SELF-ESTEEM AND THE SEARCH
FOR SELF-AWARENESS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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RAYMOND PENNEY
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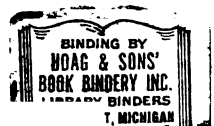$\mathcal{H}d.\ 3^{o}$
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Raymond Penney

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"The struggle alone pleases us, not the victory."

Pascal

Security Versus Growth

The quotation above reflects a dominant quality of human living.
Life is a flowing, changing process without an ultimate, clearly defined
destination. Satisfactions are temporary: the successful attainment
of one goal acts as a stepping-stone to further achievement. In psy-
chological terms, man is motivated by more than simply an effort after
balance or equilibrium, as the tension-reduction theorists (e.g., Freud
and Hull) maintain; he also seeks disequilibrium or change.

Living involves a continuous struggle between these two motiva-
tional forces: the desire to preserve some stability or constancy in
life and the urge to change or seek new satisfactions. Maslow (1968)
describes this process as a conflict between security and growth:

> Every human being has _both_ sets of forces within him.
> One set clings to safety and defensiveness out of fear,
> tending to regress backward, hanging on to the past,
> _afraid_ to grow away from the primitive communication
> with the mother's uterus and breast, _afraid_ to take
> chances, _afraid_ to jeopardize what he already has,
> _afraid_ of independence, freedom and separateness. The
> other set of forces impels him forward toward wholeness

1

of Self and uniqueness of Self, toward full functioning
of all his capacities, toward confidence in the face
of the external world at the same time that he can
accept his deepest, real, unconscious Self (p. 46).

We tend to make the growth choice when the step forward promises to be
more satisfying than staying where we are; we hold back when our fears
about losing what we have outweigh our hopes. Nevertheless, any deci-
sion about the future is tinged with both hope and fear; it is a gamble
between disappointment and richer living.

The individual's basic dilemma may be diagrammed like this
(Maslow, 1968, p. 46):

$$\text{Safety} \longleftarrow\!\!\!\!\text{---}\;\text{< PERSON >}\;\text{---}\!\!\!\!\longrightarrow \text{Growth}$$

This figure suggests a number of mechanisms which theoretically
influence the direction of a decision. The probability of growth
alternatives being chosen may be increased by: (a) enhancing the
attractiveness of growth, (b) minimizing the dangers of growth, (c)
making security less attractive, and (d) maximizing the fears of safety
and defensiveness. These factors may be illustrated by considering a
child's typical conflict in new surroundings: he may be torn between
a growth alternative and a desire to maintain the security
offered by his mother's lap. The tendency to explore may be increased
with the following conditions: (a) a number of interesting toys are in
sight, (b) there are no other people around, (c) the child has been
close to his mother so long that he is bored, and (d) mother punishes
him when he comes near her. Although each of these conditions should
theoretically increase the probability of a growth choice, mechanisms

(a) and (b) will probably be more influential: the individual needs some assurance of safety for his higher needs to emerge; (c) and (d) may result in substitute behavior or immobilization.

Greater Awareness as a Growth Choice

Man is unique in his capacity to be aware. Compared to other animal life, he has a superior potential to stand back and monitor what is happening to him and symbolize this experience in awareness. As a result, human behavior is characterized by greater plasticity.

The extent of this unique capacity has been stressed by a number of growth theorists as an indication of maturity. Rogers suggests that the process of becoming a "fully functioning person" involves an increasing openness to experience: the person moves "away from the pole of defensiveness" (1961, p. 188); he "has the capacity and tendency to symbolize experiences accurately in awareness" (1959, p. 234). Maturity for Maslow (1970) is epitomized in the self-actualizing individual, who has a superior awareness of himself:

> Our healthy subjects are generally unthreatened and
> unfrightened by the unknown, being therein quite differ-
> ent from average men. They accept it, are comfortable
> with it, and, often are even more attracted by it than
> by the known . . . . they do not have to spend any time
> laying the ghost, whistling past the cemetery, or other-
> wise protecting themselves against imagined dangers
> (pp. 154-55).

For both Rogers and Maslow, the more mature person is open to new information. This characteristic, however, is not unique to the self-actualizing or fully functioning individual: to some extent all men possess a basic cognitive need to know and to understand (Maslow,

1970). Knowledge makes the uncertain familiar and helps us predict and control our environments; it also brings a unique satisfaction in itself. But simultaneously, we fear knowledge; it may threaten our esteem and make us feel inferior, it may entail responsibilities which we are not willing to accept. As a result we develop defensive mechanisms to protect us from unpleasant views of ourselves. This clash between the need to know and the fear of knowing is one aspect of the more general conflict between security and growth.

The Nature of Self-Esteem

Past experiences and inherited potentials are represented within the individual in the form of _schemata_. These internal representations give personality its relatively enduring, organized quality; in Bartlett's words (1932):

> All incoming impulses of a certain kind, or mode, go together to build up an active, organizing setting: visual, auditory, various types of cutaneous impulses and the like, at a relatively low level; all the experiences connected by a common interest; in sport, in literature, history, art, science, philosophy and so on, on a higher level (p. 201).

While psychologists have tended to emphasize the cognitive aspect of schemata (Harvey, Hunt and Schroder, 1961), I prefer to think of schemata as having three components: (a) cognitive, they include certain ideas and thoughts; (b) affective, they involve feelings and emotions; and (c) motivational, they embody expectations which influence our future perceptions and actions. These three components are intimately connected; our emotional life, for example, involves thoughts and feelings and is affected by whether or not our expectations have been realized.

Of particular importance are those schemata which become organized around a person's self (McClelland, 1951; Heath, 1965). The self-image which is thus formed acts as a superordinate schema and gives the individual his sense of identity and uniqueness. The affective component of this complex organization is referred to as self-esteem.

A number of theorists have found it necessary to distinguish between phenomenological and behavioral self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967; Crowne and Stephens, 1968). Because of its empirical basis, a focus on self-evaluative behavior is particularly attractive. Nevertheless, the point of view expressed here is that self-esteem is a totally private, subjective experience of the individual. Coopersmith's (1967) definition is appropriate:

By self-esteem we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and automatically maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy. In short, self-esteem is a personal judgment of worthiness that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds toward himself (pp. 4-5).

Major differences are assumed to exist in the experiential worlds of persons characterized by high rather than low self-esteem. In Rosenberg's (1965) words:

When we speak of high self-esteem, then, we shall simply mean that the individual respects himself, considers himself worthy; he does not necessarily consider himself better than others, but he definitely does not consider himself worse; he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection, but, on the contrary, recognizes his limitations and expects to grow and improve.

> Low self-esteem, on the other hand, implies
> self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, self-contempt.
> The individual lacks respect for the self he observes.
> The self-picture is disagreeable, and he wishes it
> were otherwise (p. 31).

The low self-esteem individual lacks a basic trust in himself; he is self-conscious and tends to be preoccupied with his own personal problems. On the other hand, the person with high self-esteem accepts himself for what he is; he sees himself as good enough, not necessarily superior or anywhere near his ideal self.

This conception of high self-esteem is different from that used in most research of the self-concept. Influenced by Rogers (1954), many studies distinguish between the real self and the ideal self; the self-ideal discrepancy score is then used as a measure of self-esteem. But for most people, failure to realize certain aspects of their ideal selves is not that important. In my fantasy life, I may picture myself as a Don Juan or a Wilt Chamberlain, but not being like these people is not particularly traumatic. As James (1892) has noted, a more important factor is "what we back ourselves to be" (p. 187).

Regardless of which potential self is more important, each individual strives to maintain or elevate his level of self-esteem. The man who feels worthless tends to shy away from situations which threaten to accentuate his feelings of inadequacy. In contrast, the man who thinks well of himself is not intimidated by potentially threatening situations; he seeks to overcome his inadequacies, usually with the expectation of success. To counterbalance his low estimate of himself, the former individual may become preoccupied with an insatiable

drive for social recognition or power; the person with high self-esteem, however, aspires to lofty goals with minimum regard for the impression his achievement makes on others. In either case, the behavioral ramifications of subjective feelings of worth are considerable.

Self-Esteem and Awareness

One of the oldest issues in the literature on the self-concept focuses on a distinction between the self as knower and the self as known. In James' (1892) terminology, these two aspects of consciousness are the "I" and the "Me": the "I" is the subject which actively experiences; the "Me" is the object of experience. An intimate connection is implied between both of these. If the affective component of the self as known is largely positive, that is, the individual has high self-esteem, the self as knower should be influenced.

The theories espoused by the growth psychologists suggest that the self as knower is more willing to expand its area of awareness when esteem is adequate. Maslow (1970) postulates a basic need for self-esteem which must be satisfied before self-actualizing behavior emerges. For Rogers (1959) self-esteem is equivalent to "positive self-regard" which is necessary to become a fully functioning person. Perhaps the growth-theory which is least laden with implicit values about man's nature is White's (1959): he suggests one central value of competence, which refers to "an organism's capacity to interact effectively with its environment" (p. 297). Nevertheless, he also postulates a definite relation to esteem: self-esteem is rooted in "feelings of efficacy" and "the more general cumulative sense of competence" (1963, p. 134).

As we have mentioned earlier, the self-actualizing individual, the fully functioning person, and the mature personality in general are all characterized by a greater openness to experience.

A relationship between level of esteem and awareness is also implicit in "James' Law" (1892):

$$\text{Self-Esteem} = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretensions}}$$

Such a fraction may be increased as well by diminishing the denominator as by increasing the numerator. To give up pretensions is as blessed a relief as to get them gratified (p. 187).

The first step toward eliminating our pretensions is recognition of them. Awareness and eventual acceptance of our inadequacies makes growth possible: now we can change our inaccurate assumptions; now we can set more realistic goals. Self-insight can also acquaint us with many abilities (i.e., potential successes) which we formerly were only dimly aware of. In either case, if our pretensions and potential successes remain hidden, our self-esteem is inevitably lower than necessary.

Self-Esteem and Defensiveness

In contrast to the views expressed above, a number of studies appear to indicate that individuals with high self-esteem are more defensive than those with low self-esteem. Cohen (1968) explains the rather general finding that high self-regard is associated with low susceptibility to persuasion by suggesting that this type of individual protects himself more from negative self-evaluations:

> Persons of high self-esteem appear to take on early in
> life a defensive mode which handles challenging experi-
> ence by a strong self-protective facade. They repress,
> deny, ignore, or turn about their potentially disturbing
> impulses in contrast to persons who express those
> impulses more directly by projection or regression
> (p. 388).

In other words, persons with high self-esteem develop "avoidance
defenses" which lead them to turn away from potentially unfavorable
experiences and emphasize those which enhance their self-picture;
individuals with low self-esteem prefer more "expressive defenses"
which allow them to play out disturbing impulses. Evidence to support
this point of view is provided by Leventhal and Perloe (1962): high
self-esteem subjects were influenced more by optimistic, potentially
self-enhancing communications than by pessimistic, threatening ones;
low self-esteem subjects showed the opposite effect.

The apparent defensiveness of people with high self-esteem may,
however, be an artifact of the instrument used to measure esteem. Both
Cohen (1968) and Leventhal and Perloe (1962) employed a Q-sort technique:
the correspondence between actual and ideal sorts was used as an indica-
tion of level of self-esteem. Because of the importance of maintaining
an adequate self-image, conscious evaluations of the phenomenological
self are often idealized to protect the individual from more basic
feelings of inadequacy. While all self-evaluative responses are
undoubtedly influenced by defensive behavior and social desirability
(Crowne and Stephens, 1968), the responses to an undisguised Q-sort
may be particularly susceptible.

A number of studies support this interpretation. Butler and Haigh (1954) suggest that high self-ideal correlations may indicate self-satisfaction or they may result from defensive sortings in which the person gives a distorted, positive picture of himself. Block and Thomas (1955) found that people who describe themselves as being close to their ego-ideal tend to "deny and suppress threatening features of themselves" (p. 258). After an exhaustive review of the literature, Wylie (1961) proposes a curvilinear trend in self-regard as one moves from normals through neurotics to psychotics.

In a relatively non-threatening situation where the purpose of the investigator is concealed, persons with high self-esteem may be less defensive. Coopersmith (1967) speculates that high self-esteem, in itself, serves as a defense against threat: it makes an individual feel confident that he can deal effectively with any adversity. In contrast, persons with low self-regard lack a basic trust in their ability to handle threatening situations; to protect themselves, they develop other, often inappropriate defenses. Coopersmith's research indicates that persons with positive self-attitudes have lower manifest anxiety scores, have fewer psychosomatic symptoms, are less likely to display marked problems, and are less sensitive to criticism (p. 247). Their high self-esteem provides a stability which frees them from other types of defense.

The Generality of Self-Esteem

Our discussion thus far has been concerned with the self as a superordinate schema and with self-esteem as its global, relatively

constant, affective component. This is the level at which theorizing and research has tended to focus. Recently, however, it has been recognized that self-acceptance may be expressed in a number of ways and that people with the same level of self-esteem may behave very differently; Rosenberg (1965), for example, reports that some of his high self-esteem adolescent subjects were "expansive, outgoing, spontaneous personalities whereas others were fairly subdued and showed little affect" (p. 275). The result has been increased interest in the stability of self-esteem across situations, across time, and in relation to different aspects of the self (Crowne and Stephens, 1968).

The situational character of self-image has a relatively long tradition in social science. Cooley's (1922) concept of the "looking-glass self" suggests that the conception of self varies depending on the "mirror" which is present. More recently, Turner (1968) has distinguished between situational self-images and the more enduring self-conception, and has investigated the relation between them; situational self-images fluctuate from moment to moment, but the self-conception carries with it the sense of "the real me."

A number of studies have also been concerned with the temporal stability of self-acceptance. Diggory (1966) has demonstrated that induced success may momentarily inflate self-esteem; induced failure, deflate it.

The generality of self-acceptance in reference to different aspects of the self has received less attention. James (1892) has

noted that relatively few of our many potential selves are singled out as particularly important and defended at all cost:

> Our thought, incessantly deciding, among many things of
> a kind, which ones for it shall be realities, here chooses
> one of the many possible selves or characters, and forth-
> with considers it no shame to fail in any of those not
> adopted expressly as its own (p. 186).

For Coopersmith (1967), the individual's values are critical: successes are filtered through personal values and aspirations; self-esteem is influenced more by success in valued areas. He proceeds, however, to report that the evidence is scant and that the relation between value preferences and esteem has not been studied directly (p. 42).

These studies indicate that we need a more multidimensional classification to make accurate predictions. The self schema integrates a number of lower level schemata which provide different conceptions of self, each with its own affective component; an individual with very positive feelings about his occupational ability, for example, may lack confidence in social relations. When the global evaluation of self is used to make predictions about one of these lower level conceptions, gross errors are often produced.

Introversion Versus Extroversion

One dimension of major importance in differentiating individuals concerns the kinds of experiences they are oriented toward. Some people focus predominantly on objects and events in the external world; they are interested in relating to people and activities outside themselves. Other people value the inside world of feelings and thoughts; they are

more interested in internal adventures. In personality theory, these two types are usually labelled extroverts and introverts.

The terms introvert and extrovert were first used by Jung (1923) to identify two major attitudes or personality types. Summarizing Jung's conception, Fordham (1966) writes:

> The extraverted attitude is characterized by an out-ward flowing of libido, an interest in events, in people and things, a relationship with them, and a dependence on them. When this attitude is habitual to anyone Jung describes him or her as an extraverted type. . . .
> The introverted attitude, in contrast, is one of withdrawal; the libido flows inward and is concentrated upon subjective factors, and the predominating influence is "inner necessity." When this attitude is habitual Jung speaks of an "introverted type" (pp. 29-30).

Whether the individual's instinctual energies are directed mainly toward the outer world or toward inner experiences and feelings is the main distinguishing factor.

Other traits are associated with this major difference in orientation. From the statistical treatment of various questionnaire responses, a more complete picture emerges:

> The extravert [is] . . . sociable, optimistic, talkative group-dependent, a bit thick-skinned, trusting, and adaptable. The introvert is shy, not very fond of people en masse, individualistic, and a bit rigid and suspicious (Cattell, 1965, p. 123).

Such a definition, however, confounds extroversion with gregariousness, emotional stability, and adjustment in general, especially as it is defined in Western society.

A dimension of introversion-extroversion which is closer to Jung's original conception is thinking introversion-extroversion. It was first isolated by Guilford and Guilford (1939) and referred to as

habitual thinking of a meditative sort; it is independent of the social
and emotional aspects. Introverts have a tendency towards reflective,
meditative thought. This observation, however, does not imply that
only introverts think about themselves; extroverts do as well, but they
think in different ways and focus on different aspects of themselves.
The introvert is concerned with inner thoughts and feelings; the extro-
vert, with how he relates to external activities and people.

Summary and Hypotheses

The capacity to be aware is one of the latest evolutionary
developments in man. The force-for-growth theorists like Rogers (1959)
and Maslow (1970) suggest that there are individual differences in
ability and tendency to accurately symbolize events in awareness. For
them, the healthier person is more likely to make the growth choice to
expand his zones of awareness; the less healthy individual typically
chooses the safer route to remain uninformed.

These same theorists also maintain that the more mature
individual is characterized by high self-esteem; Maslow (1970), for
example, postulates that self-actualizing behavior emerges only after
the need for self-esteem has been at least partially satisfied. The
desire to maintain or elevate his self-evaluation is assumed to be a
major motivating force in man. The individual who 'lacks respect for
himself tends to avoid situations which might threaten his shaky self-
estimate. In contrast, the person who thinks well of himself has a
basic trust in his ability to cope with adversity; the growth choice
to seek greater awareness presents less of a danger to his self-
conception.

Hypothesis I.--Individuals with high self-esteem actively seek out information which may increase their awareness of themselves. Conversely, individuals with low self-esteem make the safer choice to remain uninformed.

A recurring issue in theorizing about the self-concept concerns the relative value of viewing the self as a single entity or as multiple in character. In the first hypothesis, the self is regarded as a single entity and self-esteem is its rather global affective component. An important theoretical question is whether self-acceptance is general in relation to all aspects of the self or whether there is a specific level of esteem associated with each of a person's multiple self-conceptions.

An individual's self-concept may be conveniently divided into one aspect which relates to the inner world of thoughts and feelings and another which is concerned with external activities. Depending on which of these aspects is more developed, the person has an introverted or extroverted thinking style. The introverted thinker values thoughts related to his inner world; the external world is foreign territory which he knows less about and is probably less confident in. In contrast, the extroverted thinker is more confident with information related to his external world; the internal world is less familiar and presents more uncertainty.

Depending on one's level of self-esteem, information which focuses predominantly on one of these aspects will be differently valued by introverted and extroverted thinkers. Since the person with low

self-esteem tends to avoid threatening situations, he is more attracted to information about that aspect of himself which he knows best. The high self-esteem person, however, is not threatened by the unknown; because of a basic trust in himself, he finds the unknown more attractive (Maslow, 1968).

Hypothesis II.--If self-esteem is low, introverted thinkers seek to become aware of their internal worlds; in contrast, low self-esteem extroverted thinkers search out information about how they relate to the external world. If self-esteem is high, introverted thinkers pursue more frequently information about how they relate to the external world; high self-esteem extroverted thinkers seek to become more aware of their internal worlds.

METHODS

The conditions necessary to test hypotheses concerned with
awareness-seeking behavior are present in every psychological experiment
with human subjects. Ethical considerations demand that research be
explained to those who participate in it. When the research topic is
personality or beliefs about oneself, a subject's desire to obtain feed-
back is a ready measure of his interest in becoming more aware of him-
self. By modifying the type of feedback information available, various
potential areas of awareness may be experimentally created. In this
study, subjects completed a personality test or "Belief Questionnaire"
(see Appendix A) and their desire for two types of feedback determined.

The "Belief Questionnaire"

The questionnaire contained two parts: (a) forty true-false
items designed to gauge level of self-esteem, thinking introversion-
extroversion, and social desirability and (b) a measure of the respond-
ent's interest in receiving feedback. The questions relevant to each
personality variable and the scoring methodology are presented in
Appendix B.

Self-esteem.--The measure of self-esteem employed was a
ten-item Guttman Scale originally developed by Rosenberg (1965). These
items were scattered throughout the questionnaire with positive and
negative statements alternated to reduce the effect of an acquiescence
response set. The adequacy of the scale as a measure of self-esteem
is indicated by the face validity of the items and the association of
scale scores with other data in a theoretically meaningful way:
Rosenberg (1965) reports that respondents with low self-esteem scores
appear more depressed to independent raters, express feelings of
unhappiness and discouragement, have more psychosomatic symptoms, and
have lower sociometric status in the groups to which they belong. In
the present study, the scale's coefficient of reproducibility (Stouffer
et al., 1950) was .91 and its coefficient of scalability (Menzel, 1953)
was .60.

Thinking introversion-extroversion.--To measure thinking
introversion-extroversion, eleven items from Smith's (1968) Introversion
Versus Extroversion Scale were used. These items form a single dimen-
sion which has been defined as "the degree to which an individual is
inward or outward in his perception of the environment" (Hershey, 1958).
In the present study the reliability of this measure was .60. Eleven
other items from Smith's general Introversion Versus Extroversion Scale
were also used as buffer items.

Social desirability.--Because of a tendency by certain
respondents to reply in a socially valued direction, self-rating scales

inevitably generate some invalid answers. To alleviate this problem, an 8-item version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964) was employed: those subjects who showed a high social desirability response set were eliminated from further study.

Interest in Feedback Scale.--Part Two of the questionnaire was a 4-item semantic differential designed to measure each subject's interest in receiving feedback. A respondent could score 0 to 4 on each bipolar item; his total score over the four items provided an indication of his desire for feedback information.

Subjects

Approximately 570 subjects were solicited from the introductory psychology courses at Michigan State University to complete the "Belief Questionnaire." On the basis of their responses, four different groups were created: high esteem-introverted thinking (n = 40), high esteem-extroverted thinking (n = 56), low esteem-introverted thinking (n = 36), and low esteem-extroverted thinking (n = 24). The subjects in each of these groups scored in the first or fourth quartile on the self-esteem scale and the thinking introversion-extroversion scale; respondents who scored above the 80th percentile on the social desirability scale were eliminated. There were an equal number of male and female subjects in the total sample.

Procedure

     The telephone call.--Each subject was telephoned by the experimenter and asked if he would like to make an appointment to receive feedback on his responses to the questionnaire. By modifying his explanation of the type of information available, the experimenter created two feedback conditions. Half of the subjects in each of the groups mentioned above were randomly assigned to the internal condition; they were led to believe that the feedback would relate to their internal worlds. The experimenter's telephone conversation with them went as follows:

> In psychology class a couple of weeks ago you completed a belief questionnaire which I handed out. I have finished scoring these now and I can give you some feedback about your responses.
> The type of information which I can provide is concerned with your personal style of thinking and feeling; that is, how your internal processes work. For example, it indicates how you normally use ideas, how you use fantasies.
> I'm calling now to find out if you would like to make an appointment to receive such information.

The other half were informed that the feedback would focus on their external worlds; specifically, they were told:

> In psychology class a couple of weeks ago you completed a belief questionnaire which I handed out. I have finished scoring these now and I can give you some feedback about your responses.
> The type of information which I can provide is concerned with your personal style of behaving with tasks and other people; that is, how you interact with the external world. For example, it indicates how you deal with environmental situations, how you deal with practical matters.
> I'm calling now to find out if you would like to make an appointment to receive such information.

The number of subjects who made an appointment and kept it constituted the major measure of awareness-seeking behavior.

A check on the feedback manipulation.--When each subject who desired feedback arrived for his appointment, a check was made to determine whether the telephone call had successfully created two feedback conditions. Feigning that he was not sure which study the subject was in, the experimenter asked each individual to describe the nature of the information he expected to receive. Invariably subjects could not say whether they expected feedback about their internal style of thinking and feeling or about how they interacted with the external world. This uncertainty indicates that by the time the subject arrived for his appointment, the information given during the telephone conversation has been forgotten. At best, the two feedback conditions influenced only the subject's initial decision to make an appointment.

The feedback session.--Depending on whether he scored high on introverted thinking or extroverted thinking, each subject was then handed a folder containing a two-page typewritten sketch of a typical introvert or extrovert. Both sketches were constructed largely from information provided by Smith (1968) and were of equal length; a copy of each appears in Appendix C. By means of a hidden stopwatch, the experimenter accurately measured the length of time each subject spent reading the feedback information; this served as a third measure of awareness-seeking behavior. The subject was then handed a Feedback Evaluation Scale (see Appendix D) which was designed to measure how

valuable he thought the feedback was. Responses to this five-item semantic differential were scored similarly to the Interest in Feedback Scale and constituted a final measure of the dependent variable.

Those subjects who completed the original questionnaire but whose scores did not place them in either of the experimental groups received a letter requesting that they telephone the experimenter for feedback.

Summary of Methods

Those subjects who scored at the extreme ends of a self-esteem scale and a thinking introversion-extroversion scale were telephoned to determine their interest in receiving feedback information. Irrespective of scores on the introversion-extroversion scale, half of the subjects were promised feedback about their inner world of thoughts and feelings; the other half were told that the information concerned their interaction with the external world of people and activities. These three independent variables--level of self-esteem, thinking style, and type of feedback promised--were analysed in a 2 x 2 x 2 design. There were four dependent variables: (a) scores on an Interest in Feedback Scale, (b) the number of subjects who arrived for an appointment to receive feedback, (c) the length of time each subject spent reading the feedback information, and (d) scores on a Feedback Evaluation Scale.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Global Self-Esteem and Awareness

The major hypothesis guiding the study was not supported by any of the dependent variables. On the Interest in Feedback Scale and the Feedback Evaluation Scale, there was no significant differences in the scores of high and low self-esteem subjects. On the other two dependent variables, whether the subject came for an appointment or not and time spent reading the feedback information, the results were opposite to that predicted: low self-esteem subjects demonstrated more interest than those with high self-esteem in increasing their self-awareness.

Interest in Feedback Scale.--High and low self-esteem subjects expressed equal concern for receiving feedback on the Interest in Feedback Scale, which was completed with the "Belief Questionnaire"; for both types of subjects the mean score was 11.72 (see Table 1). Similarly, there is no significant difference between introverted and extroverted thinkers on this measure. An analysis of variance using the unweighted-means solution (Winer, 1962) is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 1

Mean Scores on Interest in Feedback Scale
for Each Type of Subject

High self-esteem		Low self-esteem	
Introverted thinking	Extroverted thinking	Introverted thinking	Extroverted thinking
12.20 (40)	11.38 (56)	11.86 (36)	11.50 (24)
11.72 (96)		11.72 (60)	

Note.--$\underline{N}$ = 156; numbers in parentheses indicate cell $\underline{n}$s.

TABLE 2

Analysis of Variance on Interest in Feedback Scores

Source	$\underline{df}$	MS	$\underline{F}$
Self-esteem (A)	1	.36	.05*
Thinking style (B)	1	12.46	1.81*
A x B	1	2.14	.31*
Within error	152	6.88	

*$\underline{p}$ = n.s.

Feedback Evaluation Scale.--At the end of the feedback session, low self-esteem subjects evaluated the feedback more highly than high self-esteem subjects; the mean scores were 15.40 and 14.58, respectively. This difference, however, is not significant. Table 3 shows the means for each type of subject in the internal and external feedback conditions; Table 4, an analysis of variance by the unweighted-means procedure. Because of a large within cell variance, no treatment source of variation is significant.

Time spent reading the feedback.--This variable produced significant evidence that low self-esteem subjects are more interested in increasing their self-awareness. Low self-esteem subjects spent an average of 2.35 minutes reading the feedback information; high self-esteem subjects spent 1.99 minutes ($F = 4.93$, $p < .05$). Thinking style also appears to be an important factor; extroverted thinkers read an average of 2.35 minutes and introverted thinkers an average of 2.02 minutes ($F = 5.07$, $p < .05$). Apparently, subjects with an extroverted thinking style are more interested in absorbing the information. The means for each type of subject in the internal and external conditions are presented in Table 5; an unweighted-means analysis of variance is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 3

Mean Scores on Feedback Evaluation Scale for Each Type of Subject
in the Internal and External Conditions

High self-esteem				Low self-esteem			
Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking		Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking	
Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback
15.56 (9)	13.20 (10)	15.30 (10)	14.33 (9)	15.69 (13)	15.90 (10)	14.33 (6)	15.00 (6)
14.32 (19)		14.84 (19)		15.78 (23)		14.67 (12)	
14.58 (38)				15.40 (35)			

Note.--$\underline{N}$ = 73; numbers in parentheses indicate cell $\underline{n}$s.

TABLE 4

Analysis of Variance on Feedback Evaluation Scores

Source	df	MS	F
Self-esteem (A)	1	.80	.08*
Thinking style (B)	1	.24	.02*
Feedback promised (C)	1	.75	.08*
A x B	1	1.46	.15*
A x C	1	2.21	.23*
B x C	1	.43	.04*
A x B x C	1	.12	.01*
Within error	65	9.80	

*$\underline{p}$ = n.s.

TABLE 5

Mean Time Each Type of Subject Spent Reading the Feedback Information
in the Internal and External Conditions

	High self-esteem				Low self-esteem			
	Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking		Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking	
	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback
	1.65 (9)	1.81 (10)	2.25 (10)	2.23 (9)	2.46 (13)	2.01 (10)	2.36 (6)	2.69 (6)
	1.73 (19)		2.24 (19)		2.26 (23)		2.53 (12)	
	1.99 (38)				2.35 (35)			

Note.--N = 73; numbers in parentheses indicate cell ns.

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance on Time Spent Reading the Feedback

Source	df	MS	F
Self-esteem (A)	1	2.66	4.93*
Thinking style (B)	1	2.74	5.07*
Feedback promised (C)	1	.00	.00
A x B	1	.02	.04
A x C	1	.01	.02
B x C	1	.04	.07
A x B x C	1	.02	.04
Within error	65	.54	

*p < .05.

Awareness-seeking behavior.--The relative number of subjects in each experimental group who arrived for an appointment to receive feedback provides more direct evidence that low self-esteem subjects actively seek out information about themselves more frequently than subjects with high self-esteem. Of the low self-esteem subjects who were telephoned by the experimenter, 58.3% came for an appointment; only 39.3% of the high self-esteem subjects did ($\chi^2 = 5.21$, $\underline{df} = 1$, $\underline{p} < .025$). Again thinking style is an important factor, but on this variable more introverted than extroverted thinkers are concerned with increasing self-awareness; 56.6% of the former came for feedback compared to 38.8% of the latter ($\chi^2 = 4.27$, $\underline{df} = 1$, $\underline{p} < .05$). Table 7 shows the percentage of subjects who arrived for feedback in each condition; the total chi square associated with this table may be partitioned as shown in Table 8. The significant interaction between self-esteem and thinking style ($\chi^2 = 4.97$, $\underline{df} = 1$, $\underline{p} < .05$) reflects the differential numbers of each type of subject available. Of the original 570 subjects who completed the "Belief Questionnaire," 40 met the requirements for the high esteem-introverted thinking group, 56 were high self-esteem extroverted thinkers, 36 were low self-esteem introverted thinkers, and 24 were low self-esteem extroverted thinkers. Apparently, extroverted thinkers tend to have high self-esteem.

No differences were found between male and female subjects on any of the measures.

The most general finding on all of these measures is that low self-esteem subjects are more interested than high self-esteem subjects in seeking information which may increase their self-awareness.

TABLE 7

Percentage of Each Type of Subject Who Came for Feedback
in the Internal and External Conditions

	High self-esteem				Low self-esteem			
	Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking		Introverted thinking		Extroverted thinking	
	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback	Internal feedback	External feedback
	45.0% (9)	50.0% (10)	35.7% (10)	32.1% (9)	72.2% (13)	55.6% (10)	50.0% (6)	50.0% (6)
	47.5% (19)		33.9% (19)		63.9% (23)		50.0% (12)	
	39.6% (38)				58.3% (35)			

Note.--Numbers in parentheses indicate cell frequencies.

TABLE 8

Chi Square for Awareness-Seeking Behavior

Source[a]	df	Chi square
Self-esteem (A) x D	1	5.21**
Thinking style (B) x D	1	4.27*
Feedback promised (C) x D	1	.23
A x B	1	4.97*
A x C	1	.00
B x C	1	.00
A x B x D	1	.04
A x C x D	1	.37
B x C x D	1	.04
A x B x C	1	.00
A x B x C x D	1	.45
Total	11	15.58

[a]D = the dependent variable: whether each subject arrived for feedback or not.

*p < .05.

**p < .025

The Generality of Global Self-Esteem

The data relevant to Hypothesis II has been presented in Tables 3 through 8. Although there is no significant interaction between self-esteem, thinking style, and feedback condition on either of the three dependent variables (i.e., awareness-seeking behavior, time spent reading the feedback, and evaluation of the feedback), many of the predictions are in the appropriate direction. Low self-esteem subjects were generally more interested in feedback information which focused on their more developed personality orientation; conversely, high self-esteem subjects were generally more concerned with feedback about their least developed personality orientation.

The results based on whether or not subjects arrived for an appointment are typical. Within the low self-esteem group, more introverted thinkers came for feedback in the internal than the external condition (i.e., 72.2% and 56.6%, respectively); an equal number of extroverted thinkers came in each condition (i.e., 50.0%). In the high self-esteem group, introverted thinkers sought feedback more frequently in the external than the internal condition (i.e., 50.0% and 45.0%, respectively); extroverted thinkers arrived more often in the internal than the external condition (i.e., 35.7% and 32.1%, respectively). Similar, non-significant findings were obtained on the other dependent variables.

These results provide no significant evidence to indicate that a specific level of esteem is associated with internal and external aspects of the self.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In the present study, the mature person was conceptualized as being more likely to make growth rather than safety choices; in particular, to seek greater self-awareness rather than remain uninformed. It was postulated that persons with high self-esteem would be more interested in increasing their self-awareness. The major findings were opposite to this hypothesis: low self-esteem individuals made the growth choice to seek greater awareness more often than those with high self-esteem. Apparently, persons with low self-esteem are more mature.

This view of the low self-esteem individual is supported by a theory of personality development originated by Loevinger (1966) and modified slightly by Smith (1968). According to this theory, an individual may progress through a series of six developmental stages: (a) autistic, (b) impulse-ridden, (c) opportunistic, (d) conforming, (e) conscientious, and (f) self-actualized. Each higher stage is characterized by greater maturity; the three higher stages reflect low, moderate, and high levels of personal competence. Individuals at the conforming stage are preoccupied with external possessions, status, and adjustment; they have little capacity for self-criticism. In

contrast, self-criticism is central to the conscientious stage.
The individual at this stage is excessively introspective and self-
conscious; he is preoccupied with meeting his own personal standards.
Those few people who develop to the self-actualized stage are concerned
with self-fulfillment; they strive to reconcile inner conflicts and
become autonomous.

A study of creativity by MacKinnon (1965) provides evidence
for this conception of the last three stages of development. He dif-
ferentiated three groups of architects on the basis of professional
competence: Architects I were most outstanding and appear to be at the
self-actualized stage of personality development; Architects II were
moderately successful and seem to be at the conscientious stage; Archi-
tects III were least competent and appear to be at the conformist stage.
An intensive personality assessment revealed that the more competent
architects were generally more mature; for example, they were more open
to new experiences and more independent of others. Nevertheless, this
linear relationship between stages of development and indicators of
maturity was not uniform. On measures of emotional stability and per-
sonal soundness, Architects II were least stable. This finding reflects
the greater tendency towards self-criticism displayed by individuals at
the conscientious stage of development.

Scores on a self-esteem scale are undoubtedly influenced by
the individual's stage of personality development. Given their tendency
towards self-criticism and self-dissatisfaction, those at the conscien-
tious stage probably score low on self-esteem. In contrast, the

conformists who avoid self-criticism probably score high. Consequently, many of the low self-esteem subjects in the present study were actually more mature than those with high self-esteem. There is some evidence that the high self-esteem group contained more individuals at the conformist stage of personality development. In the original sample of subjects who completed the "Belief Questionnaire," the high self-esteem group contained more extroverted than introverted thinkers. The extroverted thinking style of many subjects in the high self-esteem group reflects the conformist's preoccupation with external activities and standards.

The preceding discussion suggests that the individual who scores low on a self-esteem scale is actually more mature: his low score reflects the personal doubt and uncertainty which is characteristic of a particular, perhaps temporary, stage of personality development. Cohen (1968) provides a similar explanation, but views self-esteem as a more permanent aspect of personality. He maintains that people who express a high degree of self-acceptance are more defensive; consequently, they avoid coming for feedback to protect themselves from possible negative evaluation. These defenses are adopted early in life; they "become behavioral modes themselves and determine the social reality to which the person exposes himself" (Cohen, 1968, p. 389). By looking at different age groups, future research could determine the relative permanence of self-esteem.

The failure to find substantial evidence for the specificity of self-acceptance across different aspects of the self can be traced to

the weakness of the experimental manipulations. The attempt to create two feedback conditions, one where subjects believed that the feedback related to their internal worlds and another where they believed it concerned their interaction with the external world, was largely un-successful. A verbal description over the telephone is not prominent enough to significantly influence a subject's behavior.

There is some circumstantial indication, however, that level of self-esteem may not be general over all aspects of the self. At each level of self-esteem, more introverted than extroverted thinkers came for feedback. Undoubtedly, the feedback session in general was one in which an individual with an introverted thinking style would feel more at home. The introverted thinker enjoys ideas and philosophizing about himself; the extroverted thinker is oriented more towards concrete accomplishments and objectives. This finding suggests that in making predictions about behavior which appears clearly related to self-esteem, it is also necessary to consider other aspects of personality.

Although more introverted than extroverted thinkers sought out feedback, the introverted thinkers spent less time reading it. When one considers society's stereotype of the typical introvert and extro-vert, this finding is quite reasonable. The extrovert is regarded as sociable and well-adapted; the introvert is seen as self-centered and maladjusted. Since Western society has a general social preference for "extroverted" behavior (Fordham, 1966), to be categorized as an "intro-vert" is to be given a socially undesirable label. In this way, the feedback given to introverted thinkers was more threatening; as a result, they were less attracted to reading it closely.

A number of questions about the nature of self-esteem remain unclarified. Evidence was provided that low self-esteem individuals seek self-awareness more than individuals with high self-esteem. Further research needs to determine whether this relationship is linear; the ambiguous feelings of worth demonstrated by persons with medium self-esteem may be associated with increased awareness-seeking behavior. It was suggested that persons with high self-esteem are less mature; future investigations should find out how self-esteem is related to other measures of maturity. This study also hints that level of self-esteem may vary across different aspects of the self; no definite findings, however, are available. Irrespective of the nature of the question being asked, researchers concerned with the self-concept may find it fruitful to consider the locus of phenomenal evaluations of the self; behavioral manifestations of self-esteem may be different depending on whether this evaluation is based on internal standards or whether it arises from external sources.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

BELIEF QUESTIONNAIRE

BELIEF QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME: _____

SEX: _____ MALE, _____

PHONE NO.: _____

LOCAL ADDRESS: _____

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire is designed to indicate some of your beliefs about yourself and the world around you. The answer you choose to any question is neither "right" nor "wrong." It simply indicates how you feel about certain issues.

The experimenter believes that subjects who participate in psychological experiments should be given feedback about their behavior. Part 2 of the questionnaire is included to determine your interest in receiving such feedback.

Complete the information on the top of the page and begin.

PART 1

If you think a statement is "true" or more true than false as far as you are concerned, put a check in the "TRUE" column. If you think a statement is "false" or more false than true as far as you are concerned, put a check in the "FALSE" column.

TRUE   FALSE

____   ____   1. I only work for concrete and clearly-defined results.

____   ____   2. I tend to accept the world as it is and not worry about how it might be.

____   ____   3. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all candidates.

____   ____   4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

____   ____   5. I spend a lot of time philosophizing with myself.

____   ____   6. I always keep my feet solidly on the ground.

____   ____   7. I like to gossip at times.

____   ____   8. At times I think I am no good at all.

____   ____   9. I tend to judge people in terms of their concrete accomplishments.

____   ____   10. Daydreams are an important part of my life.

____   ____   11. I am always careful about my manner of dress.

____   ____   12. I would particularily enjoy meeting people who had made a success in business.

____   ____   13. I feel I have a number of good qualities.

____   ____   14. I think there are few more important things in life than money.

____   ____   15. Sports generally interest me somewhat more than very intellectual affairs.

____   ____   16. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.

____   ____   17. I sometimes think more about my ideas than about the routine demands of daily life.

____   ____   18. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

TRUE   FALSE

___   ___   19. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

___   ___   20. I can deal much better with actual situations than with ideas.

___   ___   21. I prefer friends who have well developed artistic tastes.

___   ___   22. Artistic experiences are of great importance in my life.

___   ___   23. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

___   ___   24. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.

___   ___   25. I often think for a long time about an idea that has occurred to me.

___   ___   26. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.

___   ___   27. I prefer the friends of my own sex to be very efficient and of a practical turn of mind.

___   ___   28. I certainly feel useless at times.

___   ___   29. I am an extremely practical person.

___   ___   30. I believe that competitiveness is a necessary and desirable part of our economic life.

___   ___   31. I am mainly interested in ideas that are very practical.

___   ___   32. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.

___   ___   33. I like to discuss abstract questions with my friends.

___   ___   34. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

___   ___   35. I would rather be a salesman than an artist.

___   ___   36. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

___   ___   37. I am really only interested in what is useful.

___   ___   38. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.

___   ___   39. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

___   ___   40. My head is always full of imaginative ideas.

PART 2

Indicate how you feel about receiving feedback on your responses by answering the following questions.

Notice that there are two columns. Each word in the left-hand column has a word in the right-hand column which is its exact opposite. If one word describes what you think, the other won't. For each pair of words, put a check on the line which best indicates what you think about possible feedback information.

	VERY	SLIGHTLY	IN-BETWEEN	SLIGHTLY	VERY	
1. Uninteresting	____	____	____	____	____	Interesting
2. Useful	____	____	____	____	____	Useless
3. Unattractive	____	____	____	____	____	Attractive
4. Important	____	____	____	____	____	Unimportant
	VERY	SLIGHTLY	IN-BETWEEN	SLIGHTLY	VERY	

APPENDIX B

SCALES AND SCORING METHODOLOGY

SCALES AND SCORING METHODOLOGY

The items which comprise each scale represented in the "Belief Questionnaire" are listed below. The number preceding each statement indicates its position in the questionnaire. Within each scale, positive and negative statements are alternated to reduce the effect of a respondent set; positive responses are underlined.

Self-Esteem Scale

The statements relevant to self-esteem for a Guttman Scale and are scored by the procedure outlined by Rosenberg (1965). In the original version of the scale, the respondents were asked to strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement; in this study a true or false response option was used. Because certain scale items are contrived from the combined responses to a number of questions, a respondent's score may range from zero to six. These scale items are presented in order from the strongest to the weakest, positive responses indicate low self-esteem.

Scale Item I was contrived from the combined responses to three questions. To receive a positive score for this item, a respondent had to answer 2 out of 3 or 3 out of 3 questions positively.

46

T <u>F</u> 13. I feel I have a number of good qualities.

T <u>F</u> 32. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an
         equal plane with others.

<u>T</u> F 39. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

Scale Item II was contrived from the combined responses to two
questions. One out of 2 or 2 out of 2 positive responses were necessary
for a positive score on this item.

<u>T</u> F 19. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

T <u>F</u> 23. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

Scale Item III

T <u>F</u> 36. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Scale Item IV

T <u>F</u> 4. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

Scale Item V

<u>T</u> F 34. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

Scale Item VI was contrived from the combined responses to two
questions. One out of 2 or 2 out of 2 responses were considered positive.

<u>T</u> F 8. At times I think I am no good at all.

<u>T</u> F 28. I certainly feel useless at times.

Thinking Introversion-Extroversion Scale

The items which comprise the thinking introversion-extroversion dimension of Smith's Introversion Versus Extroversion Scale (1968) are listed below. These form the Thinking Introversion-Extroversion Scale. Positive responses indicate introverted thinking.

T <u>F</u>   1. I only work for concrete and clearly-defined results.

<u>T</u> F   5. I spend a lot of time philosophizing with myself.

T <u>F</u>   9. I tend to judge people in terms of their concrete accomplishments.

<u>T</u> F 10. Daydreams are an important part of my life.

T <u>F</u> 15. Sports generally interest me somewhat more than very intellectual affairs.

<u>T</u> F 17. I sometimes think more about my ideas than about the routine demands of everyday life.

T <u>F</u> 20. I can deal much better with actual situations than with ideas.

<u>T</u> F 25. I often think for a long time about an idea that has occurred to me.

T <u>F</u> 31. I am mainly interested in ideas that are very practical.

<u>T</u> F 33. I like to discuss abstract questions with my friends.

<u>T</u> F 40. My head is always full of imaginative ideas.

Social Desirability Scale

The eight items chosen from the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964) are listed below. Positive responses indicate a tendency towards a social desirability response set.

<u>T</u>   F   3.   Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all candidates.

T   <u>F</u>   7.   I like to gossip at times.

<u>T</u>   F   11.   I am always careful about my manner of dress.

T   <u>F</u>   16.   If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.

<u>T</u>   F   18.   When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

T   <u>F</u>   24.   I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.

<u>T</u>   F   26.   I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.

T   <u>F</u>   38.   I sometimes think when people have a misfortune that they only got what they deserved.

APPENDIX C

FEEDBACK INFORMATION

Part 1. Introverted Thinkers

Your responses to the belief questionnaire indicate that you tend to be introverted.

With other introverts, you dislike large gatherings and are at your best when alone. You are inclined toward reflective thinking, and probably have high aesthetic values and low economic ones.

As a child you may have been very thoughtful and enjoyed a rich imaginative life. You probably preferred playing alone or with a single friend.

Introverts often make loyal, sympathetic friends. One weakness, however, may be a tendency to withdraw into themselves and be overlooked by others.

In spite of a predominantly introverted attitude, you probably have some extraverted qualities; you may show considerable activity, for example, when something really interests you. Most people develop a balance between introversion and extraversion in their lives with one being more important.

Being predominantly introverted, you probably share some qualities with that famous introvert, Henry David Thoreau.

* * * * *

Henry David Thoreau died at forty-five of tuberculosis in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1861. At the time, he was looked upon as a minor disciple of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Fifty years ago he was thought of as an "also-ran" who was rapidly being forgotten. Today, however, moder leaders rate him as one of the giants of American thought (Harding, 1965):

MAHATMA GANDHI: There is no doubt that Thoreau's ideas greatly influenced my movement in India.

ROBERT FROST: In Thoreau's declaration of independence from the modern pace is where I find most justification for my own propensities.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS: Thoreau lived when men were appraising trees in terms of board feet, not in terms of watershed protection and birds and music. His protests against that narrow outlook were among the first heard on this continent.

SINCLAIR LEWIS: Walden is one of three of four unquestionable classics in American Literature.

Thoreau believed that everything arises from inwardness — life, education, thought, religion, culture, and government. He had an almost total indifference to material things (Thoreau, 1950, p. 13):

> Most of the luxuries, and many of the so-called comforts of life, are not only not indispensible, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind....None can be an impartial or wise observer of human life but from the vantage ground of what we should call voluntary poverty....

His poetry, his essays, his books, and the millions of words in his private journals reveal a deep inward and aesthetic view of life. While living for several years alone in a dirt-floored cabin that he built on the shores of Walden Pond, he wrote (p. 101):

> Sometimes, in a summer morning, having taken my accustomed bath, I sat in my sunny doorway from sunrise till noon, rapt in a revery, amidst the pines and hickories and sumachs, in undisturbed solitude and stillness, while the birds sang around or flitted noiselessly through the house, until by the sun falling in at my window, or the noise of some traveller's wagon on the distant highway, I was reminded of the lapse of time.

Thoreau earned a frugal living as a maker of pencils. He liked his family and friends, but he never married. He preferred to be alone: "I have never found the companion that was so companionable as solitude." Even as a child he loved to be left alone. Classmates in grammar school later recalled that he was a spectator at social games of so solemn a nature that they called him the "Judge."

*   *   *   *   *

Part 2. Extroverted Thinkers

Your responses to the belief questionnaire indicate that you tend to be extraverted.

With other extraverts, you dislike being alone and are at your best in large gatherings. You are inclined towards activity, and probably have high economic values and low aesthetic ones.

As a child you may have been very active and enjoyed new situations. You probably preferred to play with many friends rather than play with one.

Extraverts tend to be optimistic and enthusiastic. One weakness, however, may be a tendency to superficiality and dependence on making a good impression.

In spite of your predominantly extraverted attitude, you also probably have some introverted qualities; you may show considerable reflective thinking, for example, when an issue really interests you. Most people develop a balance between extraversion and introversion in their lives with one being more important.

Being predominantly extraverted, you probably share some qualities with that famous extravert, John Pierpont Morgan.

*   *   *   *   *

Even as a boy, John Pierpont Morgan found the mechanics of business fascinating. When he was twelve, he organized a Grand Diorama of the Landing of Columbus, sold tickets to family and friends, and afterward prepared an accurate balance sheet of the whole operation. During his business career he was responsible for the reorganization of American railroads, the building of the United States Steel Company, and the stabilization of American credit abroad. At his death in 1913, his personal assets were worth nearly a hundred million dollars and his company was carrying the bank accounts of seventy-eight interstate corporations.

To Morgan, material luxuries and social status were of supreme importance.
A dozen servants staffed his home in New York City. His country house had
numerous guest rooms, cottages for the staff, cattle barns, a dairy, and kennels
for his prize collies. In 1912, at the age of seventy-six, he traveled to
Europe in his private suite, to Paris by private train to see the American
ambassador, and to the Kiel Regatta in his yacht to be the guest of the German
Kaiser.

Morgan spent millions on art objects and ruled the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
However, his approach was not an aesthetic one. A curator of the museum later
said that "a crude historical imagination was the only flaw in his otherwise
perfect insensibility." A magazine assessed his contribution to art as follows
(Allen, 1949):

> ...In the world of art quite as much as in the world of finance, Mr.
> Morgan was above everything a man of action. His successful raids upon
> the private collections of Europe were organized and carried out with the
> rapid decisive energy of a great general. He believed in military methods;
> he regarded rapidity and irrevocability of decision as more important
> than accuracy of judgment; he considered discipline more effective than
> a nice discrimination.

On his return from Europe in 1912 he was called before a congressional house
committee before Christmas to answer the charge that the money and credit
resources of his company controlled the American economy. Morgan insisted
that what ruled the financial world was not money.

COUNSELOR: Is not commercial credit based primarily upon money or
              property?

MORGAN: No sir, the first thing is character.

COUNSELOR: Before money or property?

MORGAN: Before money or anything else. Money cannot buy it....
              Because a man I do not trust could not get money from me on
              all the bonds in Christendom.

* * * * *

APPENDIX D

FEEDBACK EVALUATION SCALE

EXPERIMENT EVALUATION

Notice that there are two columns. Each word in the left-hand column has a word in the right-hand column which is its exact opposite. For each pair of words, put a check on the line which best indicates how you feel about the feedback you just received.

	VERY	SLIGHTLY	IN-BETWEEN	SLIGHTLY	VERY	
1. Interesting	___	___	___	___	___	Uninteresting
2. Useful	___	___	___	___	___	Useless
3. Relevant	___	___	___	___	___	Irrelevant
4. Important	___	___	___	___	___	Unimportant
5. Accurate	___	___	___	___	___	Inaccurate
	VERY	SLIGHTLY	IN-BETWEEN	SLIGHTLY	VERY	