character (e.g., not welcome, not wanted, rejected, put down, excluded, ignored, separate, not listened to, not answered, paid no attention to, a barrier, disapproved of).

2. The character has feelings of discomfort that are evoked by the presence of another character (e.g., undesirable, unworthy, uncomfortable, made fun of, alone, isolated, leered at, unentitled).

3. The character has feelings of anxiety about the interaction (e.g., anxious, afraid, nervous, awkward, intimidated).

4. The character has angry feelings about the interaction (e.g., upset, withdrawn, angered).

- (B) Examples of behaviors any character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) may think about exhibiting, or actually exhibit:

1. Withdrawing from the interaction (e.g. the character moves away or leaves, distances himself or herself, puts physical distance between them).

2. Curtailing the interaction (e.g. the character cuts short the conversation, cuts off the interaction, reduces the importance of the conversation, decreases his or her interest in the other character).

3. Inhibiting the interaction (e.g. the character restrains himself or herself from continuing the interaction, hinders any further interaction).

4. Limiting the interaction (e.g. the character puts limits on how much he or she will say, limits how much he or she will reveal, limits what he or she will talk about).

Three types of expression of this self-protective thought will be scored for each story. These expressions are:

a. Negative affect (NA). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses a feeling listed above in DWAR Scoring (A), score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. If character does not express any negative affect, score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

b. Negative affect followed by thoughts of, or actual, behaviors that tend to curtail the potential, or actual, interaction (NAW). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses negative affect (A) and then thinks of, or exhibits, behaviors (B) that tend to curtail the potential, or actual, interaction, score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. These behaviors are listed above in DWAR Scoring (B). If a character does not express both negative affect and a behavior (thoughts of, or exhibited), score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. An (A)-(B) sequence must be present for a P_D character and/or P_{ND} character for the P_D category and/or P_{ND} category to be scored 1.

c. Negative affect in a character followed by no interaction between the characters in the story (NANI). No interaction between the characters also includes no expressed desire for interaction nor thoughts of or exhibited behaviors that would tend to curtail the potential, or actual, interaction. If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses negative affect (A) and then there is no interaction in the story, score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. A story is scored 0 for a P_D category and/or P_{ND} category if that character does not express negative affect (A), or if there is any interaction between that character and any other character(s).

Analysis and Score Sheet. For each type of expression of the DWAR self-protective thought it will be noted whether the expression applies to a character who is a P_D , or a P_{ND} . Hence, the scoring sheet will appear as follows:

| | P_D | P_{ND} |
|-----|-------|----------|
| (a) | _____ | _____ |
| (b) | _____ | _____ |
| (c) | _____ | _____ |

Various combinations of these scores will be used in the analysis.

Comparisons among groups will be made using each type of expression separately, a score obtained for (a) and (b) together (namely, if a and b are both present the score = 1, if not the score = 0), and a score obtained for (a) and (c) together (namely, if a and c are both present the score = 1, if not the score = 0)

Defensive Role Playing (DRP)

Scoring Directions. Scored 1 for the P_D category and/or P_{ND} category if a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) feels that he or she has to play a role (A), or is expected to play a role, in order to be accepted (B) by the other character(s) in the story. A P_D category and/or P_{ND} category may also be scored 1 if a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) feels that he or she has to play a role (A) to be accepted, but he or she refuses to play a role and is not accepted (C) by the other character(s) in the story. In a story a character may express that he or she is intelligent (funny, warm, etc.) because they do possess that characteristic. This alone would not be scored 1. For a P_D category and/or P_{ND} category to be scored 1 the P_D character and/or P_{ND} character must fully express that he or she has to play a role, or is expected to play a role, in order to be accepted by the other character(s), or that he or she refuses to play a role and is therefore not accepted. Scored 0 for the P_D category if no P_D character expresses the need, or expectation, to play a role in order to be accepted. Scored 0 for the P_{ND} category if no P_{ND} character expresses the need, or expectation, to play a role in order to be accepted.

- (A) Examples of role playing the character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) feels that he or she has to, or is expected to, play in order to be accepted: (Note that a character may simply say that "he or she has to play a role.")

1. The character plays a role that facilitates, encourages, and/or maintains the interaction through his or her role behavior (e.g., funny, intelligent, life-of-the-party, artistic, witty, engaging, knowledgeable, all-knowing).

2. The character plays a role that helps the other character(s) feel comfortable, relaxed, and/or nonthreatened (e.g., subservient, helpful, saint-like, submissive, understanding, caring).

3. The character plays the role of being grateful or appreciative of being in the interaction so that he or she will be allowed to remain in the interaction (e.g., happy, involved, content, a good sport).

(B) Following are examples of thoughts any character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) might express to describe acceptance by the other character(s) in the story. (To be scored 1, a story line would proceed along the general theme of "I am playing a role, which allows the other character(s) to accept me.")

1. Allowing me to remain in close vicinity.
2. Showing an interest in me.
3. Continuing the conversation with me.
4. Asking me questions.
5. Wanting to become friends with me.
6. Making plans with me to get together at a later date.
7. Describing the relationship as friends or lovers.

(C) Following are examples of thoughts any character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) might express to describe nonacceptance, or the lack of desire or need to be accepted, by the other character(s) in the story. (To be scored 1, a story line would proceed along the general theme of "I recognize that I need to play a role, or that I am expected to play a role, in order to be accepted. But I refuse to do so and therefore I am not accepted.")

1. I am asked to leave the vicinity.
2. It is suggested, or implied, that I should leave.
3. It is expressed by the other character(s) that I am unwelcome.
4. The other character(s) not showing any interest in me.
5. Not asking me any questions.
6. Dismissing me as unworthy of attention.
7. Rejecting my gestures of friendliness.
8. Describing the relationship in negative terms (e.g. enemies, annoying, burdensome).
9. Showing a dislike for me.
10. Declining to make plans together for a later date.
11. Curtailing the conversation with me.

The scoring for DRP is determined by two possible sequences of events. The first sequence of events is (A)-(B). In this sequence the character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) states that he (she) recognizes the need to play a role or expectation to play a role in order to be accepted, and he (she) is willing to play a role. This person is then accepted by the other character(s) because he (she) is playing a role. The second sequence of events is (A)-(C). In this sequence the person (note if P_D or P_{ND}) states the same recognition as above but he (she) refuses to play a role and is therefore not accepted by the other character(s). A P_D category and/or P_{ND} category would be scored 1 if either sequence was present.

Three types of expression will be scored for each story. These expressions are:

a. Role playing (RP). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses that he or she needs to, wants to, is expected to, or is playing a role without any statement concerning acceptance by the other character(s), score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. The possible roles are listed above in DRP Scoring (A). If a character does not make any statement concerning role playing, score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

b. Role playing, or expectation of role playing, for acceptance (RPA). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses that he or she wants to, needs to, is expected to, or is playing a role in order to be accepted by the other character(s), score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. Statements that represent acceptance are listed above in DRP Scoring (B). Both role playing and "acceptance" must be present in the story to be scored 1. If a character does not express both role playing and "acceptance", score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

c. Role playing rejected (RPR). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses that he or she is expected to play a role in order to be accepted, but refuses to do so, score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. If a character does not make any statement concerning role playing, score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

The Analysis and Score Sheet for the DRP self-protective thought is identical to the one described for DWAR above.

Defensive Denigration (DD)

Scoring Directions. Scored 1 for the P_D category

and/or P_{ND} category if a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses denigrating thoughts (A) about the other character(s) and then considers, or exhibits, behaviors (B) that tend to curtail the potential, or actual, interaction with the other character(s) in the story. This considered or exhibited behavior must be in response to the denigrating thought(s) made towards the other character(s). As an example, for a P_D category and/or P_{ND} category to be scored 1, a story line would proceed along the general theme of "I find this person to be undesirable, therefore I am considering leaving or I am going to leave." Scored 0 for the P_D category if no P_D character expresses the denigrating thought(s). Scored 0 for the P_{ND} category if no P_{ND} character expresses the denigrating thought(s).

- (A) Examples of denigrating thoughts a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) may have towards the other character(s).
1. The other character is a person who is _____ (e.g., prejudiced, inconsiderate, closed-off, cold, childish, stupid, self-involved, unappealing, simple minded, arrogant, undesirable, unworthy, egocentric, simple, ignorant).
 2. The other character is perceived as a threat and this provokes a denigrating thought. This other character is a person who is _____ (e.g., controlling, dangerous, suspicious, depraved).
- (B) Examples of behaviors any character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) may think about exhibiting, or actually exhibit, after he or she expressed a denigrating thought, or thoughts, about (or actually denigrated) the other character(s). The following four instances of (B) are identical to those used in DWAR.
1. Withdrawing from the interaction (e.g. the character moves away or leaves, distances himself or herself, puts physical distance between them).
 2. Curtailing the interaction (e.g. the character cuts short the conversation, cuts off the interaction, reduces the importance of the conversation, decreases his or her interest in the other character).
 3. Inhibiting the interaction (e.g. the character restrains himself or herself from continuing the interaction, hinders any further interaction).
 4. Limiting the interaction (e.g. the character puts limits on how much he or she will say, limits how much he or she will reveal, limits what he or she will talk

about).

Three types of expression will be scored for each story. These expressions are:

a. Denigrating thoughts about, or denigration of, the other character(s) (DDT). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses a denigrating thought about, or denigrates the other character(s), score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. Examples of denigrating thoughts are listed above in DD Scoring (A). If a character does not express any denigrating thoughts, score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

b. Denigrating thoughts about, or denigration of, the other character(s) followed by thoughts of, or actual, behaviors that negatively affect the potential interaction (DDW). If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) expresses denigrating thoughts, or actually denigrates the other character(s) and then thinks of, or exhibits behaviors that negatively affect the potential interaction, score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. These behaviors are listed above in DD Scoring (B). If a character does not express both the denigration and a behavior (thoughts, or exhibited), score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

c. Denigrating thoughts about, or denigration of, the other character(s) followed by no interaction between the characters in the story (DDNI). No interaction between the characters also includes no expressed desire for interaction, nor thoughts of, or exhibited, behaviors that would negatively affect the potential interaction. If a character (note if P_D or P_{ND}) has denigrating thoughts about, or denigrates the other character(s) and then there is no interaction, score 1 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. If a character does not possess a denigrating thought about, nor denigrates, the other character(s), score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category. Also, if there is any interaction between that character and other character(s), score 0 for that P_D category and/or P_{ND} category.

The Analysis and Score Sheet for the DD self-protective thought is identical to the one described for DWAR above.

Scoring Summary

The scores for each subject are obtained in the following manner. Each subject completes four thematic apperceptive stories. Each story is coded for evidence of each of the three self-protective thoughts.

In the coding of a story, each self-protective thought

is either present or not present for a P_D or P_{ND} category. A P_D and a P_{ND} character may both express self-protective thoughts in the same story. A P_D and/or P_{ND} character may express none, one, two, or all three of the self-protective processes in a single story. Each self-protective thought is scored separately

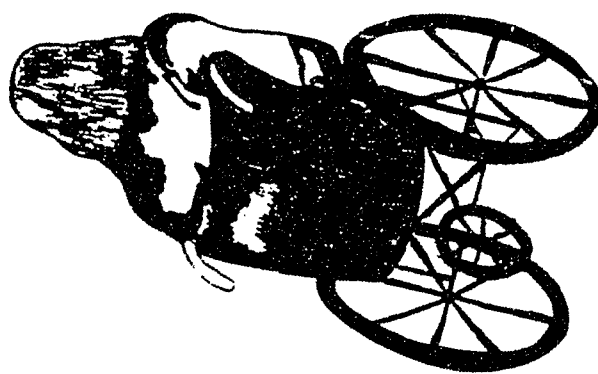
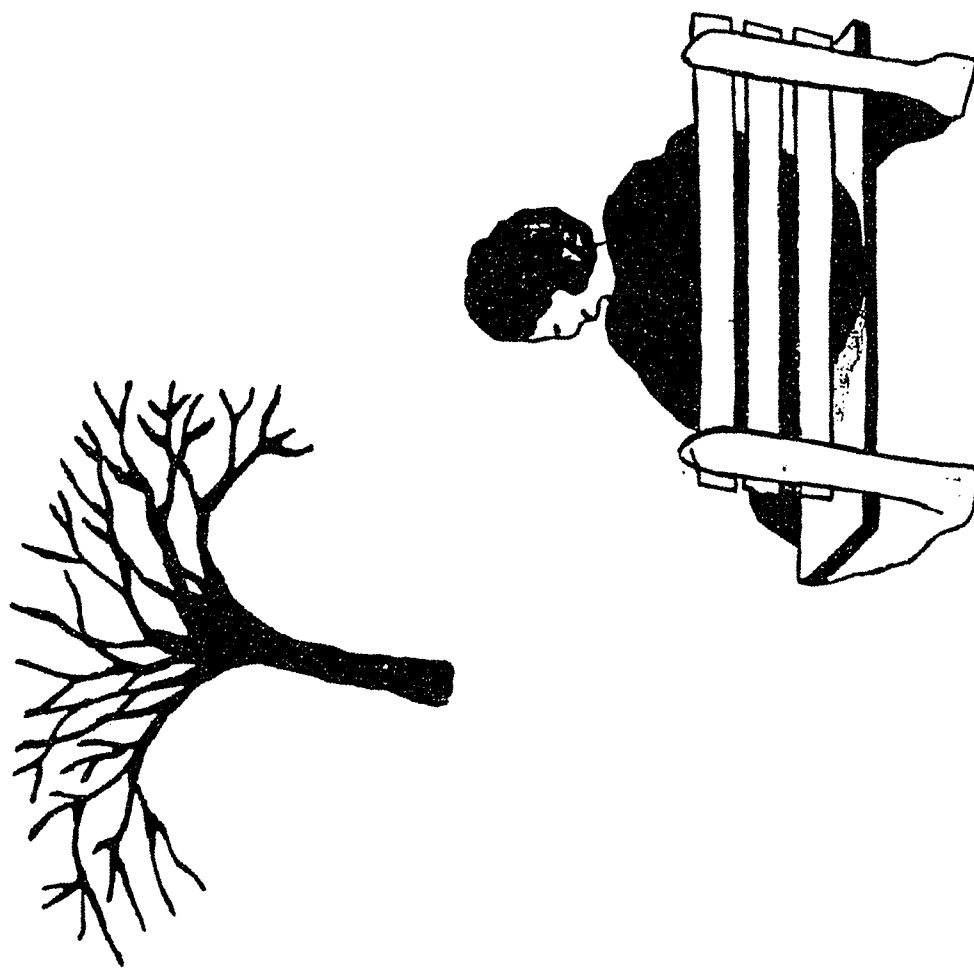
In the coding of a story, each of the three types of expression of a single self-protective thought is either present or not present. The reader is reminded that two out of the three types of expression of each self-protective thought are mutually exclusive, thus both cannot appear in the same story.

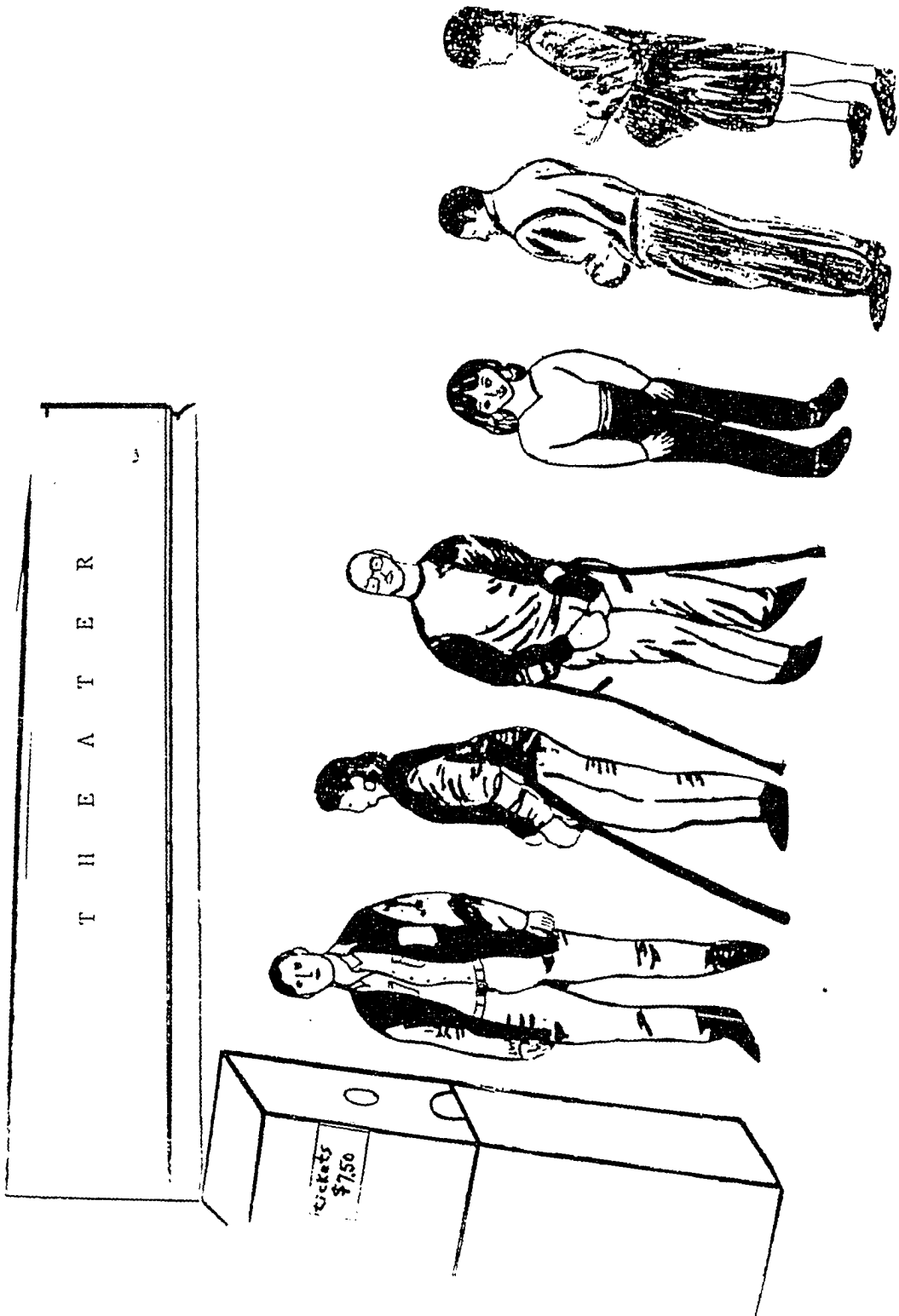
The comparisons that will be made among the groups are described above in the Analysis and Score Sheet section of DWAR.

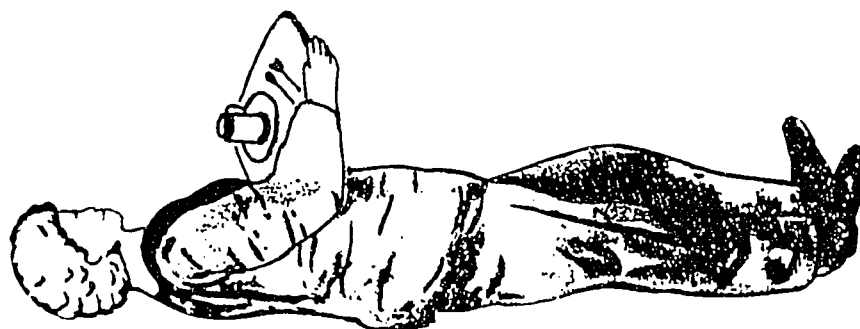
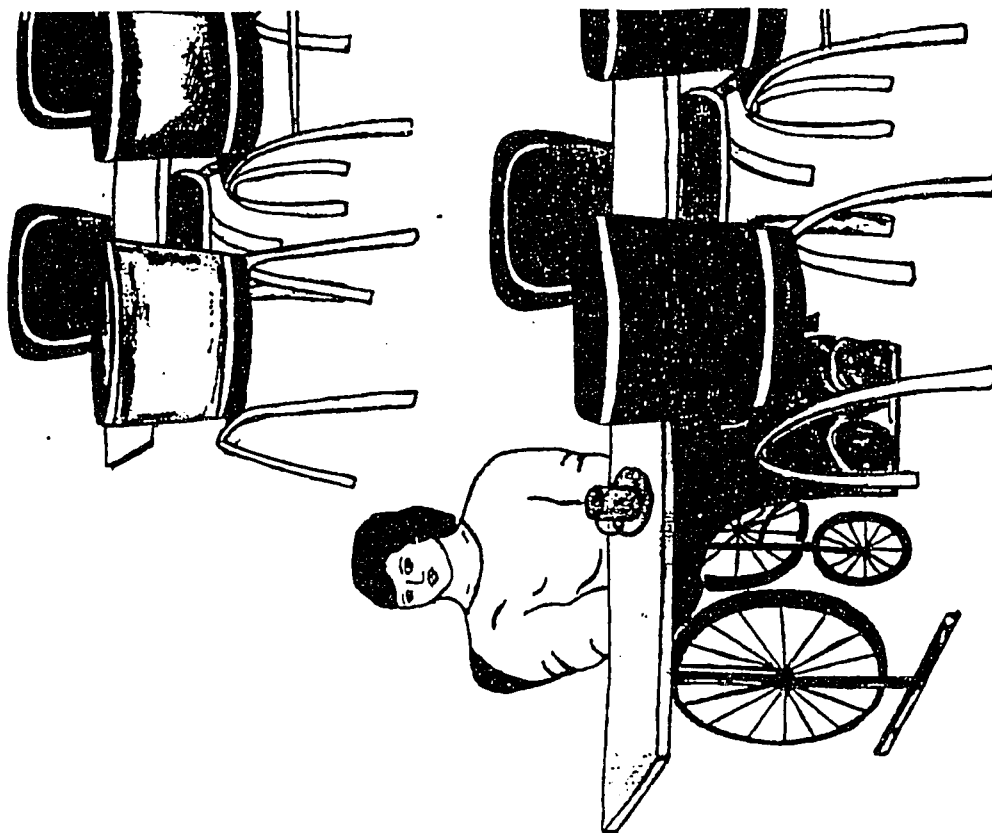
Appendix B

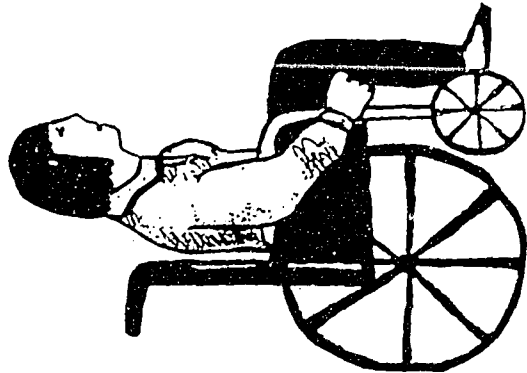
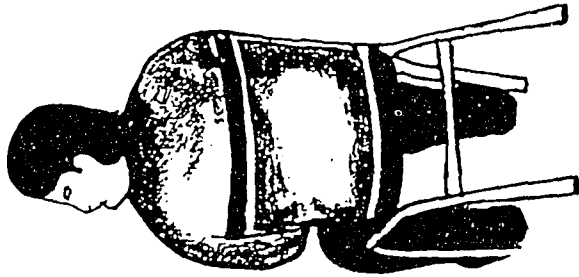
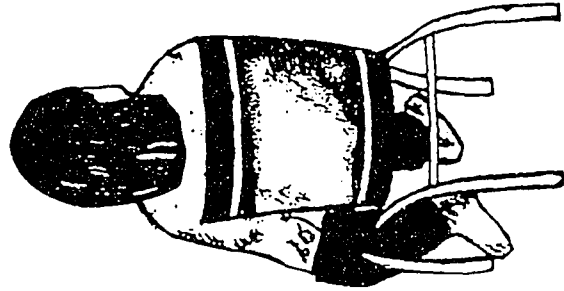
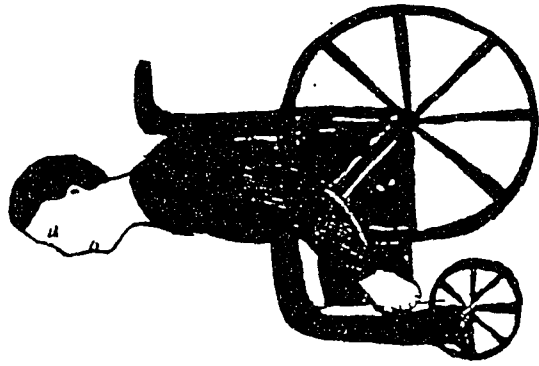
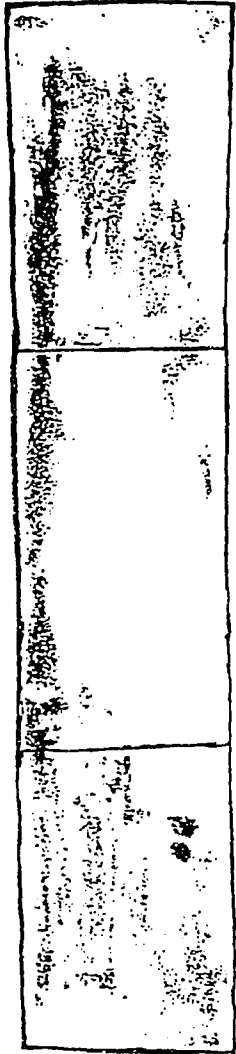
Pictures for Thematic Apperception

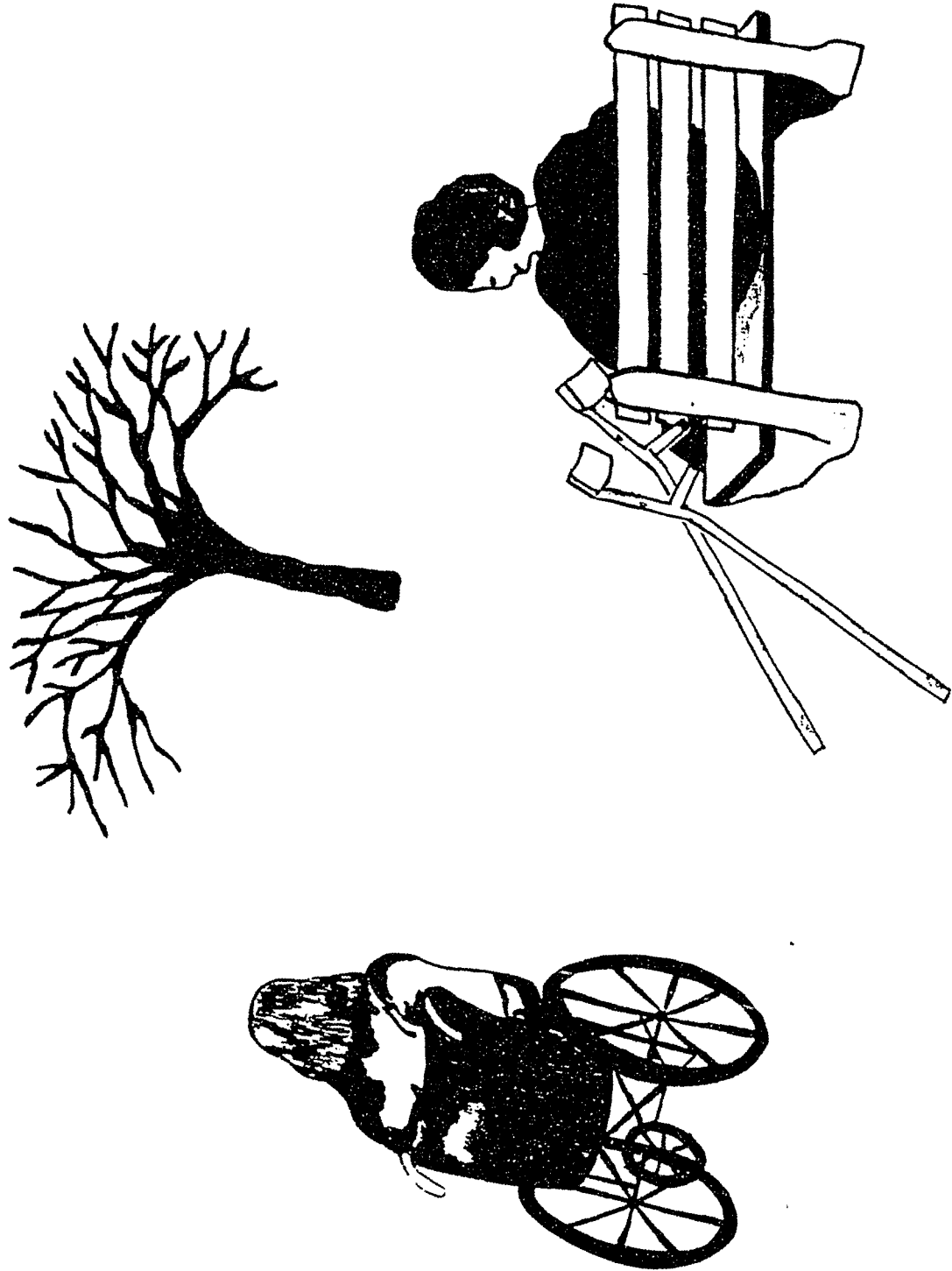
The pictures for each interaction condition are represented. P_D and P_{ND} subjects in the mixed interaction conditions told stories to the first set of four pictures. P_D subjects in the uniform interaction condition told stories to the second set of four pictures. P_{ND} subjects in the uniform interaction condition told stories to the third set of four pictures.

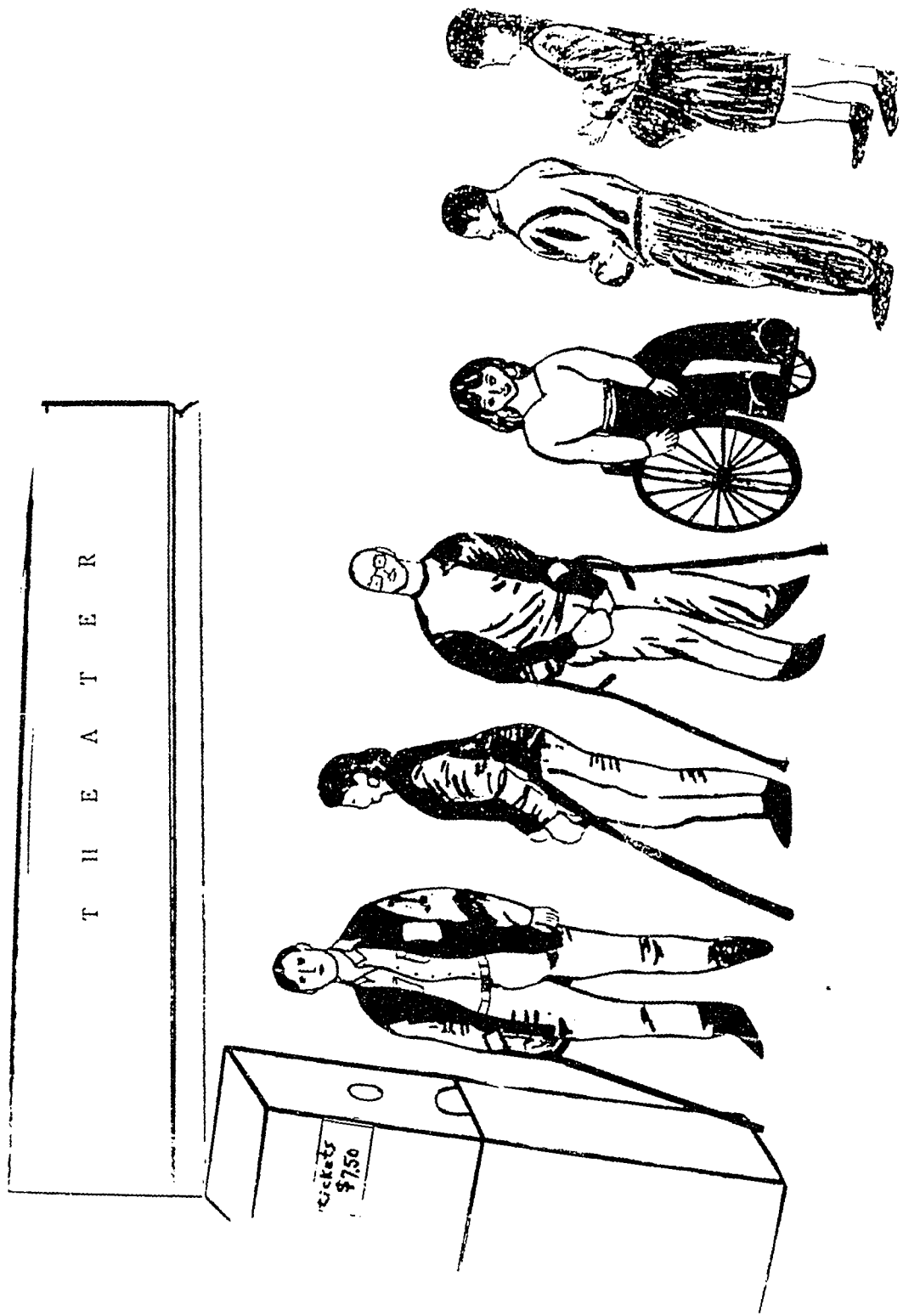


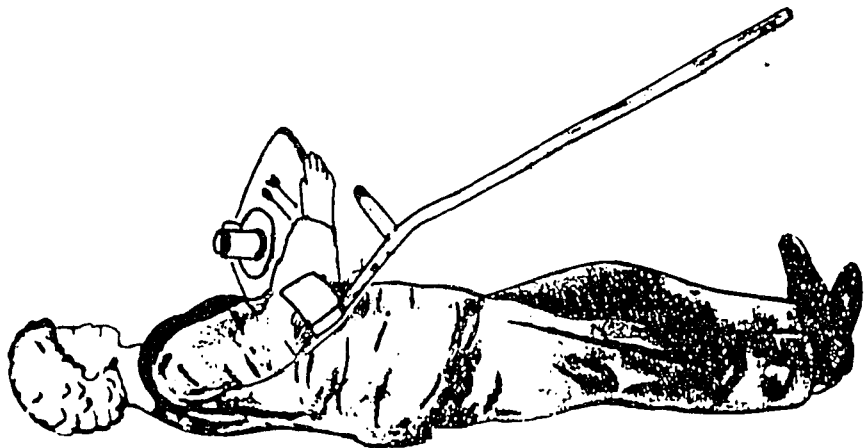
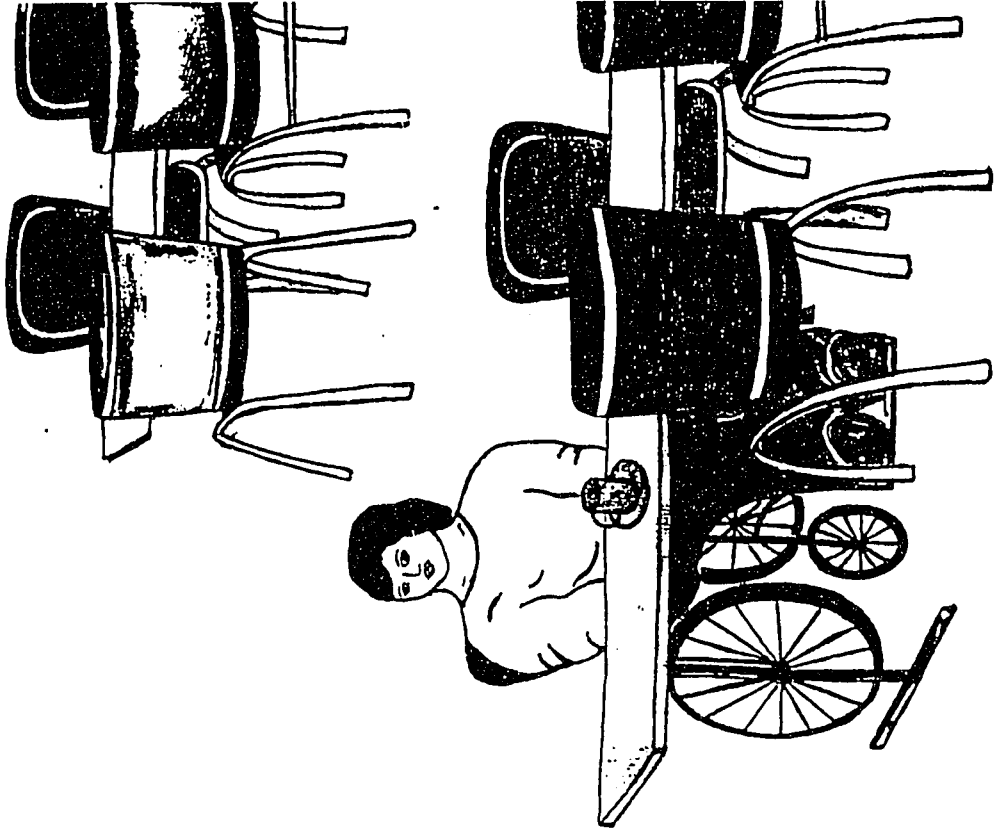


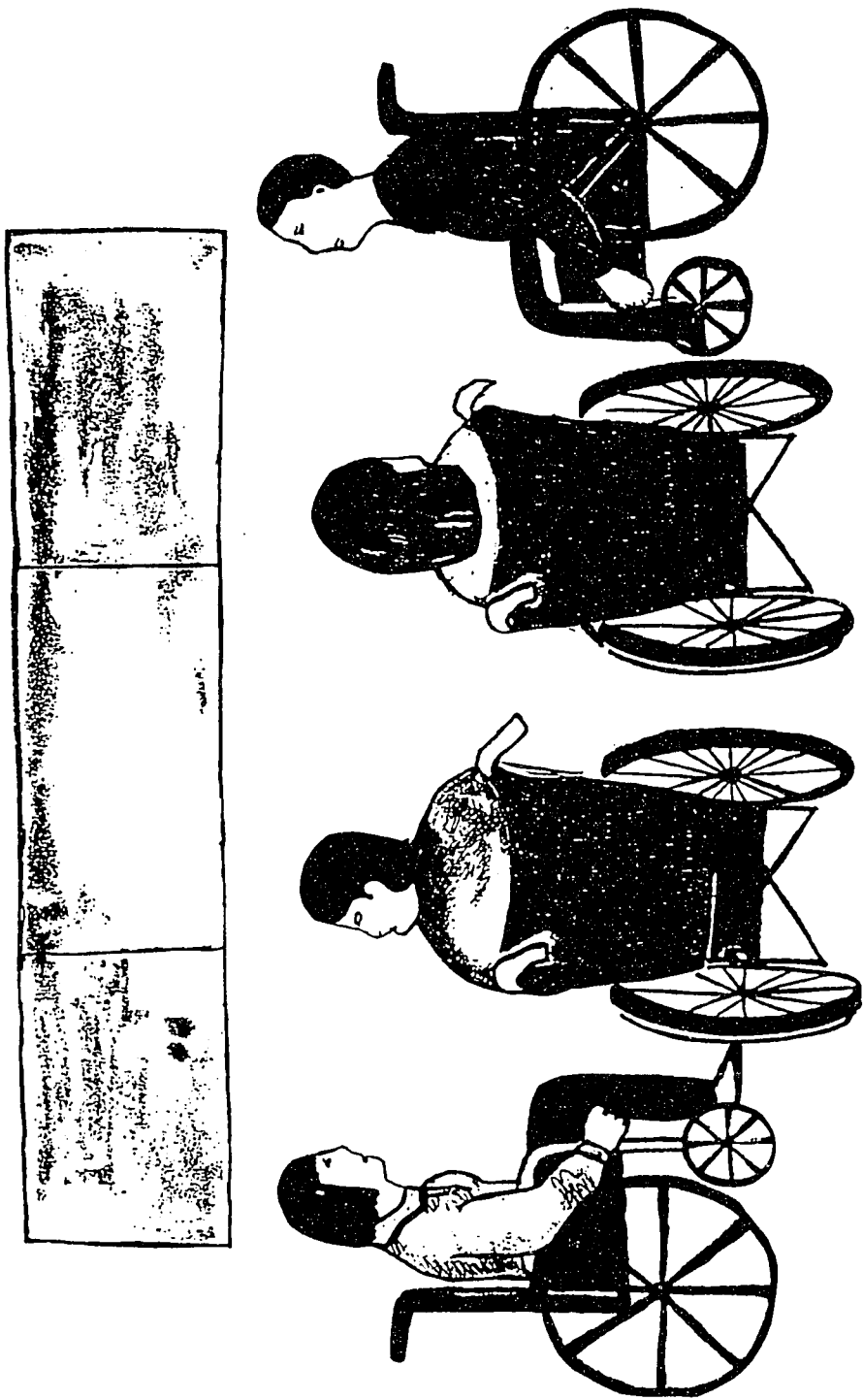


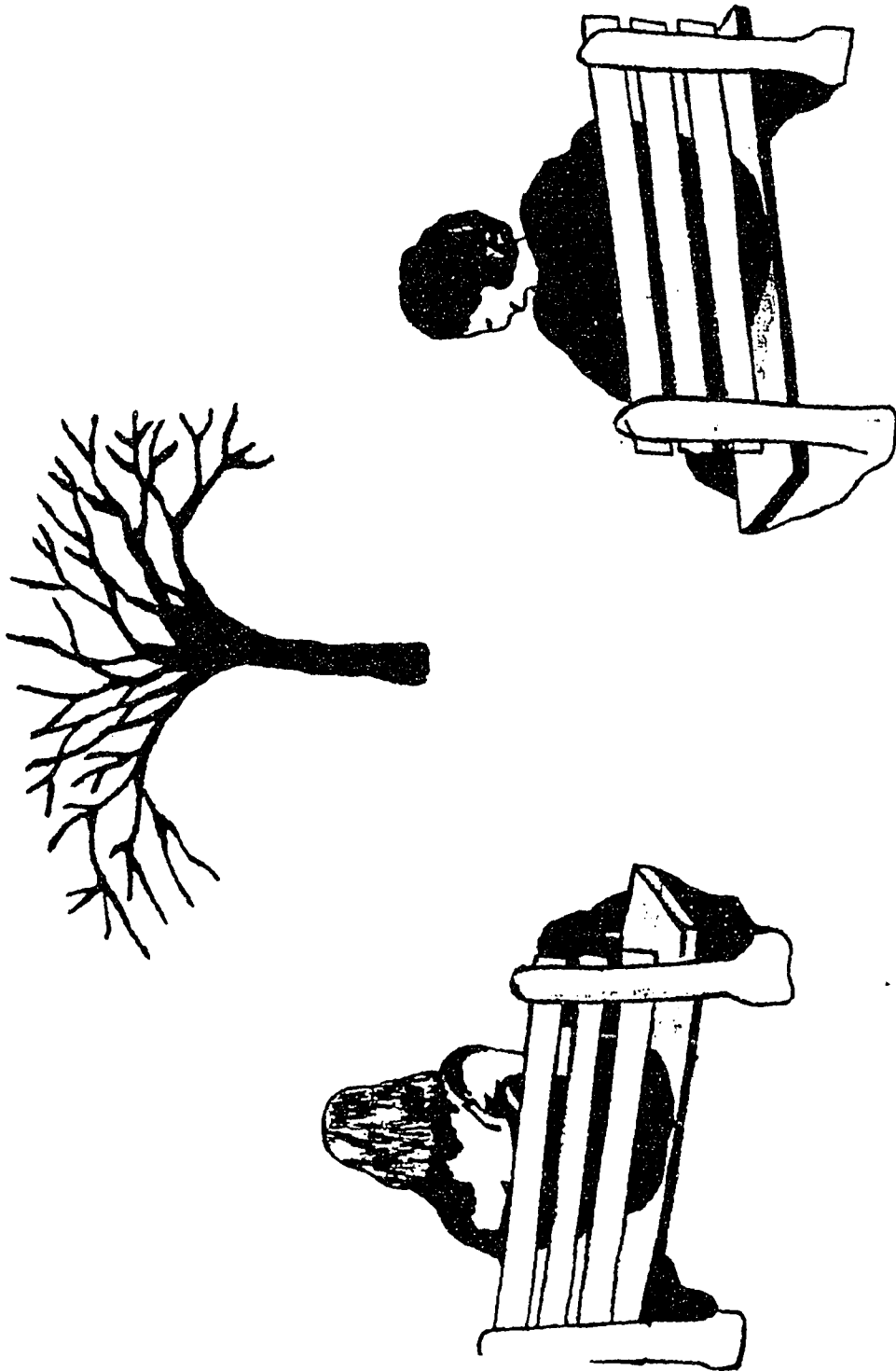


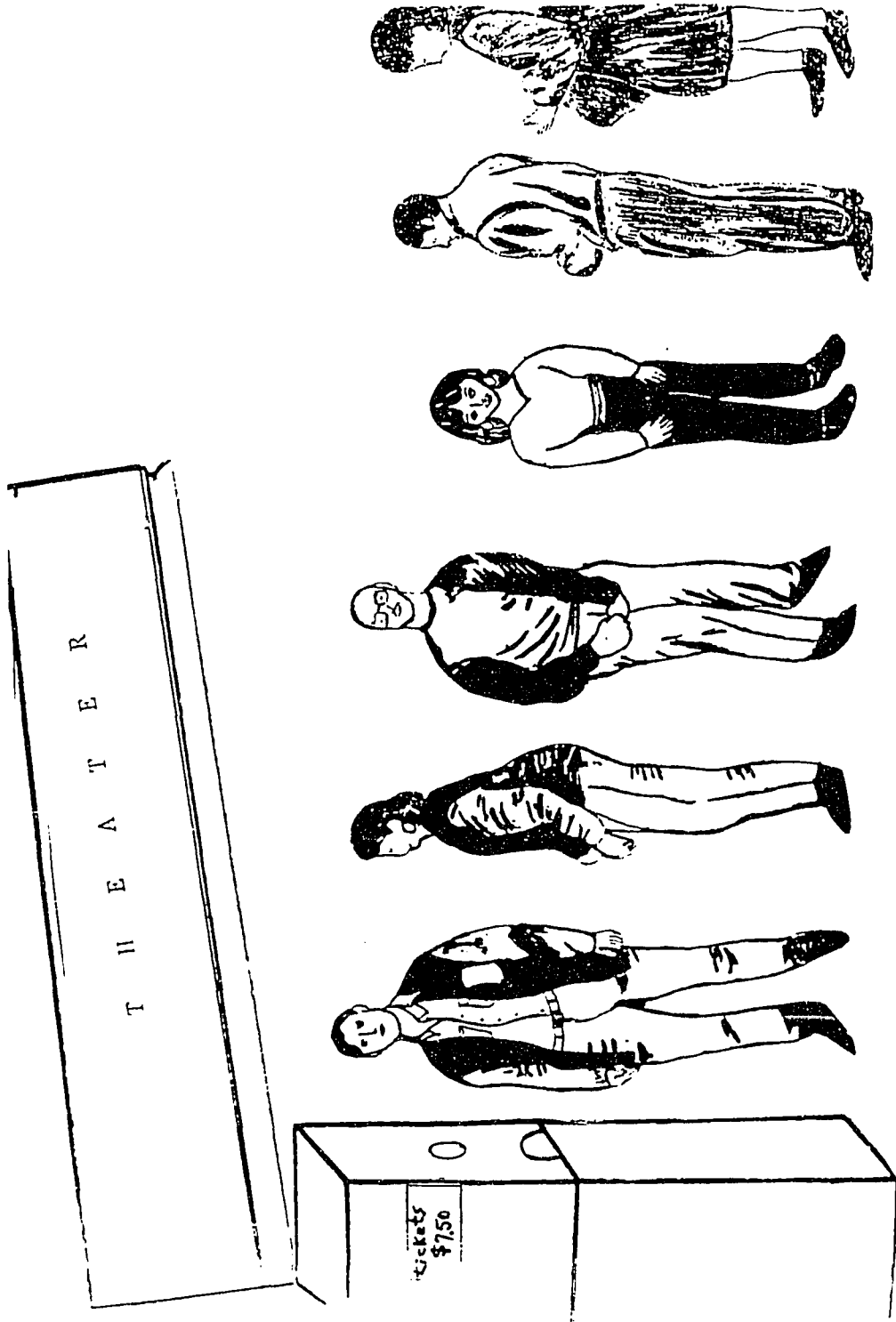


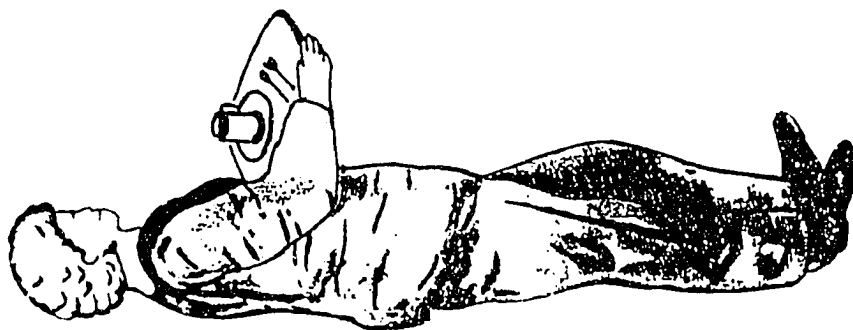
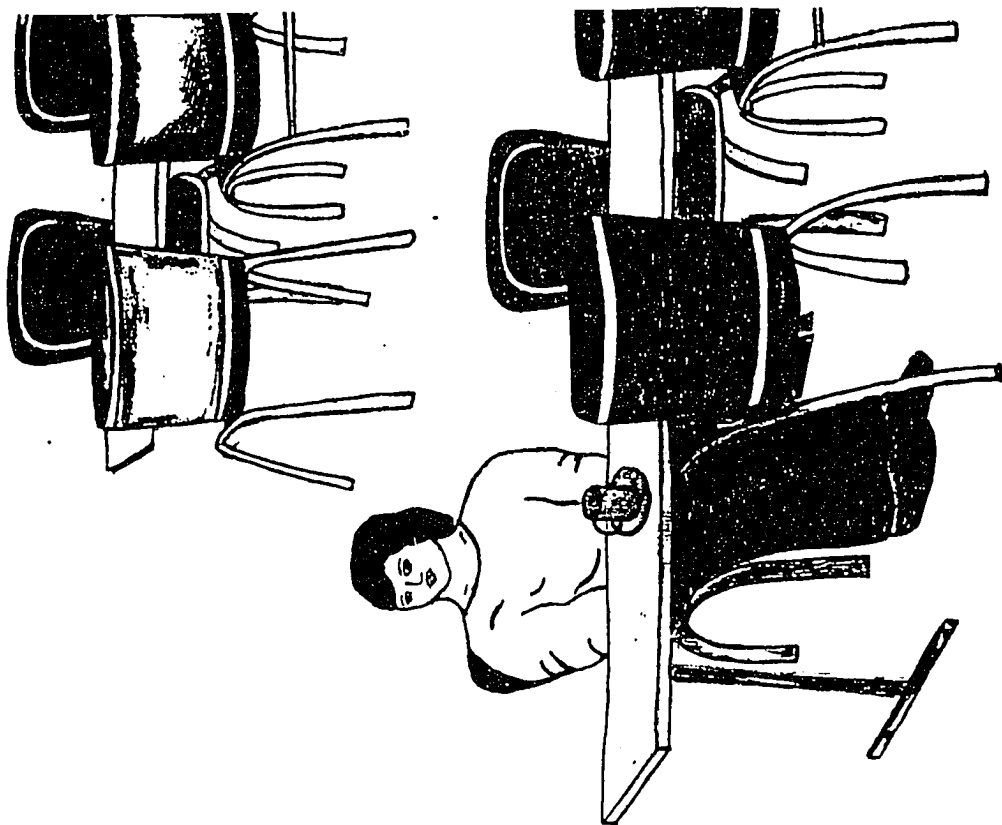


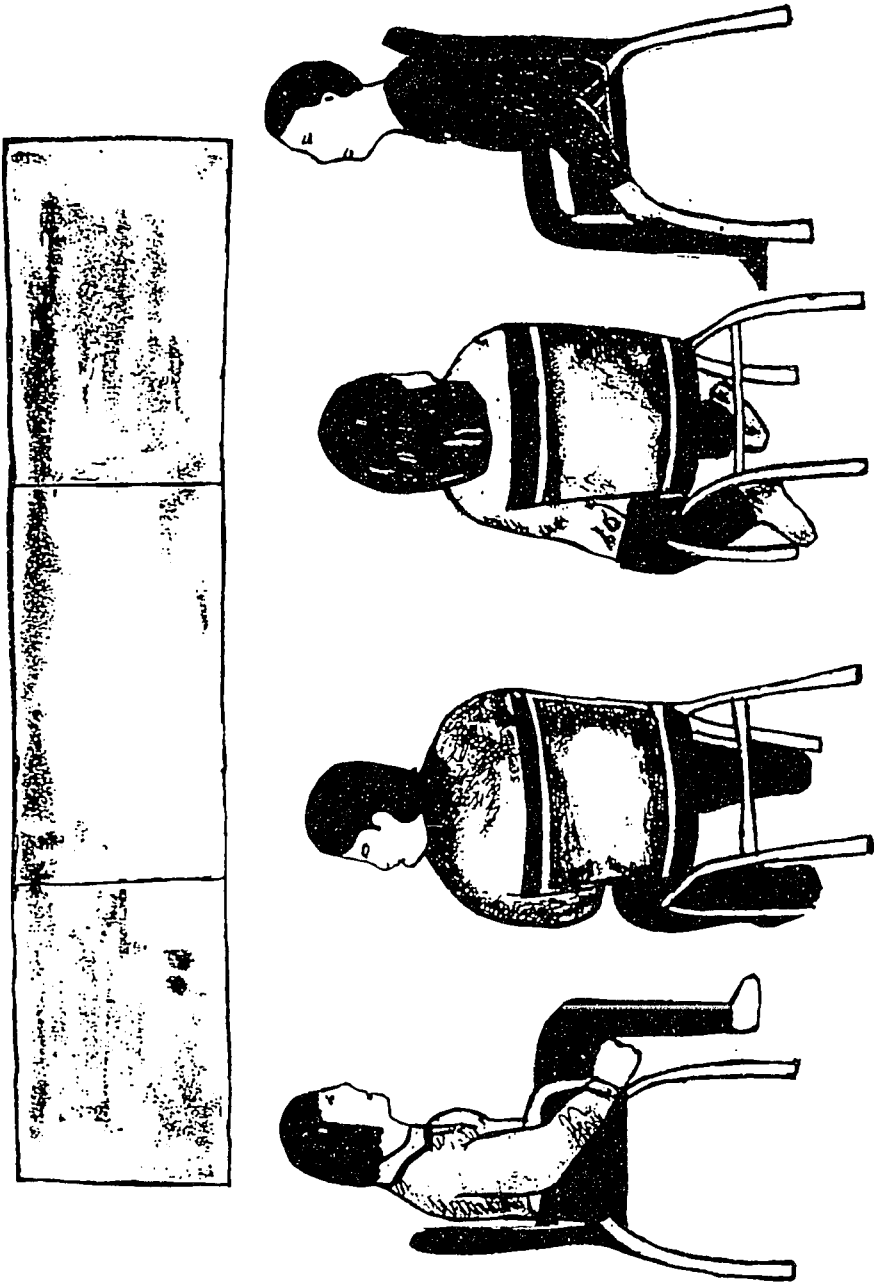












3a. To what extent did he/she consider stopping the interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

3b. To what extent did he/she consider stopping any possibility of interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

4. In your story was there any one person more than the others who felt that he or she had to play a role, or was expected to play a role, in order to be accepted?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks Questions 5 and 6. If NO, experimenter asks Question 7.

If the subject inquires about what playing a role means, experimenter is to state that the person is not being his or her real self.

5. Accepted by whom? P_D___ P_{ND}___ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

6. To what extent? 0 1 2 3 4

7. Did any one person feel that he or she was more accepting of others than the other people in your story?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks Questions 8 and 9. If NO, experimenter asks Question 1 to the next picture.

If the subject inquires about what "more accepting" means, the experimenter is to state that some examples would be, the person feeling that he or she is more caring, sensitive, kinder, and/or understanding than the other people.

8. More accepting than whom? P_D___ P_{ND}___ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

9. To what extent does he/she feel more accepting?
 0 1 2 3 4

Picture 3

1. Was any person in your story particularly concerned about being rejected?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point

to that character (P₀____ P_{NO}____) and asks either Question 2a or 2b. If NO, experimenter asks Question 4.

Based on whether an actual interaction has occurred or not in the subject's story, experimenter determines which question (2a or 2b) is appropriate to ask.

2a. Was she concerned enough to stop the interaction?
YES____ NO____ If YES, experimenter asks Question 3a. If NO, experimenter asks Question 4.

2b. Was she concerned enough to consider stopping any possibility of interaction?
YES____ NO____ If YES, experimenter asks Question 3b. If NO, experimenter asks Question 4.

If the subject appears uncertain about this question or asks for a further explanation the experimenter is to suggest examples of how a character might stop an interaction, or consider stopping any possibility of interaction (e.g., not initiating any conversation, ending the conversation, or leaving the situation). The experimenter may also ask the subject if she can think of any other example of how the character might stop the interaction or any possibility of interaction.

If subject chose another example, note it here_____.

3a. To what extent did she consider stopping the interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

3b. To what extent did she consider stopping any possibility of interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

4. In your story was there any person more than the other who felt that she had to play a role, or was expected to play a role, in order to be accepted?
YES____ NO____ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P₀____ P_{NO}____) and asks Questions 5 and 6. If NO, experimenter asks Question 7.

If the subject inquires about what playing a role means, experimenter is to state that the person is not being his or her real self.

5. Accepted by whom? P₀____ P_{NO}____ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

6. To what extent? 0 1 2 3 4

7. Did any person feel that she was more accepting of others than the other person in your story?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks Questions 8 and 9. If NO, experimenter asks Question 1 to the next picture.

If the subject inquires about what "more accepting" means, experimenter is to state that some examples would be, the person feeling that he or she is more caring, sensitive, kinder, and/or understanding than the other people.

8. More accepting than whom? P_D___ P_{ND}___ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

9. To what extent does she feel more accepting?
 0 1 2 3 4

Picture 2

1. Was any one person in your story particularly concerned about being rejected?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks either Question 2a or 2b. If NO, experimenter asks Question 4.

Based on whether an actual interaction has occurred or not in the subject's story, experimenter determines which question (2a or 2b) is appropriate to ask.

2a. Was he/she concerned enough to stop the interaction?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks Question 3a. If NO, the experimenter asks Question 4.

2b. Was he/she concerned enough to consider stopping any possibility of interaction?
 YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks Question 3b. If NO, experimenter asks Question 4.

If the subject appears uncertain about this question or asks for a further explanation the experimenter is to suggest examples of how a character might stop an interaction, or consider stopping any possibility of interaction (e.g., not initiating any conversation, ending the conversation, or leaving the situation). The experimenter may also ask the subject if she can think of any other example of how the character might stop the interaction or any possibility of interaction.

If subject chose another example, note it here_____.

3a. To what extent did he/she consider stopping the interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

3b. To what extent did he/she consider stopping any possibility of interaction? 0 1 2 3 4

4. In your story was there any one person more than the others who felt that he or she had to play a role, or was expected to play a role, in order to be accepted?
YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks Questions 5 and 6. If NO, experimenter asks Question 7.

If the subject inquires about what playing a role means, experimenter is to state that the person is not being his or her real self.

5. Accepted by whom? P_D___ P_{ND}___ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

6. To what extent? 0 1 2 3 4

7. Did any one person feel that he or she was more accepting of others than the other people in your story?
YES___ NO___ If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to that character (P_D___ P_{ND}___) and asks Questions 8 and 9. If NO, experimenter asks Question 1 to the next picture.

If the subject inquires about what "more accepting" means, experimenter is to state that some examples would be, the person feeling that he or she is more caring, sensitive, kinder, and/or understanding than the other people.

8. More accepting than whom? P_D___ P_{ND}___ Other_____

If there is any uncertainty about which character the subject is referring to, experimenter is to ask the subject to point to that character.

9. To what extent does he/she feel more accepting?
0 1 2 3 4

Picture 1

1. Do you believe that this person (experimenter points to

P_D) felt comfortable and accepted by this person
(experimenter points to P_{ND})?

YES ___ NO ___

2. (If YES, experimenter asks) To what extent?

0 1 2 3 4

3. Do you believe that this person (experimenter points to
 P_{ND}) felt comfortable and accepted by this person
(experimenter points to P_D)?

YES ___ NO ___

4. (If YES, experimenter asks) To what extent?

0 1 2 3 4

5. Do you believe that this person (experimenter points to
 P_{ND}) felt that she was her real self in front of this person
(experimenter points to P_D)? You know, that she didn't have
to play a role.

YES ___ NO ___

6. (If YES, experimenter asks) To what extent?

0 1 2 3 4

7. Do you believe that this person (experimenter points to
 P_D) felt that she was her real self in front of this person
(experimenter points to P_{ND})? That she didn't have to play
a role.

YES ___ NO ___

8. (If YES, experimenter asks) To what extent?

0 1 2 3 4

9. Do you believe that any person in your story felt
superior or inferior to any other person in your story?

YES ___ NO ___

If YES, experimenter asks subject to point to the character
that she believes feels superior or inferior (experimenter
asks subject to say whether the character feels superior or
inferior) to the other character.

P_D superior - inferior to P_{ND} (experimenter is to circle the
combination that reflects the subject's statement)

(Experimenter asks) To what extent? 0 1 2 3 4

P_{ND} superior-inferior to P_D (experimenter is to circle the
combination that reflects the subject's statement)

(Experimenter asks) To what extent? 0 1 2 3 4

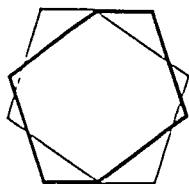
Appendix D

Social Desirability Scale

According to Greenwald and Satow (1970) an effective measure of social desirability responding may be obtained by using 10 or 12 items from the Marlowe-Crowne Scale and from other social desirability items. The social desirability measure used in the present study (as reproduced here) included the 12 items that have the highest reliability, without overlap in item wording.

Questions About Yourself (Answer true or false.)

1. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener. _____
2. I have never intensely disliked anyone. _____
3. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget. _____
4. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. _____
5. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. _____
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my own way. _____
7. I always try to practice what I preach. _____
8. I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake. _____
9. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. _____
10. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. _____
11. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. _____
12. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoing. _____



The Graduate School and University Center
of The City University of New York

Ph.D. Program in Psychology: Social-Personality Psychology / Box 325
Graduate Center: 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-8099
212 642-2506

Consent Form

Researcher: Robert Joseph
Doctoral Subprogram in Social-Personality Psychology

The research is being carried out for a doctoral dissertation in psychology. It deals with imaginative thinking and involves (1) making up stories to pictures, (2) answering some questions about the stories, and (3) completing two short questionnaires. This should take about 30 minutes, and involves no risks or discomforts that I know of. The information you give me will be anonymous. A code number will be used instead of your name.

With your permission the session will be tape recorded and then transcribed. Only the researcher, his supervisor, and a trained assistant will have access to the tapes and transcriptions. The tapes will be erased at the end of the study.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you may discontinue participation at any time. If you do not wish to participate that will have no effect on any benefits you now receive or may need to receive in the future from this or any agency.

When we finish the session, I will be happy to answer any questions that you wish to ask. Afterwards if you have any questions, you may telephone me at (212) 249-1542. You may also telephone the director of the Office of Sponsored Research at the Graduate School of the City University of New York (212) 642-2059.

Please indicate your consent by signing this form. The second copy is for you to keep.

I have read the above consent form and I agree to participate.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F

Selected Subjects' Stories and Responses to
Story Relevant Questions

The following stories show examples of full sets of stories for selected subjects. The rationale for the selection of these subjects was that their stories typify the types of stories that were produced by the subjects in their respective interaction conditions. These subjects' responses to the story relevant questions are compiled at the end of this Appendix.

P₀ Subject - Uniform Interaction Condition (Subject 1)

1. Two disabled people having a conversation about life in general in the park or a picnic area. They want to know how the other side of life is not being disabled people, and they just having a conversation on what it would be like on the other side of the fence and at the same time they are appreciating, they are appreciating the life they live because they are alive and see Mother Nature and what it's doing in their life.

2. This look like a group of disabled people getting out socially. They going out to, with their friends. They had dinner, they had nice conversation and they're going to a movie. People, the so-called society, most of them don't know we can socialize like they are. We can even do more if we are allowed to, if society is not so narrow minded.

3. This look like a setting in a cafeteria or eating area with two people are enjoying a meal. They went out for lunch, they enjoyed good conversation and they're eating together and helping each other. And after that they're making conversation, and what they could do while they're in the evening of the next day.

4. They went out, a group of people went out to an art show. They're discussing the different art and the different texture of the painting. And the different artists and what they're expressing with their painting and they're discussing what they feel and see if they can compromise on the painting.

P₀ Subject - Uniform Interaction Condition (Subject 2)

1. This woman is with her husband. He's on crutches and they're sitting in the park near the tree. This fellow can't work and he's here with his wife and they're both sitting in the park, relaxing and having a good time. She just took him for a walk and she's saying to her husband,

how are you, and stuff.

2. These are people on crutches waiting to get into a movie theater. Waiting for the man to come sell the tickets. They're asking, what movie this is, and they're all friends. All friends together in a group. After the movie they'll go out to eat at a good restaurant. Then they'll go home to each other's houses. One friend is saying to the other, "this looks like a good movie." "Who's going to buy the popcorn?" One said, "I will." They're all going to sit together and have a good time.

3. This woman is sitting in the cafeteria or lunch room. This man on a crutch is giving this lady a cup of coffee because she can't walk. "Oh, thank you very much for the coffee and cookies." And they become friends. This man says to this woman, "would you like to go out tonight on a date to the movies?" She says, "I don't know I'll have to call you back later. I'll need your phone number. I'll try to make it." Then he sat down and they talked. And he took this woman out to her car, or bus, and helped her onto the bus.

4. They're at a movie theater and they're watching the picture. They're all friends, they live close to each other. They're waiting for the movie to start. Talking, "what did you do, what did I do?" They asked what's the name of the movie. They're going to go out to eat afterwards. What restaurant, they said. Burger King. They'll take Access-A-Ride home, which I like. One goes out for popcorn and the others wait for the movie to start.

P₀ Subject - Mixed Interaction Condition (Subject 3)

1. I see two people in a park and it looks like one is disabled and one looks like she is nondisabled. And I guess they look like they're having a good time just sitting in the park. I guess they're both thinking that it's a nice day out and they like coming to the park and just sitting, I guess watching people. And I guess these two people are thinking, I wonder what it is like to be in a wheelchair? And the other person is probably thinking, I wonder what it would be like if I could walk?

2. I see a whole bunch of people. I think they're getting ready to go into the movies and from what it looks like there are a couple of disabled people in the line and it looks like the ticket that they have to pay for is \$7.50. Well they're standing, I see people standing on a line getting ready to go into the movies. A few of them are disabled, and a few of them are nondisabled. So I guess they're thinking about how long they'll have to stand in

line 'cause there is a nondisabled person in front of them. I guess they feel kind of strange standing in the movies, standing on a line with people that are not disabled and I guess they might be thinking that people might be staring at them 'cause they're disabled. They figure well disabled people can go to the movies, they can do a lot of stuff. And I guess they're going to have a good time at the movies.

3. That one looks like a restaurant. I see a person in a wheelchair. She is sitting at a table in a place that, she sitting at looks like a restaurant, or a school. I can't tell which is which. I guess she's waiting to order her lunch or breakfast and she's looking at a person with a tray. Maybe the person is a waitress or whatever. Maybe she's wondering if the person gonna want to sit next to her to eat, gonna ask if he or she could sit there. It's only two people in the place so maybe they end up having lunch together, who knows. I think they gonna end up having lunch. At first it's going to be strange 'cause maybe that person never had lunch with a person in a wheelchair and then he's going to feel awkward for them, but I guess they gonna become friends and start talking and stuff.

4. This picture looks like some people in a class or. It looks like a classroom and there are two disabled people and two nondisabled people. And I guess they're talking, trying to wonder what the class is going to be about. Or they're probably trying to check each other out and stuff like that. I don't know, they might become friends. They might feel funny talking to each other but I think that the four people are going to become friends after they finish class or whatever. They probably go to lunch or something. They probably have a good time just being friends.

P₀ Subject - Mixed Interaction Condition (Subject 4)

1. Well actually that's two people in a park and the young lady in the wheelchair probably doesn't, she probably doesn't feel comfortable enough to go over to the lady and approach her or talk to her and the same thing with the lady that's sitting on the bench. They're just two people sitting in the park when they really should be together talking. They're not. Either she's too afraid or either the lady's too afraid. They just won't talk to each other and they're just sitting there.

2. Well I'll tell you these people are on a line. I don't know what kind of line that is, oh, theater line. Oh, actually they're just, maybe the cashier went out and needed to get more tickets or something but nobody's there taking any tickets. And everybody's just standing around waiting to have whatever is supposed to happen when they could be

talking to each other and having a conversation you know. And again the handicapped people are too afraid to talk, or the people who are not disabled are afraid to talk and they're just standing around you know and they shouldn't be standing around. They should be conversing, you know making the time pass.

3. Well this looks like they're in a cafeteria and this, this lady is probably bringing the young lady in the wheelchair, she's gonna sit down with her and actually, oh, maybe that could be her tray and maybe she wants to sit at that table. She's probably afraid to ask and the girl in the wheelchair is looking over, she's looking over like she, she might ask the lady well do you want to sit here and to, you know, get the lady off the hook. And you know that's basically what it looks like. She looks like she's afraid to go over, and she looks like she might say something but she looks like she's hesitant a little bit. She's not really saying anything.

4. Well it looks like this is, this is a group and probably the group leader hasn't come in yet and the people are broken up into two groups and they're each, two groups of people are having two different conversations. And you know that's, that's basically what's happening there.

P_{ND} Subject - Uniform Interaction Condition (Subject 5)

1. It's two people in a park. A male and a female it seems obvious to me. And what led up to the picture? Maybe just relaxing. There's no leaves on the tree so maybe they're just contemplating that and looks as if the guy on the left who's sitting on the bench is sleeping, and the next situation she has her legs she looks very relaxed. And just seems as if that's the whole, what's going to happen is. I don't see really any interaction happening between them, they'll go on their merry way. Maybe he'll wake, maybe he won't.

2. This is a picture of people who are waiting on line to get tickets to the theater, movie theater cause it seems \$7.50, it's not a, it's not a Broadway play. And they're dressed kind of casually so I imagine that's going to be the case too. What led up to, this is not anything specific. I guess that they're all going to see the movie. And what is each person doing? This guy seems a little, the first gentleman seems a little angry maybe he's tired but I don't know why he's the next one on line. The, the second person with him or after him is a young lady. She looks kind of happy. I don't know, I don't get much from her. The other guy he's got his hand in his crotch, I don't know what he's doing. Maybe he's got an itch. And I don't know, I don't

see that these people are very interesting at all. The last lady is a little older or more conservative or maybe she's just more conservative. Everybody's dressed kind of differently. Some people are dressed for warmer weather, some people are dressed for colder weather. So maybe it's springtime and the weather's touch and go and. There's a lot of space in between the people that's not something that you see usually when people are waiting on line for movie theaters. They're more anxious to get right up there in front and you know that's it.

3. This is a picture of college kids who are taking a break. They have just come from, no they are on their way to an examination. This is, they're having coffee and, coffee before their examination and they seem pretty relaxed about it. And maybe it's two women I'm not sure but this looks pretty much like a guy. And they know each other. They've been up studying all night long. It's nothing like I do but, and they're, they're very prepared for this examination. And they're going to sit and discuss the, the final things before they go to take it. And either that or it could be a hospital cafeteria, it's some sort of cafeteria. It's a cafeteria and they both look relaxed and pleasant and they're having a nice cup of coffee before they go off to whatever it is that they have to do and that's it.

4. This is group therapy, definitely group therapy. These people gathered here for group therapy and the instructor, the instructor, the therapist who is on your, on the left is having some interaction between this guy all the way on the right and the guy who's sitting with his back to us is disagreeing with what it is that the therapist is having to say. The, they, he seems a little disturbed the guy with his back to us and he's not happy because he just had a fight with his girlfriend and he's just angry at everybody. And everybody seems, these two seem to be talking at once and this person I can't tell whether it's a male or a female but is paying attention to the gentleman on the right and they're deeply involved in some sort of debate. What they're talking about is personal conflicts.

P_{ND} Subject - Uniform Interaction Condition (Subject 6)

1. I see two people it looks like it's two people sitting in a park. Two lonely people sitting in a park. It looks to me like these people could, or end up speaking to one another just for a conversation. They may end up friends. They look like two lonely people in search of someone, a friend.

2. I see people standing on this line waiting to purchase tickets to see a movie perhaps, theater yes, movie.

I see all different types of people. These people are waiting to see a movie, waiting to purchase tickets to a movie. They're all by themselves, they're not with anybody else. I see them all alone though.

3. Here's someone having lunch or breakfast alone. Two people. I could see this person having small talk with this other person seated here. They may know one another and even if they didn't they, I'm sure they'd end up speaking to one another about something. I know I did when I'm alone. I don't know it depends, everyone has a different approach about things. Whether if or not they're alone or with someone. I can't imagine why they would want to sit alone.

4. I see a little meeting here, a little group. I'd say it looks to me like they're sitting in some sort of a group. Therapy perhaps. Probably discussing how they feel, what their problems are maybe, helping one another. Maybe it's because they're angry or sad. Perhaps looking for help, counseling. Looks like they're there for counseling. Definitely looks like they're there to help one another. I could see that happening. They'll all end up with some sort of a solution. I see that. What they're talking about maybe I don't know. It's, it could be lots of things, nice things I'm sure. It's hard to say. It could be anything that they're talking about. Give me a topic and I'll, it's hard to say.

P_{NO} Subject - Mixed Interaction Condition (Subject 7)

1. I guess I see two people sitting in a, in a park, maybe. It doesn't seem like they know each other. Just two anonymous people sitting, thinking. That's about it. This is kind of hard. OK I don't know, I guess like maybe two, just two lonely people decided to go and sit in the park to think for a while. Maybe the person in the wheelchair is thinking about their handicap whatever that might be and the person sitting on the, on the bench is maybe just a lonely person that's just sitting there. And I think they probably decided to talk to one another about what they thinking. I can't tell, is the person in the wheelchair is supposed to be a man or I'm supposed to figure that out also. I'm thinking maybe that this is a man and they decided to talk and maybe they went off together.

2. Obviously they're all standing on line waiting to see some type of movie or play or something. I don't know. I think they're probably just all strangers that ended up at the same theater to see the same play. They went in to see the play and they all just left you know by themselves. I don't think it was like a gathering of friends or anything.

Anonymous people going to see a play.

3. A hospital cafeteria. I see a young lady sitting down having her breakfast I would assume. And another staff person came in and would like to sit there, with this person, with the lady and talk with her and they decide to have breakfast together.

4. I think this is probably some type of class that these four individuals are all taking. What type of class, I have no idea. I guess it's just showing that because some people have a handicap and others don't it doesn't matter you can all still participate in the same type of, you know, type of class. You know can still do the same type of things, being handicapped doesn't really matter. That's what I'm thinking. Yea, I would say that they, they all were attending a class and yea they're all attending a class. And you know it doesn't matter because the fact that two of them are handicapped or in wheelchairs or whatever, it doesn't really matter they can all participate in the same class.

P_{ND} Subject - Mixed Interaction Condition (Subject 8)

1. OK, well it looks like dealing with maybe a daughter and her mother in a nursing home and they're sittin' outside the nursing home. Say, she doesn't look very upset though. Let's say she's visiting her and what led up to this, I imagine her mom got ill. And she had to put her in a nursing home.

2. Alright, should I just describe everybody in this picture. Bunch of people waiting on line for the theater. She looks generally normal. I don't know the first person on line, the last person on line. These people that attract my attention, the people with the crutches. What ever you wanna call. And I'm not very good at making up stuff. Their on line going to the movie because, these two are dating. They found themselves in common that they have this handicap between them and they are attracted to the two of them. So they started dating. He asked her out to go to the theater. Here they're on line goin' to see a "Jurassic Park." Nothing else is interesting. In New York City.

3. There's a handicap sitting here. These two look like friends, they've been good friends for awhile. And I'd say maybe this is a school or, the woman in the wheelchair and this is her friend here visits her. And they're about to sit down and have a long talk about how this woman's coping with the fact that she's in a wheelchair. And I would say they been friends for an extremely long time. And I would say it's a school for people who are trying to you

know physically get themselves back in order. Try to get their legs back in order. And it looks like she may have gotten into an accident not too long ago and this is her friend.

4. Suppose these guys are kind of maybe in a therapy session. Trying to maybe express their feelings about how they ended up in wheelchair. And these two might be counselors trying to help the other two discuss their feelings about their physical handicap at the moment. It seems like they're actually just talking to each other about it. This one is looking at them so I don't know. I'd say that's it, I would say they're in a session trying to discuss their feelings about how they got in a wheelchair. Should, am I suppose to make up a reason why they're in a wheelchair? I suppose I could, but I don't think they, I won't bother to deal with how they ended up there. Two totally different things.

Selected Subjects' Answers to Story Relevant QuestionsP₀ - Uniform (Subject 1)Story
to Picture

| Question ^a | 4 | 3 | 2 |
|-----------------------|----|----|----|
| 1. | no | no | no |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | no | no |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |
| 7. | no | no | no |
| 8. | | | |
| 9. | | | |

P₀ - Uniform (Subject 2)Story
to Picture

| Question | 4 | 3 | 2 |
|----------|----|----|----------------|
| 1. | no | no | P _D |
| 2. | | | no |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | no | no |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |
| 7. | no | no | no |
| 8. | | | |
| 9. | | | |

P₀ - Mixed (Subject 3)Story
to Picture

| Question | 4 | 3 | 2 |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. | P _D | P _{ND} | P _D |
| 2. | Yes | no | no |
| 3. | 4 | | |
| 4. | P _{ND} | P _{ND} | P _D |
| 5. | P _D | P _D | P _{ND} |
| 6. | 4 | 2 | 4 |
| 7. | no | P _{ND} | no |
| 8. | | P _D | |
| 9. | | 1 | |

P₀ - Mixed (Subject 4)Story
to Picture

| Question | 4 | 3 | 2 |
|----------|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. | no | P _D | P _{ND} |
| 2. | | no | no |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | P _D | P _{ND} |
| 5. | | P _{ND} | P _D |
| 6. | | 4 | 3 |
| 7. | no | P _D | P _D |
| 8. | | P _{ND} | P _{ND} |
| 9. | | 4 | 3 |

^aSee Appendix C for story relevant questions.

P_{ND} - Uniform (Subject 5)

| Question ^a | Story to Picture | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----|
| | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 1. | P _{ND} | P _{ND} | no |
| 2. | Yes | no | |
| 3. | 3 | | |
| 4. | P _{ND} | no | no |
| 5. | P _{ND} | | |
| 6. | 4 | | |
| 7. | P _{ND} | no | no |
| 8. | P _{ND} | | |
| 9. | 4 | | |

P_{ND} - Uniform (Subject 6)

| Question | Story to Picture | | |
|----------|---------------------|-----------------|----|
| | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 1. | P _{ND} | no | no |
| 2. | no | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | P _{ND} | no |
| 5. | | P _{ND} | |
| 6. | | 2 | |
| 7. | P _{ND} | no | no |
| 8. | P _{ND} | | |
| 9. | 3 | | |

P_{ND} - Mixed (Subject 7)

| Question | Story to Picture | | |
|----------|---------------------|-----------------|----|
| | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 1. | no | P _D | no |
| 2. | | no | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | P _D | no |
| 5. | | P _{ND} | |
| 6. | | 3 | |
| 7. | no | P _D | no |
| 8. | | P _{ND} | |
| 9. | | 3 | |

P_{ND} - Mixed (Subject 8)

| Question | Story to Picture | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|
| | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 1. | no | P _D | P _D |
| 2. | | no | no |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | no | no | no |
| 5. | | | |
| 6. | | | |
| 7. | no | no | no |
| 8. | | | |
| 9. | | | |

^aSee Appendix C for story relevant questions.

Selected Subjects' Answers to Questions to Picture 1P_D - Uniform (Subject 1)

- | | |
|--------|---------------------|
| 1. yes | 5. yes |
| 2. 4 | 6. 4 |
| 3. yes | 7. yes |
| 4. 4 | 8. 4 |
| | 9. yes ^b |

P_D - Uniform (Subject 2)

- | | |
|--------|--------|
| 1. yes | 5. yes |
| 2. 3 | 6. 4 |
| 3. yes | 7. yes |
| 4. 3 | 8. 3 |
| | 9. no |

P_D - Mixed (Subject 3)

- | | |
|-------|---------------------|
| 1. no | 5. no |
| 2. 0 | 6. 0 |
| 3. no | 7. yes |
| 4. 0 | 8. 4 |
| | 9. yes ^c |

P_D - Mixed (Subject 4)

- | | |
|-------|---------------------|
| 1. no | 5. no |
| 2. 0 | 6. 0 |
| 3. no | 7. no |
| 4. 0 | 8. 0 |
| | 9. yes ^d |

P_{ND} - Uniform (Subject 5)

- | | |
|--------|--------|
| 1. yes | 5. yes |
| 2. 1 | 6. 2 |
| 3. yes | 7. yes |
| 4. 1 | 8. 2 |
| | 9. no |

P_{ND} - Uniform (Subject 6)

- | | |
|-------|---------------------|
| 1. no | 5. yes |
| 2. 0 | 6. 3 |
| 3. no | 7. no |
| 4. 0 | 8. 0 |
| | 9. yes ^e |

P_{ND} - Mixed (Subject 7)

- | | |
|--------|---------------------|
| 1. no | 5. yes |
| 2. 0 | 6. 3 |
| 3. yes | 7. no |
| 4. 2 | 8. 0 |
| | 9. yes ^d |

P_{ND} - Mixed (Subject 8)

- | | |
|--------|--------|
| 1. yes | 5. yes |
| 2. 3 | 6. 3 |
| 3. yes | 7. yes |
| 4. 3 | 8. 3 |
| | 9. no |

^bP_D on right superior to P_D on left, extent 1.
^cP_{ND} on right inferior to P_D on left, extent 2.
^dP_D on left inferior to P_{ND} on right, extent 3.
^eP_{ND} on left superior to P_{ND} on right, extent 3.

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