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PERSONALITY AND SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES IN PERSON PERCEPTION AND SOCIAL COGNITION: AN INTERACTIVE MODEL OF THE IMPRESSION FORMATION PROCESS

presented by

Victor Anthony Battistich

has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Psychology

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PERSONALITY AND SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES IN PERSON PERCEPTION AND SOCIAL COGNITION: AN INTERACTIVE MODEL OF THE IMPRESSION FORMATION PROCESS

By

Victor Anthony Battistich

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

PERSONALITY AND SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES IN PERSON PERCEPTION AND SOCIAL COGNITION: AN INTERACTIVE MODEL OF THE IMPRESSION FORMATION PROCESS

By

Victor Anthony Battistich

The present research examined individual differences in person perception and social cognition as a function of the joint influences of the motivation of the perceiver, observed behavior of the stimulus person, and the nature of the situation in which the stimulus person's behavior is observed. Given the general failure of previous research in demonstrating reliable associations between perceptual-cognitive processes and personality, it was argued that personality would only affect social cognition when there was some involvement between perceiver and stimulus person which made the stimulus person's characteristics relevant to the perceiver, and that one must consider the interaction of perceiver personality, stimulus person behavior, and the type of involvement between perceiver and stimulus person in order to account for the perceiver's impressions. In addition, it was argued that multiple measures of impressions should be obtained since personality, stimulus person, and situational factors may differentially influence such aspects as content, valence, and complexity of impressions.

One hundred sixty male undergraduates observed a videotaped interaction between two male confederates. Half of the perceivers were Dominance-motivated and half were Succorance-motivated. The

perceivers believed that they would be interacting with one of the male actors (the "target person") under either cooperative or competitive conditions at a later time. The behavior of the target person was varied along two dimensions, each of which was seen as particularly relevant to the desired outcomes of one of the two motive groups: assertiveness and affiliativeness. Thus, perceivers observed either an Assertive-Affiliative, Assertive-Disaffiliative, Submissive-Affiliative, or Submissive-Disaffiliative target person. After viewing the videotaped stimulus, measures of the content, strength, valence, and complexity of perceivers' impressions of the target person, as well as their expectations about the outcomes of their expected interaction with the target person were obtained.

Analysis showed that impressions of the target person and expectations about the outcomes of the perceiver's interaction with the target person were significantly affected by all three of the factors: perceiver motivation, target behavior, and interaction situation. However, each of these factors primarily affected only certain aspects of impressions. The level of assertiveness and affiliativeness attributed to the target person was primarily a function of the manipulations of target behavior. On the other hand, the extent to which perceivers' focused on these attributes of the target person in their free-response impressions was a function of motivation: Dominance-motivated subjects focused on the assertiveness of the target person, while Succorance-motivated perceivers focused on his affiliativeness. Perceivers' confidence in their impressions of the target's assertiveness and affiliativeness (i.e., strength of impressions) was significantly affected by the interaction of motivation and target behavior, while

liking for the target and expectations about the outcomes of interacting with him were a function of the combination of perceiver motivation, target behavior, and/or the nature of the expected interaction (cooperative vs. competitive).

It was concluded the obtained findings offered considerable support for an interactive model of impression formation. In particular, with the exception of the prevalence of assertive and affiliative qualities of the target person in the free-response impressions, perceiver motivation only significantly affected social cognition in interaction with target behavior and/or situational factors, indicating that the relationship between perceiver personality, target characteristics, and situational factors must be considered in predicting impressions. The implications of these findings for future research in this area, and the limitations of the present study were discussed. Suggestions were made for extending the interactive model to the domain of interpersonal behavior in order to examine the mediation of personality influences on social behavior by cognitive-perceptual processes.

DEDICATION

To Henry Murray and the other dauntless explorers of "inner space":

> In studying imagery, we must infer what transpires in the hidden reaches of the mind from what percolates through to consciousness and the outside. This situation is rather like one where an unknown solid object is placed in a dark box and our task is to describe the surface of the object by shooting BB's and observing how they bounce back. There are three important aspects to this situation: first, there is the nature of the hidden object of study; next, there is the data, the angle at which BB's bounce back when they are shot in at various angles; and finally, there is the systematic relation between the angle of incidence and the angle of reflection. It is clear from this example that one needs to know two of these things in order to determine the third. If one does not know that the angle of incidence equals the angle of reflection, one cannot use the data to deduce the shape. Similarly, if one wants to discover the incidence/reflection relation, one must have knowledge of both the data (the results of shooting BB's at particular angles) and the surface characteristics of the object. Consider the sorrow of one who knows only how BB's bounce out of the dark box, and knows nothing of the law relating the angles of incidence and reflection, nor anything about the concealed object. Somehow he must infer both the incidence/reflection relation and the nature of the surface of the object from the data, but he needs prior knowledge of the relation to infer the surface characteristics and vice versa! This pitiful creature is the cognitive psychologist.
>
> Stephen Kosslyn (1978)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the help and encouragement of a great many people, of which I can only mention a few. First, I would like to thank Dr. Joel Aronoff, Chairperson of my guidance and dissertation committees, for his support and encouragement, and for the countless hours spent helping me struggle through the development and operationalization of the conceptual model, clarifying the issues, and organizing the presentation and interpretation of the data. His grasp of the fundamental "realities" of human functioning and the depth of his knowledge have contributed a tremendous amount to my own development as a psychologist, and have instilled in me a deep respect for the coherence and integrity of "the person." I only hope I can repay my debt to him by keeping the study of "personology" alive in my own future work.

I also owe much to each of the other members of my committee: Drs. Lawrence Messe', Neal Schmitt, Eileen Thompson, and Robert Zucker. Each in their own way has contributed to both the present research and my general development as a psychologist. In particular, their openness and generosity with their time have taught me more about psychology than all of my more formal coursework, and have given me a lessen in the true meaning of "scientific community." To the extent my work is methodologically sound and statistically rigorous, the credit belongs to Larry and Neal. Its defects, on the other hand, are due to my own shortcomings and inadequacy as a pupil. Bob has been a steadfast friend and supporter, and his encouragement and professional standards have made working with him something I value highly. Eileen has been a joy to collaborate with. The commonality in our interests and the way in which we approach a problem has made working together both pleasant and productive, and her unflagging support has helped me through many a bad time.

I would also like to thank the many friends and collaborators who have contributed to this research. In particular, I am grateful to Debra Horshok, Deanna Flynn, and Ed Stockton for their help in data collection; Eric and Kevin for their time and effort in constructing the stimulus videotapes; and Dave and Peg for their assistance in coding the initial stimulus character scripts. I would also like to thank Jack Condon for his interest in the research and valuable suggestions. Finally, thanks to the 250 undergraduates who graciously supplied the data.

Last, but far from least, I would like to thank Isidore Flores. For three years we have lived and worked closely together. He has been a close friend and supporter, and has put up with my vices and my bad temper without complaint. To my wife, Martha, my mere thanks are terribly inadequate. Her love and encouragement have been a constant source of strength, and her unselfishness and willingness to let me devote myself totally to my work at times made it all possible. I could also not leave out Bettie Shellberg, who took on the burden of typing and proofing the manuscript. She and her family have been good friends, wonderful neighbors, and the best landlords anyone could ask for. Thanks to all from the bottom of my heart.

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PERSONALITY AND SITUATIONAL INFLUENCES IN
PERSON PERCEPTION AND SOCIAL COGNITION:
AN INTERACTIVE MODEL OF THE IMPRESSION FORMATION PROCESS

In general, person perception may be defined as the process hrough which an individual comes to "know" the characteristics, ualities, and inner states of other people (Tagiuri, 1969). Although variety of different terms have been used to refer to this topic area n the psychological literature (e.g., person cognition, social per- eption or cognition, impression formation), the particular term person perception" most frequently refers to the process through which sychological characteristics (e.g., traits, motives, intentions, emo- ions) are attributed to other people, either through describing them r making predictions about their future behavior (Shrauger & ltrocchi, 1964; Schneider, 1973; Tagiuri, 1969; Tagiuri & Petrullo, 958). While the process through which an individual comes to know is/her own characteristics (e.g., Bem, 1967; Nisbett & Valins, 1972; nyder & Monson, 1975) may be considered a special case of this global rocess of "perceiving persons," we shall reserve the term person erception to refer exclusively to judgments and observations about nother person's psychological states and traits.

Man has a basic interest in understanding the qualities of others. hinkers as early as the time of Aristotle have been concerned with at east one aspect of person perception: namely, physiognomy, or the elationship of physical characteristics to personal qualities, emperament, and emotions (Tagiuri, 1969). As a social organism, man's ffective adaptation to the environment requires a relatively accurate

nderstanding of others. That is, in order to effectively adjust ehavior to the requirements of the social environment, an individual ust be able to predict the responses of other individuals to both is/her own behavior and relevant situational demands, thereby pro- iding some degree of personal control over environmental events Heider, 1944, 1958).

An understanding of the person perception process is thus basic to ocial psychology, and psychologists have long held that perceptions nd judgments about other people affect interpersonal behavior (e.g., sch, 1952; Lewin, 1936; Murphy, 1947; Sherif & Sherif, 1966). This eing the case, it is surprising that the empirical relationship etween person perception and interpersonal behavior has only been nfrequently examined (Warr & Knapper, 1968). Further, the few studies hat have addressed this question have not typically examined percep- ion directly. Rather, they have concentrated on the effect of various ttributes of the perceived person on interpersonal behavior (e.g., elley, 1950; Feldman & Kleck, 1970; Kleck et al., 1966; Farina et al., 965). However, recent work such as Larson's (1975) investigation of he effect of the perceiver's "perceptual style" (Messe' & Stollak, 1974) n dyadic interpersonal behavior, and the work of Snyder and his olleagues (Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid, 1977; Snyder and Swann, 1978) n the effect of impressions of specific characteristics of the stimulus erson on perceivers' behavior, has begun to address these issues.

In addition to affecting interpersonal behavior, many theorists e.g., Murray, 1938) have stressed the relationship between perception nd the general psychosocial functioning of the individual. In particu- ar, such theorists as Kelly (1955), Ellis (1962), Rorschach (1942),

ullivan (1953), Freud (1924, 1964), and the ego psychologists Hartman, 1939; Kris, 1952) have all essentially argued that psychoathology is based on misperceptions: i.e., perceptions or judgments hich are not consensually valid, or are situationally inappropriate. hus, research on person perception would appear to have profound implications for both social and personality psychology. As Tagiuri (1969) oncluded in his review of the person perception literature: "If there s to be a science of interpersonal behavior, it will be based, to some xtent, upon our learning more about how people come to perceive other eople as they do" (p. 435).

Despite this emphasis on the importance of person perception rocesses for our general understanding of human functioning, our nowledge of the person perception process itself, particularly as it ccurs in "natural" situations, is still rudimentary. As Cronbach oted over 20 years ago:

> In the recent epidemic enthusiasm for empirical explorations of these processes, the literature has broken out with a rash of results which are interesting, statistically significant, and exasperatingly inconsistent. All this work may or may not have turned up facts which will ultimately be the basis for theory, but the results defy integration now (1958, p. 353).

Unfortunately, although a tremendous amount of research has been onducted in this area since Cronbach surveyed the field and made his essimistic judgment, his sentiments have been echoed in virtually very major review of the literature on various aspects of person erception (e.g., Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Schneider, 1973; Tagiuri, 969). In particular, attention has repeatedly been drawn to the peristent interactions in the empirical literature which make integration

difficult, and to a failure of research and measurement methods to adequately represent the complexity of the process (Jackson & Messick, 1963; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). Tagiuri (1969) has perhaps summarized the current state of knowledge most simply: "...we have learned a great deal about the aspects that need to be taken into consideration; now we are trying to understand the details of how these actually operate" (p. 431).

One particularly problematic area of research on person perception is the relationship between motivational and other personality variables and individual differences in the impressions formed of people. Despite the prevalence of clear and consistent individual differences in impressions of specific stimulus persons, researchers have been unable to relate these differences to traditional measures of perceivers' personalities (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Schneider, 1973). Yet, it is precisely in such cognitive processes that motivational and other personality influences should be particularly apparent. Clearly, what is needed is a model which relates the various factors influencing person perception to one another, and to the outcome of this process: an impression of another person.

The purpose of the present research was to develop and empirically examine a model of the impression formation process which explicitly considers the joint, interactive influences of characteristics of the individual perceiver and the stimulus or "target" person, as well as the situation in which observation of the target person's characteristics occurs. Through such a "multivariate" model, and a number of methodological improvements over previous research in the area, the natural complexity of the person perception/impression formation

process should be more adequately represented and, consequently, our understanding of "the details of how these (factors) actually operate" in the process of perceiving persons substantially improved.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As noted earlier, interest in person perception dates back at least to the time of Aristotle. However, the process of knowing people, as opposed to nonhuman objects, did not receive formal and specific attention until the latter half of the nineteenth century (Tagiuri, 1969). Beginning with Darwin's (1872) publication of The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals, the person perception literature has become quite extensive, and a number of books devoted largely or entirely to the topic have recently appeared (e.g., Bieri et al., 1966; From, 1971; Hastorf et al., 1970; Livesley & Bromley, 1974; Tagiuri & Petrullo, 1958; Toch & Smith, 1968; Warr & Knapper, 1968).

A thorough and exhaustive review of the extant literature is tangential to the major focus of the present paper, and the interested reader is directed to the excellent comprehensive reviews on various aspects of person perception already available (see especially: Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954; Schneider, 1973; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969; Tajfel, 1969). Rather, we will begin our discussion with consideration of the global process of person perception. That is, we will review the empirical and theoretical literature on how perceivers acquire and process information to form an integrated impression of the stimulus person. Following discussion of these general characteristics of the process which seem applicable to all perceivers, we will consider how various specific factors influence the global process in an attempt to account for individual differences in the resulting impression.

Before turning our attention to the person perception process, however, it will prove useful to limit somewhat the scope of our inquiry. Much of the research on person perception has been concerned with perception of another's emotional state (e.g., Allport, 1924; Dusenberry & Knower, 1939; Coleman, 1949; Davitz & Davitz, 1959; see Tagiuri, 1969 for a review). Although the perception of emotions clearly falls within the scope of our definition of person perception, our primary interest is in inferences about a stimulus person's dispositional psychological characteristics. Even though there may be considerable overlap in the empirical generalizations and theoretical issues raised in these two areas (cf. Tagiuri, 1969), it is very likely that somewhat different processes are involved in these two types of judgment. For example, emotions are relatively transient states of the person, whereas psychological characteristics are usually considered to be relatively enduring dispositional traits. While perception of another person's emotional state may influence the dispositional inferences made by the perceiver, the ability to predict and control the social environment generally requires knowledge of the other person's enduring qualities, rather than his/her transient experiences (cf. Heider, 1944, 1958). Consequently, one would expect that the perceiver is primarily interested in "knowing" the stimulus person's enduring characteristics, and that his/her impression will generally be focused on inferred personality trait attributions.

A second major body of person perception research is concerned with the "accuracy" of perceivers' inferences about stimulus persons (see Bruner & Tagiuri, 1954; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Taft, 1955 for reviews). While the validity of inferences about a person's

characteristics is clearly an important topic for research, we will not be directly concerned with the question of accuracy in person perception within the context of the present paper. First, we assume that all perceivers are motivated to be accurate in their impressions, since only valid inferences allow prediction and control of the environment. Further, there are serious methodological problems in the assessment of accuracy which have yet to be resolved (see Cronbach, 1955, 1958; Gage & Cronbach, 1955). Finally, and perhaps most significant, a number of theorists have seriously questioned the utility and validity of dispositional personality "traits" as behavior-descriptive constructs (e.g., Bem & Allen, 1974; Fiske, 1975; Mirels, 1976; Mischel, 1968, 1973, 1975; Schneider, 1973, 1977; Shweder, 1975). Until psychology is better able to relate higher-order constructs such as traits to specific behaviors in specific situations, and thereby demonstrate the validity of the construct, one cannot properly address the problem of accuracy in trait inferences. Consequently, we will be concerned with what inferences are likely to be associated with which cues for which perceivers, regardless of how "accurate" these inferences are. For the present, the only point where accuracy can be reliably assessed is in regard to perceivers' recall of observed behavior and physical characteristics of the stimulus person, and the objective characteristics of the situation.

The Process of Perceiving Persons

Researchers are in general agreement that the person perception process involves at least three stages or components (Bieri et al., 1966; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969): (1) the selection of stimulus characteristics from the stimulus field; (2) the processing

or "encoding" (Bieri, 1962) of these selected stimuli through the perceiver's cognitive system into a trait impression or personal construct; and (3) further inference to form an integrated impression of the stimulus person. Shrauger and Altrocchi (1964) have called these three stages "cue selection," "interpretative inference," and "extended inference," respectively. Thus, the perceiver first selects certain attributes or characteristics of the stimulus person and situation, then "categorizes" these stimuli and infers something about the stimulus person's state or traits (i.e., assigns "meaning" to the "perceived" stimuli), and finally makes further inferences about those additional attributes of the stimulus person of which the perceiver has no direct information (i.e., traits which are not manifest in observed behavior), but which are probable given the observed stimuli, and which serve to "fill-in" or integrate the impression.

Warr and Knapper (1968) have proposed a similar, but more comprehensive and dynamic model of the person perception process. They propose that the process of person perception involves the operation of three "systems": (1) an input selection system, which is concerned with the selection of certain aspects of the stimulus person and situation; (2) a processing center, which consists of the perceiver's conscious and unconscious inference and combination rules; and (3) an output system, which consists of the perceiver's attributive, affective, and expectency responses to the perceived stimuli and resulting inferences, and which feeds back and influences subsequent stimulus selection and processing.

Although both of the models presented above distinguish between stimulus or cue selection and subsequent inference processes, it is

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clear that these components are virtually inseparable in the process as it naturally occurs. As From (1971) has noted, in observing others, perceivers typically "perceive" both the action itself and the intent, purpose, or meaning of the behavior.

> The meaning or purpose of the act of behavior is intrinsic to the perception of the behavioral sequence ...we describe behavior, in the main, by indicating the psychological states of the subject which form a part of our perception of the behavior (From, 1971, pp. 5-6).

Observed behavior appears to be immediately coded into inferential categories by perceivers, and the act of perception is therefore inevitably influenced by the perceiver's cognitive system (Bieri et al., 1962; Bruner, 1957; Bruner, Goodnow, & Austin, 1956; Sarbin, Taft, & Bailey, 1960). These perceptual-inferential processes appear to exert their effects through the operation of expectancies, acts of categorization, and cognitive "schemas" (Kelley, 1972) which give the stimulus meaning, and provide the perceiver with a "frame of reference" (Sherif & Hovland, 1961) in which to interpret subsequent stimulus information.

The pervasive nature of these inferential processes implies that perception is inevitably "biased" or "distorted." For example, subjects tachistoscopically presented with a black six of hearts have a difficult time identifying the stimulus, and often "compromise" and perceive a "purple" playing card (Bruner & Postman, 1949; Lasko & Lindhauer, 1968). Such "expectancy-effects" are not limited to perception of inanimate objects, but affect person perception as well. Duncan (1976) had subjects view an encounter in which one actor ambiguously shoved another. White subjects perceived both the actor and

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his action as more violent when the actor was black than when he was white. Considering the nature of the Negro stereotype (Brigham, 1971), these subjects' perceptions were clearly in line with expectations about the stimulus person's dispositional characteristics.

In addition to such immediate inferences about perceived stimuli, observers also appear to infer additional characteristics about an actor for which they have no direct evidence (Bieri, 1962). These "extended inferences" (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964) concern attributes of the stimulus person which seem probable given the observed characteristics, and serve to "fill-in" or integrate the perceiver's impression. Bruner and Tagiuri (1954) coined the term "naive, implicit personality theory" to describe these assumed inferential relationships among the attributes of people, which are usually operationalized as the covariance among traits in a perceiver's "lay theory of personality" (Schneider, 1973).

A substantial proportion of the recent research in person perception has focused on the characteristics and correlates of these "naive" theories of personality (Bryson, 1974; Chapman, 1967; Chapman & Chapman, 1967, 1969; Hakel, 1969; Hamilton, 1970; Hays, 1958; Jaccard & Fishbein, 1975; Koltuv, 1962; Lay, 1970; Messick & Kogan, 1966; Mirels, 1975; Pederson, 1965; Rosenberg & Jones, 1972; Rosenberg & Sedlak, 1972; Sherman, 1972; Stricker, 1974; see Schneider, 1973 for a recent review of this literature). In general, these inferences or expectancies are also seen as a biasing factor in impression formation. Perceivers typically exaggerate the size of trait interrelationships (Mirels, 1975), trait-ratings of stimulus persons are generally more related to the rater's conceptual schema than the actor's actual

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behavior, and ratings remain stable despite changes in stimulus behavior (Chapman, 1967; Chapman & Chapman, 1967, 1969; Shweder, 1975). Further, perceived trait interrelations are extremely stable and consistent across stimulus persons, regardless of whether they are well known or comparative strangers to the rater (Fjeld & Landsfield, 1961; Lay & Jackson, 1969; Passini & Norman, 1966; Gross, 1961; Kuusinen, 1969b, Muliak, 1964), and there is a greater convergence between descriptions of two different stimulus persons by the same perceiver than between descriptions of the same stimulus person by two perceivers (Dornbush, Hastorf, Richardson, Muzzy, & Vreeland, 1965).

This host of findings has led a number of investigators to view these effects as a function of the basic processes of human judgment (e.g., Bruner, Shapiro, & Tagiuri, 1958; Hamilton, 1976; Wishner, 1960), or of biases implicit in language (e.g., D'Andrade, 1965; Kanouse, 1971; Osgood, 1962). At the present time, the evidence suggests that perceived trait interrelations are a function of a number of factors, including the perceiver's evaluative attitude toward the stimulus person(s), familiarity with the stimulus person(s), the logical relations among traits, the personal relevance of the dimensions of judgment, and the connotative similarity of the traits (Koltuv, 1962).

The extended inferences about a stimulus person are generally consistent with previous information acquired by the perceiver, but there is some dispute over whether this consistency is evaluative or descriptive in nature (Felipe, 1970; Kuusinen, 1969a; Peabody, 1967, 1970; Rosenberg & Olshan, 1970). Clearly, the evaluative factor is

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prominent and pervasive in impressions of stimulus persons (Asch, 1946; Gifford, 1975; Hamilton & Fallot, 1974; Hamilton & Huffman, 1971; Jones, Sensening, & Haley, 1974 ; Kelley, 1950; Mensh & Wishner, 1947; Rosenberg, Nelson, & Vivekananthan, 1968; Wishner, 1960; Zanna & Hamilton, 1972). Warr and Sims (1965) have coined the term "cojudgment" to refer to this clustering of attributes in relation to affective tone. However, it would appear that descriptive consistency is also a factor in personality impressions (Felipe, 1970), and there is some evidence that which is more influential to perceivers depends upon the situation or circumstances in which judgments are made (Selby, 1970).

In addition to the effects of perceivers' expectancies and their attempts to maintain descriptive and/or evaluative consistency in their impressions of a stimulus person, there are a number of other "general tendencies" of perceivers which would appear to influence person perception. As Heider (1944, 1958) has pointed out, perceivers typically assume that behavior is purposeful, and that therefore the causes of behavior originate in the actor. Although not every observed action is perceived as dispositionally-caused, perceivers consistently make more dispositional attributions for actors' behavior than the actors themselves (Goldberg, 1977, 1978; Herzberger & Clore, 1977; Jones & Nisbett, 1971; Monson & Snyder, 1977). Apparently, observers tend to perceive behavior as caused by the most salient or distinctive stimulus in the situation of observation--typically the actor. Subjects who viewed a dyadic interaction while restricting their attention to only one of the two actors perceived the individual attended to as the causal agent of the

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observed events (Taylor & Fiske, 1975), and causal attributions will be dispositional or situational depending upon whether the perceiver's attention is directed toward the person or situation, respectively (Duval & Wicklund, 1973; Regan & Totten, 1975; Storms, 1973). Further, recent evidence suggests that perceiver's not only typically focus their attention on the actor, but that they also ignore the facilitating or constraining effects of an actor's social role in the situation when making dispositional attributions (Ross, Amabile, & Steinmetz, 1977). Individuals appear extremely willing to infer general relationships from extremely small samples of data (Tversky & Kahneman, 1971), and they typically ignore normative considerations and similar sources of "base rate" information in making judgments about the causes of observed events (Hammerton, 1973; Kahneman & Tversky, 1973; Lyon & Slovic, 1976; Nisbett, Borgida, Crandall, & Reed, 1976).

From the assumption that observed behavior is representative of the actor's dispositional characteristics, it follows that perceivers generally assume that the stimulus person's subsequent behavior will be consistent with his/her previously observed behavior (at least as long as the situation remains relatively constant). Jones, Rock, Goethals, and Ward (1968) had subjects observe an actor in a rigged IQ testing situation. In one condition, the actor solved more of the initial problems, while in another condition the actor solved more of the later problems. Although in actuality the actors solved an equal number of problems, the actor who solved more initial problems was perceived as more intelligent and as having solved more problems than the actor who solved more later problems. Thus, as Warr and Knapper (1968) make explicit in their model, the perceiver's

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initial attributive, expectancy, and affective responses to the stimulus person's observed attributes and behavior feedback and influence subsequent information processing. In short, the evidence suggests that perceivers strive to view the stimulus person as an organized whole (Smith, 1968), and to maintain both a logical consistency (Festinger, 1957; Glass, 1968) and an affective consistency or "balance" (Heider, 1958) in their impressions of the stimulus person.

The ubiquity of these effects in the empirical literature on person perception has led many investigators to conclude that perception is "dominated far more by what the (perceiver) brings into (the situation) than by what he takes in during it" (Gage & Cronbach, 1955, p. 420). In particular, some researchers (e.g., Kaplan, 1973; Levy, 1961) have gone so far as to argue that differences in person perception are primarily the result of response biases, rather than any differences in stimulus reception or cognitive processing. In favor of this argument are findings that perceivers characteristically rate others positively (Taylor & Kaminsky, 1976; Thorndike, 1920; Sears, 1936), or display consistent positive or negative tendencies in their impressions of stimulus persons (Asch, 1946; Assor, Aronoff, & Messe', 1978; Gage & Cronbach, 1955; Kaplan, 1970, 1971, 1973; Larson, 1975; Levy, 1961; Messe' et al., 1979; Messe' & Stollak, 1976).

On the other hand, a number of studies have convincingly demonstrated that expectations based on past experience influence the perception of people and events, and do not represent merely a response bias in the conventional sense (e.g., Bruner & Postman, 1949; Lasko & Lindhauer, 1961; Postman, Bruner, & Walk, 1951; Shelley &

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Toch, 1968). For example, Toch and Schulte (1961) found that after police training (and therefore more exposure to violent themas) individuals more readily perceived pictures depicting violence when stereoscopically presented with both violent and nonviolent scenes. Further, there is extensive evidence that physiological mechanisms in the central nervous system can operate to selectively tune in or out sensory information in virtually all sensory modalities (see Thompson, 1967). Thus, it is probably most accurate to consider person perception as resulting from a combination of perceptual, cognitive-inferential, and response-dispositional processes.

The evidence thus strongly suggests that the impression formed of a stimulus person is primarily a function of the perceiver's learned inference and combination rules and his/her affective responses to these judgments. However, as noted earlier, while there is considerable evidence that perceivers differ greatly in their impressions of a given stimulus person, researchers have only had very limited success in relating these differences in inferential processes to traditional personality variables (see: Schneider, 1973; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). With the exception of authoritarianism (e.g., Jones, 1954; Scodel & Mussen, 1953; Steiner, 1954; Warr & Sims, 1965; Wilkins, 1962) and some stable sex differences (e.g., Lay, 1970; Shapiro & Tagiuri, 1959; Warr & Knapper, 1968; Witryol & Kaess, 1957; Campbell & Radke-Yarrow, 1956) we know remarkably little about which characteristics of perceivers are associated with differences in trait inferences and global impressions.

As noted above, this lack of understanding may relate to a failure to consider the complexity of the person perception process. Shrauger

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and Altrocchi (1964) have noted that the characteristics of the perceiver may only influence his/her perception of certain types or attributes of stimulus persons. Similarly, it seems very likely that certain aspects of the situation or circumstances in which information about the stimulus person is acquired influence such processes as cue-selection and subsequent inferences (e.g., Kelley & Stahelski, 1970; Snyder, 1977; Snyder & Frankel, 1976; Harkins, Harvey, Kiethly, & Bull, 1977; Jones & Thibaut, 1958). Further, under most circumstances it would appear that both the characteristics of the stimulus person and the situation in which observation occurs are salient sources of stimuli for the perceiver.

> (O)ne needs to relate systematically the stimulus properties of the person, or part of the person, to the circumstances surrounding the person in space or time. These circumstances can and must be viewed as part of the stimulus, since...in the process of categorizing and judging his environment, the individual generally does not deal with discrete events but rather with extended sequences and contingencies of events (Tagiuri, 1969, p. 397).

The bulk of evidence thus strongly suggests that an adequate understanding of the person perception process necessitates consideration of all three factors which can potentially influence perceivers' impressions of a stimulus person: (1) the characteristics of the stimulus person; (2) the characteristics of the perceptual situation or "context of observation"; and (3) the characteristics of the perceiver (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri & Petrullo, 1958; Warr & Knapper, 1968). Furthermore, it would appear that each of these factors needs to be examined in relation to each of the others: "...what kinds of people describing what kinds of other people in what situations" (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964, p. 301). In the

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remainder of this discussion, we will examine the extant literature bearing on the influence of each of these factors in person perception. Where possible, we will also attempt to show how these factors interact to produce their effects on perceivers' impressions of a stimulus person. Finally, we will present a framework for integrating much of this research, and a study examining the role of each of these factors in person perception and impression formation.

Characteristics of the Stimulus Person

Consideration of the processes discussed above implies some basic similarities between person perception and object perception. Although such factors as the influence of attraction and social interaction (Tagiuri & Petrullo, 1958), as well as the similarity between the perceiver and perceived in person perception (Newcomb, 1958; Tagiuri & Petrullo, 1958) argue against any strong assumption of identity between the two processes, most theorists imply that the processes of person perception and object perception are closely related (e.g., Allport, 1955; Bruner & Postman, 1948; Brunswik, 1956; Heider, 1958; Sarbin, Taft & Bailey, 1960; Warr & Knapper, 1968), or at least see as many similarities as differences in the two processes (e.g., Tagiuri & Petrullo, 1958). In particular, it is clear that both person and object perception are constructive processes which are affected by the perceiver's inferences, expectancies, and emotional responses to the stimuli, and the operation of such principles as proximity, good form, closure, simplicity, regularity, symmetry, perceptual constancy, and assimilation and contrast effects have been well documented in both perceptual domains (see Warr & Knapper, 1968, pp. 31-34, 330-348).

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It is to be expected, then, that many researchers have approached person perception as psychology has approached object perception. The "directive state" perceptual theories (Allport, 1955) argue convincingly that both person perception and object perception must be grounded in the stimuli or sensory information received by the organism at the time responses are made. Consequently, many person perception researchers have focused on the influence of various characteristics of the stimulus person on perceivers' judgments about his/her psychological states and traits. A good example is Brunswik's (1956) research on inferences made about personal attributes on the basis of selected physiognomic cues.

There is extensive research demonstrating that the physical attributes of the stimulus person can have a significant influence on a perceiver's impression of his/her psychological characteristics. At the most global level, inferences based on physique or body type (Hamachek, 1971; McCandless, 1970; Staffeiri, 1967), sex (Kagan, 1964; Secord, 1955; Secord & Jourard, 1956; Secord et al., 1954), and race or ethnic group membership (Brigham, 1971; Duncan, 1976; Feldman & Hilterman, 1975; Secord et al., 1956) are extremely consistent across perceivers. Although there are clearly cross-cultural differences (e.g., Dennis, 1951; Tajfel, 1969), within a given culture the inferences based on these physical attributes are often remarkably consistent across race, social class, and age groups (cf. Donelson, 1973; Hall & Lindzey, 1970). Further, physical characteristics of stimulus persons may also influence inferences about psychological attributes indirectly. For example, McArthur and Solomon (1978) have demonstrated that physically salient target characters are seen as

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more responsible for observed events than individuals whose physical attributes are not particularly salient.

In addition to such global attributes as physique, race, and sex, there is also considerable evidence that facial features alone are capable of eliciting inferences about psychological characteristics which have a high degree of consensus across judges (Secord, 1955, 1958; Secord & Berscheid, 1963; Secord & Bevan, 1956; Secord et al., 1953, 1954, 1956; Secord & Jourard, 1956). Conversely, judges also agree on the expected facial characteristics of individuals described as possessing certain personality traits (Johnson, 1955: cited in Secord, 1958). Finally, even such relatively transient and trivial attributes as wearing glasses (Thornton, 1944) or lipstick (McKeachie, 1952) have been shown to significantly affect personality impressions formed by perceivers.

Persons not only possess physical attributes, but certain social attributes as well, For example, a person belongs to certain social and occupational groups, has a certain amount of authority and status, and so on. Although these "second order" attributes are not properties of the person in the same sense as his/her physical characteristics (i.e., they are a joint function of the person and his/her environment), they may nonetheless be considered as characteristics of the person. That is, we see the person as being a "blue collar worker" or as having high "status" or "power." Consequently, these characteristics may also influence impressions of the stimulus person's personality (Haire, 1968; Hanno & Jones, 1973). For example, Vaness (1969) had subjects rate "typical" members of four occupational groups on a number of personality trait-rating scales, and found that a substantial

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proportion (25-33%) of the subjects' trait attributions differed across occupational groups. Further, the stimulus person's social attributes not only affect impressions of his/her personality dispositions, but may alter perception of physical attributes as well (e.g., Dannenmaier & Thumin, 1964; Wittreich & Radcliffe, 1956).

These findings ably demonstrate that person perception can be influenced by the physical and social attributes of the stimulus person. In general, these effects may be seen as resulting from the operation of cultural stereotypes: i.e., the attribution of characteristics to persons on the basis of their membership in some category or social group (see: Brigham, 1971; Feldman & Hilterman, 1975; Hamilton, 1976; Secord et al., 1956). Although stereotyping has often been conceptualized as having a motivational basis and functional value for the perceiver (e.g., Lippman, 1922; Brigham, 1971), it now seems more probable that these effects result from a natural tendency to group objects in the environment into classes on the basis of similarities and dissimilarities among them (see: Hamilton, 1976). For example, American men are expected to be aggressive, dominant, and pragmatic, whereas American women are expected to be passive, dependent, and emotional (see: Kagan, 1964). Consequently, perceivers in general would be more likely to perceive a man as powerful than a woman (i.e., to attribute the characteristics of dominance and aggression), or, at the least, would require less equivocal information to judge that a woman possessed these traits than a man (Bieri, 1962). In addition, Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, and Rudermann (1978) have recently shown that in observing and forming impressions of individuals interacting in a group, perceivers encode the information by race and sex, minimizing

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within-group differences and accentuating the differences between groups. Consequently, it would appear that perceivers are biased toward viewing individuals in a manner consistent with stereotypes biased on physical or other attributes.

Although the attributes of the stimulus person clearly may exert an influence on the personality impression formed by the perceiver, the extant research is much less clear concerning when and how these effects operate. In particular, there is little information concerning the influence of stimulus person attributes in what Warr and Knapper (1968) have termed "direct" as opposed to "indirect" person perception situations. Direct person perception situations are those in which the perceiver actually observes the attributes and behavior of the stimulus person in some environmental context. In contrast, the majority of studies investigating the role of stimulus characteristics in person perception have utilized written descriptions or, at most, photographs and similar "static" stimuli as the basis on which perceivers' inferences were made. As Warr and Knapper (1968) point out, while this procedure allows greater experimental control, it drastically reduces the amount and quality of information available to the perceiver. In particular, the presented stimuli are necessarily and artifically made more salient. Consequently, the extent to which these factors influence perceivers' impressions in more natural, direct observation situations is undetermined.

Aside from this methodological problem, there are a number of findings that imply that the physical and social attributes of the stimulus person would not exert a dominant influence on the impressions formed by perceivers in direct observation situations. For example,

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there is some evidence that cultural stereotypes are "triggered" more effectively by descriptions of the stimulus person's traits than by his/her actual attributes. Katz and Braley (1935) found that subjects' impressions were more stereotypic when the stimulus person was described using stereotype-related traits as opposed to nonstereotypic traits. Although this result would be expected, these effects were not influenced by the stimulus person's actual possession of stereotype-defining physical characteristics. That is, in their study the stimulus person was described using traits consistent with the cultural stereotype of blacks regardless of whether she/he was black or white, provided that she/he was initially described as possessing traits included in the stereotype. Additionally, these effects were also unrelated to the prejudice of the subjects.

Overall, one would expect that the physical and social attributes of the stimulus person would have a relatively minor influence on impressions formed in direct observation situations, where the stimulus person's actual behavior would be expected to be most salient. That is, although physical and social attributes undoubtedly convey some information about the probable qualities of the stimulus person, and will suffice when no better information is available, how the person actually behaves in a particular situation is typically much more informative of his/her dispositional characteristics. Consequently, observed behaviors should overshadow physical and social attributes in personality impressions. On the other hand, however, cultural stereotypes undoubtedly give rise to expectations which may or may not be validated through direct observation of behavior, and thus may still influence the perceiver's impression. (Cantor & Mischel, 1978; Snyder,

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Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977; Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978). For example, Bieri (1962) found that male subjects would accept equivocal information as a basis for inferring that a male stimulus person was "dominant" (i.e., stereotype-consistent attribution), but required unequivocal information before inferring that he was "submissive" (stereotype-inconsistent attribution). Thus, whether or not the physical and social attributes of the stimulus person influence the impressions formed by perceivers would seem dependent upon such factors as their salience for the particular perceiver, the stimulus person's actual behavior, and the situation in which information about the stimulus person is acquired.

Assuming that the stimulus person's actual behavior constitutes the most salient stimulus for perceivers, one is still faced with the difficult questions of how perceivers determine that particular behaviors are revealing of the actor's dispositions, and of which particular aspects or categories of behavior will be most salient to perceivers. Research in this area is still in its infancy, but studies such as the recent work of Kraut (1978) show considerable promise. He has demonstrated how perceivers' judgments of the "honesty" of a target person in an interview situation are influenced by such cues as latency and consistency of responses, smiling, grooming, postural-shifts, and the judged plausibility and vagueness of responses.

As Brunswik (1956) and Heider (1958) have pointed out, particular cues (i.e., behaviors and attributes) are highly interchangeable, and a considerable number of different behaviors and attributes may be associated with the same dispositional attribution. Further, a given stimulus person may engage in a great number of different behaviors

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during the course of an observed interaction, and these behaviors may or may not be consistent with the dispositional attributions of the perceiver. Thus, one must also consider how perceivers integrate diverse stimuli in order to form a consistent impression of the stimulus person--particularly when faced with apparently contradictory behavioral information.

The process of attributing dispositions from acts has been extensively investigated by the attribution theorists (Heider, 1944, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Jones, Kanouse, Kelley, Nisbett, Valins, & Weiner, 1971; Kelley, 1967, 1971, 1972; Shaver, 1975). Deriving their predictions from Heider's (1958) analysis of causal attribution, both Jones and Davis (1965) and Kelley (1967) have developed models of the processes underlying dispositional attribution. More recently, Jones & McGillis (1976) have extended and attempted to integrate these two models.

In their "correspondent inference theory," Jones and Davis (1965) focus on the effects produced by an action as the basis for making dispositional attributions. Every action is assumed to produce certain specifiable effects, and each unit of intentional behavior may be seen as only one of several possible courses of action available to the actor. As a first step in the attribution process, the perceiver is assumed to consider the courses of action open to the stimulus person in the particular situation and the effects of each. Jones and Davis then propose that effects which can be produced by two or more potential actions cannot serve as a basis for decision between alternatives: i.e., only <u>non-common</u> effects (those unique to each course of action) can be used to infer the basis for the choice of action.

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After considering the number of non-common effects between possible courses of action, it is assumed that the perceiver next assesses the desirability of the remaining effects. The condition in which the perceiver has a high degree of certainty that the stimulus person's behavior reflects an underlying disposition is called "high correspondence of inference" by Jones and Davis. This condition only occurs when the number of non-common effects is low (i.e., the available courses of action share many similar effects) and the desirability of the chosen action is low (i.e., few other people would be assumed to behave similarly). Thus, one would expect that perceivers will be particularly influenced by behaviors which produce relatively few, but distinctive, effects and which are unexpected, out-of-role, or of low desirability.

Kelley (1967, 1971, 1972) has proposed a similar model which takes as its central theme the principle of covariation between potential causes and effects. In attempting to discover the cause of any given action, Kelley assumes that the perceiver operates as a "lay scientist" and utilizes three criteria: the distinctiveness of the action, its consistency across stimuli and situations, and consensus information. According to this formulation, an action will be attributed to the stimulus person's dispositions when it has low distinctiveness (i.e., the behavior occurs in the presence of all similar stimuli), high consistency (i.e., the observed behavior occurs whenever the stimulus is presented and under varying circumstances), and low consensus (i.e., few other people would behave similarly in the circumstances). Thus, for example, a person would be perceived as having a disposition to be "argumentative" if she/he argued with many people,

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if few other people argue with those same people, and if she/he argues with those people whenever they interact.

Attribution theory thus suggests that perceivers will be particularly attentive to a stimulus person's intentions, and that their impressions of his/her personality will be primarily influenced by those aspects of behavior which are consistently observed and which are relatively unexpected, out-of-role, or socially undesirable. Of the two models discussed, Kelley's has been the focus of most empirical research, and the findings have generally been supportive of the model (see: Jones et al., 1971). However, although distinctiveness and consistency information have been shown to affect attribution as predicted, consensus information does not appear to consistently influence perceivers' attributions (Borgida, 1978; Feldman, Higgins, Karlovac, & Ruble, 1976; Hansen & Lowe, 1976; McArthur, 1972, 1976; Nisbett & Borgida, 1975; Nisbett, Borgida, Crandall & Reed, 1976; Taylor & Crocker, 1978; Wells & Harvey, 1977, 1978). For example, Nisbett and Borgida (1975; Nisbett et al., 1976) have presented subjects with descriptions of a number of situations in which consensus information was or was not included and had them make predictions about an actor's behavior. Knowledge of consensus did not affect either attributions about the causes of the behavior or expectations about the subject's own probable behavior in the situation.

Whether or not consensus information is utilized by perceivers in making attributions about stimulus person behavior would appear to depend upon the particular situation in which the judgments are made, and perhaps the type of behavior in question. For example, Wells and Harvey (1977) obtained a consensus effect using Nisbett and Borgida's

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(1975) paradigm when their subjects were told that the stimulus people were a random, representative sample, and when the consensus information was relevant to behavior prediction. In addition, recent research suggests that perceivers, probably through assuming themselves to be similar to most other people (Ross, 1977), use their own expected behavior in the situation as a basis for making causal attributions. A stimulus person's behavior which is counter to the perceiver's expected behavior in the situation is perceived as dispositional, whereas behavior congruent with the perceiver's expectations may be perceived as situationally-caused (Herzberger, 1977; Hansen & Donaghue, 1977; Ross, Greene, & House, 1977). Conversely, it would appear that perceivers will utilize consensus information when they are unable to determine their own probable behavior in the situation. Feldman, Higgins, Karlovac, and Ruble (1976) had subjects view videotaped vignettes of a person choosing an item from an array while four other people either agreed or disagreed with the choice (i.e., high or low consensus). Further, subjects either saw or did not see the items directly. Consensus was found to have a greater effect when subjects were not able to see the items, and thus were unable to know their own probable behavior in the situation.

Aside from these relatively general considerations, attribution theory has not addressed the question of which particular categories of behavior will be most salient to perceivers, and therefore lead to attributions regarding the stimulus person's dispositions. Attribution theory has been primarily concerned with the conditions determining whether causal attributions for behavior will be dispositional or situational, rather than which dispositional attributions perceivers are

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likely to make following observation of certain behaviors under particular circumstances.

On the other hand, there is considerable empirical research suggesting that perceivers are particularly attentive to two categories of stimulus person behavior. As might be expected from the central role of evaluation in human judgment, one of these categories of behavior is the stimulus person's interpersonal good-bad qualities or social desirability (Heider, 1958; Osgood, 1953). The second category is the actor's dominance, assertiveness, or interpersonal power (Pepitone, 1958).

The majority of evidence supporting the salience of these two dimensions in person perception and impression formation comes from factor analytic studies of peer assessments. Across a wide range of stimulus persons and subject populations, dominance or assertiveness and affiliativeness or sociability factors are the most consistent findings, and account for the largest proportions of variance in peer ratings (Brown, 1965; Carter, 1954; Borgatta, 1960; Borgatta, Cottrell, & Mann, 1958; Becker & Krug, 1964; Norman, 1963; Norman & Goldberg, 1966; Shaefer, 1959). Although a number of other factors have been noted (e.g., emotionality, intelligence, and task-interest), none are as clearly defined, consistently reported, or account for as much variance as the assertiveness and affiliativeness dimensions.

Considering the interchangeability of particular cues as indices of dispositional traits, and the necessity of coordinating behavior to the surrounding circumstances to allow for relatively determinate judgments (Tagiuri, 1969), it is not surprising that there have been few attempts to directly manipulate the behavior of stimulus persons

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in order to assess the influence on perceivers' impressions. However, recent investigations have demonstrated that manipulations of a stimulus person's nonverbal behavior relevant to the affiliativeness dimension (e.g., smiling, eye contact, etc.) can have a significant impact on perceivers' impressions and evaluations of the actor (Clore, Wiggins, & Itkin, 1975; Holstein, Goldstein, & Bem, 1971). Further, from a purely functional viewpoint one might expect perceivers to be particularly attentiive to these aspects of stimulus persons (Tagiuri, 1969). An individual's affiliativeness and assertiveness are crucial dimensions along which the person orients him/herself vis-a-vis others, and are thus basic to interpersonal action. In particular, both affiliativeness and assertiveness are typically directly related to the potential rewards in any interaction between two people, and such hedonistic considerations are probably a major determinant of interpersonal behavior (Homans, 1950; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959).

Apart from these very general considerations, which characteristics of the stimulus person will be attended to would seem to depend upon such factors as the motivational state of the perceiver (e.g., Berlew & Williams, 1964) and the particulars of the situation in which observation occurs (e.g., Jones & Thibaut, 1958). Thus, in order to predict the impression formed of a particular stimulus person, one must consider not only the actor's behavior and attributes, but also the characteristics of the perceiver and the observation situation.

In overview, the extant literature demonstrates that perceivers are capable of forming consistent, elaborated impressions of a stimulus person on the basis of almost any information about his/her attributes or behavior. These findings may be seen, in part, as

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examples of the operation of cultural stereotypes, which form part of perceivers' implicit theories of personality. However, in most of these studies, perceivers were presented with written descriptions or other static representations of the stimulus person. Thus, the extent to which these factors influence impressions formed under more natural, direct observation situations remains unclear. Further, although one would expect that a stimulus person's actual behavior would typically be most salient to perceivers, experimental manipulations of actor behavior are rare. What little evidence there is suggests that perceivers will be particularly attentive to behaviors reflecting the stimulus person's affiliativeness or sociability, and his/her assertiveness or interpersonal dominance. Additionally, research on causal attribution suggests that perceivers will be particularly likely to make dispositional attributions for behaviors which are consistently observed, and which are considered extreme (Harvey, Harkins, & Barnes, 1975), out-of-role, socially undesirable, and/or violate the perceiver's expectations.

Characteristics of the Situation

As noted earlier, the perceiver has two external sources of information on which to base his/her impressions of a stimulus person: the observed attributes and behaviors of the stimulus person, and the nature of the situation or context of observation. Traditionally, behavior has been viewed as primarily a function of the actor's underlying dispositions or personality "traits." However, the recent trait versus situational causality controversy (e.g., Endler & Magnusson, 1976; Bowers, 1973; Mischel, 1968, 1973) has brought increasing attention to the role of situational factors in the facilitation and

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inhibition of behavior. As might be expected, this occurrence has had an impact on person perception research as well.

The evidence reviewed in the preceding section showed that perceivers are often able to reach a fairly general consensus in their impressions of an actor from information solely concerning his/her attributes or characteristics. However, it is also clear that such impressions may not be unique: perceivers often report that two or three interpretations of a given stimulus are possible (Tagiuri, 1969). Similarly, information about the situation alone may allow nonrandom, but indeterminate, judgments. In most cases, then, information about both the person and the situation is required for relatively confident inferences.

> We "know" both that certain situations tend to evoke feelings A, B, or C, and that a certain expression or behavior reflects feelings B, D, or E. Given the particular situation, and given the person's expression, we judge that the feeling is probably B. The same person cue may lead to very different judgments, depending on the situation (Tagiuri, 1969, p. 421).

This emphasis on the role of the situation in affecting perceivers' inferences may seem contradictory to the tendency noted earlier for perceivers to disregard situational factors and view events as caused by the actor. While the empirical evidence strongly supports this conclusion in general, we have already noted certain conditions under which perceivers attribute causality for behavior to the environment (see pp. 13-14). Further, although Heider (1944) originally contended that perceivers have a tendency to disregard situational factors, he later recognized that an observer's impression of an actor is often dependent upon the context of action (Heider, 1958). Even though perceivers' impressions of a stimulus person may be dominated by

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dispositional attributions, this does not imply that they disregard situational influences on behavior. Rather, dispositional attributions (i.e., traits) imply certain situational factors (cf. Tagiuri, 1969) in their implications for behavior, and are often a more parsimonious "explanation" for the observed events. Further, as we will attempt to show in the following discussion, the general tendency of perceivers to view actors as the locus of behavior causation is strengthened or weakened by such factors as the nature of the particular situation, the perceiver's goals or purposes in observing the stimulus person, and his/her affective response to the actor.

Before discussing the literature concerning situational influences on person perception, it should be noted that there are at least two referents for "situation" in the context of person perception. The first is to the circumstances confronting the stimulus person or the situation in which she/he is behaving. These factors include not only the nature of the situation per se (e.g., cooperative or competitive), but the presence of other people (including possibly the perceiver), the particular task, role-relations, and so on. The second referent is to the situation confronting the perceiver, or his/her goals or purposes in observing the actor. Each of these "situations" has a potentially significant influence on the impression formation process.

We have already reviewed some evidence concerning the influence of the situation confronting the actor in discussing the research on utilization of consensus information (pp. 27-28). In addition to the effects of other persons in the situation, the nature of the situation itself may influence perceivers' impressions. That is, certain situations evoke certain behaviors, and the perceiver's knowledge of these

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environmental influences may alter his/her interpretation of the stimulus person's behavior. Thus, for example, we expect people to behave differently at a formal dinner party than at a football game.

There is now increasing evidence that perceivers have expectations for behavior causality which differ across situations (Orvis, Cunningham, & Kelley, 1975; Snyder, 1977), and that they will ignore sources of information not thought to have causal implications in the situation (Ajzen, 1977). As with implicit personality theories, stereotypes, and other expectancies, these situational expectations may be viewed as cognitive "schemata" (Kelley, 1972) which may potentially bias or distort perception. For example, Snyder and Frankel (1976) had subjects view a videotaped discussion without sound after being told that the topic of discussion was either sex or politics. The actor in the "sex discussion" was perceived as more anxious than the actor in the "politics discussion." At a more global level, the environment is perceived as facilitating or inhibiting certain behaviors, and perceivers' attributions will generally be influenced by these factors (e.g., Karniol & Ross, 1976).

Although it seems clear that information regarding the situation confronting the actor may significantly affect impressions of his/her personality and behavior, it is also apparent that perceivers will vary in their use of this information as a function of such factors as the relative salience of the actor versus the situation (e.g., Duval & Wicklund, 1973; Regan & Totten, 1975; Storms, 1973; Taylor & Fiske, 1975), the perceiver's affective reactions to the actor (e.g., Regan, Straus & Fazio, 1974), and the perceiver's goal or purpose in observing the actor (e.g., Zajonc, 1960). Thus, of the two "types"

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of situational influences, one might expect that the situation confronting the perceiver would have a greater impact on impression formation.

Jones and Thibaut (1958) have contributed one of the earliest and most thoughtful discussions of situational influences on impression formation. Noting that people typically interact with others within fairly well-defined situations and in terms of rather constraining roles, these authors propose that the perceiver's basic desire is for information relevant to adequate role performance. Consequently, they discuss person perception as a function of the perceiver's goals in observing the stimulus person. Although their discussion is focused on situations where the perceiver interacts with the stimulus person directly, their analysis would also seem applicable to certain situations involving observation without direct behavioral interaction.

Jones and Thibaut classify the person perception situation in terms of three types of goals toward which observation is directed: (1) the facilitation of personal goal attainment; (2) the deterministic analysis of personality; and (3) the application of social sanctions. Each of these goals is considered to be associated with a particular "cognitive set" which influences the perceiver's inference processes. Thus, under the goal of facilitating personal goal attainment, a "value-maintenance set" should be aroused, and one might expect the perceiver to be particularly sensitive to such dispositions as friendliness, acceptance, tolerance, and supportiveness, and to evaluate the actor more positively if she/he is perceived as having values similar to those of the perceiver, shows signs of accepting the perceiver, or is generally facilitative of the perceiver's goals. When the perceiver's goal is one of making a deterministic analysis of personality a

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"causal-genetic set" is aroused. Here one would expect the perceiver's evaluation of the stimulus person to have a relatively minor influence on his/her inferences, for the perceiver to be especially interested in the stimulus person's intentions, and for his/her impression to be relatively more systematic, consistent, and logical. Finally, perceivers who have as a goal the application of social sanctions are seen as having a "situation-matching set" in which they attempt to establish whether or not the stimulus person's behavior is appropriate, given the norms applicable to the particular situation. In this condition, Jones and Thibaut suggest that the perceiver will be less interested in the stimulus person's intentions and personality dispositions than under the other two sets.

Although Jones and Thibaut discuss each of these goals and their associated "sets" separately, they also note that these "pure types" are probably rare in natual situations, where perceivers typically have more than one goal in observing others. In particular, it would seem that the "value-maintenance set" is active in most person perception situations, as indicated by the pervasiveness of evaluative factors in personality impressions. Nonetheless, it is well to note that most person perception research has presented subjects with the task of making a "deterministic analysis of personality." Conversely, there have been relatively few studies in which the perceiver's goal may be seen as the application of social sanctions (mock-jury studies are one exception: e.g., Dowdle, Gillen, & Miller, 1974).

The activation of a value-maintenance set with its accompanying goal of facilitating personal goal attainment would seem to require interaction, or at least the expectation of interaction, between the

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stimulus person and the perceiver. That is, under actual or expected interaction, the perceiver's outcomes are to some extent dependent upon the characteristics of the stimulus person. According to Jones and Thibaut (1958), it is in these situations where the perceiver's affective response to the stimulus person should have the greatest impact on impressions.

There is considerable evidence that affect has a greater influence on impressions when the perceiver is outcome dependent upon the target person. "Outcome dependency" has typically been obtained through actual or expected interaction between perceiver and target. Under such conditions, the target character's behavior and attributes become "hedonically relevant" (Chaiken & Cooper, 1973) to the perceiver, and one might expect that evaluation of the target character would be consistent with the nature of the affect aroused in the perceiver--positive or negative. However, while there is some evidence that perceivers expect interactions with positively-evaluated target characters to be pleasant, and interactions with negatively-evaluated target characters to be unpleasant (Miller & Norman, 1976), the extant research is inconsistent in regard to the effects of expected interaction with the target character on evaluative aspects of impressions. Several studies (e.g., Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976; Jones & Dougherty, 1959) have reported general "positivity biases" in impressions under conditions of outcome dependency. Others, however, have found expected interaction to have either no effect or to result in increased liking for the target character, depending upon the characteristics of the target character and perceiver (Layton & Insko, 1974; Sears, 1967; Tyler & Sears, 1977). Whatever the direction of evaluative

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bias, it is clear that impressions formed under the typical "simulation design" paradigm (i.e., using written descriptions of the target character, with no involvement between perceiver and target) generally follow a logical consistency model, whereas impressions formed under conditions of outcome dependency (i.e., actual or expected interaction with the target character) tend to be based on less rational, "ego-oriented" considerations (Fontaine, 1975).

These considerations are similar to those discussed earlier concerning "direct" versus "indirect" person perception situations. The vast majority of research on person perception and causal attribution has utilized simulation designs in which perceivers acquire information about the stimulus person indirectly. As noted previously, one effect of this procedure would be to artificially increase the salience of the presented stimuli, relative to direct perception, in which both the quantity and quality of available stimulus information is greatly increased. Consequently, while these studies ably demonstrate that perceivers can utilize virtually any source of information as a basis for making judgments about other people, the extent to which these characteristics influence impressions in natural situations is unclear. Additionally, the findings reviewed above suggest that the strong support for the logical consistency model in past research might be partly a function of the minimal-information designs utilized (Fontaine, 1975).

It would seem obvious that actual interaction, or even expected interaction, would increase the "ecological validity" of the research, as well as the subject's personal involvement in the outcome of the person perception process. To the extent that the perceiver expects

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to interact with the stimulus person, she/he becomes a potential source of rewards and punishments for the perceiver, and one may assume that the perceiver's motivation to "discover" his/her dispositional qualities will be increased (Miller, Norman, & Wright, 1978).

Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, and Dermer (1976) had subjects view a videotaped discussion under either "standard" impression formation instructions (i.e., engendering a set for a "deterministic analysis of personality") or the expectation that they would be dating one of the participants a number of times in the future. Subjects expecting to interact with the stimulus person had significantly greater recall and recognition of his/her behaviors and attributes (e.g., clothing), spent significantly more time looking at the actor, and made significantly more dispositional attributions about the stimulus person than subjects who were not expecting to interact with him/her in the future. Further, as noted before, the expectation of interaction resulted in a more positive evaluation of the stimulus person (see also: Jones & Dougherty, 1959). Thus, the expectation of involvement with the stimulus person would also appear to increase the perceiver's tendency to arrive at "wish-fulfilling" inferences about the actor's dispositions (cf. Berscheid, Boyle, & Darley, 1968; Darley & Berscheid, 1967; Levine, Chein & Murphy, 1942: Pepitone, 1950; Stephan, Berscheid & Walster, 1971).

While the expectation of future interaction or involvement with the stimulus person may result in more positive impressions by the perceiver, direct observation alone (i.e., without the expectation of future involvement) would not appear sufficient to induce a "positivity bias" among perceivers. Olson, Barefoot, and Strickland (1976) had

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perceivers observe a confederate under three conditions: a videotape, covert-surveillance, and overt-surveillance. In the overt-surveillance situation the subjects were aware of the confererate-actor's role, and also knew that the confederate was aware of their observation. Compared to the other two conditions, subjects in the overt condition reported more aversion to the task and formed more negative impressions of the stimulus person. Thus, while direct observation would appear to consistently increase the influence of perceivers' affective responses on their impressions, whether the impression will be more positive or negative depends upon other characteristics of the situation.

In particular, a "positivity bias" would appear to be likelier where the perceiver considers his/her outcomes to be dependent upon the stimulus person, or it is expected that they will both experience similar outcomes. For example, subjects expecting to receive a similar fate as that of a stimulus person they observed in a shock-learning study were significantly less likely to devalue the victim than other subjects not expecting a similar outcome (Sorrentino & Butler, 1974). Additionally, it would seem that a positivity bias will occur only where the perceiver expects that the stimulus person will be the source of desirable outcomes, given an expectation of outcome dependency (cf. Pepitone, 1950). Where the perceiver expects that the stimulus person will be the source of negative outcomes, one would expect that a "negativity bias" would result (Miller & Norman, 1978).

In addition to the effects of expected interaction and direct versus indirect observation of the stimulus person, the situation as defined by the instructional set given subjects may affect the perception and encoding of information about the stimulus person. The

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induction of a set to either transmit or receive information about a stimulus person has been referred to as "cognitive tuning" (Cohen, 1961; Zajonc, 1960). Subjects who have been led to expect that they will have to "transmit" information about a stimulus person typically make more dispositional attributions for observed behavior than "receivers" (Harkins, Harvey, Kiethly & Bull, 1977; Harvey, Harkins & Kagehiro, 1976; Harvey, Lightner, Yarkin, Strange, Hansen & Breslower, 1978). The requirement of encoding stimulus information in a form suitable for relatively concise communication to others would appear to further increase the need for maximizing simplicity of explanation, and therefore the tendency to see the actor as the causal agent of the observed events. Jeffrey and Mischel (1978) have shown that subjects whose task is to form a personality impression or predict future behavior organize information about a stimulus person in terms of personality traits.

As with the influence of particular categories of behavior on impression formation, little research has been concerned with the influence of individual types of situations on person perception. Although research presented earlier indicated that perceivers have expectations for behavior causation which differ across situations, we have little information concerning how perception differs under, for example, task-oriented versus socioemotional situations.

An exception to this general lack of information is a number of studies examining the effect of cooperation and competition on person perception. Cooperation and competition have been shown to be one of the most salient distinctions underlying the perception of interpersonal role relationships (Wish, 1976; Wish, Deutsch & Kaplan, 1976).

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Further, each of these situations clearly calls for particular behaviors on the part of participants, and these requirements may be expected to influence perceivers' inference processes. Subjects have been shown to make dispositional attributions for behaviors incongruent with environmental constraints (e.g., cooperative behavior in a competitive situation and vice versa), and to make situational attributions for behaviors facilitated by the situation (Enzle, Hansen & Lowe, 1975; Trope, 1978). Where either cooperation or competition is possible, subjects behaving competitively appear to perceive all others as competitive, whereas cooperative subjects appear not to be biased either way (Kelley & Stahelski, 1970).

The generally aversive nature of competition would seem likely to decrease subjects' desires to interact with the stimulus person. However, subjects may still desire information about the actor, since such knowledge would increase their ability to predict the outcomes of interaction. In at least one study this has been shown to be the case: subjects expecting to compete with a stimulus person had less desire to interact face-to-face, but a greater desire to covertly observe the actor than subjects anticipating a cooperative interaction (Jellison & Ickes, 1974). However, whether or not competition increases or decreases the desire for acquiring information about the stimulus person may depend upon the particular perceiver. Visual interaction was inhibited for subjects high in the need for affiliation, but increased for subjects low in the need for affiliation under competitive conditions (Exline, 1963). Further, this effect was greater for females than males. Thus, once again, it would appear that one needs to consider the stimulus person, the situation, and the particular

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perceiver in order to predict the outcome of the person perception process.

The empirical research reviewed in this section clearly shows that situational factors can have a large influence on perceivers' impressions of a stimulus person. Although situational influences have only been sparsely researched, particularly in terms of the influence of the situation in which the target person is involved at the time of observation, there is consistent evidence that perceivers have intuitive theories of event causality which differ across situations, and that such factors as whether information about the target character is acquired indirectly or through direct observation, whether or not perceivers expect to interact with the target person, and the instructional set given to perceivers affect processing of stimulus information. However, as with the influence of characteristics of the target, the specific effect of these factors often seems to depend upon the particular combination of perceiver and target character.

Characteristics of the Perceiver

Throughout the preceding discussion, we have repeatedly commented on the dominant role of the perceiver in person perception and impression formation. Given the same objective "distal" (Brunswik, 1956) stimulus information, perceivers often form strikingly different impressions. Yet, despite these pervasive individual differences, few consistent relationships between the characteristics of the perceiver and impression formation have been demonstrated (cf. Schneider, 1973; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). Neither theoretical models nor empirical research have clearly identified the independent personality variables that are most significantly related to person perception.

Rather than review all of the extant literature in this area (for reviews see: Schneider, 1973; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969), we will merely note some general conclusions based upon the findings of previous studies, and discuss some of the recent trends in the area of person perception research relevant to the characteristics of perceivers.

In the only major review devoted to the role of the personality of the perceiver in person perception, Shrauger and Altrocchi (1964) suggested that interpersonal motives and cognitive "controls" are the characteristics of perceivers most likely to relate to individual differences in person perception. In support of this conjecture is the fact that the single personality variable most consistently related to differences in person perception, "authoritarianism," is a complex construct combining both cognitive and motivational components (Adorno et al., 1950). Although in the following discussion we will consider the influence of cognitive and motivational variables separately, it appears likely that individual differences in person perception are most often the result of the joint influence of cognitive and motivational factors. As Wachtel (1972) has noted: "(T)he effect of variations in drive state is mediated by cognitive structures which guarantee and effect contact with environmental cues, but contact of a sort most useful to the organism at the moment" (p. 781).

Cognitive Factors. In the past few years, social psychologists have shown an increasing interest in the influence of cognitive factors on social behavior. Similarly, many cognitive psychologists are now beginning to explore social stimuli and situations. Indeed, these shifts in theoretical perspective and empirical research have

become so widespread and fruitful that a number of psychologists have foreseen a "marriage" of cognitive and social psychology (e.g., Carroll & Payne, 1976). Although some caution is warranted regarding the generality of this belief (Taylor, 1976), recent research in person perception at least has been dominated by a cognitive orientation. Theories of person perception have shifted toward process models, focusing on how the individual gathers, interprets, and utilizes information about others (e.g., Warr & Knapper, 1968; Schmidt, 1976). In particular, this "cognitive revolution" (Littman, 1969) has challenged the assumption that cognitive biases or disfunctions are necessarily due to interference from noncognitive or motivational sources (Dawes, 1976). It is now clear that people's cognitive capacities are limited (Fitts & Posner, 1967; Solvic, 1974), and nonoptimal functioning has legitimately been viewed as arising from "mental economics" (Abelson, 1974). Theories of stereotyping are a good example of this change in perspective. Whereas early investigations assumed that stereotyping represented a "short circuit" of the normal reasoning process, and focused on individual motives and the social nature of the information, recent investigations have turned to examination of the cognitive processes themselves, viewing the use of categorization to simplify incoming information as the root of stereotyping (Hamilton, 1976).

Much of the literature reviewed in earlier sections of this paper also reflects this emphasis on cognition. In particular, research on attribution processes and implicit personality theories, which has dominated recent explorations of person perception, is clearly cognitive in emphasis. Several investigators have even moved away from traditional definitions of personality as a configuration of

behavior-predisposing "traits" to an emphasis on cognitive-inferential processes:

> In response to the adaptive demands a person perceives, he develops a perceptual-cognitive strategy; and this strategy in turn leads to his encountering a new set of demands, created in part by the new view of the world which his strategy has afforded him. The continual integration of these two realms is that flux which we designate as personality (Wachtel, 1972, pp. 779-785).

We have already discussed the general influence of cognitive factors on person perception in presenting models of the person perception process, reviewing the role of stereotyping, and discussing attribution theory. In the present section, we will concentrate on those cognitive factors which relate to individual differences in person perception and impression formation.

It has been previously noted that much of the recent research in person perception has focused on implicit theories of personality. Although in previous sections we have centered our discussion on the general nature of these "naive theories" and their probable role in stereotyping, the available evidence also suggests that an individual's implicit personality theory or system of "personal constructs" (Kelly, 1955) is related to the salience of particular behaviors of the stimulus person for the perceiver, and to which dispositional attributions she/he is most likely to make to account for these stimuli. We have already noted that implicit personality theories are relatively idiosyncratic, and that there is likely to be greater consistency in the trait-inferences about two stimulus persons by the same perceiver than for two perceivers describing the same stimulus person (e.g., Dornbush et al., 1965; Yarrow & Campbell, 1963). In describing others,

perceivers have been shown to assume higher interrelations among personally relevant than nonrelevant traits (Koltuv, 1962), and are more likely to attribute traits to the stimulus person which are represented in their personal construct system (Cromwell & Caldwell, 1962). For example, boys have been shown to focus on aggressive, rebellious, and nonconforming behaviors in their descriptions of others, while girls focus on nurturant behaviors (Campbell & Radke-Yarrow, 1956). Similarly, research suggests that authoritarians are more influenced by power cues in their impressions of others (Wilkins, 1962). Finally, there is extensive evidence that perceivers make more extreme inferences on constructs they provide for themselves than for constructs provided by the experimenter (Cromwell & Caldwell, 1962; Mitsos, 1961; Landfield, 1968; Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963). Since extremity and confidence of trait-ratings are correlated and are considered to reflect dispositional attributions (Jones & Davis, 1965), these findings also indicate that traits represented in an individual's personal construct system are more salient to perceivers, and occupy a central position in processing information about others. As both Markus (1977) and Rogers, Kuiper and Kirker (1977) have shown, cognitive structures or "schemata" about the self facilitate processing of self-referent information and persons are more easily able to retrieve and interpret information consistent with these schemata.

Considering the importance of the evaluation of others as a means by which one maintains or modifies one's self-image (Festinger, 1954; Gergen & Wishnow, 1965; Jones & Gerard, 1967; Morse & Gergen, 1970), it seems likely that the dimensions one chooses for evaluating others

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are related to those chosen for self-evaluation. Shrauger and Patterson (1974) had subjects write descriptions of same and opposite-sexed others whom they liked and disliked. They found that the frequency with which a subject used certain dimensions for describing others was directly related to the relevance of these dimensions for self-evaluation. Further, the subject's self-satisfaction on these dimensions was related to their use in describing others. High satisfaction dimensions were used much more frequently for describing liked, but not disliked, others.

It would appear, therefore, that perceivers will be most attentive to those attributes and behaviors of a stimulus person which relate most directly to personally relevant traits. However, there is also evidence that category usage varies as a function of the actual characteristics of the stimulus person, and probably also the situation. Beach and Wertheimer (1961), Richardson, Hastorf and Dornbush (1964), and Yarrow and Campbell (1963) all report differential category usage by various perceivers for different kinds of stimulus persons and, in some cases, interactions between the characteristics of the perceiver and those of the stimulus person. Although perceivers may be particularly attentive to attributes and behaviors reflecting personally relevant traits, whether or not these traits will be included in their global impressions is undoubtedly dependent to a great extent on the specific behaviors of the stimulus person observed in the perceptual situation. For example, Higgins, Rholes and Jones (1977) have shown that while trait categories "activated" unobtrusively in subjects affected subsequent impressions, this occurred only when the traits were applicable to the particular stimulus person.

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In more general terms, however, there is considerable evidence that cognitive schemas, whether sterotypic or idiosyncratic, pre-existing or temporarily induced, influence processing of stimulus information, and both recognition and recall for target behaviors and attributes (Cantor & Mischel, 1970; Hastie & Krumar, 1979; Snyder, 1976, 1978; Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978; Tsujimoto, 1978; Zadney & Gerard, 1974). Further, not only do perceivers more easily recognize and recall schema-consistent target information, but when asked to determine if the target person possesses a certain characteristic, they search preferentially for confirmatory information (Snyder & Swann, 1978). One may therefore assume that perceivers preferentially seek target information which is consistent with their personal schemata for perceiving persons.

In sum, these findings suggest that person perception or impression formation is dependent upon the activation of the perceiver's cognitive structure (i.e., implicit personality theory) by the observed stimulus patterns or situational demands, which initiate events leading to the identification and classification of the observed stimuli (Peak, 1958). Although impressions are apparently distorted or biased in the sense that observed stimuli are subsumed under existing constructs, they are not wholly illusory. As Crockett (1977) has noted, although each perceiver's impression is to some extent unique (cf., Kelly 1955), one should not overestimate the constructive role of the perceiver. Actions in a social context have a common meaning to perceivers sharing experience in such situations. "In short, we should recognize that information about another person often constrains the nature of a perceiver's impression as much as the perceiver's system

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of personal constructs shapes how the information is interpreted" (Crockett, 1977, p. 6). Once again, it is apparent that one must consider the joint influence of stimulus persons, social contexts, and perceivers in order to predict impressions.

As noted earlier, perceivers typically observe extended sequences and contingencies of events, rather than discrete behaviors. Consequently, in order to predict impressions one must consider the process through which perceivers organize and integrate observed stimuli, particularly when the observed information is internally inconsistent. Although a number of models have been developed for this process (e.g., Anderson, 1962, 1965; Anderson & Jacobson, 1965; Rokeach & Rothman, 1965), these models have typically ignored individual differences, and have been based on the results of research in which the stimulus information presented to subjects consists of a list of traits descriptive of the stimulus person (e.g., Asch, 1946). As previously noted, this procedure is not analagous to more natural, direct perception situations (cf. Luchins, 1948). On the other hand, research concerning a perceiver's cognitive "complexity" has addressed itself specifically to individual difference in information integration (Bieri, 1961; Crockett, 1965; Harvey, Hunt & Shroder, 1961; Shroder, Driver & Streufert, 1967; Witkin, Dyk, Faterson, Goodenough & Karp, 1962).

Complexity has typically been related to impression formation or person perception as the extent to which one forms differentiated conceptualizations of the social environment and makes fine distinctions among people (Crockett, 1965, 1977; Hastorf, Schneider & Polefka, 1970), or as the number of independent dimensions utilized on the REP

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test (Kelly, 1955). In a representative experiment, Gollin (1954) had subjects view a film consisting of five vignettes involving a young woman. In two of the scenes the woman behaved in a manner suggesting promiscuity or immorality, a third scene was evaluatively neutral, while in the remaining two scenes the woman engaged in kind and considerate behaviors. Gollin noted three "types" of subjects on the basis of their written impressions of the woman. About one-half of the subjects were considered "simplified responders", in that they focused on either immoral or kind behaviors in their impressions. Another third of the subjects, termed "aggregate responders," mentioned both immorality and kindness in their impressions, but did not attempt to account for this evaluative inconsistency or otherwise relate the two attributions. Finally, the remaining subjects (approximately 20%) gave "related responses" in which both qualities were mentioned in their impressions and an attempt was made to explain their presence in the same person. In attempting to account for such inconsistent information, subjects typically utilize attributions regarding the motivations of the stimulus person (e.g., Press, Crockett & Delia, 1975).

Although complexity has typically been utilized as an independent variable, and a few researchers have found individual differences in the number of dimensions utilized for trait implications by subjects (e.g., Pederson, 1965; Walters & Jackson, 1966), these differences have usually been more subtle and minor than those noted above (see: Schneider, 1973). This variability is probably related, at least in part, to differences in stimulus complexity (e.g., film vs. trait description). Additionally, differences in complexity may be less apparent when comparing the number of dimensions utilized by different

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subjects in describing a large number of others than when subjects are presented with inconsistent information and attempt to form a unified, integrated impression of the other (e.g., Mayo & Crockett, 1964; Nidorf & Crockett, 1965). Thus, situational factors can have a significant affect on complexity of impressions. Likewise, it is clear that complexity varies with the characteristics of the stimulus person and the perceiver's purpose in observing him/her. Thus, subjects' overall complexity and ability to account for inconsistent information has been shown to vary with the extent to which the stimulus person and perceiver have similar values (Meltzer, Crockett & Rosenkrantz, 1966; Rosenkrantz & Crockett, 1965), the perceiver's affective involvement with the stimulus person (Rosenbach, Crockett & Wagner, 1973), whether the perceiver is oriented toward evaluating or understanding the stimulus person (Crockett, Mahood & Press, 1975; Press, Crockett & Delia, 1975; Steiner, 1954; Warr & Sims, 1965), whether the perceiver expects to transmit or receive information about the stimulus person (Cohen, 1961; Zajonc, 1960), whether or not the stimulus person is known to the perceiver (Koltuv, 1962), and the perceiver's desire to be certain of the validity of his/her impression (O'Neal, 1971; O'Neal & Mills, 1969). Finally, the effect of information inconsistent with the perceiver's construct system on impressions has been shown to vary with both the degree of disconfirmation or inconsistency, and the interrelatedness of the perceiver's construct system (Crockett & Meisel, 1974).

In overview, there is considerable evidence that the perceiver's cognitive characteristics have a significant influence on impressions of a stimulus person. Observed attributes and behavior appear to be

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subsumed under the perceiver's relatively unique construct system, and perceivers differ in the extent to which they attempt or are able to resolve inconsistent information and develop a unified, integrated impression of the stimulus person. However, once again the interactive influence of perceiver and stimulus factors is apparent, in that the effect of the cognitive characteristics of the perceiver appears to depend, at least in part, on stimulus person and situational factors. Further, once again the major influence of the perceiver's evaluation of the stimulus person is apparent in both the content and structure (i.e., complexity) of impressions.

Motivational Factors. Although recent theory and research on person perception and impression formation has tended to emphasize cognitive influences, initial attempts at accounting for individual differences focused on the perceiver's needs or motives (e.g., Chance & Meaders, 1960). In particular, needs or motives were frequently invoked to account for apparent distortions or biases in the perception of both objects and persons. Since the findings of these "new look" experiments have been previously reviewed on a number of occasions (Bruner, 1951, 1958; Bruner & Klein, 1960; Eriksen, 1964; Jenkin, 1957; Postman, 1953), we will restrict our discussion to the general influence of the perceiver's needs or motives on impression formation, and to the relationship between motivational and cognitive factors.

In the preceding section we reviewed evidence that perceivers are particularly attentive to those attributes and behaviors of the stimulus person which are related to the perceiver's personal construct system: particularly constructs which are central to self-evaluation. In this regard, it seems likely that at least one determinant of a

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perceiver's construct system is his/her needs or motives. Following Murray (1938), a need may be defined as a force which "organizes perception, apperception, intellection, conation, and action" (p. 124), and which manifests itself by "leading the organism to search for or to avoid encountering or, when encountered, to attend and respond to certain kinds of press" (i.e., perceived environmental demands; p. 124). Thus, a person's needs or motives define which environmental events will be rewarding and punishing, and therefore the attributes and behaviors of the stimulus person and characteristics of the situation of observation which are related to need-satisfaction should be particularly salient to perceivers.

Although the influence of motivational factors on apperception and fantasized situations has long been documented (e.g., Atkinson, 1958), the relationship between a perceiver's implicit personality theory and his/her needs or motives has only been sparsely researched. However, the little evidence available does suggest that personal needs are related to the cognitive appraisal systems for others. Cantor (1976) has recently presented evidence that perceivers' prepotent needs are incorporated into their personal construct systems. Similarly, at least one study (Carlson, 1961) found that subjects recalled more information about a stimulus person related to the perceiver's high intensity needs than to his/her moderate intensity needs when presented with a written description of the stimulus person and later asked to write their impressions. It should also be noted that in the latter study perceivers also recalled more information about the stimulus person which was related to his/her expected role-relationship to the perceiver (e.g., group leader vs. friend). Thus, the extant

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literature, while sparse, is consistent with the proposition that perceivers will be most attentive to stimuli which are related to need-satisfaction, and which relate to the potential rewards of their interpersonal relationship with the stimulus person, if any.

Aside from the relationship between needs or motives and salience of interpersonal constructs, there is extensive evidence that motivational factors may bias or distort perception of the qualities of a stimulus person. While the results of many of these studies have been criticized (e.g., Postman, 1953), and many recent investigations have focused on cognitive mechanisms which may account for perceptual bias (e.g., Hamilton, 1976; Nisbett, Borgida, Crandall & Reed, 1976; Slovic, Fishoff & Lichtenstein, 1976), there is nonetheless sufficient evidence to document the influence of motivation on person perception. In particular, as noted earlier, it would appear that individual differences in perception typically result from the joint influence of cognitive and motivational factors, with motivational effects being mediated by the individual's cognitive system.

At the most general level, perceptual distortions appear to be most likely when subjects are anxious or threatened. In the classic study in this area, Murray (1933) noted that young girls perceived human faces as more malicious and threatening after they had been frightened during a game of "murder." Murray coined the term "complementary projection" to refer to this attribution of causality to external agents. This finding has subsequently been replicated by other investigators (e.g., Feshbach & Feshbach, 1963; Feshbach & Singer, 1957). Further, it has also been noted that subjects may attribute affects and traits to others which they themselves possess

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when the target of projection is seen as similar to the perceiver. For example, Feshbach and Feshbach (1963) eported that frightened boys tended to perceive other boys as more fearful (i.e., "supplementary projection"), and to perceive adults as more fear-arousing or malicious (i.e., complementary projection) than boys who were not frightened. Thus, when threatened, perceivers appear to assume that others similar to themselves will react similarly to the same situation, and to attribute causality for their experiences to plausible external agents.

In addition to induced threat, similar findings have been noted for subjects with high levels of chronic or "trait" anxiety. Subjects high in anxiety have been found to recall more negative information about a stimulus person and to like the stimulus person less following interaction in which the stimulus person equally agreed and disagreed with the opinions of the perceiver (Johnson & Gormley, 1975). Similarly, compared to subjects who are relatively secure, insecure perceivers have been found to rate photos of stimulus persons more negatively (Bossom & Maslow, 1957), and to recall more negative than positive interpersonal events (Purcell, 1952). At a more general level, aroused perceivers have been shown to make more extreme evaluations of target characters (McArthur & Solomon, 1978), and there is some evidence that perceivers tend to recall information about the target character which is evaluatively-consistent with the affect aroused in the perceiver (Isen, Shaiken, Clark & Karp, 1978).

It was noted earlier that, in general, perceivers are particularly attentive to those aspects of a stimulus person which relate to their interpersonal assertiveness or dominance and their affiliativeness or

sociability. Considering the probable influence of motivation on perception, one would expect that subjects whose need-gratification is dependent upon these qualities of others should find them even more salient, and should demonstrate need-consistent biases or distortions in their perception of them in others. In general, the available evidence is consistent with these expectations.

In terms of increased salience of the affiliative or sociable qualities of others, one would expect a relationship to such needs as succorrance, affiliation, and approval. The need for affiliation has been defined as a concern with "establishing, maintaining, or restoring positive affective relationships with another person" (Heyns, Veroff & Atkinson, 1958, pp. 205-206). Similarly, the need for approval manifests itself in the need to gain acceptance, obtain dependency gratification, and achieve recognition and/or status by engaging in approval-seeking behaviors in particular situations through both positive self-presentation and denial of inadequacies (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964; Strickland, 1977), while the need for succorance is defined as a desire to have one's needs gratified by a sympathetic other, and to be supported, loved, and guided by a strong protector. Thus, gratification of these needs is dependent upon the affiliativeness or sociability of others.

A number of studies have consistently shown that individuals with a high need for affiliation are more attentive to the qualities of other people than low need-affiliation subjects (Atkinson & Walker 1956; Carlson, 1961; Taylor & Oberlander, 1969). However, need-affiliation has not been shown to be related to <u>differential</u> salience of affiliative or sociable behaviors in particular. On the other hand,

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individuals with a high need for approval have been shown to be particularly attentive to the approval-related, affiliative behaviors of others (Holstein, Goldstein & Bem, 1971; Johnson & Gormley, 1975), and to be more responsive to the social influence attempts of others (e.g., Marlowe & Crowne, 1961; Smith & Flenning, 1971) in an effort to gain approval.

Perceivers in general are also attentive to the attributes and behaviors of stimulus persons which reflect their assertiveness or interpersonal dominance. Considering motivational influences, one would expect that perceivers with a strong need for dominance (Murray, 1933) or personal power (McClelland, 1975) would find these qualities of others particularly salient. The need for power has been defined as a concern over one's impact; over establishing, maintaining or restoring prestiege or power (McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1973). This need is manifested behaviorally through strong actions (e.g., aggression), offers of help and advise, attempts at controlling the behavior of others, and a concern for reputation (McClelland, 1975; Veroff, 1958). Individuals with a strong need for personal power or dominance are also typically low in the need for affiliation (McClelland, 1975), prefer sports involving man-to-man competition (Boyatzis, 1973; Winter, 1973), are exploitive of others (e.g., Terhune, 1968), and tend to be highly assertive and emotional (McClelland, 1975; Winter, 1973). Thus in their involvements with others, power-motivated individuals should be particularly concerned with the person's assertiveness or interpersonal dominance. Further, the findings noted above also suggest that individuals with a strong need for personal power will be

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relatively unconcerned about the affiliativeness or sociability of the others with whom they come in contact.

Unfortunately, the relationship between need for personal power or dominance and perception of the qualities of others has not been frequently examined. A recent study by Assor (1978; Assor, Aronoff & Messe', 1978) has shown that perceivers differing in dominance or dependency motivation displayed general evaluative biases in their impressions, and differentially evaluated high and low status target characters. However, such factors as the differential salience of particular aspects of target behavior and attributes were not examined. On the other hand, a number of studies have found that authoritarians are more influenced by power cues in their impressions of others (e.g., Wilkins, 1962). Considering that authoritarians are described as very concerned with power and status (Adorno, et al., 1950), this finding provides some support for increased salience of dominance-related characteristics among individuals with power concerns. On the other hand, although authoritarians may be very concerned with power, they do not necessarily have a strong need for personal power or dominance (Adorno et al., 1950). Thus, the relationship between need for power and salience of power cues must await future research.

In addition to increasing the salience of need-related stimulus characteristics, we have also noted that motivational factors may bias or distort perception of need-related attributes and behaviors of stimulus persons. In particular, considering the tendency of perceivers to arrive at "wish-fulfilling" inferences about stimulus person dispositions (e.g., Berscheid et al., 1968, 1976), one would expect that

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these biases would generally be in the direction of increased expectations for need-gratification.

Although not concerned with an individual's chronic or "trait" needs, an early study by Pepitone (1950) is directly related to the present discussion, and is perhaps the best single empirical investigation of motivational effects on person perception. Pepitone investigated the perception of the power and approval of stimulus persons as a function of induced approval motivation. Two groups of high school students, differentially motivated (i.e., high vs. low) to win a free ticket to a popular university conference basketball game, were interviewed by a panel of three experimental confederates posing as university athletic coaches concerning their opinions on sports. Subjects were told that the coaches would award the free ticket to the student whose ideas and opinions they found most worthwhile. Thus, to the extent that the students desired to win a free ticket, they should have been motivated to win the approval of the panel members.

The attitudes and behaviors of the panel members were manipulated through prescribed scripts designed to express different intensities of power and approval. In two of the scripts the panel members had equal power to award the free ticket, but differed on their approval of the subject. In the third condition, the interviewers equally approved of the student but differed in relative power.

Following the interview, subjects were questioned a second time for the purpose of obtaining quantitative ratings of the perceived power and approval of each panel member. These interviews were conducted by a confederate believed by the subjects to be a member of the

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high school athletic staff, and a plausible cover story was utilized to avoid suspicion on the part of the subjects.

The results strongly supported the hypothesis that high motivation results in perceptual biases which are facilitative or beneficial with respect to the subjects goal-attainment or need-gratification. In addition, the pattern and degree of observed distortions across the stimulus conditions provides valuable insight into the dynamics of motivational effects in person perception. In the two conditions where power was equated and approval varied, both high and low motivation subjects perceived the panel members as more approving than indicated by objective analysis of the scripts. Additionally, although power was equated in these conditions, for both motivation groups power was perceived as varying directly with approval! Thus, not only were the judges perceived as more approving of the subject, but the most approving member was perceived as the most powerful. Similarly, in the condition where approval was equated and power varied, subjects in both motivation groups overestimated the approval of the most powerful panel member, although no distortion in perceived power was evident.

The degree of distortion was related to both the motivation of the subject and the subjective probability of goal attainment. Overall, the highly motivated subjects demonstrated more distortion than subjects in the low motivation group. Similarly, for both groups distortion was least in the most favorable condition (i.e., where all three panel members equally approved of the subject, but differed in relative power). However, the degree of distortion in the other two conditions was differentially distributed for the two motivation groups.

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In the most unfavorable condition (i.e., where one of the panel members clearly disapproved of the subject), highly motivated subjects showed the greatest distortion for any of the conditions, while subjects with low motivation showed only slightly more distortion than in the most favorabale condition. In contrast, in the condition where probability of success was moderate (i.e., the least approving panel member was neutral toward the subject), highly motivated subjects were slightly more accurate or "realistic" in their perception, while subjects in the low motivation group showed their largest distortion. Thus, for highly motivated subjects distortion varied inversely with the probability of need-gratification (i.e., goal attainment). On the other hand, subjects with low motivation showed the greatest distortion when there was a moderate probability of goal attainment.

These findings have a number of clear implications for hypotheses regarding motivational influences in impression formation. First, the findings support the logical hypothesis that the degree of distortion will vary directly with the level of motivation (cf. Berlew, 1961; Berlew & Williams, 1964; Hastorf, 1954; Sorrentino, 1977). However, the relative amount of distortion is apparently a complex function of the motivational level of the perceiver and the environmental constraints against need-satisfaction or goal attainment. At least within the constraints embodied in Pepitone's study, distortion related directly to constraint for highly motivated subjects, but related curvilinearly to constraint for subjects with low motivation. Pepitone (1950) suggests that subjects with relatively low motivation "give up" in the face of a low probability of success, but become more "hopeful" when conditions are moderately positive, therefore showing greater

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perceptual distortion. Finally, in the most beneficial condition neither motivation group shows perceptual distortion. In this regard, it should be noted that in this condition all three panel members clearly approved of the subject but varied in relative power. Given the unanimous approval, relative power is largely irrelevant, and perceivers have little reason to distort perception of these attributes.

The findings also suggest that perceptual distorition was greater for equated attributes than varied attributes, particularly for the highly motivated subjects. In this regard, it might be suggested that perceivers are better able to judge the relative than absolute level of a stimulus person's dispositional characteristics. As noted earlier, perception is dependent upon the perceiver's frame of reference, and it seems likely that varied attributes supply more information by allowing comparison among the stimulus persons. On the other hand, the level of equated attributes would appear inherently more ambiguous, since subjects have no baseline with which to compare observed cues. If this is indeed the case, the greater distortion for equated attributes may be seen as resulting from their greater ambiguity, just as the ambiguous stimuli utilized in "projective" tests allow for greater motivational influences.

Finally, it should be noted that although all perceptual distortion in this study was in the direction of increasing the probability of need-gratification or goal attainment, consideration of the stimulus conditions suggests that distortion is not necessarily facilitative or wish-fulfilling. For example, at least one panel member in each of the three conditions approved of the subject, and therefore provided the opportunity for wish-fulfilling distortion. Further, as Pepitone

(1950) noted: "Our induced motivation was clearly not of the strongest variety in the sense of competitive and defensive involvement" (p. 74). Consequently, it seems likely that under more severely restraining conditions and with more ego-involving motivation, negative distortions might occur.

A number of findings concerning individuals with a high need for approval are generally consistent with those noted above. Individuals high in the need for approval have been shown to "ward off" threatening stimuli (Jacobson & Ford, 1966), to be less likely to evaluate others negatively, even when the other threatens, provokes, frustrates, or aggresses against them (e.g., Conn & Crowne, 1964; Fishman, 1965; Palmer & Altrocchi, 1967), and to recall more agreements than disagreements following interaction with a confederate who equally agreed and disagreed with their opinions (Johnson & Gormley, 1975). Similarly, individuals with a high need for approval have been shown to prefer observing to participating in a group discussion when given the choice and the discussion involves a risk of negative evaluation (Efran & Boylin, 1967), and are more attracted to others seen as having similar values (Ettinger, Nowicki & Nelson, 1970; Nowicki, 1971; Posavac, 1971) and who therefore are more likely to approve of them. Finally, Dies (1970) had pairs of subjects work on a cooperative task in which they subsequently failed. Subjects with a strong need for approval were more likely than low need-approval subjects to deny personal indadequacy by attributing their failure to the situation or their partner. However, this attribution to external agents only occurred within the limits of a general tendency to seek approval by expressing attitudes complementary of their partner.

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Although these findings consistently demonstrate a "positivity bias" in the perception of others by individuals with a strong need for approval, there is some evidence that negative biases may occur under some conditions. Both Hewitt and Goldman (1974) and Shrauger and Jones (1968) have reported that, compared to low need-approval subjects, those with a strong need for approval had more positive impressions of a stimulus person who evaluated them positively, and more negative impressions of an individual who evaluated them unfavorably. Finally, there is some evidence of sex differences as well. Holstein, Goldstein, and Bem (1971) exposed subjects to a stimulus person who either did or did not display positive expressive behaviors (e.g., smiling, eye contact). They found that while males high in need-approval liked the stimulus person more than low need-approval males regardless of expressive behavior, females high in need-approval liked the stimulus person significantly less when positive expressive behavior was displayed.

As noted earlier, there are few studies in the published literature which have examined the influence of an individual's need for power or dominance on perception of others. However, a number of studies have examined the relationship between trait-dominance, person perception, and/or attraction. Unfortunately, the results of these studies are equivocal. As would be expected, some studies found that dominant perceivers saw others as more submissive than they were seen by most people (e.g., Leary, 1957; Naboisek, 1953). Conversely, Altrocchi (1957) had subjects view a movie of four confederates differing in dominance and found no relationship between the dominance of the perceiver and dominance attributed to the

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confederates. On the other hand, a similar study (Smelser, 1961) using the same instruments but in which the perceiver and confererate directly interacted found that dominant perceivers saw the confererate as submissive and vice versa. Finally, although one would expect that individuals with a strong need for dominance would evaluate a submissive stimulus person more positively than a dominant one, Palmer and Byrne (1970) found that dominant stimulus persons were more liked than submissive ones regardless of the perceiver's dominance.

The ambiguity in these findings may relate to a number of factors. First, it should be noted that subjects in these studies were defined as high or low in dominance on the basis of their scores on self-report personality inventories. Although this indicates that they see themselves as relatively assertive in their behavior, they may not have a strong need for personal power (i.e., have to dominate others in order to maintain their self-esteem). Further, as McClelland (1975) has noted, possessing a strong need for personal power is typically considered to be socially undesirable. Hence, individuals may be less likely to report engaging in these behaviors. Finally, it seems likely that motivational effects will only be apparent when the perceiver's outcomes are dependent upon the stimulus person or situation (i.e., the situation is "ego-involving"). Consistent with this hypothesis, motivational effects were noted in those studies in which the perceiver and stimulus person interacted (e.g., Pepitone, 1950; Smelser, 1961), but were not apparent in those using simulation designs (e.g., Altrocchi, 1957).

In overview, the findings discussed above suggest that a perceiver's needs or motives influence the salience of particular qualities

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of stimulus persons. That is, perceivers appear to be particularly attentive to the attributes and behaviors of stimulus persons which are related to their prepotent needs. In addition, it is evident that a perceiver's needs or motives may distort perception of need-related characteristics of stimulus persons. This distortion is greatest when individuals are highly motivated, and are outcome dependent upon the stimulus person or otherwise ego-involved in the perceptual situation. Although the extant literature suggests that this distortion is typically wish-fulfilling (i.e., facilitative of need-gratification), the degree of distortion varies jointly with the strength of the perceiver's needs and the probability of need-frustration, and it seems likely that under conditions where frustration is relatively certain "negative" distortion may result. Thus, one would expect that perceivers' impressions would be organized around need-related constructs, and that these constructs would become more central to impressions as the probability of need-gratification becomes more doubtful. Further, considering the evidence that perceptual rigidity and closure increase directly with anxiety or perceived threat (Moffitt & Stagner, 1956), one might also expect that complexity would decrease and the evaluative dimension become central in impressions as the characteristics of the stimulus person and/or situation are perceived as more threatening to the perceiver's needs.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In the preceding pages a considerable body of the extant literature on person perception was reviewed. At this point, it would seem worthwhile to briefly discuss some of the major conclusions of this review, and to highlight the major problems in the extant literature.

It is immediately apparent that the research on various aspects of person perception has been plagued by persistent interactions which make integration difficult (Schneider, 1973; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969). Researchers generally agree that three factors are particularly important in accounting for person perception: the characteristics of the target or stimulus person, the characteristics of the perceiver, and the nature of the situation in which stimulus information is obtained (Bieri et al., 1966; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969). However, while considerable research has been conducted on each of these individual factors, we have shown how the effect of each often depends upon the nature of the other factors. Thus, the effect of characteristics of the target person is influenced by the characteristics of the perceiver and/or situational factors; situational influences differ as a function of target and perceiver characteristics; and the characteristics of the perceiver typically influence perception of only certain characteristics of target persons, and/or depend upon certain situational parameters. In particular, despite large and consistent individual differences in the impressions formed of a given target character, leading many researchers to conclude that the perceiver has a much greater influence on person perception than stimulus factors, it has been relatively difficult to

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relate individual differences in impressions to specific personality factors.

One particular problem in this regard is that research methods have generally failed to adequately represent the complexity of the person perception process (Jackson & Messick, 1963; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964). Previous investigations have tended to rely primarily on written descriptions of target characters; have not generally made the characteristics of the target character(s) relevant to perceivers (through actual or expected interaction, or some other means of establishing outcome dependency); have only assessed one specific aspect of impressions, rather than total impressions (i.e., content, valence, strength, and complexity); and/or have focused on only one of the three influential factors, rather than combinations of target, perceiver and situational variables. Yet, the preceding review indicates that in order to account for final impressions, it is often necessary to consider the joint influences of the characteristics of the perceiver, target attributes and behavior, and the circumstances surrounding processing of stimulus information (i.e., situational factors). Further, if one wishes to demonstrate personality influences, it would seem necessary to coordinate the selection of personality variables with the manipulations of target and situational factors. That is, one needs to focus on "...what kinds of people describing what kinds of other people in what situations" (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964, p. 301).

The primary purpose of the present research was to attempt to develop a model of person perception/impression formation which takes into account the joint, interactive influences of perceiver, target and situational factors, and to empirically evaluate the utility of the

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model through a specific operationalization where aspects of perceivers' motivational orientations are coordinated to manipulations of specific target characteristics and situational factors.

A Preliminary Model of Impression Formation Under Conditions of Outcome Dependency

Based on the preceding review and analysis, we take as our major thesis the proposition that:

> Impression formation is a complex function of the joint influences of the characteristics of the target person, personality of the perceiver, and the circumstances or situation under which information about the target person is processed.

In the remainder of this section, a model specifying the nature of these interactive effects will be discussed, and a set of specific hypotheses will be presented focusing on a particular combination of perceiver personality factors, target characteristics, and situational variables.

An "impression" may be generally defined as an organized set of attributions and expectations about another person's motives, goals, traits of character, and behavioral dispositions (cf. Crockett, 1977). For analytical purposes, four major aspects of impressions may be distinguished: (1) valence, or evaluative components; (2) structure, or complexity; (3) content, or specific qualities; and (4) strength, or certainty. While each of these aspects are interrelated in forming a coherent picture of an individual, they may be affected individually by combinations of perceiver, target and situational factors.

The valence of an impression concerns the overall desirability of the target qualities mentioned by the perceiver or, more specifically, the extent to which positively-evaluated and negatively-evaluated

qualities are attributed to the target person. In addition, this aspect of impressions may be assessed through global measures of such factors as the extent to which the perceiver likes the target. As noted previously, perceivers generally evidence evaluative consistency in their impressions. Consequently, one would expect a positive correlation between overall indices such as liking for the target, and indices based on the evaluative implications of the attributed qualities. However, the social desirability of a particular quality may not reflect the individual perceiver's evaluation of the quality. Consequently, a global measure such as liking for the target should provide a more adequate measure of valence.

The content of an impression refers to the particular qualities or characteristics which are attributed to the target person, which are often referred to as "constructs" (Kelly, 1955). This aspect of impressions includes both the specific attributes and behaviors of the target person mentioned by the perceiver, if any, as well as more inferential qualities such as personality traits, motives, goals, and expectations about the target's future behavior.

Strength of an impression refers to the perceiver's subjective certainty in the particular inferences and attributions made. Particularly where impressions are based on observation of target behavior, the perceiver is likely to be ambiguous about certain qualities of the target, and consequently may not place a great deal of confidence in his/her judgments about certain attributes. In addition, defensive processes may be most apparent in measures of confidence, where perceivers may attempt to reduce anxiety through denial or repression of target qualities which are unpleasant to the perceiver.

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Finally, impressions may be distinguished structurally in terms of two aspects of complexity: differentiation and integration (Crockett et al., 1975). Differentiation refers to the number of different constructs included in the impression of "parts of the whole" (Lewin, 1951), as well as the amount of discrimination displayed in judgments. This latter aspect of differentiation is often referred to as "articulation." To the extent that a perceiver makes fine distinctions along a particular dimension of judgment, his impression is well articulated. On the other hand, to the extent that the perceiver focuses on a large number of different or independent qualities, the impression is differentiated (cf. Scott, 1963, 1969, 1974). Finally, integration refers to the extent to which the individual constructs are systematically related to one another. The major focus of complexity measures in impression formation research is on the process through which perceivers move from observed stimuli to an organized, coherent cognitive representation of the target character (cf. Schneider, 1977).

In describing the model, it is useful to begin by considering the "typical" person perception/impression formation research situation. Subjects are recruited from undergraduate psychology courses and are participating for the purpose of fulfilling a course requirement or receiving extra course credit. Subjects are brought together in small groups and are told that the research is concerned with, for example, "how people form impressions and the things they take into consideration in doing so" (Jaccard & Fishbein, 1975, p. 1034). They are then presented with a brief written description or list of traits supposedly representative of the stimulus person. Less frequently, they may be shown a film or videotape of the stimulus person interacting in

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some context or, rarely, observe the stimulus person's behavior during face-to-face interaction. After exposure to the stimulus materials, the subjects are asked to rate the stimulus person on a number of bipolar trait scales or an adjective checklist, and/or give an overall evaluation of the stimulus person. These ratings are then analysed in terms of the particular independent variables of interest to the experimenter: typically a characteristic of the stimulus person or subject (rarely both), or sometimes a situational factor.

Although there are a number of characteristics of this abstracted situation which might be discussed, we will comment on the few which appear most relevant to our present purposes. Perhaps most significantly, it should be noted that the subjects are only minimally involved with the "stimulus person." That is, their sole purpose in observing the stimuli is to fulfill the requirements of the research. Of course, where the "stimulus person" is merely represented by an abstract collection of traits or a brief written description there is no real "person" at all. However, even where subjects view an actual stimulus person, they typically have never seen the person before and never expect to see him/her again. Consequently, it is doubtful whether subjects have any personal interest in observing the person. As Berscheid et al (1976) have shown, subjects under these conditions are less attentive to the stimulus person, recall less information about him/her, and make fewer attributions about his/her dispositional characheristics.

We have also noted earlier that the perceiver's evaluation of the stimulus person should have less of an influence on impressions under these minimal-involvement conditions (Jones & Thibaut, 1959).

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Information processing under these circumstances is considered to be a straightforward, linear affair. The perceiver takes in the available information about the stimulus person, and this information is processed through his/her conceptual system and directly elicits one or more of the perceiver's personal constructs. These constructs are attributed to the stimulus person and, on the basis of semantic and logical relations and expectations based on past experience, other constructs are inferred and attributed to the person. This entire set of constructs and associated expectations and evaluations constitutes the perceiver's impression of the stimulus person.

Since the perceiver is not personally involved with the stimulus person, motivational and other personality factors are not seen as having a particularly important influence on the process (except insofar as they determine the specific constructs included in the perceiver's implicit theory of personality). Consequently, we would not expect any "distortion," facilitative or otherwise, of the perceived attributes. Further, since the perceiver's outcomes are not at all dependent upon the qualities of the stimulus person, the valence of the impression should be predictable purely from cognitive considerations: notably the social desirability or undesirability of the elicited constructs and presented traits. Individual differences in the content and structure of impressions should be primarily related to differences in the subjects' personal construct systems and global cognitive complexity. However, given the low level of involvement and the nature of the stimulus materials, one would generally expect there to be greater consistency in impressions across subjects than where perceivers are presented with more complex stimuli and/or are outcome

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dependent upon the stimulus person. In particular, one would not expect need-relevant constructs to dominate the impression.

It should also be noted that "cue selection" is eliminated as a component of the impression formation process here. In these simulation designs, where subjects are presented with trait lists or written behavioral descriptions, the stimuli have "artifically" been selected and made salient. Consequently, there is little opportunity for individual differences in cue salience to be observed. Further, given the minimal complexity of the information, one would also expect stereotypic attributions to be relatively prevalent. In short, these conditions only minimally allow subjects' information selection and processing mechanisms to operate.

Although research of this type yields valuable information about such factors as the structure of cognitive systems for processing information about people, how new information is inferred from observed stimuli, and the resolution of contradictory information and organization of the final impression, it does not tell us a great deal about how people naturally go about forming impressions of other people. Particularly where stimulus persons are represented by trait lists or written descriptions and/or where "impressions" consist solely of ratings on bipolar trait scales or adjective checklists, perceivers are forced to conform to the "construct system" of the experimenter rather than exercise their own cognitive structures. Further, as Berschied et al. (1976) have noted, such studies have by-and-large ignored the important question of <u>when</u> the attribution process will be activated, and have concentrated instead on <u>how</u> the process unfolds once initiated. Even in such real-life analogs to minimal-information

designs as newspaper accounts and magazine articles, perceivers are at least intrinsically motivated to acquire information about the other person, in that they freely elect to read the description.

Aside from these effects on the manner in which information is processed, the methodology through which impressions are typically assessed in these minimal-information studies also probably restricts the opportunity for observing personality influences. In the vast majority of previous studies, impressions have been assessed only through ratings on adjective scales. Thus, only content aspects of impressions have been measured. Further, the particular adjectives on which the target character is rated have generally been selected by the experimenter, without concern for their relevance to the individual perceivers. As has been previously noted, such a procedure has a number of implications for the "quality" of information obtained. Subjects have been shown to make less extreme, and hence less strong ratings on experimenter-selected as opposed to self-selected adjective scales (Koltuv, 1962). In addition, it is difficult to assess the salience of particular target qualities to perceivers through this technique, since subjects are typically required to rate the target on all of the adjective scales in a standard order. As Schneider (1977) has noted, trait ratings are unsuited to assessing many aspects of impressions, and if one wishes to examine the salience or importance of particular target qualities to perceivers, as well as the coherence and organization of impressions, a methodology must be utilized which grants the perceiver maximum freedom in terms of the selection and organization of the particular attributes included in the impression: i.e., a "free-response" methodology.

From a Brunswikian-Heiderian point of view, perception is in the service of controlling the environment. That is, perceptual acts function to stabilize and make predictable the phenomenal world. It follows, then, that perceivers should be most likely to attend to and attempt to analyse persons in the social environment who represent potential control problems. This assumption is further supported by the apparent similarity between factors influencing "controlability" and those affecting attentional processes. Generally, attention is seen as being governed by factors related to the novelty and importance of the stimulus (Berscheid et al., 1976; Lanzetta, 1971). It seems reasonable to assume that, generally, novel or unfamiliar people represent a greater potential control problem than familiar, and hence predictable, others. Further, the degree of importance of a stimulus person should increase with his/her potential for controlling the perceiver's rewards and punishments. Thus, to the extent that a perceiver is outcome-dependent upon another person, the importance of that person as a social stimulus should increase (Berscheid et al., 1976; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959).

As noted earlier, outcome dependency requires some degree of involvement between individuals. In particular, it was suggested that perceivers are most likely to initiate an attributional analysis of individuals with whom they interact, or at least expect to interact with in some role in the future. Although it seems likely that perceivers most often form impressions of others during face-to-face interaction, it is difficult to analyse the person perception process under these circumstances due to the confounding influence of the perceiver as a social stimulus. Consequently, we will restrict our

discussion to situations in which the perceiver is not directly interacting with the stimulus person during the period of initial impression formation, but rather expects to interact with him/her at some later time.

A preliminary model of the impression formation process under conditions of outcome dependency is presented in Figure 1. In contrast to the simple, linear process discussed above, the present model is configural and dynamic. Given the greater complexity of the stimulus factors (i.e., target person and situation), individual differences in information selection and processing should be more apparent, and the involvement between the stimulus person and perceiver should greatly increase the influence of motivational factors. Further, in contrast to the previous model, impression formation is seen as occurring through an active attempt to apply organizing and interpretative schemata to the available stimuli. That is, the initial stimuli and corresponding elicited constructs are seen as being organized around a central interpretative schema (cf. Crockett, 1977; Neisser, 1975). Once this schema is invoked, related qualities are attributed to the person, and new information about the person is organized and interpreted consistent with the schema; at least to the extent that this is possible. In short, the perceiver has a much more active role in the impression formation process.

Hypotheses

In order to explicate this preliminary model and assess its validity, it is necessary to operationalize it in terms of specific personality factors, target characteristics, and situational factors. Since previous research has indicated that perceivers in general are

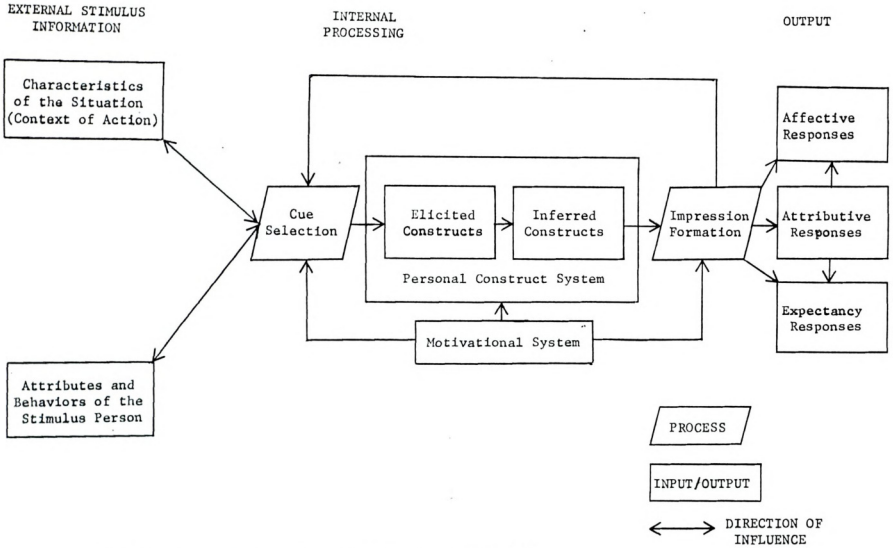

Figure 1. Schematic representation of person perception under conditions of outcome dependency.

especially concerned with the assertiveness and affiliativeness of others, the hypotheses will be related to these aspects of target behavior. Further, it has been previously noted that these target qualities should be particularly important to perceivers with interpersonal motivational orientations related to these behavioral dimensions. Specifically, perceivers with a strong need for Succorance should be especially concerned with the affiliativeness of interpersonal "warmth" of individuals with whom they expect to interact, while Dominance-motivated perceivers should find the assertiveness of a target character particularly salient. Finally, in terms of situational factors, the dimension of cooperation vs. competition should be relevant to these target and perceiver characteristics. That is, the normative structure governing interpersonal behavior in cooperative situations would seem to promote affiliative behavior, while assertive behavior would be congruent with the normative structure governing interaction under competitive conditions. Thus, the hypotheses will be related to perceivers who are either Dominance-motivated or Succorance-motivated, observing target characters who vary in their assertiveness (i.e., Assertive vs. Submissive) and affiliativeness (i.e., Affiliative vs. Disaffiliative), under expectations of interacting with these target persons under either cooperative or competitive conditions.

The specific hypotheses concerning impression formation under conditions of outcome dependency are based on considerations regarding the perceiver's expectations for need-gratification or goal attainment during the interaction with the target character (cf. Pepitone, 1950). Assuming that individuals desire positive, as opposed to negative, outcomes from their interpersonal relationships

(cf. Homans, 1950; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959), a perceiver's impression of a given target person should vary according to his expectations about whether or not the interaction will be rewarding. Further, as noted above, the potential rewards in any given interaction are defined by both the perceiver's motives and the specific goals of the interaction. Expected outcomes should therefore vary as a function of the particular combination of perceiver motivation, target characteristics, and situational factors.

Since individuals should generally be most concerned with those aspects of the target character which are related to satisfaction of their personal motivation, and should prefer interactions which are congruent with their desired role relationships:

1. In their impressions of a target character, perceivers will focus on those qualities of the target which are most relevant to gratification of their personal motives.

    a. Dominance-motivated perceivers will focus on the assertive qualities of the target character.
    b. Succorance-motivated perceivers will focus on the affiliative qualities of the target character.

2. Individuals will prefer to interact under conditions which are congruent with their personal motives.

    a. Dominance-motivated perceivers will prefer competitive interactions to cooperative interactions.
    b. Succorance-motivated perceivers will prefer cooperative interactions to competitive interactions.

In the review of the literature, evidence was presented that an individual's personal construct system is organized around need-related constructs, and that perceivers will recall more information about the qualities of a stimulus person which are related to personal needs (e.g., Cantor, 1976; Carlson, 1961). Consequently, Dominance-motivated perceivers should focus primarily on the assertiveness of individuals

upon whom they are outcome dependent, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should focus on the target's affiliative qualities. It should be noted that this hypothesis does not predict that a given target character will necessarily be seen as more or less assertive or affiliative by Dominance-motivated and Succorance-motivated perceivers, but only that these perceivers will focus on motive-relevant qualities, regardless of the particular level of assertiveness or affiliativeness manifested in the target's behavior. Given the greater salience of motive-relevant target qualities, one might also expect that perceivers will be more confident in their judgments about motive-relevant than irrelevant target qualities.

In addition to being primarily concerned with the qualities of the target character which have implications for whether or not their motives will be gratified in their interaction, perceivers should be primarily concerned with situational factors insofar as these also have implications for motive-gratification. At the most general level, perceivers should generally prefer interactions which promote interpersonal relationships congruent with their motivational preferences. Dominance-motivated perceivers, whose basic desire is to assert themselves and to structure and control their interpersonal relationships should therefore prefer competitive interactions, where the social norms promote individual assertiveness and an authoritarian or autocratic style of interaction. Succorance-motivated perceivers, being primarily concerned with obtaining consideration, friendliness and support from others, should prefer cooperative interactions, since the normative structure here promotes affiliative behavior and interdependency among

participants. Of course, the characteristics of the target person are also relevant here, but in general these effects should obtain.

Aside from these general influences, the content, valence, strength and complexity of impressions should vary in a predictable manner as a function of the particular combination of motivational orientation, target characteristics, and situational factors. In these more specific hypotheses, prediction of impressions rests on expectations regarding the extent to which the interaction with the target character threatens the perceiver (i.e., the extent to which the perceiver expects to incur negative outcomes). As the perceiver's initial impression indicates a low probability of obtaining motive-gratifying interaction outcomes, anxiety should increase. Consequently, perceivers should become more focused on motive-relevant target qualities, and articulation and differentiation should decrease. Further, defensive processes should become apparent, and distortion of the target's perceived qualities should increase.

Under the most favorable conditions, the perceived attributes and behaviors of the target person and the characteristics of the interaction situation are clearly facilitative of the perceiver's motive-gratification. For Succorance-motivated perceivers, the affiliative qualities of the target character should be the major determinant of expected outcomes, with target assertiveness and situational factors being secondary considerations. Given their desire to be nurtured by a strong protector, Succorance-motivated perceivers should most prefer a cooperative interaction with an Assertive-Affiliative target character, followed by a cooperative interaction with a Submissive-Affiliative character. Among

Dominance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, expected outcomes should primarily be a function of the assertiveness of the target, with affiliativeness of the target character and situational characteristics being secondary considerations. These perceivers should most prefer a competitive interaction with a Submissive target character. Thus, for each motive group, the most favorable condition obtains where the characteristics of the target character and the normative structure governing their interaction are congruent with motive-gratifying outcomes.

Since initial impressions are favorabe, one would expect that perceivers would evaluate the target positively, expect their interaction to be pleasant and satisfying and, following Pepitone's (1950) analysis, there would be minimal, if any, distortion of target characteristics in the impressions. Further, in subsequent information processing, the perceiver should be less concerned with motive-relevant target qualities, and hence process relatively more information about the target character. Under the most favorable conditions, then, impressions should be least focused on motive-relevant target qualities, show maximum articulation and differentiation, have a positive valence, and evidence minimal distortion. Further, since there is no need for defensive processes, perceivers should be very confident in their impressions of the target character.

As one moves from favorable to moderately unfavorable or ambiguous conditions, motive-related biases in impressions should increase. Under these conditions, the observed qualities of the target character and/or characteristics of the interaction situation are not clearly favorable. Insofar as there is some probability of unpleasant outcomes,

the expected interaction should be somewhat threatening to the perceiver. Consequently, complexity should decrease. Further, the perceiver, being ambiguous about interaction outcomes, should continue to be particularly concerned with the target's motive-relevant qualities, and impressions should consequently be more focused on these qualities of the target than under favorable conditions. However, given the prevalence of wish-fulfilling distortions, one would also expect that perceivers would still evaluate the target character positively, and that they would distort their impressions of the target in a favorable or "positive" direction.

A cooperative interaction with a Submissive-Disaffiliative target character, and a competitive interaction with either a Submissive-Affiliative or Assertive-Affiliative character should be moderately threatening to Succorance-motivated perceivers. However, of the latter two target characters, the competitive interaction with the Assertive-Affiliative character should be relatively more threatening, since the interaction norms promote assertiveness but not affiliativeness. For Dominance-motivated perceivers, cooperative interactions with the Assertive-Affiliative character or Submissive-Disaffiliative character, and competitive interactions with the Assertive-Affiliative character should be moderately threatening. Although the Submissive-Disaffiliative character is not likely to actively contest the assertiveness of the Dominance-motivated perceiver, this character's disaffiliative nature indicates that passive resistence is likely, and hence cooperation with this character would be somewhat unpleasant. On the other hand, while the Assertive-Affiliative character is clearly capable of controlling any interaction, his affiliativeness indicates that this

target is not autocratic or authoritarian, and hence may allow the Dominance-motivated perceiver to direct the interaction when the normative structure is conducive. Thus, cooperation with this character should only be moderately threatening to these perceivers.

Finally, under certain conditions the perceiver's impression may indicate that there is an extremely low probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes. In particular, where both the characteristics of the target and the normative structure governing the expected interaction conflict with the perceiver's preferred style of interpersonal relationships, perceivers should be highly anxious and threatened by the expected interaction. Under these conditions, impressions should have a negative valence, complexity should be at a minimum, and motive-relevant target qualities should dominate the impression. This is, anxiety should lead the perceiver to narrow his focus of attention, and to continue to search for information about the target which could serve to alleviate anxiety. Thus, complexity reduces and attention is focused almost exclusively on motive-relevant qualities. Further, although there is no empirical support for this contention, distortion of the target's qualities should be at a maximum but, in contrast to the moderately threatening conditions, it is expected to be in a "negative" direction. Since there is little ambiguity in these highly aversive conditions, perceivers may "give up" attempting to distort their impressions in a "wish-fulfilling" direction, and instead actually accentuate the negative characteristics of the target.

For Dominance-motivated and Succorance-motivated perceivers, either a cooperative or a competitive interaction with an

Assertive-Disaffiliative target character should be highly threatening. However, for both, the competitive interaction should be somewhat more threatening than the cooperative condition, since the interaction norms would reinforce the target's assertive and unfriendly dispositional characteristics.

A summary of the expected positivity of outcomes for interactions with the various target characters for both motive groups is presented in Figure 2. As may be seen, the perceivers should differ most under cooperative conditions, but show a similar pattern of responses to the target characters under competitive conditions. Both groups should expect interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character to be least positive under both cooperative and competitive conditions. Under cooperative conditions, Succorance-motivated perceivers should most prefer interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character, followed by the Submissive-Affiliative character. Dominance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, should prefer a cooperative interaction with the Submissive-Affiliative character to one with the Assertive-Affiliative character. Under competitive conditions, both groups should most prefer interacting with the Submissive-Affiliative character. However, Dominance-motivated perceivers should prefer the Submissive-Disaffiliative character to the Assertive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should find competing with either of these characters equally aversive. Thus:

3. The content, valence, strength, and complexity of perceivers impressions will vary with the perceiver's expectations about obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes from his interaction with the target character.

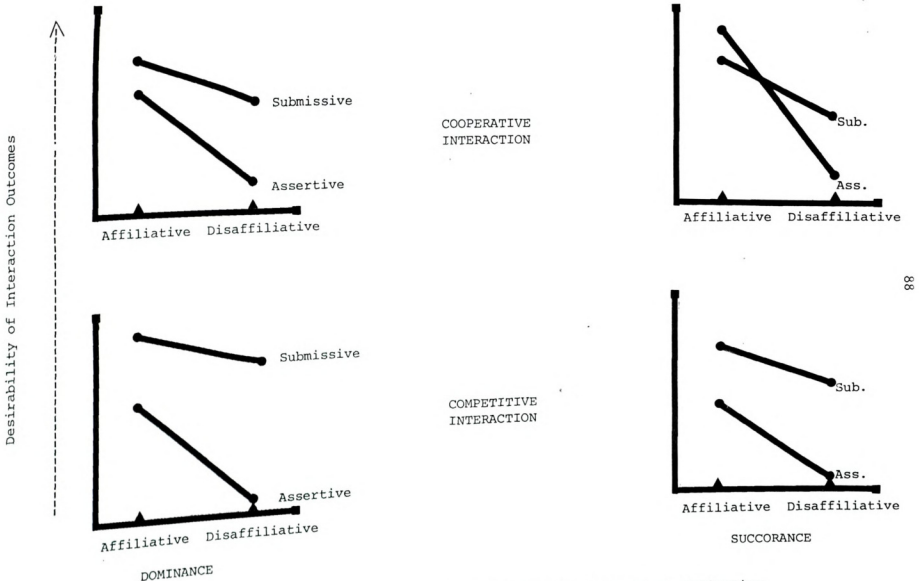

Figure 2. Expected desirability of interaction outcomes as a function of perceiver motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

4. Distortion of the characteristics of the target characters will vary as a function of the perceiver's expectations about obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes from this interaction with the target character.

   a. Under highly facilitative conditions, impressions will be least focused on motive-relevant target qualities, will be most complex, will have a positive valence, and distortion will be minimal.
   b. Under moderately threatening conditions, impressions will increase in their focus on motive-relevant qualities, will decrease in complexity, will have a positive valence, and distortion will be in a positive or "wish-fulfilling" direction.
   c. Under highly threatening conditions, impressions will be most focused on motive-relevant target qualities, will be least complex, will have a negative valence, and distortion will be at a maximum, but in a negative direction.

Finally, there are two general expectations that do not directly concern personality influences, but which relate to the effects of target characteristics per se on impressions.

5. Affiliative target characters will be evaluated more positively than Disaffiliative target characters.

6. The characteristics of the target character will have the largest effect on overall impressions. That is, perceivers' impressions will generally be "reality-oriented" in the sense that they will accurately reflect the target's level of assertiveness and affiliativeness.

METHOD

Overview

According to the proposed model of the impression formation process, a number of conditions are required if one desires to examine personality influences on person perception. Specifically, it has been argued that perceivers must first be outcome dependent upon the target person if their idiosyncratic concerns are to influence processing of information about the target's dispositional characteristics. That is, there must be some involvement between perceiver and target person for the target's personal qualities to be relevant to the perceiver. Second, it seems likely that perceivers will be most interested in those qualities of the target character which are related to their personal goals or desires. Thus, the behavior of the target person must be relevant to the perceiver's interpersonal needs or motives, and/or the goals of the specific relationship between perceiver and target person.

Several methodological issues also relate to assessment of personality influences in person perception. Given that the influence of the perceiver's personality may be most apparent in the selection and/or salience of particular cues (i.e., some subset of the target person's behavior) and the initial inferences based on these behaviors, written summaries of target behavior drastically limit the opportunity for personality influences to affect processing of stimulus information. Further, since the target person's behavior would be affected by that of the perceiver in any face-to-face interaction, the perceiver cannot be an active participant in the situation in which the target person's

behavior is observed. Consequently, an experimental situation is required where perceivers observe the actual behavior of a target person, but where the target's behavior is not affected by the confounding influence of the perceiver as a social stimulus.

In order to meet these requirements, an experimental situation was created in which perceivers who differed in their interpersonal motives observed a videotaped interaction between two male undergraduates. These undergraduates were actually experimental confederates whose videotape behavior was manipulated along behavioral dimensions conceptually related to the motivational orientations of the perceivers. Conditions of outcome dependency were obtained through leading perceivers to believe that they would be interacting with one of the confederates (i.e., the "target person") at a later time, under either cooperative or competitive conditions. Perceivers were either Dominance or Succorance motivated, and the target's behavior was manipulated along the motive-relevant dimensions of assertiveness and affiliativeness. Thus, by combining these characteristics, Dominance-motivated and Succorance-motivated perceivers observed either an Assertive-Affiliative, Assertive-Disaffiliative, Submissive-Affiliative, or Submissive-Disaffiliative character, whom they expected to either cooperate with or compete against in the near future. Following observation of the target's behavior, the perceiver's impression of the target in terms of content, strength or "certainty," complexity, and valence was assessed. Both free-response and structured (i.e., ratings on bipolar trait scales) measures of impressions were obtained.

Subjects

As noted previously, one major problem in attempting to demonstrate the influence of personality on impression formation is the difficulty in assessment of the focal personality variables. In the present research, attention was focused on two general motivational orientations: the need for interpersonal Dominance, and the need for interpersonal Succorance. Initially, it was planned to utilize a multiple-criterion assessment strategy. Subjects would be administered a number of measures of each of these two motives, and only those subjects whose responses were consistently indictative of either Dominance or Succorance motivation would be selected for the impression formation task. Unfortunately, time restrictions and limitations on the number of available subjects necessitated a modification of this procedure. Although subjects were administered a battery of measures related to Dominance and Succorance, selection of subjects for the impression formation task was based on only the two measures felt, a priori, to be most directly related to the focal needs. The remaining personality measures were then utilized in later stages of the research to examine in more detail the influence of personality on impression formation.

Selection Instruments. Subjects were administered the following standardized measures as part of the initial selection battery:

(1) The Dominance scale of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI; Gough, 1956). This 46-item true-false scale was developed to measure the need to control one's environment through influencing or directing the behavior of others by means of suggestion, seduction, persuasion, or command (Murray, 1938). The scales of the CPI were derived on both rational and empirical grounds, and the inventory contains many items from the MMPI. There is considerable evidence supporting the validity of these scales (Megargee, 1972). Test-retest

reliabilities for the Dominance scale as reported in the CPI manual (Gough, 1957) range from .64 to .84 over periods up to a year.

(2) Machiavellianism (Mach IV; Christie, 1968). This measure was developed to assess a person's general strategy for dealing with others, particularly the degree to which she/he feels other people are manipulable in interpersonal encounters. Items were initially selected from the writings of Machiavelli (1975), and the 20 items most highly associated with total scores during pretesting were retained in the Mach IV scale. The items are counterbalanced and presented in a standard 5-category Likert format (strongly agree to strongly disagree). The average item-total correlation is reported as .38, with a split-half reliability of .79. It should also be noted that none of the research evidence (Christie, 1968) substantiates the view that individuals who score high on this measure are particularly hostile, vicious or vindictive. Rather, the scale appears to tap a tendency to remain detached from others and to be more manipulative of others in interpersonal situations.

(3) The Succorance scale of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS; Edwards, 1959). This scale was developed to measure the desire to have one's needs gratified by others, and to be supported, loved, nursed, protected and guided by them (Murray, 1938). The 28 items are presented in a counterbalanced, forced-choice format. Each choice contrasts an item indicative of the need for succorance with one indicative of some other need (e.g., dominance, affiliation, etc.).

(4) The Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) was utilized as a measure of the need for Approval. The scale was developed to assess the tendency to describe oneself in favorable, socially desirable terms in order to achieve the approval of others. It consists of 33 counterbalanced items presented in a true-false format. The authors report considerable experimental and correlational data supporting the validity of the measure. The internal consistency (Kuder-Richardson 20) is reported as .88, with a test-retest reliability also of .88 over a one-month interval.

(5) The Self-Monitoring scale (Snyder, 1974). This scale was developed to assess the tendency to focus on external, environmental cues as determinants of one's behavior. The 25 counterbalanced items are presented in a true-false format. Considerable evidence supporting the validity of the measure is presented in Snyder (1974) and Snyder and Monson (1975).

(6) The Sentence Completion Test (Aronoff, 1972). This instrument was designed to assess motivational tendencies initially proposed by Maslow (1943, 1970). The instrument consists of 40 sentence stems or fragments chosen to stimulate

individuals to express their motivational orientation in their completions. The 40 completed sentences are scored for the following categories and subcategories. Specific examples of completions of each type may be found in Aronoff (1972).

Safety 1a: Insecurity, Mistrust, Withdrawal: Responses in this subcategory indicate uncertainty in one's ability to deal effectively with social relationships, situational events or personal feelings; feelings that other people are undependable; and/or the tendency to withdraw from interactions with other people, particularly where there is some personal threat or situational pressure. The emphasis here is on a personal state of confusion, helplessness, mistrust, or anxiety.

Safety 1b: Dependency: Responses scored in this subcategory indicate a response to feelings of insecurity or inadequacy in which the person is cared for in some way by others. The need may be stated clearly, or a desire for a relationship which exhibits no positive and reciprocal peer emotional response to the relationship may be indicated. Additionally, the person may indicate a desire to withdraw from the world through food, sleep, drugs or warmth.

Safety 1c: Personal Incompetence: Responses scored in this subcategory indicate an inability to respond positively to the challenge posed by the stem. The person may indicate failure, reluctance to engage in the task, feelings of inadequacy, or a negative self-evaluation. However, there must be no indication of a desire to overcome the inadequacy (see: Esteem 3b).

Total Safety: This category is the sum of scores on the above three subcategories. It measures the extent to which the individual is functioning at the safety level in Maslow's (1970) hierarchy.

Total Affiliation: Responses scored in this category focus on the desire to possess affectionate relationships based on approximate equality among peers. The individual indicates a desire for contact, intimacy, warmth and friendliness in relationships with other people. This score assesses the extent to which the individual is functioning at the love and belongingness level (Maslow, 1970).

Esteem 3a: Gratified Esteem: Scores in this subcategory indicate self-confidence, competence in one's performance, successful accomplishment, or positive self-evaluation.

Esteem 3b: Need for Esteem Gratification: The responses scored in this subcategory indicate that a sufficient degree of self-worth has not been attained. The completions indicate a desire to demonstrate a superior position through exercising

power, influence or control over others, or success in direct competition with others.

Esteem 3c: Low Self-Esteem: Responses in this subcategory indicate failure, incompetence, self-criticism and a relatively large self - ideal-self discrepancy in self-concept.

Total Esteem: This category consists of the sum of scores in the above three subcategories. Scores indicate the extent of functioning at Maslow's (1970) esteem level.

Each protocal was scored independently by two trained coders. The inter-rater reliabilities for each of the categories and subcategories are presented in Table 1. In cases where the coders disagreed in their scores for a category or subcategory by more than four points, the protocal was rescored by a third, expert coder[1]. In all other cases, the average score across the two coders was used as the individual's score for each subcategory and category.

Finally, the following measure was administered to subjects in the motive groups immediately prior to viewing the videotaped interaction:

(7) The Repression-Sensitization scale (Byrne, 1963). This scale was designed to assess a person's preferred style of cognitive defense to ego-threatening information. The repressive extreme involves such avoidance defences as denial and repression, while the sensitization extreme involves such approach defenses as intellectualization. The 127-item true-false scale was derived from items in the MMPI, and has a reported split-half reliability of .94 and a test-retest reliability of .82. Evidence supporting the validity of the measure is presented in Byrne (1961, 1964). High scores indicate the sensitizing end of the continuum.

Selection Procedure. Subjects were initially recruited through advertisements soliciting male undergraduates interested in participating in a study of personality and interpersonal behavior.[2] All subjects were recruited from introductory psychology courses at Michigan State University during either Spring quarter, 1978 or Fall quarter, 1979. A total of 324 males responded to the advertisements

Table 1

Coding Reliabilities for the Sentence Completion Test

Category	Average r[a]	Mean r	r range
Safety 1a: Insecurity	.94	.61	.41 - .99
Safety 1b: Dependency	.80	.38	.23 - .99
Safety 1c: Incompetence	.84	.72	.44 - .98
Total Safety	.92	.81	.72 - .99
Affiliation	.79	.66	.34 - .98
Esteem 3a: Gratified Esteem	.93	.66	.34 - .99
Esteem 3b: Need for Esteem Gratification	.78	.47	.24 - .99
Esteem 3c: Low Self-Esteem	.63	.28	.16 - .99
Total Esteem	.91	.81	.48 - .99
Total Stems Scored	.85	.77	.16 - .99

Note. Correlations computed within pairs of coders (n = 12 coders). The number of protocols scored by the coder pairs ranged from three (n = 2 pairs) to 32 (n = 1 pair), with a mean of 11 protocols per pair. Three pairs of coders coded only one or two protocols and were eliminated from this analysis.

[a]Computed through r to z transformation.

and completed the selection battery. All respondents received extra course credit for completing the instruments. Subsequent analyses indicated that subjects in the Spring and Fall samples did not differ significantly in terms of age, college major, parent's approximate annual income, or the level of education attained by the parent with the most years of formal education (see Table 36 in Appendix B).

The study was described as an investigation of "the ways in which people differ in their interpersonal behavior in a group setting." Participants were told that the research consisted of two parts. During the first part, they would complete a number of questionnaires assessing various aspects of their "beliefs, orientations and concerns." On the basis of their responses, many of them would later be selected for participation in the second phase of the research. It was explained at this time that the second part of the research involved a number of activities, including interacting with other subjects on particular tasks. Subjects who participated in the second part of the research would receive additional course credit and/or money for their participation. If they elected to receive money, they would be paid at a rate of $1.00 for each hour they spent engaged in experimental tasks. Additionally, those subjects who were judged most successful at the interaction tasks would receive an additional bonus of $10.00. It was also stressed that subjects would receive detailed feedback about their performance, and would have the opportunity to learn something about their own personality and ability to work successfully with other people under different conditions. Participants were then given the opportunity to ask any questions they might have about the research. A

copy of the instructions and orientation read to subjects in the selection sample may be found in Appendix C.

After receiving the orientation to the research, subjects were administered the Sentence Completion Test. They were allowed half an hour to complete this instrument, after which time the protocols were collected by the administrator. Subjects then completed the remaining measures, presented in booklet form. The order of administration within the booklet was as follows: Self-Monitoring, Need for Approval, Dominance, Machiavellianism and Succorance. Finally, subjects completed a number of standard demographic items and indicated an address and phone number where they could be contacted for participation in the second part of the research, if selected.

Selection of subjects for the second and major phase of the research was based on only two of the personality measures: Dominance and Succorance. In order to be selected a respondent had to score: (a) above the median on one of the scales; (b) below the median on the other scale; and (c) have a difference of at least ten points between his scores on the two measures.

Sample Description. On the basis of the above criteria, 160 males were selected and participated in the impression formation phase of the research. Eighty of these subjects had high scores on the Dominance measure, while the remaining 80 subjects had high scores on the Succorance measure.

Although selection was based on only two measures, it is instructive to examine the extent to which subjects in the Dominance and Succorance groups were consistent in their responses to the other measures in the selection battery. The mean scores of subjects in

each group on the various personality measures are presented in Table 2. Dominance-motivated subjects are significantly higher in Repression-Sensitization, Need for Approval, Gratified Esteem (Esteem 3a), Need for Esteem Gratification (Esteem 3b) and Total Esteem. Succorance-movitated subjects score significantly higher in Personal Incompetence (Safety 1c). Although the groups do not differ significantly on any of the other measures, Succorance-motivated subjects tend to score higher in Insecurity, Mistrust and Withdrawal (Safety 1a), Dependency (Safety 1b), Total Safety, and Affiliation. Thus, with the exception of the unexpectedly higher Need for Approval scores of Dominance-motivated subjects[3], the pattern of scores indicates that Dominance-motivated subjects, as expected, tend to be more assertive and controlling, while Succorance-motivated subjects tend to be more dependent, insecure, submissive, and affiliation-oriented. However, it should be noted that the mean differences are not exceptionally large, indicating that the selection procedure may not have been as effective as desired in separating subjects of different motivational orientations. In addition, it should also be noted that Dominance-motivated perceivers tend to score higher in Self-Monitoring, and to utilize sensitizing defenses to threat, while the Succorance-motivated perceivers tend to use repressive defensives.

Manipulation of Target Characteristics

One significant problem with much of the previous impression formation research, particularly as applied to personality influences, is the use of a methodology which fails to approach the complexity of the phenomenon. Specifically, the bulk of previous research in this area has relied on mere lists of traits or other written descriptions

Table 2

Mean Differences Between Motive Groups on Selection Measures

Variable	Dominance	Succorance	t
Dominance	32.41	23.11	15.02***
Esteem 3a	10.32	8.69	2.81**
Esteem 3b	8.90	8.01	2.00*
Esteem 3c	.47	.49	<1.00
Total Esteem	18.07	16.39	2.02*
Machiavellianism	62.92	63.77	<1.00
Succorance	5.82	10.80	13.23***
Safety 1a	8.27	8.43	<1.00
Safety 1b	2.18	2.46	1.20
Safety 1c	6.05	6.80	1.80#
Total Safety	16.52	17.74	1.53
Affiliation	2.02	2.10	<1.00
Approval	14.84	13.52	1.73#
Self-Monitoring	13.60	12.77	1.61
Repression-Sensitization	90.59	82.94	3.74***

Note. n = 80 for each motive group.

#p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001

of the target person's dispositions. As was noted earlier, such a procedure greatly restricts the opportunity of the subject to process and organize this information. That is, the influence of personality variables on impression formation may be most evident in the processes of cue-selection and initial interpretative inferences--each of which primarily occurs at the level of observation of actual behavior. Consequently, it was necessary to utilize a methodology which allowed the perceiver to observe actual behavior of the stimulus person, but which was free of the confounding effects of the perceiver as a social stimulus (i.e., the perceiver could not directly interact with the target person at the time of initial observation).

In order to meet these requirements, it was decided to use a videotaped encounter as the stimulus situation. Through the use of videotape, the target's behavior could be easily manipulated, and the stimulus situation would be identical for all perceivers viewing the same tape. Such stimulus situations have been termed "Standard Perceptual Stimuli" (Messe' et al., 1979). The videotaped stimulus situation has considerable "ecological validity," in that the perceiver views an actual interaction between target persons, and must base his/her inferences on actual behavior. Further, the full range of physiognomic and nonverbal cues are available as sources of information for the perceiver. Finally, quantitative information about the stimulus person's behavior in the videotaped situation may be obtained to provide objective baseline measures. Thus, these stimuli have considerable utility from both a substantive and methodological standpoint.

Script Development and Validation. As a first step in constructing the videotaped stimulus situation, it was necessary to write initial scripts for each stimulus character. The behaviors conceptually most relevant to the motive groups were assertiveness (interpersonal dominance), and affiliativeness (interpersonal warmth). That is, Dominance-motivated perceivers should be most concerned with the assertiveness of individuals with whom they are involved, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should be most concerned with their affiliativeness. Consequently, it was decided to construct four stimulus videotapes, based on the possible combinations of Assertiveness vs. Submissiveness and Affiliativeness vs. Disaffiliativeness. Perceivers would then view either an Assertive-Affiliative, Assertive-Disaffiliative, Submissive-Affiliative, or Submissive-Disaffiliative target character engaged in a discussion with another male confederate.

As an initial step, two male undergraduates were contacted and asked to spend ten minutes talking to each other and getting acquainted. In order to insure that these individuals would have something to talk about, they were provided with the following statement to discuss: "A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's society." Their discussion was tape recorded, and a written transcript was obtained for use as a basic script. The four scripts developed for use in the research were each based on variations of this initial discussion. Thus, the scripts used for making the videotapes were based on an actual discussion between two people, and should therefore be similar to a "natural" interaction.

The manipulation of target assertiveness and affiliativeness was based on both empirical findings (e.g., Borgatta, 1963) and logical

extensions of the constructs to behavior. Although the manipulation was focused primarily on verbal content, particular aspects of nonverbal behavior relevant to these behavioral dimensions were also varied. In the scripts, Assertive target persons initiated and structured the interaction, made many verbal assertions, convinced their discussion partner of the validity of their views, and provided arguments against their partner's views. Submissive target persons, on the other hand, were generally passive responders, made few verbal assertions, offered few arguments for the validity of their own views, and generally conformed to their partner's views. Physically (i.e., nonverbally), Assertive as opposed to Submissive characters maintained greater eye contact (particularly when making an assertion), remained in closer physical proximity to their partner, and used body movements (e.g., hand movement) to emphasize assertions.

Affiliative target persons displayed a positive attitude toward their partner by maintaining eye contact throughout the discussion, smiling, acknowledging their partner's views, and expressing a desire for positive relationships with people and an interest in socializing. Disaffiliative target persons displayed a negative interpersonal attitude during the discussion. They seldom maintained eye contact, did not smile at their partner, never willingly acknowledged their partner's views, and expressed a negative attitude toward people and a lack of interest in socializing. It should also be noted that variations in the behavior of the other actor in the scripts contributed to the manipulation of target characteristics. While this actor was moderately affiliative in all of the scripts, he was relatively less assertive

with the Assertive target characters, but more assertive with the Submissive target characters.

Copies of the actual scripts for each stimulus character may be found in Appendix D.

As an initial check on the validity of the manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness, the verbal content of each script was independently scored by two coders using Borgatta's (1963) Behavior Scores System (BSS) of interaction analysis. This method was utilized since it is based on factor analyses of trait ratings, and focuses on the two major relevant dimensions of assertiveness and affiliativeness of the person. The system includes nine scorable categories of behavior, and both the target's and his partner's verbal behavior in the scripts was scored. The inter-rater reliability of the scoring across the four scripts ranged from .92 to .98, with an overall reliability of .97.

Table 3 presents mean scores for each script on the BSS categories. Examination of this table indicates that the script manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness were successful. Assertive characters had a significantly higher number of total acts, including higher proportions of both neutral and task-determining acts, and significantly fewer withdrawal and supportive acts than Submissive characters. Concommitantly, the other character in the assertive target scripts had fewer antagonistic acts, task-determining acts and total acts, and more withdrawal acts and supportive acts than in the submissive target character scripts.

Affiliative characters had a relatively greater proportion of assertive-supportive acts and fewer antagonistic acts than Disaffiliative characters. There were no significant differences in

Table 3

Summary of BSS Analysis of Target Character Scripts

Category	Script[a] Sub-Disaff	Sub-Aff	Ass-Disaff	Ass-Aff	χ^2
Target Character					
Neutral Assertions	40	45	59	58	5.33
Assertion or Dominant Acts	21	20	20	20	<1.00
Antagonistic Acts	10	0	9	3	12.54***
Withdrawal Acts	5	4	0	0	9.22*
Supportive Acts	14	14	3	7	9.37**
Assertive-Supportive Acts	10	17	8	13	3.90
Task-Determining Acts	3	1	7	8	6.89#
Group Maintaining Acts	7	6	1	4	4.67
Total Acts	72	76	100	102	8.44*
Other Character					
Neutral Assertions	56	57	51	51	<1.00
Assertion or Dominant Acts	19	17	19	20	<1.00
Antagonistic Acts	5	3	0	0	9.00*
Withdrawal Acts	0	1	6	5	8.67*
Supportive Acts	5	6	11	11	3.73
Assertive-Supportive Acts	13	15	11	12	<1.00

Table 3 (cont.)

Category	Sub-Disaff	Sub-Aff	Ass-Disaff	Ass-Aff	$\underline{X}^2$
Task-Determining Acts	7	5	1	1	$7.71^{\#}$
Group Maintaining Acts	7	6	4	5	<1.00
Total Acts	108	110	78	80	9.62^{**}

Note. Cell entries are raw frequencies for Total Acts. For all other categories, cell entries are rounded proportions of total acts in that category for each actor within each script.

[a]Script labels refer to Submissive-Disaffiliative, Submissive-Affiliative, Assertive-Disaffiliative and Assertive-Affiliative characters, respectively.

$^{\#}p<.10$
$^{*}p<.05$
$^{**}p<.025$
$^{***}p<.01$

the behavior of the other character between Affilliative and Disaffiliative scripts.

Construction of the Videotapes. Two male undergraduate drama majors with considerable acting experience were utilized for making the videotapes. Each was paid $25.00 for his participation in the research. The actors were of approximately equal height and build, of moderate physical attractiveness, and each had dark hair and wore a mustache.

Approximately ten days before making the first videotape, the actors were presented with copies of each script and instructed to review the scripts and discuss their similarities and differences. Immediately prior to videotaping their first discussion, the actors met with the experimenter and reviewed the focus and purpose of the tapes. An initial taping was conducted as soon as each actor felt he had sufficiently rehearsed the particular script. This preliminary videotape was then reviewed by the experimenter and actors, and a second taping was conducted. This procedure was followed until both the experimenter and the actors were satisfied with the tape. The same discussion was then taped again with actors switching roles. That is, each script was videotaped twice: once with Actor 1 as the target and Actor 2 as the partner, and again with Actor 2 as the target and Actor 1 as the partner. When an acceptable videotape of a given script was obtained for each actor, a second script was taped, and so on until each actor had portrayed each character type.

In order to increase experimental realism, all videotapes were made in the same suite of rooms in which the motive subjects would later participate in the impression formation task. In each of the

videotapes, the two actors sat across form one another at a small table, with the actor portraying the target facing the camera and the partner with his back to the camera. Figure 3 presents a schematic representation of the suite of rooms, including camera location and actor positions during taping.

Validation of the Videotapes. Although the BSS scoring of the scripts indicated that the manipulation of assertiveness and affiliativeness was successful, it was not possible to conform exactly to the scripts, nor to control all aspects of verbal and nonverbal behavior in the videotapes. Consequently, it was necessary to assess the extent to which the videotaped portrayals successfully captured the manipulations of target behavior indicated in the script analysis.

A sample of 40 male undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology courses participated in the tape validation phase of the research. All validation subjects received partial course credit for their participation. Ten subjects viewed each videotape (five subjects per actor) under standard impression formation instructions. That is, subjects were informed that they were participating in a study of "how people perceive other people." They were told that they would be viewing a videotape of two male undergraduates participating in a brief discussion of "the college experience." Subjects were not informed that the individuals in the tape were experimental confederates, nor they they had been instructed in how to behave. However, subjects were told that the individuals in the tape were given a particular topic to discuss and were asked to avoid prolonged periods of silence in their discussion. In addition, they were told that they should focus their attention primarily on only one of the two

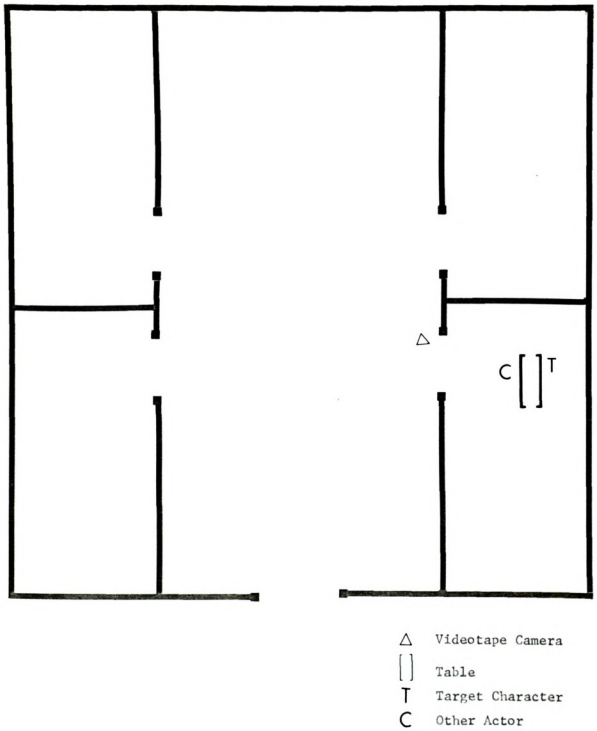

Figure 3. Layout of experimental room during construction of the experimental stimulus videotapes. (not to scale)

individuals in the discussion: the person who would be facing them as they watched the videotape (i.e., the target person).

After viewing the tape, subjects rated the target person on 40 seven-point bipolar adjective scales (e.g., dominant-submissive, warm-cold), and indicated the extent to which they liked the target person, how pleasant they felt interacting with him in a comparable situation would be, his ability at cooperative and competitive tasks (each rating also along a seven-point Likert scale), and attributed causality for the target's behavior in the videotape to either his personality, the behavior of his partner, the discussion situation, or a combination of these. Since each of these measures were also completed by subjects in the motivation groups, they will be described in detail below. For the present purposes it is sufficient to note that the 40 bipolar adjective ratings were additively combined into three scales, based on a factor analysis of the ratings: Perceived Assertiveness (e.g., dominant-submissive), Perceived Warmth (e.g., friendly-unfriendly), and Perceived Responsibility (e.g., dependable - undependable). Each subject also indicated his subjective confidence in each bipolar adjective rating through ratings on seven-point Likert scales ranging from "completely confident" (7) to "not at all confident" (1). Confidence scales for Assertiveness, Warmth, and Responsibility were then obtained by additively combining the confidence ratings for the set of adjective ratings composing each particular scale.

Scores on these measures for subjects in the Validation Sample were then analyzed through a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). The results of this analysis are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Summary of Overall MANOVA: Validation Sample

Factor	MANOVA $F(11,22)$
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	12.48***
Affiliativeness of Target (AFF)	4.40**
Actor (ACT)	1.87
ASS X AFF	1.78
ASS X ACT	1.11
AFF X ACT	1.62
ASS X AFF X ACT	1.84

** $p<.005$

*** $p<.0001$

Only significant main effects for Assertiveness of the Target and Affiliativeness of the Target were obtained. There was no effect for Actor, nor any significant interactions. Thus, the videotapes appear to be highly successful in manipulating the focal behavioral dimensions, and these manipulations do not differ significantly as a function of the particular actor portraying the character.

Table 5 presents the univariate analyses for the Assertiveness of Target MANOVA main effect. Assertive targets were perceived as significantly more assertive and responsible, and as having more competitive ability than Submissive targets. They were also perceived as being significantly less warm and as having less cooperative ability than Submissive targets. Subjects were significantly more confident in their ratings of both assertiveness and warmth for the Assertive targets, they liked the Assertive targets less, and expected an interaction with these targets to be less pleasant.

The univariate analyses for the Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA main effects are presented in Table 6. In general, this factor had fewer effects on impressions than assertiveness. Affiliative targets were perceived as significantly more warm and as having more cooperative ability than Disaffiliative targets. In addition, the Affiliative targets were liked more, and subjects felt that interacting with them would be more pleasant than interacting with the Disaffiliative targets. There were no significant differences between Affiliative and Disaffiliative characters for any of the confidence measures.

It is also instructive to consider the range in ratings of assertiveness and warmth across variations in target assertiveness and affiliativeness. Ratings of perceived assertiveness potentially

Table 5

Univariate Analyses for Assertiveness of Target MANOVA Effect: Validation Sample

Variable	Submissive	Assertive	Univariate $F(1,32)$
Content of Impression			
Perceived Assertiveness	20.95	47.20	131.16****
Perceived Warmth	41.20	36.15	5.87*
Perceived Responsibility	14.25	17.25	6.80**
Cooperative Ability	4.95	3.55	9.56**
Competitive Ability	2.90	5.25	32.72****
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	41.20	46.45	4.91*
Conf. in Warmth	41.95	47.05	4.48*
Conf. in Responsibility	17.35	18.95	1.39
Person Attribution	51.50	55.95	<1.00
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	4.25	3.35	5.40*
Pleasantness	4.40	3.40	5.63*

*$p<.05$
**$p<.01$
****$p<.0001$

Table 6

Univariate Analyses for Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA Effect: Validation Sample

Variable	Target Character: Disaffiliative	Target Character: Affiliative	Univariate $F(1,32)$
Content of Impression			
Perceived Assertiveness	35.05	33.10	<1.00
Perceived Warmth	31.20	46.05	52.80****
Perceived Responsibility	14.90	16.60	2.18
Cooperative Ability	3.55	4.95	9.56**
Competitive Ability	4.20	3.95	<1.00
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	44.55	43.10	<1.00
Conf. in Warmth	45.25	43.75	<1.00
Conf. in Responsibility	18.30	18.00	<1.00
Person Attribution	56.10	51.35	<1.00
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	3.20	4.40	9.60**
Pleasantness	3.10	4.70	14.72***

** $p<.01$
*** $p<.001$
**** $p<.0001$

could range from 8 to 56, while ratings of perceived warmth had a potential range of 9 to 63. In fact, ratings of assertiveness ranged from approximately 21 for the Submissive characters to 47 for the Assertive characters. Actual ratings of perceived warmth ranged from approximately 31 for the Disaffiliative characters to 46 for the Affiliative characters. Thus, it would appear that the manipulation of assertiveness was stronger than that of affiliativeness of the targets. Mean ratings for the perceived assertiveness of the Submissive and Assertive targets differ by almost twice as much as do ratings of the perceived warmth of the Affiliative and Disaffiliative target characters (26 vs. 15 scale points). Assuming that the more extreme an individual's behavior, the more salient and the less ambiguous it is (cf. Jones & Davis, 1965), one would expect that perceivers would be less able to distort perceptions of target assertiveness than warmth without generating considerable conflict with a "reality orientation."

It is also worth noting here that affiliativeness would generally be expected in interactions between strangers, while social expectations regarding assertiveness should be more variable. Thus, assertiveness should generally be more salient to perceivers. Further, since the behavior of the other character in the videotapes differed significantly between Assertive and Submissive target characters in the script analysis, but did not differ across variations in the affiliativeness of the target characters, to the extent that perceivers relied on the reactions of the other character in inferring target qualities, the differences between Assertive and Submissive target characters would be more salient than those between Affiliative and Disaffiliative

target characters. Consequently, since target affiliativeness was generally a more "ambiguous" characteristic, perceivers should differ more in their perceptions of target warmth than in perceptions of target assertiveness. Putting this somewhat differently, perceptions of target assertiveness should be affected almost exclusively by the actual manipulations in assertiveness, while perceptions of target warmth would be more likely to be affected by characteristics of the perceiver, in addition to the target's actual level of affiliative behavior.

In summary, these analyses indicate that the targets in the videotapes were perceived as intended. Although Assertiveness of the Target influenced perceptions of warmth and responsibility as well as assertiveness, the MANOVA interaction between Assertiveness and Affiliativeness of Target was not statistically significant. In addition, both Assertiveness and Affiliativeness of Target affected liking for the target and expectations about the pleasantness of interacting with him.

Finally, in addition to validating the videotapes, findings from subjects in the Validation Sample also provide "baseline" measures of the perceived qualities of the target characters. That is, they provide measures of impressions unaffected by motivational influences or outcome dependency. Consequently, this sample was later utilized as a baseline control group for purposes of assessing biases in the impressions of subjects in the motivation groups.

Procedure

Subjects selected from the motive groups for participation in the impression formation phase of the research were contacted by

phone for scheduling. The subjects were scheduled in pairs for both economy of time and in order to heighten experimental realism (see below). Upon arriving at the specified location, the two subjects were met by an experimenter and the purpose and activities of the research were briefly reviewed. The two subjects were once again informed that the research was concerned with "how well people with different beliefs, orientations and concerns work together on specific tasks." The importance of research on group processes was stressed, and subjects were informed in detail about the particular activities involved in the research. They were told that their primary task would be to interact with another subject on a particular task for a period of several hours. Their interaction would be videotaped and coded by trained observers to assess the extent to which they were successful in attaining the goal of their interaction, and how well they worked together.

It was then explained that since people typically know something about the individuals they work with, they would be given the opportunity to acquire some information about their partner prior to interacting with him. Specifically, each subject was told that a short videotape had been made of his partner involved in a discussion with another subject. It was further explained to each that his partner and the other subject had been provided with a topic to discuss and were asked to prepare themselves for the discussion in advance. Each subject was also told that while his partner and the other subject had not been asked to take any particular side or make any particular arguments, they were aware of the nature of their upcoming interaction with the subject prior to making the videotape. The utility of the

videotape as a source of information about the partner's personality and abilities was stressed.

After having the nature and purpose of the videotapes of their partners explained, the two subjects were informed that they would also make a videotape to be shown to their respective partners prior to beginning work on the assigned interaction task. Consequently, their respective partners would have the opportunity to acquire some advance information about them. They were told that they would be provided with a topic related to "the college experience" to discuss. The two subjects were asked to spend some time thinking about college and what it has meant to them, and to try and be prepared to continue discussing the topic during the entire ten-minute segment that would be videotaped (i.e., avoid prolonged periods of silence).

At this point, subjects were told that they would be interacting with their partners under either cooperative or competitive conditions. In the cooperative condition each subject was told that he would be working together with his partner on developing a tactical plan for colonization of the moon. This topic was chosen since it is relatively novel, interesting, and one which most college students probably have not considered in detail. The relevance of this topic for modern, technological society was stressed, and each subject was told that he and his partner would be provided with all the information and materials necessary for completing the task. The cooperative nature of the task was stressed throughout. Each subject was informed that the division of work, the way they approached the task, and so on, was entrirely up to him and his partner. It was stressed that their outcomes would depend upon how well the two of them worked together,

and that the more effectively they cooperated, the greater their chance of winning the $10.00 bonus awarded to the subjects who were most effective at the task.

The competitive condition also utilized the moon colonization task. However, each subject in this condition was told that he and his partner would be interacting in the roles of opposing negotiators trying to reach agreement on a final plan. Each of them would be provided with an initial plan, and their personal task would be to attempt to have as many elements of their own plan as possible included in the final plan. Subjects were told that they should try to compromise and reach agreement, but that they would be competing against their partners. Their outcomes would depend on how well they were able to argue for their own plan, and counter their partner's (opponent's) arguments for his plan. The more effectively they competed against their partners, the greater the probability of winning the $10.00 bonus. Thus, while outcomes were tied to effective cooperation and joint activity in the cooperative condition, they were based on individual persuasiveness and assertiveness in the competitive condition. Copies of the introductory materials and task-orientations may be found in Appendix E.

Figure 4 presents a schematic representation of the layout of the suite of rooms used for the research. Up to this time, the two subjects were seated in the central room. They were now given the opportunity to ask questions and clarify any uncertainty about their activities in the research. The subjects then signed a "Research Participation Agreement" (also included in Appendix E) covering their activities, and each was escorted to a separate room. The subjects

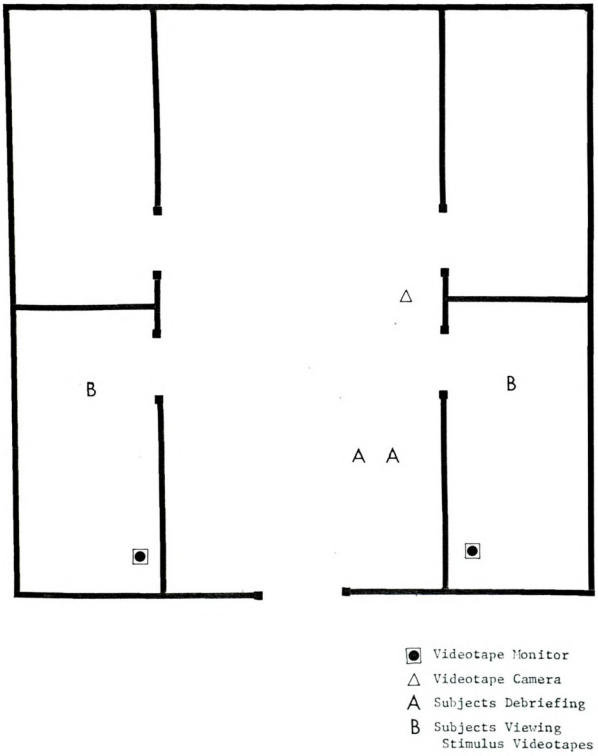

Figure 4. Layout of experimental room during impression formation task and debriefing of subjects. (not to scale)

first completed the Repression-Sensitization measure described above, and then each viewed the videotape of his particular partner. Subjects within motivation groups were randomly assigned to one of the four videotapes and one of the two actors.

Each subject remained in his viewing room after watching the videotape and completed the dependent measures. Subjects first completed a free-response impression measure, which asked them to describe their partner in their own words, based on what they had observed about him in the videotape. Subjects were asked to focus on impressions of their partner's personality and abilities related to their upcoming interaction, and were given five minutes to write their impression. At the end of this time the free-response measure was collected, and the subjects completed a rating scale questionnaire. These instruments and the dependent measures derived from them will be described in detail below. Copies of the instruments may be found in Appendix F.

The subjects returned to the central room after completing the rating scale questionnaire--ostensibly for the purpose of making the videotape to be shown to their respective partners. A videotape camera, supposedly to be used for their videotape, was turned on and its monitor was highly visible to the subjects (see Figure 4). At this point the experimenter informed each subject that he was interested in their reactions to the videotape procedure, and would like to discuss them while final preparations for making their videotape were completed. The true purpose of this procedure was to assess any suspicion about the videotapes and experimental tasks. Although the content of this discussion varied somewhat between pairs of

subjects, in each case the experimenter assessed reactions to the subject's particular partner, asked whether the tape was helpful to them, and inquired whether viewing their partners' tapes had influenced how they would behave when making their own tape.

In all, 15 (8%) of the 175 subjects who viewed the tapes expressed some suspicion. In all but two cases the subject was suspicious about the amount of time his partner had to prepare his discussion and/or about the other subject in the tape. Only two subjects expressed suspicion about their partner being an experimental confederate, and all subjects reported that they believed they would actually be interacting with their partner as described. Nonetheless, data from the 15 subjects who expressed any suspicion was eliminated from the analyses.

Finally, after discussing their reactions to the videotapes, the subjects were informed of the true purpose of the research, told that they would not actually be making a videotape or interacting with any other subject, and given the opportunity to ask questions. The necessity of the deception involved was explained, as were the hypotheses of the study and the nature of the questionnaires they completed earlier. The subjects were then told that they would receive feedback about the findings of the research once the analyses had been completed. No subject reacted negatively to the debriefing, and most responded very positively, with numerous questions, hypotheses about their own performance, and so on. Four of the 15 subjects who expressed suspicion did not voice their concerns until this time, indicating that the debriefing also served the function of an additional validity check. Subjects were then given money and/or credit

for their participation and thanked for their cooperation. Subjects also promised at this time not to reveal the true nature of the research to anyone until after they had received feedback on the results. The promised $10.00 bonus was randomly awarded to four subjects at the time feedback was delivered.

Dependent Measures

All dependent measures were derived from the free-response impressions and the rating scale questionnaire. The free-response data were coded for the frequency with which the following target qualities were mentioned: assertiveness-related qualities, affiliativeness-related qualities, and the total number of individual qualities mentioned. Each particular quality of the target mentioned in the free-response impression was considered a "contruct" (cf. Crockett et al, 1975). "Assertive Constructs" were defined as attributions that the target was assertive, dominant, extraverted, controlling, self-confident, outgoing, strong, talkative, or possessed leadership qualities, and/or that he was, conversely, nervous, submissive, weak, quiet, doubting, introverted, indecisive, or was generally a follower rather than a leader. "Affiliative Constructs" were defined as attributions that the target was friendly, sociable, considerate, approving, easy-going, amiable, easy-to-get-along-with, liked people, listened to the other subject or, conversely, unfriendly, unsociable, hostile, disapproving, inconsiderate, self-centered, and so on. Qualities of the target character which could not be classified into either of these two categories were considered "Other Constructs," while any mention of the other person's characteristics was not scored. "Total Constructs" was defined as the total number of target qualities mentioned.

All free-response impressions were coded by the author. In order to assess the reliability of the coding scheme, a random sample of 20 impressions was coded by a second, independent coder.[4] The inter-rater reliability for this sample of 20 free-response impressions was .87.

The measures of Assertive Constructs and Affiliative Constructs were each converted to proportions of the total number of constructs in the impression. These measures thus assess the extent to which the perceiver was focused on the assertiveness-related and affiliativeness-related qualities of the target character, independent of the total number of qualities mentioned. Since these measures do not assess the perceiver's specific impressions of the target character's assertiveness and affiliativeness, they are best construed as measures of the salience or importance of these qualities to perceivers.

The final measure derived from the free-response impressions, Total Constructs, is considered a measure of the complexity of perceivers' impressions. The greater the number of constructs contained in an impression, the more information the perceiver has presumably processed about the target character. However, it should be noted here that this measure is confounded to some extent by verbal fluency. While this is a potential interpretative problem, it is important to consider that the coding scheme was focused on the number of specific qualities of the target character mentioned in the impression, and not the number of words or sentences per se. Consequently, verbal fluency should be less of a confound here than in coding schemes which rely to a greater extent on grammatical factors. Further, given random assignment of subjects to conditions, differences in verbal

fluency should be randomly distributed across conditions, and hence not affect responses to the particular target characters in any systematic fashion. In addition, the hypotheses concern relative, rather than absolute differences in Total Constructs across variations in target and situational conditions. Thus, for all of these reasons, the potential confound with verbal fluency is not considered to be serious.

Several measures were derived from the rating scale data. The bipolar trait ratings for subjects in the Validation and Motive Samples were combined and subjected to a principal components factor analysis. Three factors, accounting for approximately 70% of the rating scale variance, were retained and rotated to simple structure using a varimax criterion. The rotated factor loadings for the trait ratings are summarized in Table 7.

Three relatively independent scales were constructed by additively combining trait ratings with the highest loadings on each of the three factors: Perceived Assertiveness, Perceived Warmth, and Perceived Responsibility. Similarly, the confidence ratings associated with traits in each of the content scales were additively combined into scales assessing the strength of perceivers' impressions: Confidence in Assertiveness, Confidence in Warmth, and Confidence in Responsibility. All six scales had acceptable reliabilities (internal consistencies), although those for the confidence scales were somewhat lower (range: .72 to .86) than those for the content scales (range: .78 to .95). Summaries of the psychometric properties of these measures may be found in Tables 37 through 42 in Appendix G.

Table 7

Principal Components Factor Analysis of Trait Ratings with Varimax Rotation

Rating	Factor Loadings I Assertiveness	II Warmth	III Responsibility
Dominant	.916*	-.131	.010
Leader	.908*	-.078	.171
Assertive	.889*	-.071	.129
Determined	.832*	-.110	.293
Talkative	.819*	.022	.035
Self-Confident	.798*	.070	.151
Active	.787*	.017	.208
Controlling	.755*	-.105	.207
Good-natured	.053	.816*	.211
Pleasant	.063	.810*	.206
Warm	.105	.804*	.011
Kind	-.146	.765*	.214
Friendly	.064	.764*	.130
Considerate	-.215	.759*	.172
Affectionate	-.035	.742*	.049
Sympathetic	-.223	.709*	.078
Even-Tempered	-.025	.562*	.299
Responsible	.383	.271	.651*
Reliable	.253	.292	.548*
Wise	.433	.305	.456*
Deep	.240	.255	.492*
Relative Percent of Variance	51.4	43.5	5.1

Total Variance Accounted For: 69.5%

*Highest factor loading for trait rating.

As measures of complexity in the sense of articulation or discrimination, the variances within each of the perceptual rating scales and across the entire set of 40 bipolar adjective ratings were computed (cf. Crano & Bettinghaus, 1970). The variance measures for the individual perceptual scales (i.e., Dominance Variance, Approval Variance and Responsibility Variance) assess the extent to which the subject's impression along these dimensions was polarized (low variance) vs. well-articulated (high variance). That is, a high score on these measures indicates that the subject made relatively discriminating judgments along the particular dimension. On the other hand, the Total Variance measure assesses the overall extent of discrimination across all of the adjective ratings.

Although these variance measures are interpreted as measures of the amount of discrimination in perceivers' impressions, it should be noted that they do not assess aspects related to content of the impression. That is, while a low score indicates that all judgments along a given dimension were similar, they may be polarized at either the extremes or the midpoint of the dimension. For example, a low score for Assertiveness Variance could variously indicate that the target was rated consistently toward the assertive end of the dimension, toward the submissive end of the dimension, or toward the midpoint of the dimension. Thus, the measures of articulation complexity are also independent of content.

An additional measure of strength of impressions was derived from the subject's causal attributions for the observed behavior of the target. Specifically, the subjects indicated in percentages the extent to which the target's behavior was due to his personality, the

behavior of the other subject in the discussion, and the particular discussion situation. A restriction that the percentages allocated to each source must total to 100% was placed on these judgments. The percentage allocated to the personality of the target character was used as an additional measure of strength of the impression: Person Attribution.

Valence of the perceiver's impression was assessed through three ratings, each made along a seven-point Likert scale: liking for the partner (Liking), expectations about how pleasant their interaction would be (Pleasantness), and expectations about how satisfying their interaction would be (Satisfaction).

Two measures were utilized to assess the perceiver's impression of the target's characteristics relevant to his ability at the interaction tasks. Perceivers rated the target's perceived ability at cooperative (Cooperative Ability) and competitive (Competitive Ability) tasks along seven-point Likert scales. These measures thus also assess content of impressions.

Finally, two additional ratings were used to assess expectations about interaction outcomes. Once again, each was made along a seven-point Likert scale. The first rating was for how successful the subject felt he and the target character would be at accomplishing their interaction task (Dyad Success), and the second rating was for how successful the subject felt he would personally be in the future interaction with the target (Own Success).

The dependent measures thus assess five separable aspects of perceivers' impressions of the target characters. Table 8 summarizes

Table 8

Summary of Dependent Measures: Impression Task

Measure	Content	Type
Perceived Assertiveness	Sum of ratings on trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 1. Range: 8 - 56	Content
Perceived Warmth	Sum of ratings on trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 2. Range: 9 - 63	Content
Perceived Responsibility	Sum of ratings on trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 3. Range: 4- 28	Content
Confidence in Assertiveness	Sum of confidence ratings for trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 1. Range: 8 - 56	Strength
Confidence in Warmth	Sum of confidence ratings for trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 2. Range: 9 - 63	Strength
Confidence in Responsibility	Sum of confidence ratings for trait scales with highest loadings on Factor 3. Range: 4 - 28	Strength
Cooperative Ability	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Content
Competitive Ability	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Content
Liking	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Valence/ Evaluation
Expected Pleasantness of Interaction	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Valence/ Evaluation

Table 8 (cont.)

Measure	Content	Type
Expected Satisfaction of Interaction	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Valence/ Evaluation
Expected Success of Dyadic Interaction	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Outcome Expectation
Expected Personal Success at Interaction	Rating on Likert scale. Range: 1 - 7	Outcome Expectation
Person Attribution	Proportion of causal influence attributed to target character in videotape interaction. Range: 0 - 100	Strength
Assertiveness Variance	Variance within trait ratings with highest loadings on Factor 1.	Complexity
Warmth Variance	Variance within trait ratings with highest loadings on Factor 2.	Complexity
Responsibility Variance	Variance within ratings with highest loadings on Factor 3.	Complexity
Total Variance	Total variance within ratings on 40 bipolar trait scales.	Complexity
Total Constructs	Total number of constructs in free-response impressions.	Complexity
Assertive Constructs	Proportion of Total Constructs related to target assertiveness. Range: 0 - 100	Content
Affiliation Constructs	Proportion of Total Constructs related to target affiliative-ness. Range: 0 - 100	Content

the particular measures and their relationship to the different aspects of impressions.

The measures of Content of the Impression assess the perceiver's impression of the target character's assertiveness, warmth, and responsibility, cooperative and competitive ability, and the extent to which the impression was focused on assertiveness and affiliativeness. As noted earlier, one would expect Dominance-motivated perceivers to be particularly attentive to the character's assertiveness, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should be particularly attentive to the character's warmth of affiliativeness. Thus, the measures of Perceived Assertiveness, Assertive Constructs, Perceived Warmth, and Affiliative Constructs may be termed "motive relevant" content measures. On the other hand, perceived Responsibility is not directly relevant to either Dominance or Succorance motivation.

It should also be noted that perceivers are expected to adopt a "reality orientation" in processing information about the target characters. That is, they should generally strive to be accurate in their impressions, since only valid inferences supply useful information. Thus, it is expected that the measures of Perceived Assertiveness, Perceived Warmth, and Perceived Responsibility will be less affected by motive related biases. Rather, if the perceivers are indeed more attentive to motive-related aspects of the target's character, these effects should be most apparent in measures of the extent to which impressions are focused on these characteristics: Assertive Constructs and Affiliative Constructs.

The final two content measures are particularly relevant to the goals of the expectecd interaction between perceiver and target:

Cooperative Ability and Competitive Ability. Thus, one would expect perception of these characteristics of the target to be influenced by the particular type of involvement expected by the perceiver.

The measures of Strength of the Impression primarily assess the extent to which the perceiver felt the behavior of the target in the videotaped discussion was an accurate sample of his dispositions. That is, to the extent that the perceiver believes the target's "true" character is revealed in the videotape, he should be more confident in his judgments about the target's qualities, and should attribute greater causal influence to the target in the observed discussion. In addition, the measures of Confidence in Assertiveness and Confidence in Warmth assess motive-related aspects of impressions. Thus, one would generally expect Dominance-motivated perceivers to be more confident in the target's assertiveness and Succorance-motivated perceivers to be more confident in the target's warmth.

The measures of Complexity of the Impression are expected to be influenced primarily by the extent to which the perceived characteristics of the target threaten the perceiver (i.e., indicate that their interaction will not provide gratification of important motives and will thus result in negatively evaluated outcomes). Thus, the measure of complexity per se, Total Constructs, should be positively related to the target's favorability from the standpoint of the perceiver. Perceivers should also show a decrease in articulation (i.e., the variance measures) under threatening conditions, although these effects may be focused primarily on only certain dimensions (e.g., assertiveness or warmth).

The measures of Valence of the Impression should also be primarily affected by the extent to which the expected involvement between perceiver and target is threatening to the perceiver. Thus, when the perceived qualities of the target, in relation to the nature of the interaction, threaten the perceiver, he should like the target less and expect their involvement to be less pleasant and satisfying.

Finally, the last two measures assess expectations about the outcome of the interaction with the perceiver: i.e., the extent to which perceiver and target will be successful in accomplishing the goal of their cooperative or competitive interaction. It was hypothesized that perceivers will prefer interactions where the normative structure is congruent with their preferred interpersonal relationships. Thus, Dominance-motivated perceivers should prefer competitive interactions, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should prefer cooperative interactions. In addition, these expectations about interaction outcomes should also be affected by the characteristics of the particular target character.

Design and Analysis

The overall design is thus a 2 (Motive: Dominance vs. Succorance) X 2 (Interaction Condition: Cooperative vs. Competitive) X 2 (Assertiveness of Target: Assertive vs. Submissive) X 2 (Affiliativeness of Target: Affiliative vs. Disaffiliative) X 2 (Actor: 1 vs. 2) completely crossed factorial design with five subjects per cell. Assuming no actor effects, the design will reduce to a 2 X 2 X 2 X 2 factorial with ten subjects per cell.

Given the likelihood of considerable intercorrelation among the dependent measures, the primary analysis will be Multivariate Analysis

of Variance (MANOVA). Since the model is tentative, the research must be regarded as primarily exploratory in nature. Consequently, the .10 level of confidence will be used as the lowest obtained probability for interpreting effects. The basic analytical strategy will be to utilize MAVOVA as the fundamental analysis, followed by a posteriori comparisons for significant univariate effects. A priori tests will be used to evaluate the specific research hypotheses, regardless of the significance of overall tests (see: Winer, 1971). Finally, multiple regression analysis will be used to examine general relationships between personality and person perception.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overview of Organization

Because of the sheer number of analyses and the complexity of many of the research hypotheses, presentation of the findings will be organized around a number of major areas of concern. One of the major methodological advances of the present study is the focus on multiple aspects of impressions, rather than single impression measures. Consequently, in the first subsection the relationships among these different aspects of impressions will be examined. These analyses will provide information on how impressions are organized, both in terms of the general relationships within and between various components of impressions (i.e., content, strength, valence, and complexity), and the relationships between specific impression measures of different target qualities (e.g., assertiveness and warmth).

After examining impressions at this global level, the results of the overall MANOVA for the entire set of impression measures will be examined. This analysis will provide an indication of the extent to which impressions as a whole were influenced by the characteristics of the target characters, situational factors, the motivational orientation of the perceivers, and the interactions among these factors. Detailed specification of these relationships will then be organized according to the source of the effect: characteristics of the target, characteristics of the situation, or the motivational orientation of the perceiver.

In terms of target characteristics, the univariate analyses for significant MANOVA target effects will be broken down into effects

attributable to the manipulations of target assertiveness, target affiliativeness, and the interaction of these two behavioral manipulations. In addition, informal comparisons between the results in the present Motive Sample and the corresponding analysis for subjects in the Validation Sample presented earlier will be discussed.

The examination of situational influences will involve both assessment of the differences in impressions between perceivers expecting to cooperate with the target characters and those expecting to compete with them, as well as comparisons between the impressions of these "involved" (i.e., outcome dependent) perceivers and those of the "uninvolved" perceivers in the Validation Sample. Thus, these analyses will allow examination of such issues as the extent to which impressions are "biased" in a manner consistent with the goals of particular involvements between perceiver and target, and the more general differences between impressions of perceivers who are outcome dependent upon the target character and those who are not. This use of the Validation Sample as a "Baseline Control Group" will be repeated in later anaylses examining motive-related distortions in impressions.

The next and largest subsection will focus on the influence of the motivational orientation of the perceiver on impressions. Since all of the specific research hypotheses concern motivational effects, either singly or in interaction with target and situational factors, presentation of these results will be organized around the specific hypotheses. Both significant MANOVA effects for personality influences and the a priori comparisons for motive group differences on particular impression factors relevant to evaluation of the hypotheses will be presented.

Finally, the results of a set of more general regression analyses of the entire set of personality measures on impressions, including both motivational and cognitive factors, will be presented. While the findings presented in the preceding subsection constitute the primary means for evaluation of the specific hypotheses, the results of the regression analyses provide information of a more general nature about personality influences on impression formation.

General Relationships Among Components of Impressions

The intercorrelation matrix for the set of impression measures is presented in Table 9. Aside from the general finding of a considerable amount of intercorrelation among the impression measures, examination of this matrix indicates a number of interesting patterns of relationships between measures of the content, strength, valence and complexity of impressions, which have implications for both the model of impression formation per se, and the influence of personality factors on impressions in particular.

In terms of the content measures, it would appear that impressions of the assertiveness and warmth of the target characters are generally unrelated. The single exception is a marginally significant negative correlation between assertive constructs and perceived warmth. Given the independent manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness this finding would be expected. However, it is worth noting that these results also indicate that the measures of perceived assertiveness and perceived warmth are valid measures of the target manipulations, and that perceivers processed information about these two dimensions independently.

Table 9

Intercorrelations Among Impression Measures

Measure	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Content of Impression									
1. Perc. Assertiveness	---								
2. Comp. Ability	65**	---							
3. Ass. Construct	-02	-12	---						
4. Perc. Warmth	-03	03	-14#	---					
5. Coop. Ability	-01	13	-11**	63**	---				
6. Aff. Constructs	02	08	-29**	05	-02*	---			
7. Perc. Respons.	48**	38**	-11	49**	35**	05	---		
Strength of Impression									
8. Conf. Assertiveness	24**	10	22**	-10**	-08#	-07	-04**	---	
9. Conf. Warmth	13**	09**	-14#	29**	14**	10	24**	46**	---
10. Conf. Respons.	29**	24**	-09	11*	10*	-09	30**	53**	63**
11. Person Attribution	47**	24**	00	-19**	-17**	00	04	26**	07
Complexity of Impression									
12. Assertiveness Var.	-17*	-04	-09	21**	14#	04	05	05	23**
13. Warmth Variance	-12*	-06#	00	21**	09	-10	05#	08	07#
14. Responsibility Var.	-16#	-14*	04	15**	09*	-01	-13**	12	14#
15. Total Variance	-13**	-18**	-01	-09	-16**	-06	-07	-04	14#
16. Total Constructs	-09	-02	-11	01	-03	05	-06	05	10
Evaluation of Target									
17. Liking	04	13#	-17**	67**	57**	16*	44**	11	24**
18. Satisfaction	13#	26**	-25**	50**	49**	06	34**	02	17*
19. Pleasantness	-02	13#	-14#	66**	64**	11	32**	01	26**
Outcome Expectations									
20. Dyad Success	12	23**	-06	46**	52**	-02	23**	14#	25**
21. Own Success	-09	04	-08	29**	34**	-06	04	19*	26**

Note. Decimals omitted.

#p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01

Table 9 (cont.)

Measure	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
11. Person Attribution	16*	---					
Complexity of Impression							
12. Assertiveness Var.	08	-12*	---				
13. Warmth Variance	02	-18*	06	---			
14. Responsibility Var.	12	08	06	03	---		
15. Total Variance	-05	10	12	04**	08#	---	
16. Total Constructs	-05	02	02	21**	14#	10	---
Evaluation of Target							
17. Liking	11*	-15#	19*	04	-03*	-14#*	-03
18. Satisfaction	19*	-10*	11*	01	-16*	-18*	02
19. Pleasantness	19*	-17*	18*	05	10	-15*	07
Outcome Expectations							
20. Dyad success	15*	04	03	04	04	-11#	01
21. Own Success	18*	-05	01	08	07	-13#	05

Measure	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
Evaluation of Target					
17. Liking	---	---			
18. Satisfaction	70**	---			
19. Pleasantness	75**	77**	---		
Outcome Expectations					
20. Dyad Success	47**	48**	57**	---	
21. Own Success	30**	32**	41**	57**	---

Note. Decimals omitted.

#p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01

Neither assertive constructs nor affiliative constructs are significantly correlated with their respective trait measures of target characteristics. This independence of measures of the target's perceived level of assertiveness and warmth and measures of the salience of these qualities to perceivers is important, implying that while trait ratings may adequately assess impressions of specific trait attributions (e.g., assertive vs. submissive), they do not reflect the importance of these dimensions to perceivers. Consequently, in addition to supporting the contention made earlier that research in the area of person perception must utilize multiple measures of impressions and assess each important component of a perceiver's impression, these findings imply that the "salience" measures should be more responsive to personality influences. As discussed earlier, perceivers should generally desire valid, and hence accurate, information about individuals upon whom they are outcome dependent. They should therefore generally adopt a "reality orientation" in their processing of stimulus information, and inferences about the target's "trait" qualities should be largely consistent across perceivers. On the other hand, to the extent that perceivers have different interpersonal concerns and goals, these trait attributions should be differentially important or salient to them. Thus, differences in motivational orientation, for example, should be more apparent in the salience measures than in general trait attributions.

Although measures of perceived assertiveness and warmth are unrelated, both of these content measures are positively associated with impressions of target responsibility. Since the responsibility measure assesses impressions of a socially desirable target characteristic

(i.e., responsibility, reliability, wisdom), it would appear that both high assertiveness and high affiliativeness are related to impressions of a target character's general competence.

Measures of the strength of impressions are all positively intercorrelated, although the correlation between confidence in warmth and person attribution is zero order. Since at least moderate affiliativeness would be expected as the norm in discussion situations such as that presented in the videotape, and the affiliative target characters were more responsive to the other confederate's views, it is not surprising that the perceived level of this quality is not highly associated with seeing the target as the primary causal influence in the discussion. On the other hand, both assertiveness and responsibility are less socially desirable, in general, and should therefore be seen as less influenced by the social norms operative in the situation. Thus, these findings are consistent with attribution theory in indicating that behaviors that are not generally expected in the situation are associated with greater causal attribution to the person (cf., Jones & Davis, 1965).

The confidence measures are also positively correlated with their respective content measures. Thus, confidence in assertiveness is positively associated with both perceived assertiveness and assertive constructs, while confidence in warmth is positively correlated with perceived warmth and affiliation constructs (although only the former correlation is statistically significant). Confidence in responsibility is positively correlated with all three content ratings: perceived assertiveness, perceived warmth and perceived responsibility.

Given the lack of relationship between measures of the target's perceived level of assertiveness and warmth and measures of the salience of these target qualities to perceivers, the fact that both of these measures are significantly correlated with measures of subjective confidence in impressions is important. The finding that ratings of the target's assertiveness and warmth are positively correlated with the perceiver's confidence in these impressions is not surprising, indicating as it does that strong dispositional attributions are associated with extreme and/or consistent target behaviors (Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley, 1967). However, since ratings of the target's assertiveness and warmth were not associated with the prevalence of these qualities in perceivers' free-response impressions, it would appear that perceivers are more confident in their judgments of personally relevant target qualities, regardless of the level of these qualities manifested in the observed behavior of the target character. Thus, confidence in impressions should be affected by both the target's actual behavior, and the perceiver's idiosyncratic concerns (i.e., personality factors).

The measures of complexity of impressions are not highly interrelated. However, variance in both perceived warmth and perceived responsibility ratings is positively correlated with the total number of constructs in the free response impressions. In addition, although several of the intercorrelations are zero order, the relationships among these variables are all positive and indicate some relationship between complexity in terms of articulation and complexity in terms of the number of perceived qualities. Since there is no necessary relationship between articulation (i.e., the variance measures) and dimensionality (i.e., the total constructs measure) in impressions

(cf., Bieri, 1971), the low level of consistency among these measures is not problematic.

Perceived assertiveness is negatively associated with all the complexity measures, although only significantly so for variance in assertiveness and responsibility ratings. On the other hand, perceived warmth is positively correlated with variance in ratings of assertiveness, warmth and responsibility. Further, variances in assertiveness, responsibility and total ratings are positively associated with confidence in the affiliativeness of the target. Thus, high assertiveness tended to decrease articulation, while high affiliativeness tended to increase this aspect of complexity.

The evaluation measures are highly associated with all other components of impressions. Liking for the target and expectations that the interaction with him will be pleasant and satisfying are positively correlated with perceived warmth and responsibility, cooperative and competitive ability, and confidence in the target's warmth. Liking is also positively associated with affiliation constructs in the free-response impressions, while expected satisfaction is positively correlated with perceived assertiveness. On the other hand, all three evaluation measures are negatively correlated with assertive constructs, person attribution and total variance in the trait ratings.

Taken together, these findings indicate that high assertiveness tended to decrease articulation in impressions and, to the extent the perceiver focused on this quality of the target, it was also associated with a negative valence in the impression. On the other hand, high affiliativeness was associated with increased articulation and positive valence in the impression. Assuming that assertiveness is generally

more threatening than affiliativeness, these findings support the hypothesis that threat in the sense of negatively evaluated qualities decreases the complexity of perceiver's impressions. In addition, the relationships between the articulation and content measures indicate that the former are not merely measures of the perceiver's certainty in his impressions, since assertiveness variance is negatively correlated with perceived assertiveness, while variance in warmth is positively correlated with perceived warmth. Instead, these measures covary in a manner consistent with the hypothesized changes in cognitive processing as a function of the subjective desirability of target characteristics. Only the measure of total constructs is unresponsive to target characteristics, and may thus reflect a stable personality factor.

Factor Analysis. In order to examine the extent to which the various measures of impressions may be ordered into relatively discrete categories, the intercorrelation matrix in Table 9 was subjected to a principal components factor analysis (Harman, 1960). Seven factors with eigenvalues >1.00 and accounting for approximately 70% of the variance in responses were rotated to a varimax criterion. The varimax rotated factor loadings for the measures are presented in Table 10.

The first factor appears interpretable as Interactive Positivity. Although measures of the target's perceived warmth and perceivers' liking for the target have substantial loadings on this factor, the highest loadings are for expected pleasantness of the interaction with the target and expectations about the extent to which the perceiver and target will be successful at their interaction task. In addition, the target's perceived cooperative ability, and perceivers' expectations

Table 10

Principal Components Factor Analysis of Impression Measures
After Varimax Rotation

	Factor						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Content of Impression							
Perc. Assertiveness	-016	171	914*	232	003	-212	-074
Perc. Warmth	690*	013	-110	536	063	184	132
Perc. Responsibility	298	154	334	604*	-266	049	065
Coop. Ability	712*	-031	-037	256	-019	041	020
Comp. Ability	156	115	601*	104	122	-254	-002
Ass. Constructs	-110	002	-034	-028	-592*	025	-094
Aff. Constructs	015	-026	021	025	433*	001	-056
Strength of Impression							
Conf. in Assertiveness	007	686*	186	-170	-266	049	065
Conf. in Warmth	179	786*	-003	151	210	230	076
Conf. in Resp.	114	755*	172	115	-016	-008	-027
Person Attribution	-133	136	543*	-137	020	213	-115
Complexity of Impression							
Assertiveness Variance	097	165	-225*	172	145	094	030
Warmth Variance	051	046	-131	133	-138	-028	689*
Responsibility Variance	068	102	-071	-034	-055	476*	041
Total Variance	-210	044	-092	034	087	268*	071
Total Constructs	012	020	-003	-111	170	162	355*
Evaluation of Target							
Liking	740*	039	-079	339	235	-118	-067
Satisfaction	718*	120	018	098	250	-356	-011
Pleasantness	843*	117	-102	145	171	-056	-005
Outcome Expectations							
Dyad Success	759*	102	190	-121	-048	076	053
Own Success	578*	191	-016	-266	-070	057	107

Note. Decimals omitted. Factor loadings of .300 or larger in italics.

*Denotes highest factor loading for variable.

about the satisfaction of the interaction and their personal success at the interaction task also have their highest loadings on this factor. Thus, the primary focus appears to be on the nature of the interaction outcomes, rather than the target character's dispositional characteristics per se.

Factor two is clearly an impression confidence factor, with only the measures of confidence in impressions of target assertiveness, warmth, and responsibility having high loadings here. Since the assertiveness and affiliativeness of the target were manipulated indedendently, and impressions of the level of these characteristics were independent of one another, it would appear that confidence in one's impressions is, to some extent at least, a characteristic of the individual perceiver. That is, if confidence in impressions of a particular target quality was only associated with the level of this quality manifested in the target's behavior, the confidence measures would be expected to load primarily on the same factor as their respective trait rating measures.

Factors three and four appear most related to the manipulated target characteristics, with factor three being interpretable as Character Forcefulness and factor four as Character Positivity. Perceived assertiveness, competitive ability, person attribution, and variance in assertiveness all have their highest loadings on the third factor (the latter variable loading negatively), while the largest loadings for the fourth factor are for impressions of the target's responsibility and warmth. Liking for the target also loads highly on the latter factor, although its highest loading is on the Interactive Positivity factor described above. This finding for the global valence

measure is interesting, and implies that liking for the target under conditions of outcome dependency is related to both the target's dispositions per se, and the relationship between target characteristics and the perceiver's expectations about their particular interaction. Impressions of the target's responsibility also show a pattern of high loadings on two of the factors (i.e., Character Forcefulness and Character Positivity), paralleling the significant positive correlations between this factor and ratings of both assertiveness and warmth of the target noted earlier.

The final three factors are less readily interpretable. Factor five is primarily defined by the free-response measures of assertive constructs and affiliative constructs, and may be a method factor, since these variables do not load highly on any of the other factors.

Both factors six and seven appear to be Complexity factors, with the variance measures and the measure of total constructs in the free-response impressions having their highest loadings on these factors.

Overview of Multivariate Influences of Target, Situational and Motivational Factors

Overall, there is a sufficient degree of intercorrelation among the dependent measures to require use of Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) as the basic analysis for assessing global influences on impressions. The initial MANOVA indicated a marginal Motive X Interaction Condition X Actor interaction (MANOVA F (21, 108) =1.46; $p<.11$). However, the Motive X Interaction Condition interaction was not significant in the overall analysis, nor in separate MANOVA's for each actor [Actor 1: MANOVA F (21,44) = 1.29; Actor 2: MANOVA F (21,44) = <1.00]. Since neither the main effect for Actor nor any of the other

interactions with Actor approached significance, it was concluded that impressions of the target characters did not vary significantly as a function of Actor and this term was dropped from the model.

Table 11 presents a summary of the overall MANOVA for the reduced model. Significant MANOVA main effects were obtained for Interaction Condition, Assertiveness of Target and Affiliativeness of Target. In addition, both the Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of the Target and Motive X Affiliativeness of Target interactions were significant. None of the other two-way interactions, nor the three-way or four-way interactions were significant.

With the exception of the significant Motive X Affiliation of Target interaction, the lack of significant effects for Motive may be interpreted as contradicting the model. However, it must be noted that significant main or interaction effects were obtained for all three factors, consistent with the model. Further, these tests on the vector of dependent variables do not constitute grounds for evaluation of the specific research hypotheses. That is, the hypotheses predicted certain relationships between motivation and specific aspects of impressions as a function of variations in target and situational factors. Thus, it is univariate, rather than multivariate analyses which are appropriate tests of the hypotheses. In addition, specific predicted effects should be tested regardless of the significance of overall tests (see: Winer, 1962). Thus, any evaluation of the research hypotheses must await examination of the a priori tests presented in the section on motivational influences. On the other hand, since we did not predict specific effects for target or situational characteristics per se, the multivariate analysis is preferable

Table 11

Summary of Overall MANOVA: Motive Sample

Source	MANOVA F(21, 124)
Motive (MOT)	1.10
Interaction Condition (INT)	1.52#
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	26.01****
Affiliativeness of Target (AFF)	7.90****
MOT X INT	<1.00
MOT X ASS	1.22
MOT X AFF	1.62*
INT X ASS	1.32
INT X AFF	1.20
ASS X AFF	2.90***
MOT X INT X ASS	<1.00
MOT X INT X AFF	<1.00
MOT X ASS X AFF	<1.00
INT X ASS X AFF	<1.00
MOT X INT X ASS X AFF	<1.00

#p<.10
*p<.05
***p<.001
****p.<.0001

for describing the global pattern of results attributable to these factors.

Influence of Target Characteristics

Basically, the effects for Assertiveness and Affiliativeness of Target constitute an additional validity check on the videotape manipulations of target characteristics, and should largely replicate the findings from the Validation Sample. However, any differences in results for the Motive and Validation samples are instructive, in that they should largely reflect differences in information processing between involved and uninvolved situations.

Assertiveness of the Target Characters. The univariate analyses for the Assertiveness of Target MANOVA effect are presented in Table 12. The significant differences for perceived assertiveness, warmth and responsibility, confidence in assertiveness, and cooperative ability replicate the findings for the Validation Sample. Compared to Submissive characters, Assertive characters are perceived as more assertive and responsible, and less warm and cooperative. Perceivers are also significantly more confident in both the assertiveness and the responsibility of the Assertive characters than the Submissive characters, although the latter was not significant in the Validation Sample. In contrast to the findings in the Validation Sample, in the present sample perceivers do not like the Submissive characters significantly more, nor are they significantly more confident of their impressions of warmth, or expect an interaction with them to be significantly more pleasant than with the Assertive characters. On the other hand, the effect for person attribution is only significant in the present sample (although subjects in the Validation Sample also attributed

Table 12

Univariate Analyses for Assertiveness of Target MANOVA Effect: Motive Sample

Measure	Target Character Submissive	Assertive	Univariate $F(1,444)$
Content of Impression			
Perc. Assertiveness	23.94	47.85	483.75****
Competitive Ability	3.79	5.64	79.75****
Assertive Constructs	.48	.49	<1.00
Perc. Warmth	44.17	41.99	3.19#
Cooperative Ability	5.07	4.90	<1.00
Affiliation Constructs	.11	.11	<1.00
Perc. Responsibility	17.19	19.70	18.73****
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	35.50	39.66	16.18****
Conf. in Warmth	42.37	43.86	1.10
Conf. in Responsibility	16.44	18.45	7.29**
Person Atrribution	35.25	54.71	43.18****
Complexity of Impression			
Assertiveness Variance	1.46	.80	3.82*
Warmth Variance	1.08	.79	2.32
Responsibility Variance	.67	.49	1.09
Total Variance	3.20	2.26	3.28#
Total Constructs	7.82	7.30	1.50
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	4.39	4.22	<1.00
Satisfaction	4.56	4.70	<1.00
Pleasantness	4.76	4.64	<1.00
Outcome Expectations			
Dyad Success	5.17	5.49	2.16
Own Success	5.41	5.39	<1.00

#p<.10
*p<.05
**p<.01
****p<.0001

marginally more causality to the assertive target). It would appear that the primary difference between the findings in the two samples is that the effect of target assertiveness is more constrained in the present sample. That is, the manipulation of target assertiveness primarily affected assertiveness-related aspects of impressions in the present sample, and had much less influence on affiliativeness-related aspects of impressions than in the Validation Sample. Given that half of the perceivers in each motive group expected to compete with the target, it may be that assertiveness was expected and therefore less threatening or aversive.

Perceivers in the present sample are also more polarized in their impressions of the Assertive characters than the Submissive characters. Both variance in assertiveness and total trait ratings decreased significantly between Submissive and Assertive characters. Thus, in addition to being more confident in their impressions of the Assertive characters, perceivers decreased in complexity. These findings are consistent with the correlational findings presented earlier.

Affiliativeness of the Target Characters. Table 13 presents the univariate analyses for the Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA effect. Once again, these findings largely parallel those from the Validation Sample. Affiliative characters are perceived as significantly more warm and cooperative than Disaffiliative characters, are liked more, and perceivers expect interacting with them to be more pleasant. However, in contrast to the findings from the Validation Sample, in the present sample the manipulation of target affiliativeness also significantly influenced perceivers' confidence in the target's warmth and impressions of responsibility. Although there was a tendency for

Table 13

Univariate Analyses for Affiliativeness of Target
MANOVA Effect: Motive Sample

Measure	Target Character: Disaffiliate	Target Character: Affiliative	Univariate F(1,144)
Content of Impression			
Perc. Assertiveness	35.86	35.92	<1.00
Competitive Ability	4.61	4.81	<1.00
Assertive Constructs	.52	.45	4.86*
Perc. Warmth	36.20	49.96	126.43****
Cooperative Ability	4.35	5.62	33.56****
Affiliation Constructs	.10	.12	<1.00
Perc. Responsibility	17.54	19.35	9.75**
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	38.30	36.86	1.93
Conf. in Warmth	40.77	45.46	10.91***
Conf. in Responsibility	17.34	17.55	<1.00
Person Attribution	46.74	43.22	1.41
Complexity of Impression			
Assertiveness Variance	.69	1.57	6.71**
Warmth Variance	.71	1.15	5.18*
Responsibility Variance	.35	.81	6.34**
Total Variance	2.36	3.10	2.01
Total Constructs	7.39	7.74	<1.00
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	3.84	4.77	20.26****
Satisfaction	4.21	5.05	13.06***
Pleasantness	4.10	5.30	32.27****
Outcome Expectations			
Dyad Success	4.87	5.79	18.38****
Own Success	5.11	5.69	8.73**

* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001
**** p<.0001

Affiliative characters to be perceived as more responsible than Disaffiliative characters in the Validation Sample, the findings for confidence in the target's warmth were opposite: subjects in the Validation Sample reported being somewhat less confident in their impressions of the warmth of the Affiliative target (although the difference between the means was not significant).

Perceivers are also more complex in their impressions of the Affiliative targets: there is significantly more variance in impressions of the target's assertiveness, warmth and responsibility for the Affiliative than the Disaffiliative characters. In addition, perceivers are more optimistic about the outcomes of their interaction with the Affiliative than Disaffiliative targets. Thus, once again it would appear that affiliativeness is associated with positive evaluations and increased complexity of impressions, as indicated in the correlational findings.

Interactive Effects of Target Assertiveness and Affiliativeness. Contrary to the findings for the Validation Sample, there was a significant Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA interaction among the Motive Sample. The univariate analyses for this effect are presented in Table 14.

The interaction of target assertiveness and affiliativeness significantly influenced perceptions of assertiveness and responsibility, the prevalence of assertive constructs in the free-response impressions, confidence in ratings of assertiveness and warmth, and variance in both assertiveness ratings and total trait ratings. Thus, the interaction of target characteristics influenced the content, strength, and structure of impressions, but not their valence.

Table 14

Univariate Analyses for Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA Interaction: Motive Sample

Measure	Target Character Sub-Disaff.	Sub-Aff.	Ass-Disaff.	Ass-Aff.	Univariate $F(1,144)$
Content of Impression					
Perceived Assertiveness	22.32_{a}	25.55_{a}	49.40_{b}	46.30_{b}	8.46^{**}
Competitive Ability	3.72	3.85	5.50	5.77	<1.00
Assertive Constructs	$.45_{ab}$	$.51_{bc}$	$.60_{c}$	$.37_{a}$	15.78^{***}
Perceived Warmth	36.87	51.47	35.52	48.45	<1.00
Cooperative Ability	4.40	5.75	4.30	5.50	<1.00
Affiliation Constructs	.10	.12	.11	.11	<1.00
Perceived Responsibility	15.62_{a}	18.75_{b}	19.45_{b}	19.95_{b}	5.11^{*}
Strength of Impression					
Conf. in Assertiveness	35.37_{a}	35.62_{a}	41.22_{b}	38.10_{ab}	$2.66^{\#}$
Conf. in Warmth	38.10_{a}	46.65_{b}	43.45_{ab}	44.27_{b}	7.41^{**}
Conf. in Responsibility	16.12	16.75	18.55	18.35	<1.00
Person Attribution	38.25	32.25	55.22	54.20	<1.00
Complexity of Impression					
Assertiveness Variance	$.71_{a}$	2.20_{b}	$.66_{a}$	$.93_{a}$	$3.27^{\#}$
Warmth Variance	.87	1.29	.55	1.02	<1.00
Responsibility Variance	.36	.98	.34	.63	<1.00
Total Variance	2.41_{a}	4.00_{b}	2.31_{a}	2.21_{a}	$2.62^{\#}$
Total Constructs	7.90	7.75	6.87	7.72	1.36

Table 14 (cont.)

Measure	Target Character Sub-Disaff.	Sub-Aff.	Ass-Disaff.	Ass-Aff.	Univariate $F(1,144)$
Evaluation of Target					
Liking	3.80	4.97	3.87	4.57	<1.00
Satisfaction	4.27	4.85	4.15	5.25	<1.00
Pleasantness	4.15	5.37	4.05	5.22	<1.00
Outcome Expectations					
Dyad Success	4.65	5.70	5.10	5.87	<1.00
Own Success	5.17	5.65	5.05	5.72	<1.00

Note. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, Scheffe a posteriori test.

$^{\#}p < .10$
$^{*}p < .05$
$^{**}p < .01$
$^{***}p < .001$

In terms of the content variables, examination of the means in Table 14 shows that while Assertive targets are perceived as more assertive than Submissive targets, the differences are more extreme for targets who were also disaffiliative. That is, affiliativeness decreases impressions of assertiveness for the Assertive targets, but increases perceived assertiveness for the Submissive targets. The Assertive-Disaffiliative target is perceived as most assertive, while the Submissive-Disaffiliative character is perceived as least assertive.

A somewhat different pattern is evident for perceptions of the target's responsibility. The Submissive-Disaffiliative target is seen as significantly less responsible than the other three targets, who do not differ in their perceived responsibility. Thus, while the Assertive-Affiliative and Assertive-Disaffiliative targets are seen as equally responsible, they differ in perceived assertiveness. On the other hand, the Submissive-Disaffiliative character is perceived as both the least assertive and the least responsible of all four targets.

Finally, assertive constructs are more prevalent in the impressions of Submissive characters when they were affiliative, but more prevalent in impressions of Assertive characters when they were disaffiliative. In fact, assertive constructs are most prevalent in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, and least prevalent in impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character.

The strength of impressions of target assertiveness and warmth is also influenced by the interaction of assertiveness and affiliativeness. Perceivers are significantly more confident in their impressions of the assertiveness of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character than the three other targets. On the other hand, confidence

in impressions of target warmth is greater for Affiliative than Disaffiliative characters, but the difference is only significant when the target was also submissive. Perceivers are significantly less confident in the warmth of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character than either the Submissive-Affiliative or Assertive-Affiliative characters, while confidence in the warmth of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character is intermediate.

Summary: Target Influence on Impressions. Aside from demonstrating once again that the videotape manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness were successful, these findings provide considerable information about person perception and, specifically, the processing of information obtained from direct observation of target behavior. First, it should be noted that perceivers in the present sample were generally accurate in their perceptions of the target's assertiveness and affiliativeness. Although the present analyses did not allow direct assessment of distortion, the informal comparisons with the findings from the Validation Sample indicate that whatever distortion may be present is relatively subtle at this global level. Assertive targets were uniformly perceived as significantly more assertive than Submissive targets, and Affiliative targets were rated significantly higher in warmth than Disaffiliative targets. In addition, Assertive and Affiliative targets were seen as more responsible than Submissive or Disaffiliative targets. However, it is the relationships between content and other impression variables, and the interactive effects of the manipulated target characteristics on impressions which are particularly interesting.

The affiliativeness of the character appears to have the greatest influence on evaluation and expectations about the outcomes of an interaction between target and perceiver. Affiliative characters were liked more than Disaffiliative characters, and interacting with them was expected to be more pleasant, satisfying, and more likely to result in successful attainment of the goal of the interaction task. Perceivers were also more complex in their impressions of Affiliative characters. This is consistent with the expectation that complexity increases for positively evaluated characters.

There is also some evidence that assertiveness is generally somewhat threatening to perceivers who expect to interact with the target. That is, variance tended to decrease in impressions of Assertive characters. However, it is the interaction of assertiveness and affiliativeness which appears most important here. To the extent the target is friendly and considerate of others, assertiveness is probably seen as a desirable characteristic. However, assertiveness becomes highly aversive when it is coupled with a negative interpersonal attitude. The Assertive-Disaffiliative character was seen as most assertive, and perceivers were most confident in the assertiveness of this character. Concommitantly, impressions of this character were most focused on assertive qualities and were most polarized. On the other hand, impressions were least focused on assertiveness when the character was affiliative as well as assertive, and perceivers were most discriminating in their impressions when the character was both submissive and affiliative, indicating that this character was least threatening of all to perceivers.

Situational Influences

The analyses presented in this section are primarily focused on differences in impressions as a function of the particular type of expected interaction or involvement between perceiver and target. It will be recalled from the overall MANOVA results presented earlier that impressions at the global level differed significantly between perceivers expecting to cooperate with the target characters and those expecting to compete with the target characters. However, prior to examining these differences in detail, it may prove useful to examine any differences between the impressions of the present subjects and those in the Validation Sample. As noted earlier, the impressions of subjects in the Validation Sample constitute a "baseline control" measure for assessing biases in the impressions of perceivers who are outcome dependent upon the target characters. In effect, perceivers in the present sample are most similar in the fact that they expected to interact with the target characters, while those in the Validation Sample did not. However, since there are a number of procedural differences other than outcome dependency between these two samples (e.g., selection procedures, manipulations of cooperation and competition), outcome dependency is confounded, and it is not possible to draw any strong conclusions about the effect of this factor per se from the present data. Nonetheless, to the extent that differences between the present Motive Sample and Validation Sample are consistent with the findings from previous studies of the influence of outcome dependency, where these interpretative ambiguities are not a problem (e.g., Berscheid et al., 1976), they provide a useful prelude to the

examination of the differential effects of more specific involvements, such as cooperation and competition, on impressions.

Global Differences Between Motive and Validation Samples. In order to examine general differences between impressions in the outcome dependent Motive Sample and the uninvolved Validation Sample, data for the two samples were combined and analysed through a 2 (Sample: Motive vs. Validation) X 2 (Assertiveness of Target) X 2 (Affiliativeness of Target) MANOVA[5]. As expected, this analysis yielded a significant main effect for Sample (MANOVA F (22, 340) = 3.32, $p < .001$), indicating that the two groups differ in their global impressions of the target characters.

As shown in Table 15, perceivers in the Motive and Validation Samples differ significantly on all aspects of impressions except their subjective confidence in impressions of target warmth and responsibility. More specifically, the outcome dependent perceivers in the Motive Sample make stronger, more extreme judgments for every target characteristic: they see the target characters as significantly more assertive and competitive, warm and cooperative, and as more responsible than the Validation Sample. In addition, perceivers in the Motive Sample like the target characters significantly more, and expect that interacting with them will be significantly more pleasant than Validation Sample perceivers. On the other hand, Motive Sample perceivers tend to be less confident in their judgments overall, are significantly less confident in their impressions of target assertiveness, and attribute significantly less causal influence to the dispositional characteristics of the target characters for the events observed in the videotape than the Validation Sample.

Table 15

Univariate Analyses for MANOVA Effect for Motive vs. Validation Samples

Measure	Sample		Univariate
	Motive	Validation	$F(1,198)$
Content of Impression			
Perceived Assertiveness	35.89	34.07	$3.30^{\#}$
Competitive Ability	4.71	4.07	11.96^{**}
Perceived Warmth	43.08	38.62	16.56^{**}
Cooperative Ability	4.98	4.25	13.59^{**}
Perceived Responsibility	18.44	15.75	26.16^{**}
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	37.58	43.82	40.74^{**}
Conf. in Warmth	43.12	44.50	1.23
Conf. in Responsibility	17.44	18.15	1.13^{**}
Person Attribution	44.98	53.72	10.51^{**}
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	4.30	3.80	7.32^{**}
Pleasantness	4.69	3.90	17.07^{**}

$^{\#}p < .10$

$^{**}p < .01$

These differences between extremity of attributed target characteristics and confidence in judgments among perceivers in the Motive Sample appear inconsistent with some general findings from attribution theory. Typically, extremity and confidence in trait ratings are highly correlated, and are taken to imply dispositional attributions for observed behaviors (cf., Jones & Davis, 1965). Yet, while perceivers in the Motive Sample did make more extreme judgments about target qualities, they were less confident and apparently made fewer dispositional attributions, at least at the global level. In considering this inconsistency, it seems likely to relate to issues regarding the evaluation of particular target characters, and general tendencies among outcome dependent perceivers to maintain positive expectations about interaction outcomes.

A number of previous studies have found that expected interaction with a target character increases the salience of target qualities to perceivers (e.g., Berscheid et al., 1976). Outcome dependent perceivers tend to pay more attention to the target character during observation of his behaviors, make more extreme judgments, and generally make more dispositional attributions for the observed behaviors. This general tendency is consistent with the greater extremity of judgments among outcome dependent perceivers in the present study (i.e., the Motive Sample). However, outcome dependent perceivers also appear subject to positivity or wish-fulfilling biases in their impressions of target characters (Berscheid et al., 1976; Jones & Dougherty, 1959; Peoitone, 1950; Tyler & Sears, 1977), and it is this evaluative bias which may account for the pattern of results reported above.

In general, the differences in impressions of perceivers in the Motive and Validation Samples are consistent with the hypothesis of a general positivity bias in the impressions of outcome dependent perceivers. Perceivers in the Motive Sample viewed the target characters as significantly more warm and responsible (both socially desirable qualities), liked them more, and expected their interaction to be more pleasant than did Validation Sample subjects, who did not expect any involvement with the target characters. However, it should be noted that while positive distortions for each of these factors would result in more extreme judgments (i.e., higher warmth, greater liking, etc.) this is not the case for assertiveness. That is, assertiveness is an evaluatively ambiguous quality, being desirable in some circumstances, but clearly undesirable in others--particularly when extreme, as in the present case. Consequently, engagement in a process of "wish-fulfilling" distortion would not result in a consistent augmentation or reduction in impressions of target assertiveness, but rather the direction of the distortion would depend upon the target's actual characteristics (i.e., Assertive vs. Submissive) and/or the nature of the involvement between perceiver and target.

In this regard, it is important to note that the difference between the impressions of the two samples was less significant for assertiveness than any of the other content measures. Further, it is only for the assertive qualities of the target characters that perceivers in the Motive Sample are significantly less confident in their judgments than perceivers in the Validation Sample. Since perceivers in both samples viewed the target differences in assertiveness as more extreme than target differences in affiliativeness (see Tables, 5, 6, 12, & 13),

this target characteristic is apparently more salient and/or less ambiguous, and thus more difficult to distort or deny. If this is the case, one possible alternative mechanism for maintaining an optimistic outlook regarding the interaction with the target character would be to view his assertive behaviors in the videotape as not being an accurate reflection of his dispositional characteristics. Consistent with this explanation, the perceivers in the Motive Sample showed less confidence in judgments of assertiveness and attributed less causal influence to target dispositions for the observed behaviors in the videotape. If this hypothesis is ultimately valid, such "defensive distortions" should vary as a function of the particular type of interaction expected between perceiver and target.

Effects of Expected Cooperation vs. Competition. The results presented above relate to the general influence of expected interaction on impression formation. However, it is in terms of influences attributable to the more specific effects of expected cooperation vs. competition that the findings are most relevant to the preliminary model. Consistent with this perspective, the overall MANOVA for the Motive Sample yielded a significant main effect for Interaction Condition, indicating that impressions as a whole differed between perceivers who expected different types of interactions with the target characters.

The univariate analyses for this MANOVA main effect are presented in Table 16. These analyses show that only the content and strength of impressions are affected by differences in the nature of the expected interaction. Under conditions of expected cooperation, perceivers focus significantly more on the affiliative qualities of the target characters, while under competitive conditions they focus significantly

Table 16

Univariate Analyses for Interaction Condition MANOVA Effect: Motive Sample

Measure	Condition		Univariate
	Cooperative	Competitive	$F(1,144)$
Content of Impression			
Perceived Assertiveness	36.50	35.29	1.24
Competitive Ability	4.94	4.49	4.72*
Assertive Constructs	.43	.54	12.31***
Perceived Warmth	42.37	43.79	1.33
Cooperative Ability	5.02	4.95	<1.00
Affiliation Constructs	.13	.09	3.42#
Perceived Responsibility	18.65	18.24	<1.00
Strength of Impression			
Conf. in Assertiveness	37.22	37.94	<1.00
Conf. in Warmth	43.90	42.34	1.21
Conf. in Responsibility	18.09	16.80	2.98#
Person Attribution	43.80	46.16	<1.00
Complexity of Impression			
Assertiveness Variance	1.20	1.05	<1.00
Warmth Variance	1.02	.85	<1.00
Responsibility Variance	.66	.50	<1.00
Total Variance	2.70	2.77	<1.00
Total Constructs	7.54	7.59	<1.00
Evaluation of Target			
Liking	4.36	4.25	<1.00
Satisfaction	4.66	4.60	<1.00
Pleasantness	4.71	4.69	<1.00
Outcome Expectations			
Dyad Success	5.39	5.27	<1.00
Own Success	5.39	5.41	<1.00

# $p < .10$
* $p < .05$
*** $p < .001$

more on the assertive qualities of the targets. In addition, perceivers who expect to cooperate with the target characters see them as significantly more assertive and competitive, and are significantly more confident in their impressions of target responsibility than perceivers who expect to compete with the target characters.

In terms of the prevalence of particular target qualities in perceivers' impressions, these findings are consistent with the hypothesis of Jones and Thibaut (1958) that individuals are most interested in information relevant to the outcomes of their relationship with the target character. Assertiveness may be seen as relatively more important under competitive conditions than affiliativeness, while the reverse is true under cooperative conditions. Thus, perceivers in each interaction condition focused on the target quality most directly relevant to their interaction outcomes.

Aside from this general effect, the findings also seem to further support the contention of wish-fulfilling distortions; particularly under competitive conditions. Generally, competition may be viewed as more aversive than cooperation, since only one of the participants can "win" in a competitive interaction. In the present sample, perceivers expecting to compete with the target characters saw them as significantly less competitive than perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction, where competitive ability is an irrelevant target quality. In addition, although the mean differences were not significant, perceivers under competitive conditions tended to see the target characters as less assertive, but as more warm than perceivers expecting a cooperative encounter. Although the decrease in perceived assertiveness and competitive ability under competitive conditions could be accounted for

by a "nonmotivational" hypothesis of increased discrimination for interaction-relevant qualities (i.e., since expected competition heightened the relevance of assertive qualities, perceivers under these conditions made finer discriminations, leading to reduced judgments of the target's assertive qualities), this purely cognitive mechanism does not account for the tendency to view the target characters as more affiliative. In order to examine whether or not these differences are defensively motivated, it is useful to compare the impressions of perceivers expecting cooperation or competition with those of the Validation Sample. Impressions which are more similar to those of the Validation Sample may be assumed to be more "accurate," since Validation Sample perceivers had no reason to distort their impressions of the target characters.

Comparisons With the Validation Sample. It will be recalled from the overall MAVOVA for the Motive Sample that only the main effect for Interaction Condition was significant, and not any of the interactions between this factor and perceiver motivation or target characteristics. However, in addition to the main effect for Sample in the combined Motive and Validation Sample MANOVA discussed earlier, this combined analysis also yielded significant Sample X Assertiveness of Target (MANOVA F (22,340) = 3.48, $p < .0001$) and Sample X Affiliativeness of Target interactions (MANOVA F (22,340) = 1.85, $p < .01$).[6] In describing the specific effects underlying these overall influences, as well as in later analyses of differences between impressions in the two samples, the Validation Sample will be referred to as a "baseline control group."

Table 17 summarizes the univariate analyses for the interaction between target assertiveness and the nature of the expected interaction (i.e., cooperative vs. competitive vs. "control"). As may be seen, the

Table 17

Univariate Analyses for Interaction Condition X Assertiveness of Target MANOVA Internation

Measure	Submissive Coop.	Submissive Control	Submissive Comp.	Assertive Coop.	Assertive Control	Assertive Comp.	Univariate $F(2,180)$
Content of Impression							
Perceived Assertiveness	25.20_{b}	20.95_{a}	22.67_{ab}	47.80_{c}	47.20_{c}	47.90_{c}	24.67^{****}
Competitive Ability	4.15_{b}	2.90_{a}	3.45_{a}	5.72_{c}	5.25_{c}	5.55_{c}	3.54^{*}
Perceived Warmth	43.60	41.20	44.75	42.45	36.15	41.52	<1.00
Cooperative Ability	5.02	4.95	5.12	4.67	3.55	5.12	1.92
Perceived Responsibility	17.57	14.25	16.80	19.57	17.25	19.82	<1.00
Strength of Impression							
Conf. in Assertiveness	34.07_{a}	41.20_{c}	36.92_{ab}	40.37_{c}	46.45_{d}	38.95_{bc}	$2.41^{\#}$
Conf. in Warmth	42.77	41.95	41.97	42.37	47.05	45.35	<1.00
Conf. in Responsibility	16.20	17.35	16.67	17.67	18.95	19.22	1.49^{***}
Person Attribution	33.97_{a}	51.50_{b}	36.52_{a}	53.62_{b}	55.95_{b}	55.80_{b}	8.18
Evaluation of Target							
Liking	4.30	4.25	4.47	4.32	3.35	4.12	<1.00
Pleasantness	4.50	4.40	5.02	4.82	3.40	4.45	1.21

Note. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, Scheffe a posteriori test.

$^{\#}p < .10$
$^{*}p < .05$
$^{***}p < .001$
$^{****}p < .0001$

perceiver groups differ significantly in impressions of target assertiveness and competitive ability, in their subjective confidence in impressions of assertiveness, and in person attribution.

For impressions of assertiveness and competitive ability, the perceiver groups only differ significantly for impressions of the Submissive target characters. Perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction see the Submissive targets as significantly more assertive than control perceivers, while perceivers expecting a competitive interaction are intermediate in their impressions of this quality of the Submissive characters. Likewise, perceivers expecting cooperation see the Submissive characters as significantly more competitive than either the control perceivers or those expecting a competitive interaction.

A similar pattern is evident in person attributions for target behavior. Once again the perceiver groups only differ significantly for impressions of the Submissive characters. However, here it is the control perceivers who are significantly higher in person attribution than either of the involved groups, replicating the findings for this variable reported in Table 15.

A very different pattern is observed for confidence in impressions of target assertiveness. Here, both groups of involved perceivers are significantly less confident than control perceivers in their judgments of the assertiveness of both Submissive and Assertive target characters (replicating the main effect for this variable in Table 15), but do not differ significantly from one another in either case. However, competitive perceivers do not increase significantly in their confidence in target assertiveness between Submissive and Assertive targets, while perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction do show significantly

greater confidence for impressions of the assertiveness of the Assertive than Submissive characters. Thus, the interaction between cooperation-competition and target assertiveness is significant ($F(1,144) = 4.26$, $p < .05$): perceivers expecting cooperation are less confident in the assertiveness of Submissive targets than perceivers expecting competition, but are more confident in the perceived assertiveness of Assertive targets.

Although comparable measures were not obtained from perceivers in the Validation Sample, within the Motive Sample the interaction of cooperation-competition and assertiveness of the target character was also significant for the prevalence of affiliative constructs in perceivers' free-response impressions ($F(1,144) = 2.96$, $p < .10$), and expectations about personal success in the expected interaction ($F(1,144) = 6.60$, $p < .01$). Perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction were significantly more optimistic about their personal success in the interaction when the target character was Assertive ($\bar{X} = 5.65$) than Submissive ($\bar{X} = 5.15$). Perceivers expecting competition, however, show just the opposite pattern: they are significantly more optimistic about their personal success when the target is Submissive ($\bar{X} = 5.67$) than Assertive ($\bar{X} = 5.15$). In terms of the focus on affiliative qualities, the two groups of perceivers do not differ in impressions of the Assertive targets ($\bar{X}_{coop} = \bar{X}_{comp} = .11$), but perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction are significantly more focused on the affiliative qualities of the Submissive targets ($\bar{X} = .15$) than perceivers expecting competition ($\bar{X} = .07$).

These findings provide additional support for both the hypothesized focus on interaction-relevant target qualities, and the proposed

positivity biases in the impressions of outcome dependent perceivers. Perceivers who expect to interact competitively with the target characters appear to make finer discriminations in assertiveness than perceivers expecting a competitiive interaction. They see the Submissive target characters as less assertive than perceivers expecting cooperation, but see the Assertive characters as slightly more assertive. On the other hand, under competitive conditions the target characters are consistently seen as having less competitive ability. Further, perceivers expecting competition are more confident in impressions of assertiveness of the Submissive targets, but less confident in impressions of the assertiveness of the Assertive target characters than perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction. Thus, these perceivers show increased confidence when the target's character is conducive to their personal success, but decreased confidence when the target's qualities indicate that personal success is unlikely: a pattern consistent with a general positivity bias or process of "defensive distortion."

Comparable analyses for the relationship between interaction condition and the affiliativeness of the target characters are presented in Table 18. The univariate analyses are significant for impressions of target warmth and cooperative ability, confidence in impressions of warmth, and expected pleasantness of the interaction.

These results parallel the findings reported above, except here the focus is on affiliation-related target qualities--a characteristic more relevant to cooperative than competitive interactions. Perceivers expecting a cooperative interaction see the Disaffiliative target characters as less cooperative than perceivers expecting competition, but

Table 18

Univariate Analyses for Interaction Condition X Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA Interaction

Measure	Disaffiliative Coop.	Disaffiliative Control	Disaffiliative Comp.	Affiliative Coop.	Affiliative Control	Affiliative Comp.	Univariate $F(2,180)$
Content of Impression							
Perceived Assertiveness	35.70	35.05	36.02	37.30	33.10	34.55	1.19
Competitive Ability	4.72	4.20	4.50	5.15	3.95	4.47	1.21^{***}
Perceived Warmth	35.22_{b}	31.20_{a}	37.17_{b}	49.52_{d}	46.05_{c}	50.40_{d}	$6.78^{\#}$
Cooperative Ability	4.22_{b}	3.55_{a}	4.47_{bc}	5.82_{e}	4.95_{cd}	5.42_{de}	$2.77^{\#}$
Perceived Responsibility	17.67	14.90	17.40	19.62	16.60	19.07	<1.00
Strength of Impression							
Conf. in Assertiveness	38.32	44.55	38.27	36.12	43.10	37.60	$<1.00^{**}$
Conf. in Warmth	42.85_{b}	45.25_{b}	38.70_{a}	44.95_{b}	43.75_{b}	45.97_{b}	5.54^{**}
Conf. in Responsibility	18.12	18.30	16.55	18.05	18.00	17.05	<1.00
Person Attribution	44.30	56.10	49.17	43.30	51.35	43.15	<1.00
Evaluation of Target							
Liking	3.82	3.20	3.85	4.90	4.40	4.65	$<1.00^{\#}$
Pleasantness	3.92_{b}	3.10_{a}	4.27_{bc}	5.50_{d}	4.70_{c}	5.10_{cd}	$2.41^{\#}$

Note. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, Scheffe a posteriori test.

$^{\#}p < .10$

$^{**}p < .01$

$^{***}p < .001$

see the Affiliative characters as more cooperative than perceivers with competitive interaction expectations. Further, while the preceding analysis showed that only perceivers expecting cooperation differed significantly in their confidence in target assertiveness between Submissive and Assertive targets, in the present case only perceivers expecting a competitive interaction differ significantly in their confidence in target warmth across Disaffiliative and Affiliative targets. Thus, across variations in interaction-relevant target characteristics, perceivers are more discriminating in their impressions of interaction-relevant target qualities, and are generally more confident in their judgments along these dimensions. Finally, under cooperative interaction conditions, perceivers expect interactions with Disaffiliative target characters to be less pleasant, but interactions with Affiliative target characters to be more pleasant than under competitive conditions. Thus, it would appear that outcome expectations are also influenced to a greater extent by interaction-relevant than irrelevant target qualities.

In terms of variables not assessed among the Validation Sample, the interaction between cooperation-competition and the affiliative qualities of the target characters was significant for the prevalence of assertive constructs in impressions ($F(1,144) = 2.60$, $p < .10$) and expectations for personal success in the interaction task ($F1,144) = 3.24$, $p < .10$). Consistent with the findings for these factors across variations in target assertiveness reported above, perceiveirs expecting a cooperative interaction are significantly more optimistic about personal success when the target was Affiliative ($\bar{X} = 5.85$) than Disaffiliative ($\bar{X} = 4.92$). Although perceivers expecting a competitive

interaction do not differ significantly in expectations for personal success across variations in target affiliativeness, they are more optimistic about personal success for the Disaffiliative target characters than perceivers under cooperative conditions ($\bar{X}$ = 5.30), but less optimistic about personal success than perceivers expecting cooperation for Affiliative characters ($\bar{X}$ = 5.52). Further, perceivers expecting to compete with the target do not differ significantly in the prevalence of assertive constructs for impressions of the Affiliative ($\bar{X}$ = .53) and Disaffiliative ($\bar{X}$ = .55) target characters, while perceivers expecting cooperation are significantly less focused on the assertive qualities of the Affiliative than Disaffiliative target characters ($\bar{X}_{aff}$ = .36; $\bar{X}_{disaff}$ = .49).

Summary: Situational Influences on Impressions. The findings presented in this section are consistent with two major conclusions about the influence of situational factors on impression formation. In addition, the findings are generally supportive of the model of impression formation proposed earlier in indicating that both the situation confronting the perceiver per se and the interaction between situational factors and the characteristics of the target person have significant effects on impressions.

The first major finding concerns the extent to which the goals of the particular interaction between perceiver and target character "channel" information processing. Based primarily on Jones and Thibaut's (1958) conceptual analysis of person perception from the standpoint of the situational goals confronting the perceiver, it was expected that perceivers who expected to interact with the target characters would focus particularly on those target qualities which were most relevant

to the specific goals of this interaction. This expectation was strongly confirmed. Perceivers who expected to compete with the target characters focused significantly more on their assertive qualities, and this focus was not affected by actual variations in irrelevant target qualities (i.e., affiliativeness). Further, across variations in interaction-relevant target qualities (i.e., assertiveness), these competitively-oriented perceivers appeared to make finer discriminations in their judgments of these qualities (i.e., showed a larger difference in perceptions of assertiveness across actual variations in this quality), and their subjective confidence in judgments about these target qualities was not significantly affected by actual variations in target behavior (i.e., they were equally confident in judgments of the assertiveness of the Assertive and Submissive target characters).

Perceivers who expected to cooperate with the target characters showed a similar pattern of responses, but here the relevant target quality was affiliativeness, rather than assertiveness. They were consistently more focused on this target quality, appeared to make finer discriminations along this dimension, and their confidence in judgments of interaction-relevant target qualities was not significantly affected by actual variations in the target's behavior. Conversely, each interaction group showed relative insensitivity to target qualities which were irrelevant to the goals of their expected interaction. Thus, for example, competitively-oriented perceivers varied in their focus on the affiliative qualities of the target and their confidence in judgments of target warmth across actual variations in target assertiveness and affiliativeness, respectively.

Aside from these influences on the content and strength of impressions, it would also appear that perceivers' expectations about the outcomes of their interaction with a target character are primarily affected by the target's interaction-relevant qualities. Perceivers expecting a competitive interaction were significantly more optimistic about their personal success at the interaction task when the target was Submissive than Assertive, while cooperatively-oriented perceivers showed the opposite pattern. On the other hand, the latter perceivers were significantly more optimistic about their personal success when the target was Affiliative than Disaffiliative, while perceivers expecting competition did not vary significantly in expectations for personal success across differences in target affiliativeness. Finally, perceivers expecting to cooperate with the target character expected their interaction to be more pleasant than competitively-oriented perceivers when the target was Affiliative, but less pleasant when the target was Disaffiliative.

Thus, in addition to the "main effects" of interaction condition, it is clearly necessary to consider the joint influence of interaction situation and the characteristics of the target person in order to satisfactorily predict impressions.

The second major implication of the findings regarding situational effects concerns the more general situational parameter of outcome dependency. Although, because of the confounding of outcome dependency with the specific situational and motivational manipulations, it is not possible to draw any strong conclusions about this factor from the present study, analyses undertaken to address this issue were generally consistent with the results of previous studies in indicating a general

positivity bias in impressions of outcome dependent perceivers (Berscheid et al., 1976; Pepitone, 1950; Tyler & Sears, 1977). Perceivers who expected to interact with the target characters consistently augmented their socially desirable qualities, and tended to distort impressions of their undesirable qualities in a manner which made them less salient (e.g., decreased confidence in judgments of assertive qualities). However, the more interesting findings relating to this issue concern the interaction of expectations regarding the nature of their interaction with the target and the target's actual qualities.

The findings regarding a general positivity bias appear very strong. Across all variations in target characteristics, perceivers expecting to interact with the targets saw them as higher on the socially desirable characteristics of warmth, responsibility, and cooperative ability, liked the targets more, and expected an interaction with them to be more pleasant than did the perceivers who were not outcome dependent upon the target characters (i.e., the Validation Sample). Evidence for the more specific process of "defensive distortion," however, is less pervasive, and is confined primarily to impressions under competitive interaction conditions. Perceivers who expected to compete with the target characters saw them as significantly less competitive than perceivers who expected a cooperative interaction, and were more confident in their judgments of the assertiveness of target characters when their dispositions were congruent with personal success at the competitive interaction (i.e., a Submissive target character) than when the target's dispositional characteristics were aversive (i.e., an Assertive target), relative to cooperatively-oriented perceivers.

The fact that less evidence was obtained for similar distortions in impressions of qualities relevant to cooperative interactions among perceivers who expected to cooperate with the target characters may relate to either differences in the relevant target qualities themselves, and/or the nature of cooperation relative to competition. As commented on previously, a positive distortion in impressions of target affiliativeness would always be in the direction of increased affiliative qualities. Positivity distortions in assertiveness, however, would vary depending upon situational factors. High assertiveness may be desirable under certain situational conditions, but is clearly undesirable in others. Further, all involved perceivers distorted their impressions of target affiliativeness in a positive direction, relative to the impressions of uninvolved perceivers, and this general effect may make the demonstration of defensive processes in the perception of this quality more difficult than for assertiveness. Nevertheless, perceivers expecting cooperation viewed the Disaffiliative targets as less warm and cooperative than competitively-oriented perceivers, and were even somewhat less confident in their judgments of the warmth of the Affiliative character. These findings clearly do not support any hypothesis of defensive distortion.

An alternative, and perhaps more viable, explanation for the relative lack of evidence of defensive distortions under expectations of cooperation relates to the aversiveness of assertiveness vs. affiliativeness and cooperation vs. competition per se. It will be recalled from earlier discussions of the influence of target characteristics that assertiveness appeared to be generally more aversive than affiliativeness. Thus, even the Disaffiliative characters, providing they

were not also highly assertive, may not threaten perceivers sufficiently to result in initiation of defensive processes. Similarly, there is some evidence that competition is more aversive in general than cooperation. Thus, there would appear to be inherently more threat in a competitive interaction with a highly Assertive target character than in a cooperative interaction with a Disaffiliative character, since in the former both situational and target characteristics are aversive, while in the latter only the target characteristic is aversive, and perhaps not as aversive as high assertiveness. Resolution of these issues is an intriguing area for future research. For the present, however, consideration of the influence of the perceivers' motivation in addition to target and situational factors may improve understanding of these processes.

Motivational Influences

Although the preliminary model presented earlier is viewed as a general model of impression formation under conditions of outcome dependency, the particular problem addressed in the present research concerns the lack of evidence in the extant literature for personality influences on person perception. In brief, it was argued that personality influences would only affect person perception when the attributes and behavior of the target person were relevant to the perceiver's outcomes: i.e., when the perceiver is outcome dependent upon the target character. Under such conditions, the desirability of outcomes is viewed as being defined by the perceiver's dominant interpersonal needs or motives, both singly and in conjunction with the goals of the interaction between perceiver and target. The specific hypotheses regarding motivational influences, then, are based on consideration of

the extent to which the perceiver expects to receive personally gratifying outcomes as a result of his involvement with the target character. Impressions should not only be affected by the target's actual qualities and the goal or purpose of the interaction between target and perceiver, as shown above, but also by the relationship between these factors and the idiosyncratic desires of the perceiver. In this section, the findings relevant to these latter influences will be presented.

In presenting the findings concerning motivational influences on impression formation, discussion will focus primarily on evaluation of the specific research hypotheses. It will be recalled from the overall MANOVA that the only significant motive-related effect on global impressions was an interaction between Motive and Affiliativeness of Target. In describing this significant MANOVA effect, the univariate analyses for the entire set of dependent variables will be examined. However, in the remainder of this section only those specific impression variables directly relevant to the hypothesized motivational influences will be examined. That is, since motivational influences generally did not affect the entire set of dependent variables, as indicated by the overall MANOVA, subgroup analyses will only be performed for effects predicted a priori on the basis of the preliminary model.

Salience of Motive-Relevant Target Qualities. The first hypothesis predicted that perceivers will focus on those target qualities most relevant to gratification of their interpersonal motives in their impressions, and will be more confident in their judgments of motive-relevant than irrelevant qualities. However, as noted previously, the particular level of a quality attributed to the target character

should primarily be a function of the target's actual characteristics, and would therefore not be expected to be influenced to a great extent by motivational factors at this global level. Thus, Dominance-motivated perceivers should focus on the assertive qualities of the target characters, and should be more confident in their judgments of target assertiveness, while Succorance-motivated perceivers should focus more on affiative qualities and be more confident in their judgments about affiliation-related characteristics.

The data relevant to evaluating this hypothesis are presented in Table 19. As may be seen, these results are generally supportive of the hypothesis. Dominance-motivated perceivers tend to focus more on assertive qualities of the target in their free-response impressions, and are significantly more confident in their judgments of target assertiveness than Succorance-motivated perceivers. Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, focus significantly more on the affiliative qualities of the target characters. However, these perceivers are not more confident in their judgments of target warmth than Dominance-motivated perceivers. Finally, as expected, the two motive groups do not differ significantly in their perceptions of the level of target assertiveness and warmth across all target characters.

Although the mean difference was in the predicted direction, the motive groups did not differ to a statistically significant extent in the focus on assertive qualities of the target. However, it should be recalled that assertive qualities were generally more prevalent in perceivers' impressions than affiliative qualities (see Tables 12 & 13). When the relative focus on assertive vs. affiliative qualities

Table 19

Motive Group Differences in Impressions of

Motive-Relevant Target Qualities

Measure	Motive		Univariate
	Succorance	Dominance	$F(1,144)$
Perceived Assertiveness	36.26	35.52	<1.00
Perceived Warmth	43.02	43.14	<1.00
Conf. in Assertiveness	36.41	38.75	5.11*
Conf. in Warmth	42.57	43.66	1.02
Assertive Contructs	.46	.51	2.12
Affiliation Constructs	.13	.09	3.06#

#$p < .10$

*$p < .05$

is considered (i.e., assertive constructs minus affiliative constructs), Dominance-motivated perceivers are significantly higher than Succorance-motivated perceivers ($\overline{X}_{dom}$ = .42, $\overline{X}_{succ}$ = .33; $F(1,144)$ = 3.08, $p < .10$).

Evaluation of Interaction Conditions. The second hypothesis predicted that individuals will prefer to interact under conditions where the normative structure is congruent with their desired style of interpersonal behavior. Aside from the characteristics of the target person, social norms also have a significant impact on the probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes, since they place various demands and constraints on the behavior of participants (cf. Price & Bouffard, 1978). Even where the characteristics of the target person are gratifying from the standpoint of the perceiver, situational norms may lower the probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes either through increasing the probability of negatively-evaluated target behaviors, or restricting the perceiver's ability to behave in his preferred fashion. Thus, Dominance-motivated perceivers should generally prefer competitive interactions since they promote assertive behaviors and an autocratic or authoritarian style of interpersonal behavior. Succorance-motivated perceivers should prefer cooperative interactions, since the norms here promote affiliativeness, mutual dependency, and consideration.

The data presented in Table 20 strongly support this hypothesis. Dominance-motivated perceivers consistently prefer competitive to cooperative interactions. They view competition as likely to be more pleasant and satisfying than cooperation, and are more optimistic about successful interaction outcomes for competitive than cooperative

Table 20

Motive Group Differences in Outcome Expectations Under Varying Interaction Conditions

Measure	Succorance		Dominance		Univariate
	Coop.	Comp.	Coop.	Comp.	$F(1,144)$
Satisfaction of Interaction	4.77	4.55	4.55	4.65	<1.00
Pleasantness of Interaction	4.87	4.45	4.55	4.92	$3.59^{\#}$
Dyad Success at Interaction Task	5.37_{b}	4.80_{a}	5.40_{b}	5.75_{b}	4.72^{*}
Own Success at Interaction Task	5.15	5.02	5.62	5.80	<1.00

Note: Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, a priori comparison.

$^{\#}p < .10$
$^{*}p < .05$

interactions. Succorance-motivated perceivers show an opposite pattern, consistently preferring cooperative to competitive interactions. However, while all of the mean differences are in the predicted direction ($p < .03$; sign test), only the univariate analyses for expected dyad success in meeting the interaction goals and expected pleasantness of the interaction are statistically significant. These significant interactions are illustrated in Figures 5 and 6, respectively. Incidently, it should also be noted that Dominance-motivated perceivers were generally more optimistic about the outcomes of their interaction with the target characters than Succorance-motivated perceivers, regardless of the nature of the interaction (for dyad and own success, respectively: $\bar{X}_{dom} = 5.57, 5.71$; $\bar{X}_{succ} = 5.08, 5.08$; $F(1,144) = 5.31, 8.77$; $p < .05, < .01$).

In summary, the results reported above are largely consistent with the hypotheses that perceivers will focus on motive-relevant characteristics in processing information about the target characters, and that they prefer interactions where the normative structure supports or encourages their preferred style of interpersonal behavior.

Interaction of Motivation and Affiliativeness of Target. Although not directly related to any of the specific hypotheses, the overall MANOVA yielded a significant Motive X Affiliativeness of Target interaction. The means and univariate analyses for this effect are presented in Table 21. The univariate analyses are significant for confidence in impressions of assertiveness and warmth, variance in impressions of target responsibility, and the total number of constructs in the free-response impressions. Thus, the MANOVA effect is on measures of the strength and complexity of impressions.

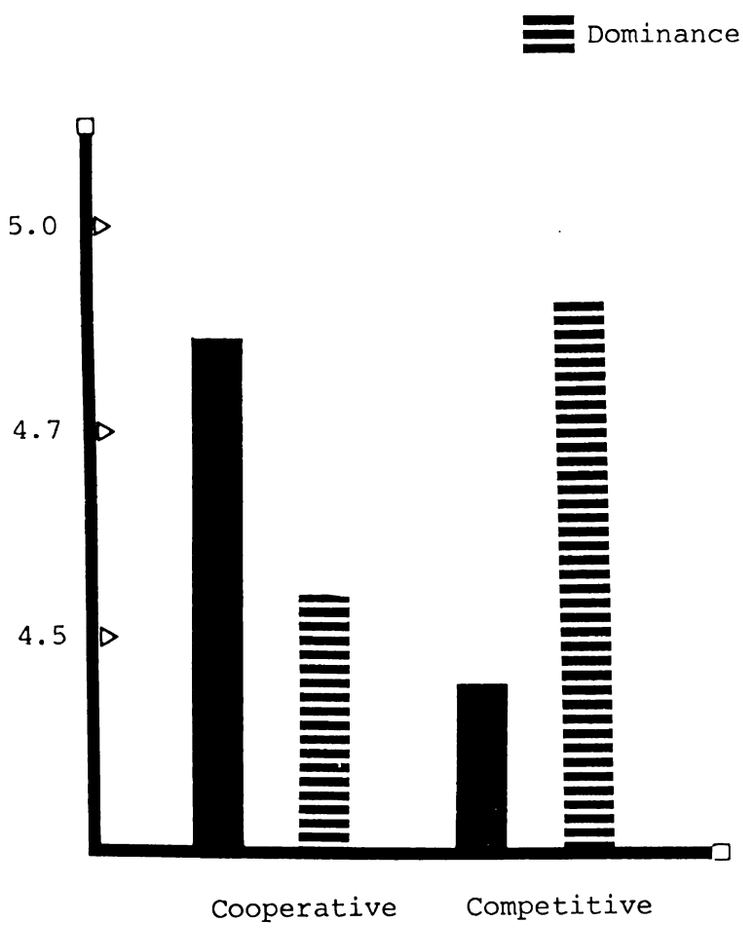

Figure 5. Expected pleasantness of interaction as a function of motivation and interaction condition.

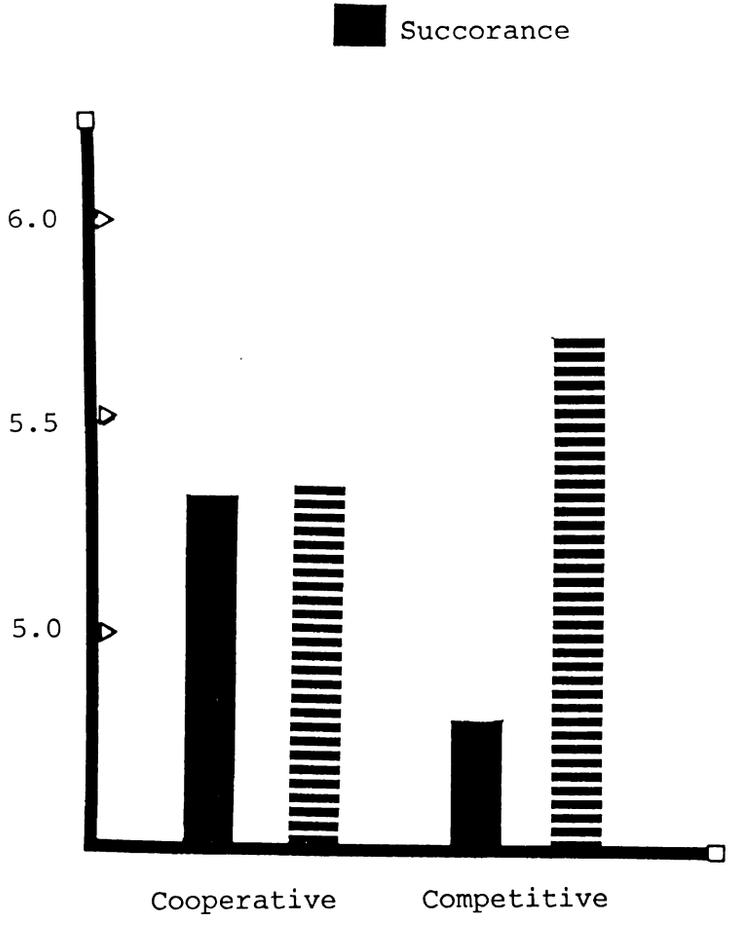

Figure 6. Expected dyad success in interaction as a function of motivation and interaction condition.

Table 21

Univariate Analyses for Motive X Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA Effect: Motice Sample

Measure	Dominance		Succorance		Univariate
	Disaffiliative	Affiliative	Disaffiliative	Affiliative	$F(1,144)$
Content of Impression					
Perceived Assertiveness	36.32	34.27	35.40	37.12	2.34
Competitive Ability	4.75	4.77	4.47	4.85	<1.00
Asssertive Constructs	.55	.47	.50	.43	<1.00
Perceived Warmth	36.95	49.32	35.45	50.60	1.28
Cooperative Ability	4.40	5.85	4.30	5.40	<1.00
Affiliation Constructs	.08	.11	.13	.13	<1.00
Perceived Responsibility	17.67	18.95	17.40	19.75	<1.00
Strength of Impression					
Conf. in Assertiveness	38.05_{ab}	39.45_{b}	38.55_{b}	34.27_{a}	7.52^{**}
Conf. in Warmth	40.15_{a}	47.17_{b}	41.40_{a}	43.75_{ab}	$2.71^{\#}$
Conf. in Responsibility	17.62	18.27	17.05	16.82	<1.00
Person Attribution	47.30	42.60	46.17	43.85	<1.00
Complexity of Impression					
Assertiveness Variance	.70	1.86	.68	1.28	<1.00
Warmth Variance	.85	1.27	.57	1.04	$<1.00_{*}$
Responsibility Variance	$.30_{a}$	1.18_{b}	$.41_{a}$	$.43_{a}$	5.65
Total Variance	2.62	2.60	2.10	3.60	$2.09_{\#}$
Total Constructs	7.30	8.35	7.47	7.12	$2.66^{\#}$

Table 21 (cont.)

Measure	Dominance		Succorance		Univariate
	Disaffiliative	Affiliative	Disaffiliative	Affiliative	F(1,144)
Evaluation of Target					
Liking	3.92	4.67	3.75	4.87	<1.00
Satisfaction	4.22	4.97	4.20	5.12	<1.00
Pleasantness	4.17	5.30	4.02	5.30	<1.00
Outcome Expectations					
Dyad Success	5.05	6.10	4.70	5.47	<1.00
Own Success	5.45	5.97	4.77	5.40	<1.00

Note. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, Scheffe a posteriori test.

$^{\#}p < .10$

$^{*}p < .05$

$^{**}p < .01$

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Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the Motive X Affiliativeness of Target interactions for confidence in impressions of assertiveness and warmth, respectively. In the case of confidence in the perceived assertiveness of the target characters, the Dominance and Succorance groups show an opposite pattern. Succorance-motivated perceivers decrease significantly in confidence in their impressions of assertiveness between the Disaffiliative and Affiliative characters, while Dominance-motivated perceivers show a slight, but not statistically significant, increase in confidence. Thus, the motive group means differ significantly from each other only for confidence in the assertiveness of the Affiliative targets.

Overall, these results appear to provide additional support for the hypothesis that perceivers focus on motive-relevant qualities of the stimulus person. Dominance-motivated perceivers tended to be more confident than Succorance-motivated perceivers in the motive-relevant quality of target assertiveness, and their level of confidence was not affected by variations in the, for this group, unrelated quality of affiliativeness. This pattern is similar to that noted earlier in regard to impressions of target qualities which were relevant to particular types of interaction. Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, show a significant decrease in confidence in their impressions of the assertiveness of the Affiliative targets, perhaps indicating that they were less concerned with this personally irrelevant quality of the stimulus person when his general character was clearly supportive of their interpersonal needs (i.e., highly affiliative). However, if this is the case it would seem to indicate that complexity

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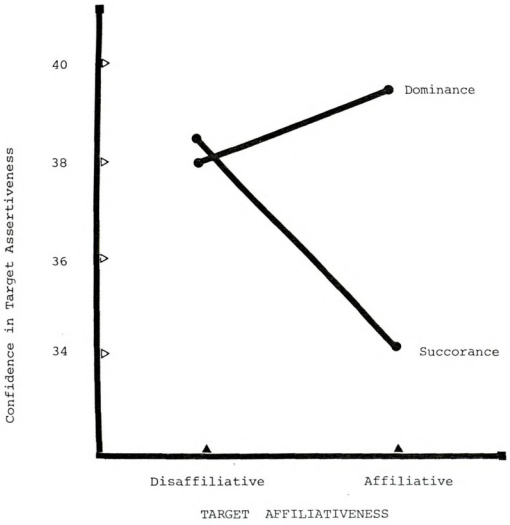

Figure 7. Confidence in judgments of target assertiveness as a function of motivation and affiliativeness of the target.

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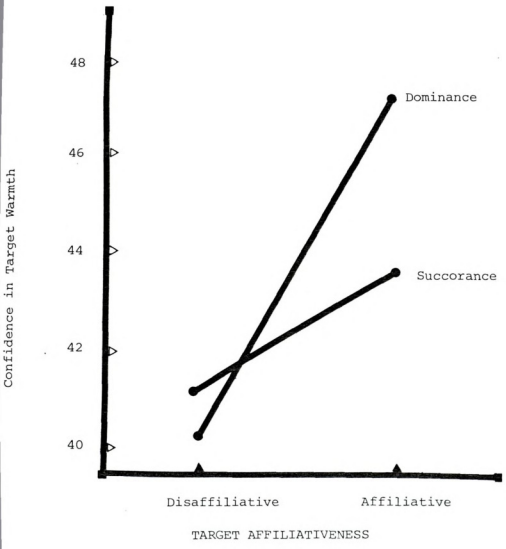

Figure 8. Confidence in judgments of target warmth as a function of motivation and affiliativeness of the target.

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decreases under expectations of gratification, since the Succorance-motivated perceivers apparently paid less attention to qualities unrelated to motive gratification under highly facilitative conditions. This would be contrary to the hypothesis concerning the relationship between interpersonal threat and complexity of impressions.

The situation is somewhat less clear for confidence in impressions of the target characters' warmth. Here both motive groups show increased confidence in their impressions of the warmth of the Affiliative targets, compared to the Disaffiliative targets. However, only the increase for the Dominance-motivated perceivers is statistically significant.

It must be recalled that, in contrast to assertiveness, warmth is a measure of a manipulated characteristic in these comparisons. Further, considering social norms, perceivers should generally expect an individual to be reasonably friendly in situations such as that observed in the videotapes. On the basis of attribution theory, then, confidence in impressions of the target's warmth should generally be greater for Disaffiliative than Affiliative targets, since contra-normative or unexpected behavior should be associated with greater dispositional attribution. However, the obtained results show an opposite pattern: confidence was greater for impressions of the warmth of the Affiliative targets. Perhaps perceivers, expecting affiliativeness and desiring a positive interaction with the target, found the unfriendliness of the Disaffiliative targets difficult to accept and consequently attributed this behavior to transient situational influences, the behavior of the other individual in the videotape, or other external

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Whatever the underlying explanation for this effect, Succorance-motivated perceivers would be expected to be generally more confident in the warmth of the target characters, since warmth is a motive-relevant quality to these individuals. However, while the Succorance-motivated perceivers were in fact somewhat more confident in their impressions of the warmth of the Disaffiliative targets than Dominance-motivated perceivers, they were slightly less confident in the warmth of the Affiliative characters. Further, analyses presented earlier (see Table 19) showed that Succorance-motivated perceivers were not generally more confident than Dominance-motivated perceivers in their impressions of target warmth.

Although this is not totally consistent with the model, the effect may relate to differences between the motive groups in their typical reaction to personally threatening information. It will be recalled that Dominance-motivated perceivers tended to utilize sensitizing defenses, while Succorance-motivated perceivers tended to utilize repressive defenses (see Table 2). Consistent with these orientations, Succorance-motivated perceivers were less confident in their impressions of the warmth of the Disaffiliative characters--those characters conceptually most threatening to these perceivers. In contrast to Dominance-motivated perceivers, these perceivers also perceived the Disaffiliative characters as less assertive than the Affiliative characters. Assuming that assertiveness is more threatening when the target character is also unfriendly, these differences are consistent with those in preferred

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cognitive defensive style. Thus, one may have to consider cognitive style in addition to motivational orientation to account fully for these aspects of impressions.

The Motive X Affiliativeness effects for variance in ratings of target responsibility and the total number of constructs in the free-response impressions are illustrated in Figures 9 and 10, respectively. The pattern of results is highly similar for each of these complexity measures. Dominance-motivated perceivers show a large increase between the Disaffiliative and Affiliative targets (i.e., become more complex in their impressions), while Succorance-motivated perceivers do not differ significantly across variations in target affiliativeness and, if anything, show a slight decrease in the total number of constructs in their impressions of the Affiliative characters. According to the model of person perception guiding this research both groups, but particularly Succorance-motivated perceivers, should show increased complexity in impressions of the Affiliative targets. That is, affiliativeness should be evaluated positively by both motive groups (although particularly so by the Succorance-motivated perceivers, since this quality is motive-relevant), and consequently, associated with increased complexity in impressions. Thus, these results are inconsistent with the hypothesized variations in complexity of impressions for the Succorance-motivated perceivers.

The remaining two hypotheses concern changes in impressions as a function of the interaction of perceiver motivation, target characteristics, and interaction conditions. In brief, it was predicted that as the probability of need-gratification diminishes, perceivers should

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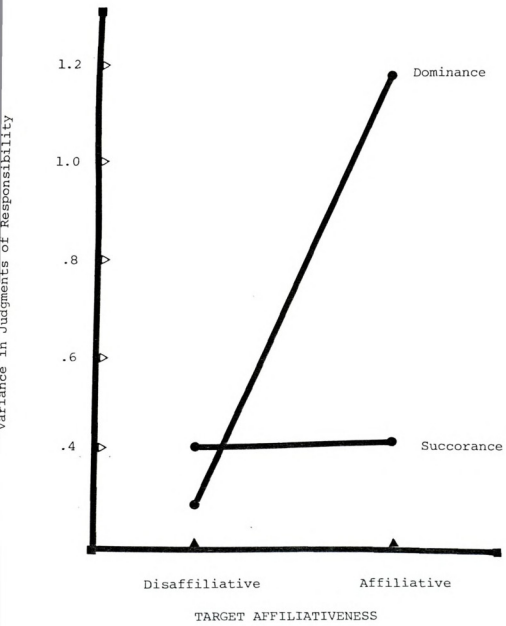

Figure 9. Variance in judgments of target responsibility as a function of motivation and affiliativeness of the target.

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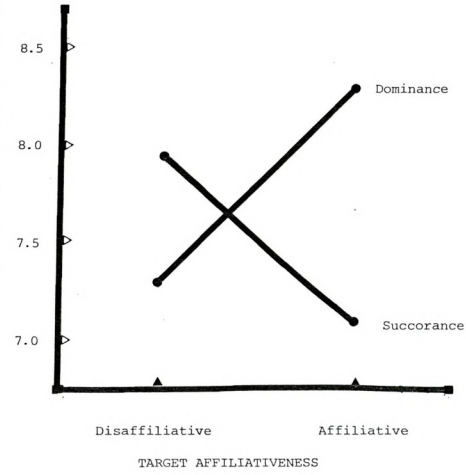

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focus more on motive-relevant qualities, should decrease in the complexity of their impressions, should evaluate the target more negatively, and should show increasing distortion in their impressions, relative to those of the baseline control (i.e., Validation Sample) perceivers.

The expectations regarding perceivers' expectations for obtaining gratifying outcomes under each of the eight target X interaction situation conditions were discussed earlier, and summarized in Figure 2. However, it is useful at this point to briefly review the major predicted differences between motive groups. Dominance-motivated perceivers should prefer the Submissive-Affiliative character most of all under both cooperative and competitive conditions, and should generally prefer Submissive to Assertive characters. However, this preference for Submissive characters should be especially great under competitive conditions. Under cooperative conditions, affiliativeness is a more relevant characteristic, and should have more of an influence on Dominance-motivated perceivers since strong disaffiliativeness, even for a Submissive character, could lower the probability of controlling the interaction (i.e., the Submissive-Disaffiliative character is "passively hostile," and thus represents a potential control problem under cooperative conditions). Succorance motivated perceivers should generally prefer Affiliative to Disaffiliative characters, but particularly under cooperative conditions. They should most prefer the Assertive-Affiliative character when cooperation is expected, since this character is most likely to provide support and guidance in addition to positive regard. However, the Submissive-Affiliative character should be most preferred by these perceivers under competitive conditions, since the norms here would tend to reinforce the assertiveness of the Assertive-Affiliative

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l least prefer interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative char-
under either interaction condition. Thus, the groups should
most under cooperative conditions, and in their impressions of
ssertive-Affiliative character. Although all of the hypotheses
rn changes in impressions within motive group, comparisons across
e groups are important for evaluation of the predictions.
Changes in Prevalence of Motive-Relevant Qualities. Table 22 sum-
es the data regarding changes in the prevalence of assertive and
iative constructs in perceivers' impressions across variations in
t characteristics and situational conditions. Clearly, these find-
are not highly consistent with the hypothesis.
Overall, neither of the Motive X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness
rget interactions are significant, nor is the Motive X Interaction
tion X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target interaction
ficant for affiliative constructs. However, the latter four-way
action is significant for assertive constructs. This relation-
s illustrated in Figure 11.
he motive groups respond similarly to both of the Assertive char-
and the Submissive-Affiliative character, increasing in the
ence of assertive constructs in their impressions between coopera-
nd competitive conditions. Only the increase for the Assertive-
ative character, however, is statistically significant for both
, although the Succorance-motivated perceivers also show a signi-
increase for impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character,
Dominance-motivated perceivers increase significantly for
ions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character. In fact, the

Table 22

Prevalence of Motive-Relevant Qualities in Impressions of Target Characters

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character			
			Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character: Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Assertive Constructs	Dominance	Coop.	$.51_{cd}$	$.42_{ab}$	$.28_{a}$	$.56_{cd}$
		Comp.	$.57_{cd}$	$.60_{cd}$	$.51_{c}$	$.62_{cd}$
	Succorance	Coop.	$.39_{ab}$	$.45_{bc}$	$.27_{a}$	$.54_{cd}$
		Comp.	$.56_{cd}$	$.32_{ab}$	$.49_{c}$	$.68_{d}$
Affiliative Constructs	Dominance	Coop.	$.15_{bc}$	$.11_{ab}$	$.10_{ab}$	$.09_{ab}$
		Comp.	08_{ab}	$.04_{a}$	$.09_{ab}$	$.08_{ab}$
	Succorance	Coop.	$.21_{c}$	$.14_{abc}$	$.12_{abc}$	$.13_{abc}$
		Comp.	$.06_{ab}$	$.11_{abc}$	$.14_{abc}$	$.12_{abc}$

Note. Only the Motive X Interaction Condition X Assertiveness of Target X Affiliativeness of Target interaction for assertive constructs is significant: $F(1,144) = 3.88$, $p < .05$.
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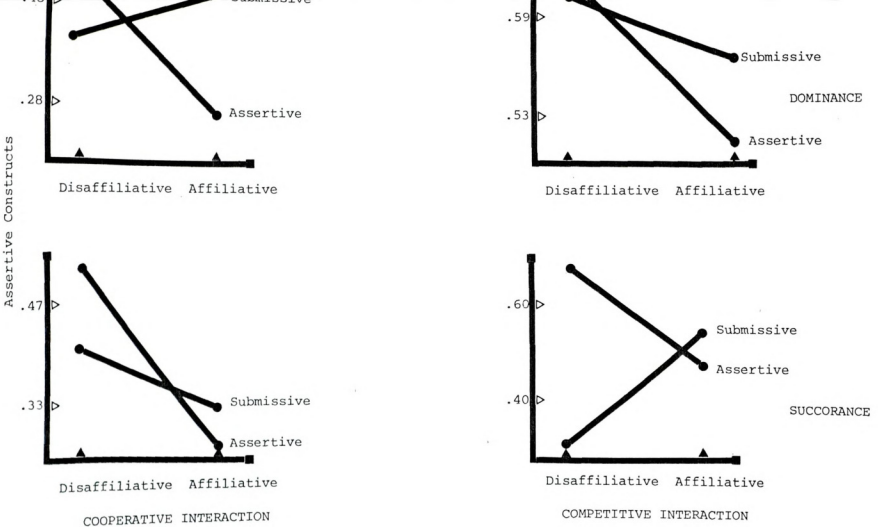

Figure 11. Motivational differences in the prevalence of assertive constructs in free-response impressions as a function of target assertiveness and affiliativeness and interaction conditions.

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ffiliative character under cooperative conditions, and the Submissive-
isaffiliative character under competitive conditions, with Dominance-
otivated perceivers being significantly higher in the prevalence of
ssertive constructs in each case.

In terms of the specific hypothesis, only the responses of the
ominance-motivated perceivers are relevant in terms of assertive con-
ructs. As predicted, these perceivers are most focused on the
sertive qualities of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under
th cooperative and competitive conditions. However, none of the
her means conform to the prediction. These perceivers are not less
cused on the assertive qualities of Submissive than Assertive char-
ters under either cooperative or competitive conditions (both F's
1.00), and are least focused on the assertive qualities of the
sertive-Affiliative, rather than Submissive-Affiliative character
der both interaction conditions. However, as predicted, the pre-
lence of assertive qualities increases significantly for impressions
the Assertive-Affiliative character between cooperative and competi-
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Although not statistically significant, the Motive X Interaction
dition X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target interaction for
iliative constructs is illustrated in Figure 12. The motive groups
w a similar pattern of responses under cooperative conditions, but

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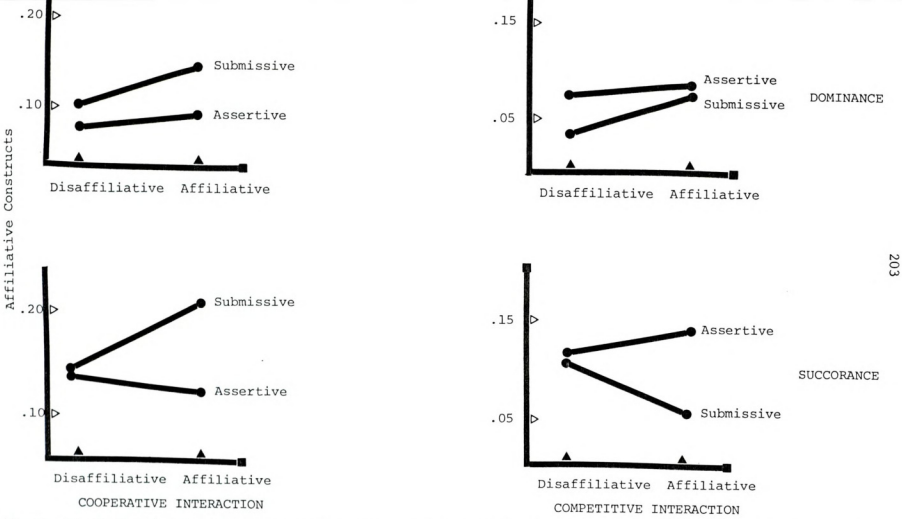

Figure 12. Motivational differences in the prevalence of affiliative constructs in free-response impressions as a function of target assertiveness and affiliativeness and interaction conditions.

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ffer in their responses under competitive conditions. When expecting cooperative interaction, both groups are more focused on the affiliative qualities of Submissive than Assertive target characters, and are st focused on the affiliativeness of the Submissive-Affiliative aracter. Under competitive conditions, however, while both groups e more focused on the affiliativeness of the Assertive than Submissive characters, Dominance-motivated perceivers are least focused on e Submissive-Disaffiliative, and Succorance-motivated perceivers on e Submissive-Affiliative character. Overall, however, none of the an differences are significant either within motive groups and ross character types, or between motive groups for particular characters.

In terms of the specific hypothesis for impressions of affiliative qualities among Succorance-motivated perceivers, once again ttle support was obtained for the predictions. These perceivers re not more focused on the affiliative qualities of the Disaffiliative than Affiliative characters under either cooperative or competitive conditions (both F's < 1.00). However, Succorance-motivated ceivers, as predicted, are least focused on the affiliative qualities the Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. s it would appear that, consistent with the hypothesis, this character is least threatening of all to these perceivers under competitive conditions.

On the other hand, Succorance-motivated perceivers are not most used on the affiliative-related qualities of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under either cooperative or competitive conditions,

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but are most focused on the affiliativeness of the Submissive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, and the Assertive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. In fact, only the decrease in affiliative constructs for impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character between cooperative and competitive conditions is statistically significant, and only the mean focus on affiliative qualities for this character under cooperative conditions differs from that for the other characters, although not significantly. Thus, while affiliative constructs were indeed least prevalent in impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, as predicted, the mean difference between this character and the Submissive-Disaffiliative and Assertive-Disaffiliative characters is trivial.

Overall, then, the obtained findings do not strongly support the hypothesis for either group concerning the salience of motive-relevant qualities in impressions of the target characters as a function of the probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes. The motive groups do evidence a greater focus on motive-relevant than cross-motive qualities in their impressions of the target characters (i.e., Dominance-motivated perceivers are relatively more focused on assertiveness than affiliativeness, and vice versa for Succorance-motivated perceivers). Given the overall motive group differences in these variables (Table 20), this finding is expected. However, the specific changes in the prevalence of motive-relevant qualities in impressions across manipulations of target and situational characteristics were not highly consistent with predictions. Dominance-motivated perceivers did indeed focus most on the assertive qualities of the Assertive-Disaffiliative

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The impressions of Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, conformed to the predictions for the least threatening characters, but not for the most threatening characters. These perceivers were least focused on the affiliativeness of the Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions and, although the mean differences were small, on the affiliativeness of the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions. They were not, however, most focused on the affiliative qualities of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under either interaction condition.

In terms of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, the motive group differences in impressions of motive-relevant qualities may be related to differences in preferred style of cognitive defense. It will be recalled that Dominance-motivated perceivers tended to be sensitizors, and these perceivers were most focused on the motive-relevant qualities of the most threatening character. The Succorance-motivated perceivers tended to be repressors, and consequently may have attempted to deny or repress the disaffiliativeness of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character. However, these perceivers also increase slightly in their focus on the affiliative qualities of the Assertive-Affiliative character between cooperative and competitive conditions. Since interacting with this character should be more threatening under competition, a tendency to deny or repress threatening information cannot account for this finding. Nor can a tendency

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for sensitizing defenses account for the finding that Dominance-motivated perceivers were generally more focused on the assertive qualities of the Submissive-Affiliative character than either the Submissive-Disaffiliative or Assertive-Affiliative characters, since this character should be least threatening of all to these perceivers. It would appear that a considerably more complex model than that underlying the present predictions is needed to account for this pattern of results.

Changes in Complexity of Impressions. The data relevant to evaluating the hypothesis of decreasing complexity as a function of decreases in the probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes are summarized in Table 23. Considering the data as a whole, the results only partially conform to the predictions, and tend to be more consistent with the hypothesis for Dominance-motivated than Succorance-motivated perceivers.

In terms of variance in assertiveness, the two motive groups do not differ significantly for impressions of any of the target characters under either cooperative or competitive conditions. Within the motive groups, variance in impressions of assertiveness among the Dominance-motivated perceivers is significantly higher for the Submissive-Affiliative character than any of the other characters under cooperative conditions, and higher for this character than the Submissive-Disaffiliative character under competitive conditions. The means for assertiveness variance among Dominance-motivated perceivers do not differ significantly across the other three characters under either cooperative or competitive conditions. Succorance-motivated perceivers do not differ in assertiveness variance across any of the characters under cooperative conditions, but are significantly more articulated for impressions of the assertiveness

Table 23

Mean Differences in Complexity of Impressions of Target Characters

Interaction	Target Character

Table 23

Mean Differences in Complexity of Impressions of Target Characters

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Variance in Assertiveness	Dominance	Coop.	2.76_{d}	$.62_{ab}$	1.14_{abc}	$.61_{ab}$
		Comp.	2.34_{cd}	$.64_{ab}$	1.18_{abcd}	$.92_{abc}$
	Succorance	Coop.	1.64_{abcd}	$.78_{abc}$	1.14_{abc}	$.94_{abc}$
		Comp.	2.08_{bcd}	$.82_{abc}$	$.26_{a}$	$.19_{a}$
Variance in Warmth	Dominance	Coop.	1.03_{ab}	1.97_{c}	$.92_{ab}$	$.42_{a}$
		Comp.	1.80_{bc}	$.46_{a}$	1.31_{abc}	$.55_{a}$
	Succorance	Coop.	1.13_{abc}	$.56_{a}$	1.25_{abc}	$.83_{a}$
		Comp.	1.19_{abc}	$.49_{a}$	$.60_{a}$	$.40_{a}$

Table 23 (cont.)

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character			
			Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character: Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Total Variance	Dominance	Coop.	2.48_{abc}	3.57_{abcd}	1.63_{ab}	3.81_{bcd}
		Comp.	4.16_{bcd}	1.39_{ab}	2.13_{abc}	1.69_{ab}
	Succorance	Coop.	4.37_{cd}	2.40_{abc}	1.97_{abc}	1.34_{a}
		Comp.	4.97_{d}	2.28_{abc}	3.09_{abcd}	2.39_{abc}
Total Constructs	Dominance	Coop.	8.50_{abc}	7.70_{abc}	7.50_{abc}	6.60_{a}
		Comp.	8.30_{abc}	8.00_{abc}	9.10_{bc}	6.90_{a}
	Succorance	Coop.	7.10_{ab}	9.30_{c}	6.90_{a}	6.70_{a}
		Comp.	7.10_{ab}	6.60_{a}	7.40_{abc}	7.30_{abc}

Note. None of the Motive X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target interactions, nor the four-way interaction with Interaction Condition are statistically significant. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, a priori comparison.

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of the Submissive-Affiliative character than either of the Assertive characters under competitive conditions. These relationships are summarized in Figure 13.

In terms of the hypothesis, Dominance-motivated perceivers, as predicted, are significantly more articulating for impressions of the assertiveness of the Submissive ($\overline{X}$ = 1.69) than Assertive ($\overline{X}$ = .87) characters under cooperative conditions (F (1,144) = 2.89; $p < .10$), are most articulate for impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character under both cooperative and competitive conditions, and are least articulate in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under cooperative conditions. However, overall these perceivers are somewhat less articulate in impressions of the assertiveness of the Submissive-Disaffiliative ($\overline{X}$ = .63), than the Assertive-Disaffiliative character ($\overline{X}$ = .76). Further, the significantly greater articulation for impressions of the assertiveness of the Submissive characters under cooperative conditions is totally accounted for by the Submissive-Affiliative character. Variance in impressions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character's assertiveness is only trivally larger than that for the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, and Dominance-motivated perceivers are significantly more articulating in impressions of the Affiliative ($\overline{X}$ = 1.95) than the Disaffiliative characters ($\overline{X}$ = .61) under cooperative conditions (F (1,144) = 3.91; $p < .05$). Thus, the predictions are supported only in terms of impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character. Further, since Succorance-motivated perceivers are also most articulate in impressions of this character under both interaction conditions, characteristics of the

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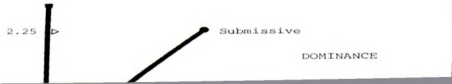
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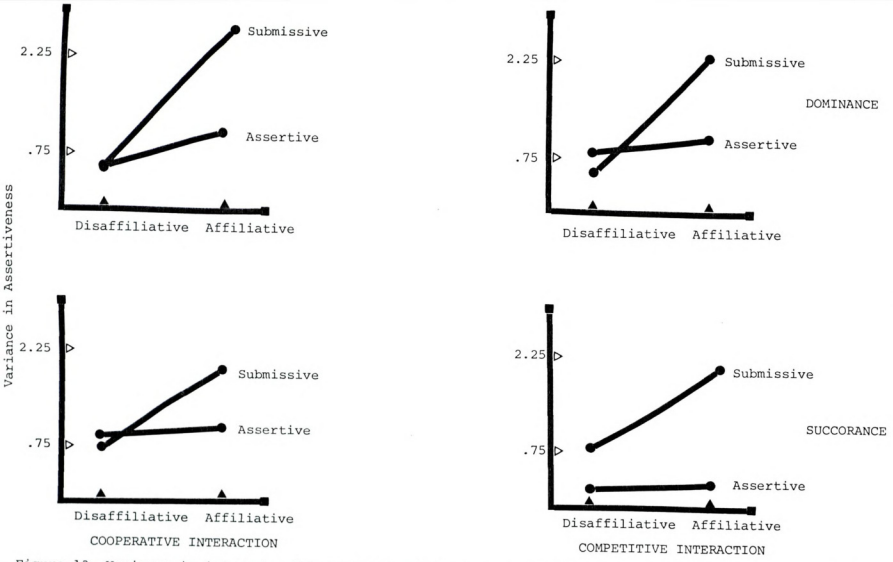

Figure 13. Variance in judgments of target assertiveness as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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For articulation in impressions of target warmth, the motive groups differ significantly only for impressions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character under cooperative conditions. In fact, the means for Succorance-motivated perceivers do not differ significantly across target characters either within or across cooperative and competitive interactions. Dominance-motivated perceivers, however, are significantly more articulate in impressions of the warmth of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character than any other character under cooperative conditions, and decrease significantly in articulation for this character between cooperative and competitive conditions. Under competitive interaction conditions, these perceivers are significantly higher in articulation for impressions of the warmth of the Submissive-Affiliative character than either of the Disaffiliative characters. Figure 14 summarizes these relationships.

Although none of the subgroup mean differences are significantly different, the pattern of responses of Succorance-motivated perceivers across variations in target and situational characteristics generally conforms to the predictions. These perceivers do show the most articulation in impressions of the warmth of the Assertive-Affiliative character, followed by the Submissive-Affiliative character, under cooperative conditions. Expectedly, these perceivers thus show greater articulation in impressions of the Affiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 1.19) than Disaffiliative characters ($\bar{X}$ = .69) under cooperative conditions (F (1,144) = 3.31; $p < .10$). Dominance-motivated perceivers, however, are significantly more articulating in impressions of the warmth of the Submissive ($\bar{X}$ = 1.50)

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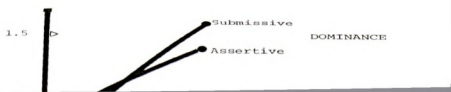
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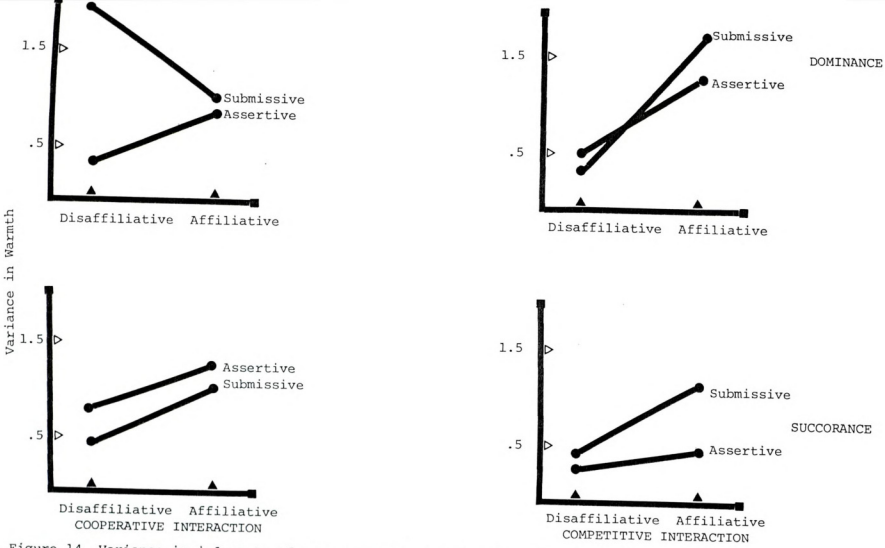

Figure 14. Variance in judgments of target warmth as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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than Assertive ($\overline{X}$ = .67) characters under cooperative conditions ($\underline{F}$ (1,144) = 4.56; $\underline{p} < .05$).

Under competitive conditions both motive groups are relatively more focused on warmth of the Affiliative than Disaffiliative characters, although the difference is only significant among the Dominance-motivated perceivers ($\overline{X}_{aff}$ = 1.55; $\overline{X}_{disaff}$ = .67; $\underline{F}$ (1,144) = 5.12; $\underline{p} < .05$). Among the Succorance-motivated perceivers, this relationship is attributable primarily to the Submissive-Affiliative character, consistent with the predicted increased threat of the Assertive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. Thus, not only do the findings conform to the predictions for Succorance-motivated perceivers, but the pattern of responses differs across the two groups, making an explanation solely in terms of target or situational factors unlikely.

Considerably less support is obtained for the hypothesis when more global complexity measures are considered. In terms of variance in total impressions, the two motive groups only differ significantly for impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under cooperative conditions, with Dominance-motivated perceivers being higher in total articulation (i.e., variance). Within motive group, Dominance-motivated perceivers do not differ across target characters in total variance either within or across interaction conditions. Succorance-motivated perceivers, however, are significantly higher in articulation for impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character than the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under cooperative conditions, and both the Submissive-Disaffiliative and Assertive-Disaffiliative characters under competitive conditions.

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The findings for Succorance-motivated perceivers conform to the hypothesis insofar as they show the least articulation in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character overall and under cooperative conditions, and the most articulation in impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character overall and under competitive conditions. However, these perceivers also show the greatest articulation in impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, rather than the predicted Assertive-Affiliative character. Further, Succorance-motivated perceivers are least articulating in impressions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative, rather than Assertive-Disaffiliative character under competitive conditions and, also contrary to predictions, increase somewhat in articulation, rather than decrease, for impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character between cooperative and competitive conditions.

Dominance-motivated perceivers, as predicted, are more articulating in impressions of the Submissive than Assertive characters under cooperative conditions (although the difference is not statistically significant), and are most articulating in impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. However, these perceivers are not least articulating in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under either interaction condition, are more articulating in impressions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative than Submissive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, and increase rather than decrease in articulation for impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character between cooperative and competitive conditions. Thus, the pattern for total variance in trait ratings does not conform particularly well to the predictions for either motive group.

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Examination of Figure 15 illustrates that even less support is obtained for the hypothesis for total constructs in the free-response impressions. The two motive groups do not differ significantly in total constructs for impressions of any of the target characters under either interaction condition. Within motive group, the only significant differences are for Succorance-motivated perceivers under cooperative conditions: they are significantly higher in total constructs for the Submissive-Disaffiliative character than any of the other characters. However, these perceivers decrease significantly in total constructs for impressions of this character between cooperative and competitive conditions, and the means do not differ significantly across target characters under competitive conditions.

Overall, the pattern of results for Succorance-motivated perceivers does not conform to the predictions. While these perceivers do have the fewest constructs in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under competitive conditions, in opposition to the hypothesis, these perceivers are not most complex (i.e., have the most constructs) in their impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, nor the Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. Finally, these perceivers overall do not show a larger number of constructs in impressions of the Affiliative than Disaffiliative characters ($\overline{X}_{aff} = 7.12$; $\overline{X}_{disaff} = 7.47$).

In support of the hypothesis, Dominance-motivated perceivers have the fewest total constructs in impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under both interaction conditions, and have the greatest number of constructs overall for impressions of the Submissive-Affiliative character. Further, although the mean difference is not significant,

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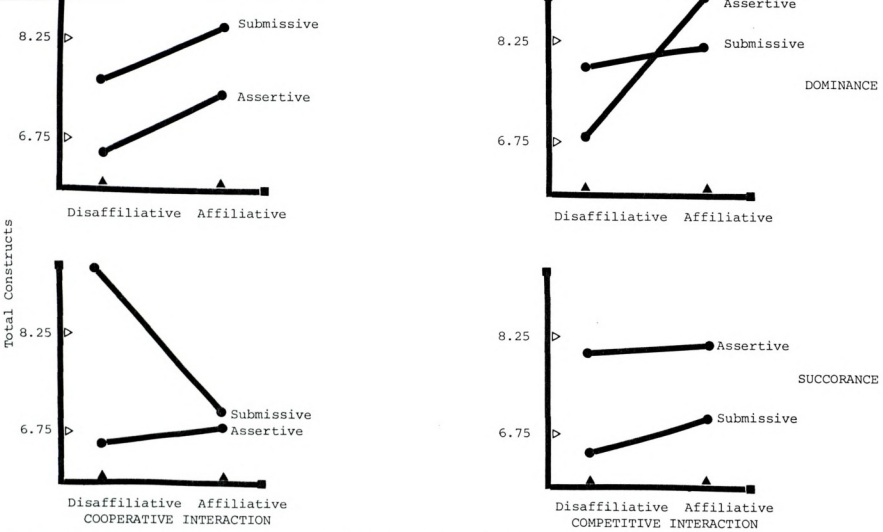

Figure 15. Total number of constructs in free-response impressions as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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these perceivers have relatively more constructs in impressions of Submissive ($\overline{X}$ = 8.12) than Assertive ($\overline{X}$ = 7.52) characters; particularly under cooperative conditions. However, contrary to predictions, these perceivers have the most constructs in impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions, and, in fact, increase somewhat in total constructs for this character between cooperative and competitive conditions. Thus, while more support for the hypothesis was obtained for Dominance-motivated than Succorance-motivated perceivers, overall the results are not highly supportive of the predictions.

Changes in Valence of Impressions. The results concerning changes in evaluation of the target characters are summarized in Table 24. The Motive X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target univariate interaction for liking was marginally significant (F (1,144) = 2.62; $p < .11$). As illustrated in Figure 16, Dominance-motivated perceivers, as predicted, liked the Submissive characters ($\overline{X}$ = 4.40) more than the Assertive characters ($\overline{X}$ = 4.10) and, within levels of assertiveness, liked the Affiliative characters more than the Disaffiliative characters. Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, like the Affiliative characters ($\overline{X}$ = 4.87) more than the Disaffiliative characters ($\overline{X}$ = 3.75) overall, and particularly under cooperative conditions. Under competitive conditions, liking decreases for both the Submissive-Affiliative and Assertive-Affiliative characters, although the decreases are not significant. Dominance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, like the Submissive-Affiliative character somewhat more under competitive than cooperative conditions.

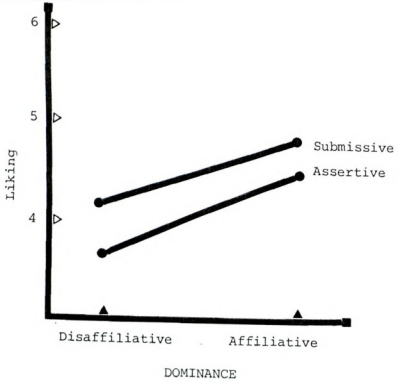
Table 24

Mean Differences in Evaluation of Target Characters

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character: Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character: Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Liking	Dominance	Coop.	4.60_{cd}	4.20_{bc}	4.60_{cd}	3.60_{ab}
		Comp.	5.00_{de}	4.10_{bc}	4.50_{cd}	3.80_{ab}
	Succorance	Coop.	5.50_{e}	3.30_{a}	4.90_{de}	4.20_{bc}
		Comp.	4.80_{de}	3.60_{ab}	4.30_{bcd}	3.90_{ab}
Pleasantness of Interaction	Dominance	Coop.	5.20_{efghi}	4.30_{abcde}	5.30_{fghi}	3.40_{a}
		Comp.	5.80_{hi}	4.80_{cdefg}	4.90_{defgh}	4.20_{abcd}
	Succorance	Coop.	5.60_{ghi}	3.60_{ab}	5.90_{i}	4.40_{bcdef}
		Comp.	4.90_{defgh}	3.90_{abc}	4.20_{abcd}	4.80_{cdefg}
Satisfaction of Interaction	Dominance	Coop.	4.80_{cde}	4.30_{abc}	5.60_{ef}	3.50_{a}
		Comp.	4.70_{cd}	4.70_{cd}	4.40_{bc}	4.80_{cd}
	Succorance	Coop.	5.30_{d}	3.70_{ab}	5.70_{f}	4.40_{bc}
		Comp.	4.60_{cd}	4.40_{bc}	4.90_{cde}	4.30_{abc}

Note: Only the Motive X Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target interaction for liking is significant: $F(1,144) = 2.62$, $p < .10$. Means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, a priori comparison.



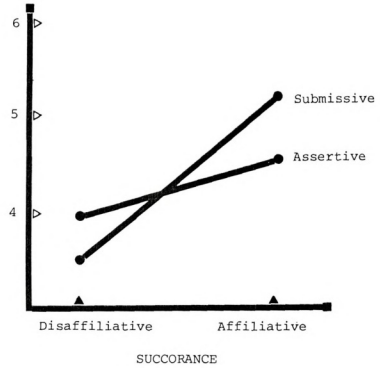


Figure 16. Motivational differences in liking for target characters as a function of target assertiveness and affiliativeness.

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Overall, these findings are consistent with the hypothesis. Dominance-motivated perceivers like the Assertive-Disaffiliative character significantly less than either of the Affiliative characters under both cooperative and competitive conditions, generally prefer Submissive to Assertive characters, and like the Submissive-Affiliative character most overall and under competitive conditions particularly. However, liking for the Assertive-Affiliative character is equal to that for the Submissive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, and, although liking for the Assertive-Affiliative character decreases somewhat between cooperative and competitive conditions, these perceivers overall liked the Affiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 4.67) more than the Disaffiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 3.92) characters (F (1,144) = 6.43; $p < .01$). Thus, although the pattern of responses is consistent with the hypothesis, the main effect for Affiliativeness of Target is also significant among these perceivers and must be entertained as an alternative explanation for at least some of these findings.

Among the Succorance-motivated perceivers, the findings conform less well to the hypothesis. These perceivers, as predicted, like the Affiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 4.87) more than the Disaffiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 3.75) characters (F (1,144) = 14.46; $p < .001$). However, they do not like the Assertive-Disaffiliative character least under either interaction condition, nor do they like the Assertive-Affiliative character most under cooperative conditions. Instead, the Succorance-motivated perceivers like the Submissive-Affiliative character most under both cooperative and competitive conditions.

Although none of the univariate three-way or four-way interactions were significant for either pleasantness or satisfaction of interacting

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with the target characters, the results for these variables offer additional support for the hypothesis. In terms of expected pleasantness of interaction, the motive groups differed significantly for cooperative interaction with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, and for competitive interactions with the Submissive characters. Dominance-motivated perceivers like the Assertive-Disaffiliative character less than Succorance-motivated perceivers under cooperative conditions, and like both the Submissive characters more under competitive than cooperative conditions. Within motive group, Dominance-motivated perceivers expect interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character to be significantly less pleasant than either of the Affiliative characters, and interacting with the Submissive-Disaffiliative character to be significantly less pleasant than interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions. Under competitive conditions, these perceivers expect interacting with either of the Disaffiliative characters to be significantly less pleasant than interacting with the Submissive-Affiliative character.

Succorance-motivated perceivers expect interacting with the Affiliative characters to be more pleasant than interacting with the Disaffiliative characters under cooperative conditions, and interacting with the Submissive-Disaffiliative character to be significantly less pleasant than interacting with the Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions. In addition, these perceivers expect interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character to be significantly less pleasant under competitive than cooperative conditions.

The pattern of results for Dominance-motivated perceivers is largely consistent with the specific predictions. These perceivers expected

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interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative to be least pleasant under both cooperative and competitive conditions. Further, while they expect a cooperative interaction with the Assertive-Affiliative character to be slightly more pleasant than with the Submissive-Affiliative character, expected pleasantness increases for the Submissive-Affiliative character between cooperation and competition, but decreases for the Assertive-Affiliative character. While these perceivers expect interacting with the Affiliative characters ($\bar{X}$ = 5.25) to be more pleasant than interacting with the Disaffiliative characters ($\bar{X}$ = 3.85) under cooperative conditions (F (1,144) = 11.01; $p < .001$), they do not expect interactions to be significantly more pleasant with Submissive ($\bar{X}$ = 4.75) than Assertive ($\bar{X}$ = 4.35) characters (F (1,144) = < 1.00).

On the other hand, under competitive conditions these perceivers expect interacting with Submissive ($\bar{X}$ = 5.30) and Affiliative ($\bar{X}$ = 5.35) characters to be significantly more pleasant than interacting with Assertive ($\bar{X}$ = 4.55) and Disaffiliative characters ($\bar{X}$ = 4.50), respectively (F's (1,144) = 14.40, 11.20; p's < .001, for Affiliativeness and Assertiveness, respectively). However, the Assertiveness X Affiliativeness interactions were not significant for either cooperative or competitive conditions (both F's (3,144) = < 1.00). Thus, these perceivers responded primarily to the affiliativeness of the targets under cooperative interaction conditions, but responded to both assertiveness and affiliativeness of the targets when expecting a competitive interaction.

Succorance-motivated perceivers evidence a different pattern of responses for expected pleasantness of the interaction. As among the Dominance-motivated perceivers, these perceivers expect interacting

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onditions (F (1,144) = 17.20; $p < .001$) and, consistent with the pre-
ictions for this group, view interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative
haracter as most pleasant under these conditions. Also consistent with
he predictions, expected pleasantness decreases for both the Submissive-
ffiliative and Assertive-Affiliative characters for competitive condi-
ons (significantly so for the Assertive-Affiliative character), and
nteracting with the Submissive-Affiliative character is seen as most
easant here. In fact, in contrast to the findings among Dominance-
tivated perceivers, the mean difference between Affiliative and
saffiliative characters in expected pleasantness is not significant
der competitive conditions (F (1,144) = 1.12; $p > .25$). Thus as
pected, the assertiveness of the Assertive-Affiliative character is
re threatening to these perceivers under competitive conditions. In
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isfying than interacting with either of the Affiliative characters

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under cooperative conditions, but do not differ significantly in expected satisfaction across characters under competitive conditions. Consistent with predictions, these perceivers view interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character as least satisfying under cooperative conditions, and interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character as significantly less satisfying under competitive than cooperative conditions. However, it is this latter character, rather than the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, for whom the interaction is expected to be least satisfying under competitive conditions. Also in contrast to the hypothesis, the Assertive-Affiliative character interaction is viewed as most satisfying under cooperative conditions and, unexplicably, the interaction with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character is seen as slightly more satisfying than interacting with either of the Submissive-characters under competitive conditions. Overall then, these findings are not consistent with the hypothesis, or with the findings for liking and expected pleasantness of interaction.

Among the Succorance-motivated perceivers the obtained findings are more consistent with the hypothesis. Interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character is viewed as significantly more satisfying than any of the other characters under cooperative conditions, and interacting with the Submissive-Affiliative character is seen as significantly more satisfying than interacting with either of the Disaffiliative characters. In addition, expected satisfaction of interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character decreases significantly between cooperative and competitive conditions, and a similar, but nsignificant, decrease is observed for the Submissive-Affiliative

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haracter. However, interacting with the Assertive-Disaffiliative haracter is only viewed as least satisfying under competitive condi-ions and, overall, interacting with the Submissive-Disaffiliative haracter is viewed as least satisfying. Also, inconsistent with the redictions, the interaction with the Assertive-Affiliative character s seen as most satisfying under competitive as well as cooperative onditions.

In summary, while the results concerning valence of impressions .e., evaluation of the target characters) are generally supportive the hypothesis, the findings are not always consistent across the ree evaluation measures, nor are they consistent with all of the ecific predictions for particular target characters. Thus, the model not totally supported by these findings.

Distortion in Impressions. The final hypothesis concerns distor-on in the perceived qualities of the target characters as a function the expected probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes. ecifically, it was predicted that overall distortion would increase the probability of obtaining motive-gratifying outcomes decreases. rther, while this distoriton was generally expected to be in a sitive or "wish-fulfilling" direction, negative distortion was edicted under conditions of high threat. Thus, perceivers in each tive group should perceive the Assertive-Disaffiliative character more assertive, but less affiliative than perceivers in the base-ne control group (i.e., Validation Sample). The data relevant for amining this hypothesis is presented in Table 25. The absolute vels of distortion in impressions of assertiveness-related and

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liativeness-related target qualities are illustrated in Figures
hrough 20.

Examination of the means in Table 25 reveals that significant
ations from the baseline control means (Validation Sample) for
essions of target assertiveness and competitive ability were only
rved among Succorance-motivated perceivers expecting to cooperate
the Submissive-Affiliative character. Since this situation should
elatively nonthreatening to these perceivers, this finding is con-
y to the prediction.

Inspection of Figures 17 and 18 shows that, as predicted, Succorance-
vated perceivers saw the Assertive characters as less assertive
r cooperative conditions, and the Assertive-Disaffiliative character
ess assertive under competitive conditions, than did the control
ects. Further, although all of the means for perceived competitive
ity were higher than corresponding means for the control subjects
., the characters were seen as more competitive by perceivers in
notive group), Succorance-motivated perceivers saw the Assertive
acters as relatively less competitive than Submissive characters
r cooperative conditions. However, in contradiction to the hypothe-
distortion in perceptions of target assertiveness was not lowest
impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative
tions, nor for the Submissive-Affiliative character under competi-
conditions.

With the exceptions of minimal relative distortion for impressions
he Submissive-Affiliative character under competitive conditions,
findings for the Dominance-motivated perceivers in perceptions of

Table 25

Motive-Related Distortions in Impressions of Target Characters

Motive-Related Distortions in Impressions of Target Characters

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Perceived Assertiveness	Dominance	Coop.	24.60_{a}	23.00_{a}	48.00_{cd}	49.30_{cd}
	Succorance		32.10^{*}_{b}	21.00_{a}	44.50_{c}	49.50_{cd}
	Baseline Control		21.30	20.60	44.90	49.50
	Dominance	Comp.	20.80_{a}	22.50_{a}	45.50_{cd}	50.50_{d}
	Succorance		24.70_{a}	22.70_{a}	47.20_{cd}	48.40_{cd}
Competitive Ability	Dominance	Coop.	4.00_{ab}	3.90_{ab}	6.00_{e}	5.70_{cde}
	Succorance		4.80^{*}_{bc}	3.90_{ab}	5.80_{de}	5.40_{cde}
	Baseline Control		3.00	2.80	4.90	5.60
	Dominance	Comp.	3.50_{a}	3.50_{a}	5.60_{cde}	5.90_{de}
	Succorance		3.10_{a}	3.60_{a}	5.70_{cde}	5.00_{cd}

Table 25 (cont.)

Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character			
		Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character: Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Perceived Warmth	Dominance	Coop.	50.50_{c}	38.30_{b}	46.60_{c}	32.00_{a}
	Succorance		51.30_{c}	34.80_{ab}	49.70_{c}	35.80_{ab}
	Baseline Control		48.30	33.90	43.80	28.50
	Dominance	Comp.	52.10_{c}	38.10_{b}	48.10_{c}	39.40^{*}_{b}
	Succorance		52.00_{c}	36.30_{ab}	49.40_{c}	34.90_{ab}
Cooperative Ability	Dominance	Coop.	5.70_{def}	4.20_{a}	6.20^{*}_{f}	4.20_{a}
	Succorance		5.90_{ef}	4.20_{a}	5.50_{cdef}	4.30_{ab}
	Baseline Control		6.00	3.90	3.90	3.20
	Dominance	Comp.	6.10_{f}	4.50_{abc}	5.40^{*}_{cdef}	4.70^{*}_{abcd}
	Succorance		5.30_{bcdef}	4.70_{abcd}	4.90_{abcde}	4.00_{a}

Table 25 (cont.)

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff

Measure	Motive	Interaction Condition	Target Character Sub-Aff	Sub-Disaff	Ass-Aff	Ass-Disaff
Perceived Responsibility	Dominance	Coop.	18.40^{*}_{bc}	15.60_{ab}	20.00_{c}	19.60_{c}
	Succorance		19.30_{c}	16.00_{ab}	20.80_{c}	19.50_{c}
	Baseline Control		15.10	13.40	18.10	16.40
	Dominance	Comp.	18.10_{bc}	15.10_{a}	19.30_{c}	20.40^{*}_{c}
	Succorance		19.20_{c}	15.80_{ab}	19.70_{c}	18.30_{bc}

Note: Motive group means not sharing subscripts differ at the .10 level or beyond, a priori comparison. Neither the three-way nor the four-way interactions with Motive are statistically significant.

*Motive group mean differs from comparable control mean at the .05 level or beyond, Dunnett test.

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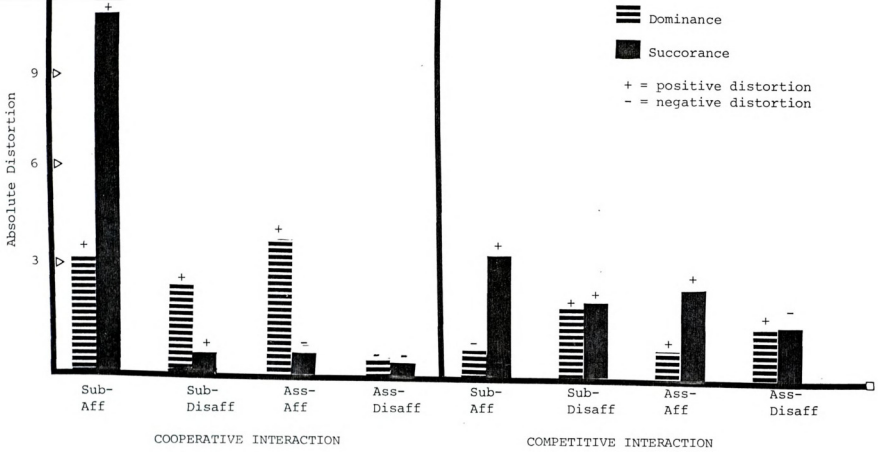

Figure 17. Distortion in impressions of target assertiveness as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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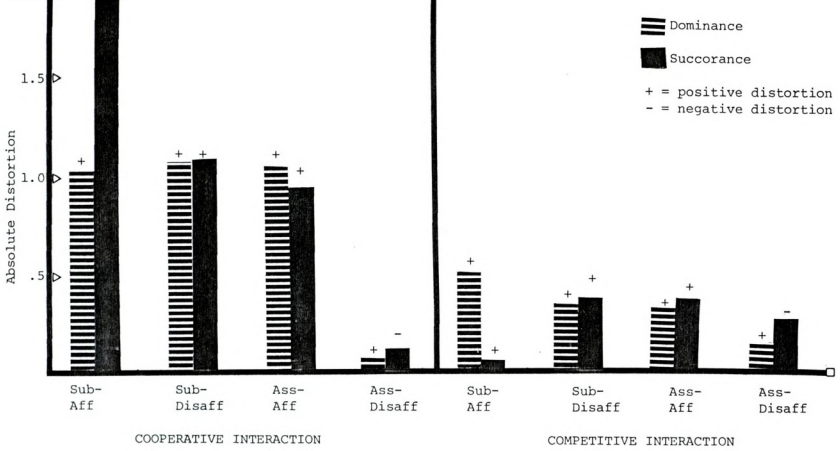

Figure 18. Distortion in impressions of target competitive ability as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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rget assertiveness and competitive ability do not conform to the pothesis.

Turning to assessment of distortion in impressions of affiliation-lated qualities, examination of the means in Table 25 indicates that gnificant deviations from baseline control means were observed for rceptions of the warmth of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character der cooperative conditions among Succorance-motivated perceivers, and der competitive conditions among Dominance-motivated perceivers. gnificant distortions in perceptions of the target's cooperative ility were observed among Dominance-motivated perceivers in impressions the Assertive-Affiliative character under cooperative conditions, and impressions of both Assertive characters under competitive conditions. ccorance-motivated perceivers deviated from the baseline control means ly in impressions of the cooperative ability of the Assertive-Affilia-ve character under cooperative conditions.

As shown in Figures 19 and 20, both motive groups show the largest stortion in impressions of the warmth of the Assertive-Disaffiliative aracter. However, distortion is greatest for Succurance-motivated rceivers under cooperative conditions, and for Dominance-motivated rceivers under competitive conditions. Further, Dominance-motivated rceivers show the least distortion in impressions of warmth and coop-ative ability for the Submissive-Affiliative character under both operative and competitive conditions. These findings are generally nsistent with the hypothesis. However, while distortion is indeed eatest for impressions of the most threatening character (i.e., sertive-Disaffiliative), impressions were biased in a "positive" rather

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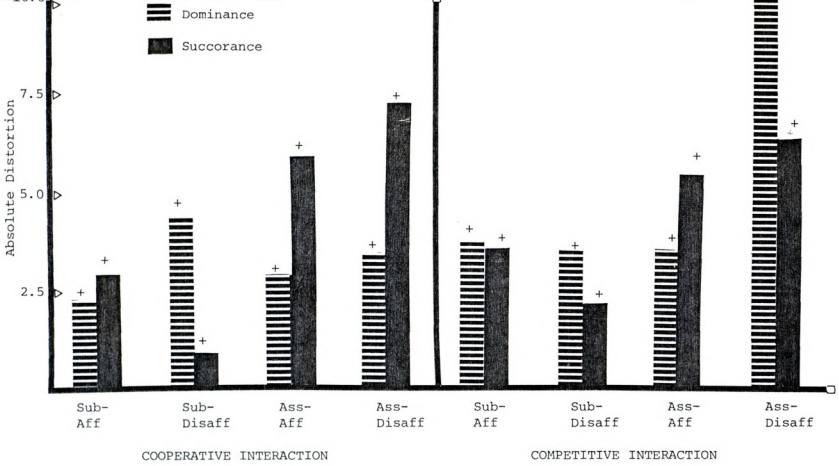

Figure 19. Distortion in impressions of target warmth as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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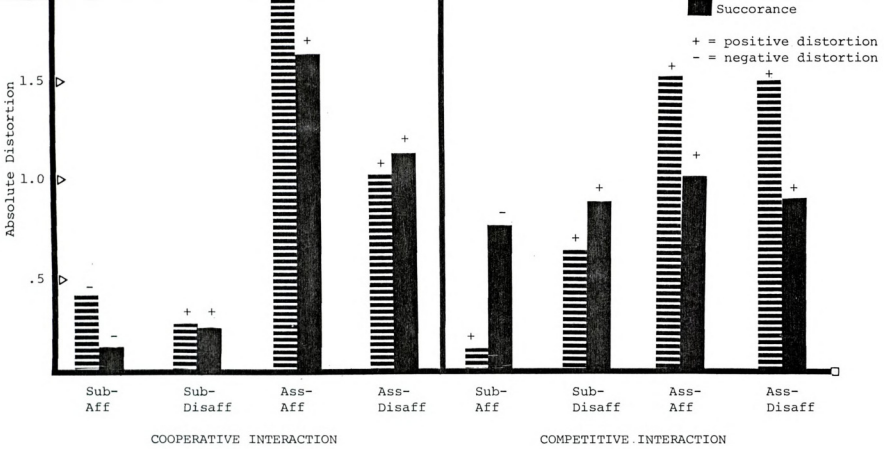

Figure 20. Distortion in impressions of target cooperative ability as a function of motivation, target assertiveness and affiliativeness, and interaction conditions.

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"negative" direction (i.e., this character was perceived as some-
less assertive by Dominance and Succorance perceivers, compared to
Validation Sample).

In opposition to the hypothesis, Succorance-motivated perceivers
not evidence the least distortion for impressions of the Assertive-
liative character under cooperative conditions, nor for the Submissive-
liative character under competitive conditions. Rather, both motive
ps show less distortion in impressions of cooperative ability for
issive than Assertive targets, under both cooperative and competitive
itions. For impressions of target warmth, Succorance-motivated
eivers show a similar pattern to that for cooperative ability, while
nance-motivated perceivers show less distortion in impressions of
Affiliative than Disaffiliative characters under cooperative conditions.
While these findings offer some support to the hypothesis of increased
ortion under personally threatening conditions, the data indicate that
distortion occurs primarily for impressions of affiliativeness-related
ities, and is consistently in a positive or wish-fulfilling direction.
upport was obtained for the prediction of negative distortion under
threat. Rather, perceivers' impressions typically were biased in a
ction consistent with desired outcomes. Thus, Succorance-motivated
eivers saw the assertive targets as less assertive than control sub-
s under cooperative conditions. Dominance-motivated perceivers did
generally evidence distortion in their impressions of target
rtiveness. However, both motive groups perceived the assertive
ets as much more warm than did control subjects, particularly for
Assertive-Disaffiliative target character and especially under
etitive interaction conditions.

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The lack of distortion in impressions of assertiveness among the nance-motivated perceivers may relate to the fact that these per- ers tended to use sensitizing responses to threat, while Succorance- vated perceivers tended to use repressive defenses (see Table 2). is, assuming that perceivers are primarily threatened by negative ve-related target qualities, the Dominance-motivated perceivers did deny or repress their impressions of high assertiveness, but rather mpted to maintain general optimism about outcomes by distorting their essions of target warmth. By seeing the highly assertive characters ignificantly more warm than did control subjects, the perceiver could tain a positive image of his interaction partner.

Summary: Motivational Influences on Impressions. Overall, the lts presented in this section offer considerable support for the ession formation model proposed earlier. Perceivers tended to focus arily on the motive-relevant qualities of the target characters in r impressions and, among Dominance-motivated perceivers at least, more confident in their judgments of motive-relevant target qualities. her, as predicted, perceivers consistently preferred interaction con- ons which were congruent with their preferred style of interpersonal relationships. Dominance-motivated perceivers expected competitive ractions to be more pleasant and satisfying than cooperative inter- ons, and were more optimistic about successfully accomplishing the s of competitive than cooperative interactions. Succorance-motivated eivers, on the other hand, consistently preferred cooperative to etitive interactions. Thus, both the motivation of the perceiver se, and the interaction of the perceiver's personality and the

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re of the interaction situation significantly affect impressions
r conditions of outcome dependency.

Considerably less support was obtained for the more specific, and
iderably more complex hypotheses concerning motive-related changes
ontent, valence, and structure of impressions as a function of the
ability of obtaining motive-gratifying interaction outcomes. Over-
the results concerning evaluation of the target characters (i.e.,
nce of impressions) were most consistent with the hypothesis. The
ings regarding changes in complexity of impressions across variations
arget and situational characteristics were typically only consistent
the predictions for Dominance-movitated perceivers, while the find-
concerning the prevalence of motive-relevant qualities in perceivers'
essions did not conform well to the hypothesis for either motive
p. Although consideration of such factors as the perceivers' preferred
e of cognitive defense appears to offer substantial utility in terms
mproving prediction of these aspects of impressions, overall, the
lts indicate that a great deal more research is needed in this area.
articular, considerably more attention must be paid to the factors
uencing perceivers' expectations about the nature of outcomes they
obtain from interacting with particular types of target characters
r particular types of interaction conditions. Within the present
y, Dominance-motivated perceivers appeared to evaluate interacting
the Assertive-Affiliative character much more positively than
cted, while Succorance-motivated perceivers often seemed to be more
atened by the Submissive-Disaffiliative than Assertive-Disaffiliative
acter. Nonetheless, the findings demonstrate convincingly the utility

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onsidering the joint influences of target characteristics, situational itions, and personality factors in impression formation research.

r Personality Influences

While the analyses presented in the preceding sections serve as the ary means of evaluating the research hypotheses, they do not exhaust available information on personality influences per se on impression ation. These analyses focused exclusively on only two personality ures, Dominance and Succorance, and did not examine the effects of other motivational measures, nor the cognitive measures (i.e., ession-Sensitization and Self-Monitoring). Further, it was necessary tilize a dichotomous motive classification in the ANOVAS which severely ts the amount of personality information available for explaining ations in impressions, and consequently underestimates the extent of onality influences. It will also be recalled that it was not possible tilize the desired multi-criteria selection strategy. Thus, while motive groups did differ significantly on the measures of Dominance Succorance, the mean differences for other, conceptually related ures were generally not statistically significant. As indicated in intercorrelation matrix presented in Table 26, while there is some ence of motivational consistency in subjects' responses, the correla- s are typically not large. In particular, scores on the Dominance e are only moderately positively correlated with Esteem scores, and correlations between Succorance and Safety motivation scores are statistically significant. Even though the correlations between Dominance-related and Succorance-related scales are generally ificant and negative, indicating an adequate amount of discriminant dity for the two global orientations, there is not sufficient

Table 26

Correlations Among Personality Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)

		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1.	Dominance	---														
2.	Esteem 3a: Gratified Esteem	36***														
3.	Esteem 3b: Need for Esteem Gratification	30***	81***	---												
4.	Esteem 3c: Low Self-Esteem	-04	-12	-08												
5.	Total Esteem	29***	81***	95***	07	---										
6.	Machiavellianism	02	12	06	02	06	---									
7.	Approval	15#	32***	29***	-09	30***	16*	---								
8.	Succorance	-60***	-16*	-12	01	-10	02	-04	---							
9.	Safety 1a: Insecurity, Mistrust, Withdrawal	-08	-26***	-30***	04	-30***	-10	-21**	09	---						
10.	Safety 1b: Dependency	-15#	-14#	-25***	-07	-30***	04	-14#	03	02	---					
11.	Safety 1c: Incompetence	-23**	-45***	-44***	08	-41***	22**	-36***	11	04	21**	---				
12.	Total Safety	-22**	-44***	-49***	05	-49***	-16*	-36***	12	77***	41***	76***	---			
13.	Affiliation	-01	08	16*	08	13#	12	06	01	-20**	-07	-01	-14#	---		
14.	Repression-Sensitization	39***	29***	18	-03	21	17	27	-23	-13	-08	-19	-20	00	---	
15.	Self-Monitoring	08	-08	-01	12	-02	-18	-30	-13	04	02	16	10	-04	-06	---

Note: Decimals omitted.

#p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

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ssing only a single motivational orientation.

Given this state of affairs, it would clearly be desirable to
by additional analyses which are capable of utilizing all available
rmation on subjects' personalities for examining personality
iences on impression formation. Further, given the complexity
he impression formation, model and the number of manipulated
ors in the research design, information on the relative impor-
e of personality, target characteristics and situational factors
ccounting for perceivers' impressions would be valuable. Con-
ently, a series of hierarchical or "step-wise" multiple regression
yses were undertaken.

The general analytic strategy followed that suggested by Cohen
n (1975). Specifically, all non-motive design factors were dummy-
d, including interactive terms. The resulting seven variables
., Interaction Condition, Assertiveness of Target, Affiliativeness
arget, and their interactions) were then treated as covariates
g with the personality measures. The design factors were entered
group in the first step of the regression analyses, and variance
he dependent measure(s) attributable to these variables was removed
consideration. Thus, the personality measures could potentially
ain only variance which was not explainable by target and situa-
al factors. The personality measures were then entered individually
iccessive steps as potential predictors of this remaining variance.
order of entry for the personality measures was held constant for
regressions: Dominance, Esteem, Succorance, Safety, Machiavellianism,
oval, Repression-Sensitization and Self-Monitoring. The Esteem and

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ty subscale scores were not included since they were either very highly related with total scores (Esteem 3a & 3b, Safety 1a & 1c), or were rrelated with either their respective total scores or conceptually ted measures (Esteem 3c, Safety 1b). Affiliation was also not con- red since this measure was only correlated with other SCT measures low level and had a relatively low frequency of response among the ject sample. Finally, given the large number of dependent measures, the regression analyses for motive-relevant target qualities, con- nce in these impressions, evaluation of the targets, and global lexity measures will be discussed here.

Before presenting the results of the regression analyses, it is hwhile to examine the correlations between the set of personality ures and the impression measures presented in Table 27. Consistent the MANOVA findings, there is generally a stronger relationship een the motive measures and confidence in motive-relevant qualities he target characters than content of the impressions per se. Fur- , the correlations between Approval motivation and impression measures more supportive of the research hypotheses regarding Succorance vation than either the Succorance or Safety measures. Approval is tively correlated with a focus on assertiveness of the target in free-response impressions, and positively correlated with impressions he target's cooperative ability and responsibility, confidence in essions of warmth and responsibility, liking for the target, and expected satisfaction of interacting with him. Thus, despite the tive correlations between Approval, Dominance and Esteem, and the istical independence of Approval and Succorance among these subjects Table 26), these findings indicate that individuals with a strong

Table 27

Relationships Between Personality Measures and Impression Variables

Measure	Dom.	Esteem 3a	3b	3c	Tot.	Mach.	App.	Succ.	Safety 1a	1b	1c	Tot.	Aff.	Rep-Sen.	Self-Mon.
Content of Impression															
Perceived Assertivenes	01	-04	-08	-10#	-10#	06	04	04	-12	-02	02	-06	17*	-01	-05
Competitive Ability	07	01	-03	-19**	-05	07	05	00	-02	-10	06	00	09	-05	-08
Assertive Constructs	10#	07	04	01	03	-02	-19*	-05	-04	05	-01	-03	-04	-02	13#
Perceived Warmth	04	00	03	14#	07	-20*	07	03	04	03	03	05	-05	03	06
Cooperative Ability	13#	-06	05	-10	08	-16*	13*	-02	-06	02	-04	-04	-05	19*	05
Affiliation Constructs	-09	04	00	-10	-01	02	06	08	-06	01	07	00	03	00	04
Perceived Responsibility	-04	02	00	03	02	-07	12#	08	-08	11	04	00	10	00	02
Strength of Impression															
Conf. in Assertiveness	23***	14*	11#	-03	11#	05	03	-11	-05	-09	-03	-07	14#	10	00
Conf. in Warmth	09	09	09	01	10	-12	16*	-03	-01	-04	01	-01	-03	01	03
Conf. in Responsibility	11	03	00	05	03	-10	25**	-05	-07	-07	-02	-07	05	04	-07
Person Attribution	00	-06	-03	-08	-07	18*	02	-10	-05	-02	04	-01	13#	-01	00
Structure of Impression															
Assertiveness Variance	06	03	08	-10	06	05	12	-02	-04	05	-06	-04	-03	-11	-01
Warmth Variance	04	05	04	35***	10	01	05	01	04	-06	-04	-01	-13#	03	02

Table 27 (cont.)

	Esteem				Safety					Rep-	Self-
	Mast.	Ach.	Succ.		1a	1b	1c	Tot.	Aff.	Sen.	Mon.

Measure	Esteem								Safety					Rep-	Self-
	Dom.	3a	3b	3c	Tot.	Mach.	App.	Succ.	1a	1b	1c	Tot.	Aff.	Sen.	Mon.
Structure of Impression (cont.)															
Responsibility Variance	18*	-09	-05	10	-04	-18*	-04	-12	03	05	01	05	00	04	03
Total Variance	-01	02	05	05	07	06	-04	12	03	-07	-06	-03	-01	-12	21**
Total Constructs	12	08	17*	15*	14#	-03	-03	02	-08	06	00	-04	06	11	16*
Evaluation of Target															
Liking	04	11	06	01	10	-06	19**	05	04	-01	-06	00	-01	09	01
Pleasantness	10	-01	-03	02	-01	-22**	07	01	-02	01	08	04	-05	07	11
Satisfaction	01	06	00	02	04	-06	16*	03	-04	-07	00	-04	09	07	02
Outcome Expectations															
Dyad Success	31***	20**	14#	-03	16*	-02	10	-13	06	-03	-09	-01	-03	21**	08
Own Success	28***	23***	09	-02	12	04	14#	-18*	14#	07	-07	07	02	14#	00

Note: Decimals omitted. Coefficients in italics indicate predicted relationships for which one-tailed significance tests were used. All other coefficients were tested through two-tailed tests.

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ed for maintaining the approval of others responded to the target char-
ters differently than Dominance-motivated perceivers, and in a manner
nsistent with the hypotheses regarding Succorance motivation. It would
pear that Approval is a better measure of the specific motivational
ientation termed "Succorance motivation" in the present research than
ther measures of Succorance per se or Safety motivation.

Table 28 summarizes the regression analysis for impressions of the
rget characters' assertiveness and competitive ability. These results
dicate that personality was only minimally related to impressions of
ese target qualities. Rather, both perceived assertiveness and com-
titive ability were primarily related to the manipulated assertiveness
the target characters. While the entire set of covariates accounted
r approximately 77% and 39% of the variance in perceived assertiveness
d competitive ability, respectively, the design factors alone accounted
r 76% and 37%, respectively, of the variance in these measures.

The comparable analysis for perceived warmth and cooperative ability
the target characters is presented in Table 29. Once again the design
ctors accounted for the majority of explainable variance in these var-
bles. However, a number of significant personality effects were also
tained. Impressions of target warmth were significantly related to
th Approval and Safety, although not Succorance. Further, significant
gression coefficients for perceived cooperative ability were obtained
r Approval, Dominance and Repression-Sensitization. Approval was the
ly measure significantly associated with impressions of both of these
alities, accounting for approximately 1% of the variance in perceived
rmth and about 1.5% of the variance in cooperative ability ratings.
wever, it was Repression-Sensitization which had the largest single

Table 28

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Perceived Assertiveness and Competitive Ability

Global Analysis

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Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dependent and Independent Variables: F (30,286) = 11.38****

Perceived Assertiveness: R = .88; R^2 = .77; F (15,144) = 32.68****

Competitive Ability: R = .62; R^2 = .39; F (15,144) = 6.04****

Source	Beta Ass.	Beta Comp.	Univariate F Ass.	Univariate F Comp.	Percent of Variance Ass.	Percent of Variance Comp.
Design Factors						
Interaction Condition (INT)	.022	-.101				
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	*.990*	*.511*	70.34****	12.96****	76.41	37.37
Affiliativeness of Target (AFF)	.223	.181				
INT X ASS	-.020	.077				
INT X AFF	-.192	-.224				
ASS X AFF	-.295	-.052				
INT X ASS X AFF	.158	.119				
Personality Measures						
Dominance	-.040	.090	1.21	<1.00	.19	.14
Esteem	.005	.031	<1.00	<1.00	.12	.02
Succorance	.038	.035	<1.00	<1.00	.08	.13
Safety	-.073	.033	2.17	<1.00	.34	.05
Machiavellianism	-.020	.041	<1.00	<1.00	.02	.15
Approval	-.030	-.014	<1.00	<1.00	.02	.00
Repression-Sensitization	.024	-.064	<1.00	<1.00	.03	.32
Self-Monitoring	-.028	.070	<1.00	<1.00	.06	.42

Note: Regression Coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

**** $p < .0001$

Table 29

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Perceived Warmth and Cooperative Ability

Global Analysis

Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dependent and Independent Variables: F (30,286) = 4.86****

Perceived Warmth: R = .71; R^2 = .51; F (15,144) = 9.94****

Cooperative Ability: R = .53; R^2 = .28; F (15,144) = 3.71****

Source	Beta Warmth	Beta Coop.	Univariate F Warmth	Univariate F Coop.	Percent of Variance Warmth	Percent of Variance Coop.
Design Factors						
Interaction Condition (INT)	.016	.135				
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	-.111	.046				
Affiliativeness of Target (Aff)	*.669*	*.499*				
INT X ASS	.128	*-.104*	19.24****	5.50****	46.98	20.21
INT X AFF	.068	-.112				
ASS X AFF	.024	.017				
INT X ASS X AFF	-.162	-.102				
Personality Measures						
Dominance	.002	.066	<1.00	3.28$^{\#}$	.02	1.69
Esteem	.104	.044	<1.00	<1.00	.32	.37
Succorance	.043	.055	<1.00	<1.00	.15	.17
Safety	.159	.049	4.52*	<1.00	1.56	.06
Machiavellianism	-.092	-.125	1.45	1.37	.50	.72
Approval	.106	.113	2.86$^{\#}$	2.97$^{\#}$	.97	1.53
Repression-Sensitization	.063	.195	<1.00	5.84**	.31	2.91
Self-Monitoring	.031	.046	<1.00	<1.00	.08	.18

Note: Regression Coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

$^{\#}p < .10$ $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$ $^{****}p < .0001$

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luence among the set of personality measures, accounting for approxi-
ely 3% of the variance in perceived cooperative ability.

While the above analysis offers some support for the hypothesized
ationships between Succorance-motivation and impression formation,
s not surprising that personality influences were not extremely
ge. It was reported earlier that motivational influences on these
tent measures were not statistically significant (see Table 21).
ner, the perceived assertiveness and warmth of the target characters
primarily related to their actual behavior (i.e., the manipulations
arget qualities), consistent with the general "reality orientation"
erson perception postulated in the model. On the other hand, moti-
ional influences were most apparent in the subjective confidence
ceivers placed in their judgments of the qualities of the target
racters, and the extent to which they focused on assertiveness and
lliativeness in their free-response impressions. Thus, one would
ect personality influences to be stronger in these aspects of
ressions.

Tables 30 and 31 present the regression analyses for confidence in
ressions of the target characters' assertiveness and warmth, respec-
ely. As may be seen, these results strongly support the model. The
rall regression for the set of covariates accounted for approximately
of the variance in each of these measures, and the design factors
ne accounted for approximately 15% of this explainable variation.
ever, consistent with the hypotheses, only Dominance was significantly
ociated with confidence in target assertiveness, while only Approval
significantly associated with confidence in target warmth. The
inance measure alone accounted for approximately 5% of the variance

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Table 30

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Confidence in Impressions of Assertiveness

Global Analysis

st of Overall Relationship Between Dep. and Ind. Vars.: $F(15,144)=2.70^{***}$

$R = .47$; $R^2 = .22$

Source	Beta	Univariate F	Percent of Variance
sign Factors			
teraction Condition (INT)	.032		
sertiveness of Target (ASS)	*.426*		
filiativeness of Target (AFF)	*-.183*		
T X ASS	-.021	4.05^{***}	15.71
T X AFF	*.321*		
S X AFF	*.076*		
T X ASS X AFF	*-.422*		
rsonality Measures			
minance	.191	9.20^{**}	4.84
teem	.129	2.41	1.26
ccorance	.008	<1.00	.00
fety	.023	<1.00	.04
chiavellianism	-.029	<1.00	.06
proval	.008	<1.00	.01
pression-Sensitization	.008	<1.00	.00
lf-Monitoring	-.110	<1.00	.01

te: Regression coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

$^{**}p < .01$ $^{***}p < .001$

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Table 31

mmary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Confidence in Impressions of Affiliativeness

Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dep. and Ind. Variables:

$\underline{F}$ (15,144) = 2.77***

$\underline{R}$ = .47 $\underline{R}^2$ = .22

Source	Beta	Univariate $\underline{F}$	Percent of Variance
sign Factors			
nteraction Condition (INT)	-.245		
ssertiveness of Target (ASS)	.273		
ffiliativeness of Target (AFF)	.138		
NT X ASS	.064	3.90***	15.22
NT X AFF	*.514*		
SS X AFF	-.094		
NT X ASS X AFF	*-.418*		
rsonality Measures			
ominance	.005	<1.00	.39
steem	.119	1.77	.98
uccorance	-.044	<1.00	.07
afety	.130	1.23	.68
achiavellianism	-.127	1.78	.99
pproval	.233	7.50**	3.99
epression-Sensitization	-.022	<1.00	.04
elf-Monitoring	.022	<1.00	.04

te: Regression coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

*p < .01 ***p < .001

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confidence ratings for target assertiveness. Further, although not tistically significant, the only other personality measure associated h this variable was Esteem, accounting for approximately 1% of the iance. Thus, Dominance and Esteem together accounted for almost 30% the explainable variance in confidence in impressions of target ertiveness. Similarly, Approval alone accounted for almost 20% of explainable variance in confidence in impressions of target warmth, quely accounting for 4% of the variation in this measure.

Table 32 summarizes the regression analysis for evaluation of the get characters. The overall regression accounted for between 16% and of the variation in the three evaluative measures, with the design tors alone accounting for between 12% and 19% of this variance. Con-tent with the model, Approval had the largest influence of the set of sonality measures. This measure was significantly associated with two the three evaluative measures, and has a relatively large, but not nificant, influence on the third variable. Specifically, Approval ounted for approximately 3.5% of the variance in liking, 2% of the iance in expected satisfaction of the interaction with the target, 1% of the variance in expected pleasantness of the interaction. only other personality measure significantly associated with evalua-n is Machiavellianism, which accounts for about 2% of the variance in ected pleasantness of interacting with the target characters. As icated by the regression coefficient for this measure, perceivers n high Machiavellianism scores perceived interacting with the target racters as unpleasant. This is consistent with the general nega-ity bias in impressions for this measure apparent in Table 27.

Table 32

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Evaluation of Target Person

Global Analysis					***

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Evaluation of Target Person

Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dependent and Independent Variables: F (45,422.63) = 2.00***

Liking: R = .44; R^2 = .19; F (15,144) = 2.32**

Satisfaction: R = .40; R^2 = .16; F (15,144) = 1.79*

Pleasantness: R = .51; R^2 = .26; F (15,144) = 3.32****

Source	Betas Like	Betas Satis.	Betas Pleasnt.	Univariate F's Like	Univariate F's Satis.	Univariate F's Pleasnt.	Percent of Variance Like	Percent of Variance Satis.	Percent of Variance Pleasnt.
Design Factors									
Interaction Condition	.038	.190	.134						
Assertiveness of Target	.068	-.005	-.019						
Affiliativeness of Target	*.459*	*.319*	*.424*	3.32**	3.03**	5.24****	13.26	12.23	19.44
INT X ASS	-.032	-.045	-.025						
INT X AFF	-.036	-.233	-.080						
ASS X AFF	-.118	.220	.119						
INT X ASS X AFF	-.080	-.103	-.188						
Personality Measures									
Dominance	.022	-.038	.124	<1.00	<1.00	1.67	.12	.01	.88
Esteem	.095	.053	-.022	1.49	1.14	1.00	.85	.66	.05
Succorance	.079	.028	.010	<1.00	<1.00	<1.00	.52	.04	.51
Safety	.140	.032	.078	<1.00	<1.00	<1.00*	.53	.00	.44
Machiavellianism	-.017	-.032	-.158	<1.00**	<1.00#	3.66	.01	.02	1.91
Approval	.209	.165	.138	6.50**	3.32#	2.36	3.61	1.93	1.22
Repression-Sensitization	.073	.063	.073	<1.00	<1.00	<1.00	.41	.31	.41
Self-Monitoring	.041	.077	.098	<1.00	<1.00	1.57	.14	.50	.81

Note: Regression coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

#p < .10 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 ****p < .0001

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Table 33 presents the canonical correlation analysis for the egression on evaluation of the target. Two significant canonical ariates were derived. The first variate contrasts pleasantness and atisfaction. This linear combination of dependent measures is cor- elated .52 with the canonical variate for the covariates, being pri- arily associated with Affiliativeness of the Target, the Interaction ondition X Assertiveness of the Target X Affiliativeness of the Target nteraction, and the Dominance and Machiavellianism personality easures. The second canonical variate contrasted the liking and leasantness dependent measures, and was correlated .35 with the ovariate canonical variate. This dependent variate was primarily ssociated with the Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target inter- ction, and each main effect of the three non-motive design factors. mong the personality measures, Esteem, Approval, Machiavellianism, nd Safety had the largest canonical coefficients.

Finally, Tables 34 and 35 summarize the regression analyses for omplexity measures. Interestingly, the design factors were not ignificantly associated with variance in either total trait ratings r the total number of constructs in the free-response impressions. n fact, the overall regression for the latter measure only accounted or an insignificant 12% of the variance. On the other hand, person- lity influences are relatively large here. Total variance in trait atings was significantly associated with Self-Monitoring (5% of the ariance), Repression-Sensitization (2% of the variance) and Succorance 2% of the variance), while the total number of constructs in the free- esponse impressions was significantly associated only with Self-Monitor- ng (3% of the variance). Thus, the personality measures accounted for

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Table 33

Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for Evaluation of Target

Variable	Canonival Variate I	Canonival Variate II
Dependent		
Liking	.095	1.572
Satisfaction	-.541	-.220
Pleasantness	1.290	-1.030
Independent Design Factors		
Interaction Condition	.142	-.343
Assertiveness of Target	-.031	.364
Affiliativeness of Target	.798	.610
INT X ASS	-.020	-.044
INT X AFF	.037	.219
ASS X AFF	.043	-1.011
INT X ASS X AFF	-.371	.256
Personality Measures		
Dominance	.350	-.241
Esteem	-.093	.457
Succorance	.230	.043
Safety	.183	.380
Machiavellianism	-.358	.405
Approval	.207	.429
Repression-Sensitization	.127	.075
Self-Monitoring	.169	-.153
Canonical Correlation:	.52	.35
Variation in Dependent Variables Accounted For:	9.15%	4.13%

Note. Canonical variate coefficients greater than .299 in italics.

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Table 34

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Total Variance In Impressions

Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dep. and Ind. Variables:

$\underline{F}$ (15,144) = 1.87*

$\underline{R}$ = .40 $\underline{R}^2$ = .16

Source	Beta	Univariate $\underline{F}$	Percent of Variance
Design Factors			
Interaction Condition (INT)	-.125		
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	-.114		
Affiliativeness of Target (AFF)	.040		
INT X ASS	.089	1.61	6.91
INT X AFF	.261		
ASS X AFF	-.088		
INT X ASS X AFF	-.089		
Personality Measures			
Dominance	.120	<1.00	.04
Esteem	.032	<1.00#	.22
Succorance	.195	2.92#	1.78
Safety	-.024	<1.00	.00
Machiavellianism	.133	<1.00	.60
Approval	.038	<1.00#	.31
Repression-Sensitization	-.156	2.99**	1.82
Self-Monitoring	.233	7.89**	4.59

Note: Regression coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

*p < .10

*p < .05

**p < .01

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Table 35

Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression on Total Constructs in the Free-Response Impressions

Global Analysis

Test of Overall Relationship Between Dep. and Ind. Variables:

F (15,144) = 1.29

R = .34 R^2 = .12

Source	Beta	Univariate F	Percent of Variance
Design Factors			
Interaction Condition (INT)	-.188		
Assertiveness of Target (ASS)	-.346		
Affiliativeness of Target (AFF)	-.153		
INT X ASS	.243	1.04	4.57
INT X AFF	.132		
ASS X AFF	.247		
INT X ASS X AFF	-.040		
Personality Measures			
Dominance	.147	1.82	1.14
Esteem	.088	1.11	.69
Succorance	.179	2.32	1.44
Safety	-.010	<1.00	.04
Machiavellianism	-.006	<1.00	.06
Approval	-.058	1.08	.68
Repression-Sensitization	.089	1.01	.63
Self-Monitoring	.175	4.20*	2.57

Note: Regression coefficients (Betas) greater than .299 in italics.

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over 50% of the explainable variance in total trait rating variance and about 21% of the explainable variance in total constructs.

Aside from being the only impression measures not significantly affected by the non-motive design factors and those with the largest relative personality influences, it is noteworthy that the cognitive personality mesures, particularly Self-Monitoring, were most influential here. These findings are consistent with the conceptualization of Self-Monitoring (Snyder, 1975), indicating that Self-Monitorers do indeed pay more attention to the behavior of others as cues for their own behavior. Thus, these individuals are generally more complex in their impressions. Similarly, the concept of Sensitization is consistent with more discriminating judgments about people, since Sensitizers are perceptually vigilant. On the other hand, the influence of Succorance is noteworthy since this is the only significant regression effect for this measure. Although this effect was not predicted, Succorance-motivated individuals in the present study were apparently more discriminating in their impressions. This is particularly interesting since Succorance motivation was negatively correlated with Repression-Sensitization (see Table 26), indicating that these individuals tend to be Repressors, not Sensitizers. Although purely speculative, perhaps the expected interaction was generally more threatening to these perceivers, leading to greater perceptual vigilance for qualities of the target not directly relevant to motive-related outcomes. That is, faced with a threatening interaction, Succorance-motivated perceivers may have become hypervigilant to non-motive-related qualities in an attempt at bolstering their denial or repression of salient, threatening target qualities.

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GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present study was an initial attempt at reconciling a number of longstanding inconsistencies in the empirical literature on the process of perceiving persons, particularly as related to personality influences in this area. In brief, after reviewing a substantial body of literature relevant to person perception, it was concluded that resolution of these "exasperatingly inconsistent" (Cronbach, 1955) findings cannot occur until empirical research begins to adequately reflect the considerable complexity of these processes. In particular, to the extent that an improved understanding of the process of impression formation/person perception as it occurs in the "real world" is desired, the influence of three major factors must be considered: (1) the "personality" of the perceiver, both in terms of relatively stable cognitive structures or "schemata" (Kelley, 1972) for processing social information and more transient, "situationally specific" motivational influences; (2) the observed attributes and/or behavior of the stimulus person or "target" of perception; and (3) situational influences, including both the context within which the stimulus person is acting at the time of observation, and the circumstances surrounding the perceiver during processing of stimulus information (cf. Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969; Warr & Knapper, 1968). It was taken as the major thesis of this research that the impression formed of a particular target person is a function of the joint influences of these factors.

In developing a preliminary model of such "interactive" influences on person perception/impression formation, two major propositions were considered. First, it was argued that an adequate examination of this

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process requires that the perceiver have a personal interest in acquiring information about the target person. As Berscheid et al. (1976) have noted, previous research has tended to focus on how individuals process information about other people, without considering when or under what conditions individuals are typically motivated to undertake an analysis of another person's behavior and dispositional characteristics in the first place. Unless the perceiver has a personal stake in acquiring information about another person, it is unlikely that his/her "personality" will have much of an effect on resulting impressions. In real world situations, such conditions are likely to obtain when the perceiver is to some extent "outcome dependent" upon the target person. When the target person's behavior and/or dispositional characteristics are "hedonically relevant" (Jones & Davis, 1965) to the perceiver's own interpersonal outcomes, she/he should not only pay significantly more attention to the target's characteristics, but the perceiver's personality should have a much greater impact on both the type of stimulus information considered and the manner in which this information is combined and integrated into a final impression. Thus, idiosyncratic biases or "distortions" in impressions should only be apparent under outcome dependent conditions, where such processes provide some benefit to the perceiver.

Assuming that a state of outcome dependency exists, the second major proposition was that perceivers would pay particular attention to, and hence their impressions would be primarily influenced by, those aspects of the stimulus configuration (i.e., target characteristics and situational factors) which are most relevant to their own interpersonal outcomes. These outcomes were seen as being defined by both the nature or goals of the specific involvement between perceiver and

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target person (cf. Jones & Thibaut, 1958) and the interpersonal needs or motives of the perceiver (cf. Murray, 1938). While impressions are necessarily "grounded" in the observed characteristics of the target person (Brunswik, 1956; Crockett, 1977), inferences and expectations drawn from these "cues" are affected by their relevance in terms of situational goals and the motivational orientation of the perceiver.

Within this background, then, the findings of the present study have a number of implications for conceptualizations of the process of perceiving persons per se, as well as the specific influence of personality factors on this process. At the global level, the data address such issues as the effect of a general state of outcome dependency between perceiver and target person on person perception, the relative influences of target characteristics, situational factors, and the personality of the perceiver on this process, and the extent to which the findings conform to the interactive model on which the research was based. More specifically, the results of examinations of the particular research hypotheses indicate the extent to which certain variations in perceiver motivation and expected interaction conditions influence both impressions of the target character per se, and the perceiver's expectations about the outcomes of an interaction with the target character.

Discussion of the findings will initially focus on their implications for the general person perception process and the preliminary model. After considering these global implications, attention will turn to each of the individual components in the model: target characteristics, situational factors, and personality influences. Finally, given the complexity of the model and, consequently, the basically exploratory nature of the present study, the limitations of the present research,

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as well as more general methodological issues for research in this area will be considered. Discussion will conclude with a brief section on extensions of the model to the domain of cognitive-perceptual influences on interpersonal behavior, and an overview and summary of the present study.

Personality, Situations and the Perception of People

Despite the fact that researchers have been calling for empirical work examining the joint influences of perceiver, target person, and situational influences on person perception processes for some time (e.g., Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Jackson & Messick, 1963), such investigations are extremely rare in the empirical literature. Undoubtedly, the hesitancy on the part of researchers to undertake such studies reflects the considerable number of methodological problems and conceptual ambiguities in dealing with issues of this level of complexity. Even with substantial improvements in methodological sophistication, such problems are only too apparent in the present research, as will be discussed in detail below. Given this state of affairs, it is clearly premature to draw any strong conclusions about the validity of interactive models of person perception. A great deal of additional empirical research, using a variety of different manipulations and focusing on a wide range of target, situational, and personality variables, will need to be undertaken before any significant improvement in our understanding of the person perception process can be expected. Nonetheless, keeping in mind the specificity of the present operationalization of the model, an examination of the extent to which the present findings conform to the model can have considerable heuristic utility.

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Considering the results as a whole, to what extent were the impressions of perceivers influenced by the three factors in the model? Although none of the three-way or higher-order interactions were statistically significant in the overall MANOVA on the vector of impression variables, significant main or two-way interaction effects were observed for each of the factors: target characteristics, situational factors, and the motivational orientations of perceivers. Thus, impressions as a whole were indeed significantly affected by the three factors, either singly or in combination with one another. At this most general level, then, the findings are largely supportive of the model.

Considering the general lack of success in relating individual differences in impressions to traditional personality variables in previous research, it seems important to note here that while significant main effects for target and situational characteristics were obtained in the MANOVA analysis, the motivational orientation of the perceiver only significantly affected impressions at the multivariate level in interaction with characteristics of the target person. As noted by Shrauger and Altrocchi (1964), among others, the characteristics of the perceiver may only influence impressions of certain attributes and/or behaviors of the target person, or be apparent only in impressions of certain "types" of target characters. As will be discussed in more detail below, the findings of the present research provide some support for both of these suppositions. Motivational influences were only apparent in perception of certain attributes of the target characters and, to some extent, they appeared to be more prevalent for impressions of some of the target characters than others.

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It is also clear from the present results that the necessity of considering the combination of target, perceiver, and situational factors in person perception research depends upon which aspects of impressions one wishes to predict. To the extent that the research is concerned with total impressions, including not only trait attributions per se, but such aspects as salience, evaluative components, and the organization of information acquired about the person (what Schneider (1977) has called the coherence and richness of impressions), the findings of the present research strongly imply that each of these factors must be considered. However, certain specific components of impressions appear to be primarily, or even exclusively, a function of only one or another of these factors. For example, perceivers' trait ratings of the target characters' dispositional attributes along the dimensions of interpersonal assertiveness and warmth were almost entirely predictable from consideration of the characteristics of the target characters alone. This is a particularly intriguing finding, considering that the vast majority of previous research has relied almost exclusively on trait ratings as measures of perceivers' impressions. To the extent that this finding holds true across different types of target characters and perceivers, it is not surprising that personality influences have been so hard to demonstrate in this area.

On the other hand, many aspects of impressions were significantly affected by each of the three factors. It would appear, for example, that prediction of a perceiver's confidence in his/her impressions of target characteristics, and the extent to which a particular target quality is salient to the perceiver and occupies a central place in

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his/her impression, requires consideration of the perceiver's motivational orientation and the nature of his/her involvement with the target character, in addition to the target's actual attributes and behavior. Thus, to the extent that one defines impressions as a complex, coherent set of attributions and expectations about another person's dispositional characteristics (cf. Crockett, 1977; Fiske & Cox, in press; Schneider, 1977), the present findings offer substantial support for the validity of the preliminary model.

Aside from this general conclusion that all three factors must be considered in order to understand impression formation, the present findings address issues regarding how and to what extent each of the individual factors affects impressions, both singly and in interaction with one another. The remainder of this section addresses itself to these more specific questions.

Target Characteristics. The influence of the manipulated target characteristics on impressions has previously been discussed primarily in terms of validation of the videotaped stimulus situations. On the basis of both initial analysis of the scripts as well as "baseline" impressions of the target characters in the videotapes, the manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness were clearly successful. However, these findings, particularly regarding the impressions of the outcome dependent perceivers in the Motive Sample, also have a number of implications for person perception per se. In both the Motive and Validation Samples, the largest and most significant MANOVA effects were the main effects of target assertiveness and affiliativeness. While these effects were expected as a result of the manipulations, their size relative to that of other factors indicates that, at least

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within the context of this research, the actual characteristics of the target character have the largest single influence on impressions. This conclusion is also supported by the regression analyses, where target and situational factors typically accounted for over twice as much variance in impression measures as personality factors. Of the two, examination of the regression coefficients indicated that target characteristics had a much greater influence than situational factors.

Upon initial consideration, these results may seem at odds with the general conclusion from the literature that impressions are more a function of the perceiver's existing cognitive structure (e.g., learned inference and combinatorial "rules") than the information taken in during observation of the target person (Gage & Cronbach, 1955; Kaplan, 1973; Levy, 1961). However, this conclusion is based primarily on results showing that perceivers are biased toward dispositional attributions for observed target behavior and, particularly, that they evidence greater evaluative and/or logical consistency in their impressions than is warranted on the basis of an "objective" analysis of the stimulus situation. These findings therefore do not imply that perceivers are insensitive to the actual characteristics of the target person, but rather that they make dispositional conclusions on the basis of limited information obtained early in the observation sequence, and that their subsequent information processing is probably biased such that a reasonably consistent impression can be maintained. As was noted earlier, the characteristics of the target undoubtedly constrain a perceiver's impression at least as much as his/her personality shapes how the information is interpreted and integrated (Crockett, 1977).

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It is also worth noting in this regard that the strength of the manipulations of target behavior in the present research may have "suppressed" the influence of personality factors on impressions. The validation analyses showed that not only were the Assertive and Submissive and Affiliative and Disaffiliative characters in the videotapes clearly perceived as differing on their respective behavioral dimensions, but the differences were very large and salient to perceivers. The implications of this methodological issue will be discussed in greater detail below. However, several points are worth noting here. First, the differences in perceptions of manipulated attributes were generally larger (i.e., more extreme) when the characters were consistently "positive" (i.e., Submissive and Affiliative) or "negative" (i.e., Assertive and Disaffiliative), as opposed to relatively ambiguous (i.e., Assertive and Affiliative, Submissive and Disaffiliative). Further, the manipulation of target assertiveness was relatively stronger in its effect on impressions than that of target affiliativeness. Consequently, one would expect personality factors to be even less influential in impressions of this quality than affiliativeness. This is exactly what was found in the regression analyses. Only target characteristics significantly influenced impressions of the assertiveness of the target, while a number of personality measures were significantly associated with impressions of target warmth.

While the characteristics of the target characters did have the largest effects on impressions at the global level, it was also apparent that these factors did not uniformly influence all aspects of impressions. As would be expected, target characteristics primarily influenced impressions of the level of target assertiveness and affiliativeness

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and, to a lesser extent, the subjective confidence of perceivers in their judgments about these target qualities. On the other hand, the perceived levels of target assertiveness and warmth were not related to the prevalance of these qualities in perceivers' free-response impressions, nor did the manipulations of these target qualities have large or consistent effects on these aspects of impressions in the univariate analyses. Assuming that the prevalence of a particular quality is an indication of its salience to the individual perceiver (cf. Fiske & Cox, in press), this implies that actual variations in target behavior have a relatively minor influence on the "centrality" (cf. Asch, 1946) of particular qualities in perceivers' impressions.

In terms of the influence of individual target characteristics on impressions, assertiveness and affiliativeness appeared to have different and, to some extent, opposing implications for perceivers. Overall, high assertiveness seemed to be somewhat threatening to perceivers. Compared to Submissive target characters, Assertive characters were perceived as significantly lower on the socially desirable qualities of interpersonal warmth and responsibility, and total articulation decreased significantly between impressions of Submissive and Assertive characters. It was affiliative qualities, however, which had the largest single effect on impressions overall, and on evaluative aspects of impressions in particular. Affiliative characters were not only seen as significantly more warm and responsible than Disaffiliative characters, but they were liked significantly more, and perceivers expected interacting with them to be significantly more pleasant, satisfying, and successful in terms of the interaction goals. Perceivers did not differ significantly in such evaluative aspects of impressions across levels of target

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assertiveness. Overall then, while assertiveness appeared to be a more salient target characteristic than affiliativeness to perceivers in this research, in and of itself it has fewer implications for other target qualities.

As would be expected, perceptions of target cooperative ability were primarily a function of the target's affiliative qualities, and perceptions of competitive ability were a function of the target's assertive qualities. However, while to some extent assertiveness and affiliativeness had relatively independent influences on impressions, it is also clear that impressions were affected by the interaction of target assertiveness and affiliativeness. In fact, the negative effect of assertiveness on impressions was only apparent when the target was also disaffiliative. Thus, it seems most accurate to conclude that the effect of any individual aspect of a target's behavior on impressions depends upon the target's other attributes. That is, the target characters are perceived as integrated, coherent "personalities," with impressions of particular attributes being a function of the target's "total character."

Situational Influences. The findings on situational factors relate to both the influence of outcome dependency per se, and the specific effects of expected cooperation and competition. The most consistent finding concerning the influence of outcome dependency was the general positivity bias evident in perceivers' impressions. Compared to the impressions of the uninvolved perceivers in the Validation Sample, perceivers who were outcome dependent upon the target characters by virtue of an expected interaction task perceived them as significantly more warm and responsible (both socially desirable characteristics),

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and liked them to a significantly greater extent. These differences between involved and uninvolved perceivers held across all variations in target behavior and interaction condition and, contrary to expectations, even for the most negatively evaluated character (i.e., Assertive-Disaffiliative).

This finding is consistent with a number of previous studies (e.g., Berscheid et al., 1976; Jones & Dougherty, 1959), but inconsistent with the hypothesized "negativity bias" in impressions of highly aversive target characters. On the basis of both logical considerations and empirical findings that individuals expect interactions with negatively-evaluated target characters to have negative outcomes (Miller & Norman, 1976), it was expected that anticipated interaction with a negative character would lead to a more negative impression among outcome dependent than uninvolved perceivers. An individual may be lenient in his/her evaluation of a target character who is clearly negative if the character's attributes have no effect on his/her own outcomes. However, to the extent that the perceiver expects to directly experience negative personal outcomes as a function of the target character's attributes, she/he should be particularly harsh in his/her evaluation.

The few relevant studies in the extant literature, however, are inconsistent on this point. Expected interaction has been variously found to increase liking for negatively evaluated target characters (Tyler & Sears, 1977) or to have no effect on evaluative aspects of impressions (Sears, 1967). Although Pepitone (1950) has also postulated a negativity bias under extremely undesirable conditions, this effect has not been empirically demonstrated. Even though, in absolute terms, the highly aversive target was negatively evaluated in the present

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study, the evaluations of the outcome dependent perceivers were less negative than those of perceivers in the Validation Sample. It would appear that the tendency to view others in a positive, and hence "wish-fulfilling" light under conditions of outcome dependency is exceptionally potent, and may even hold where the perceiver directly interacts with the target character, and consequently experiences the interpersonal results of his/her negative attributes directly (Tyler & Sears, 1977). If they occur, negativity biases may only be apparent under the most aversive conditions: the target character may have to be extremely punishing, rather than merely "unfriendly" and the perceiver may have to directly experience highly unpleasant outcomes through actual interaction with the target character.

Aside from evaluative considerations, there is also evidence in the literature that outcome dependency leads to increased dispositional attribution for observed target behavior, and generally increases the salience of the target's attributes to perceivers. For example, Berscheid et al. (1976) have shown that perceivers spend more time looking at target characters with whom they expect to interact, and subsequently have greater recognition and recall for observed target characteristics. Several of the findings of the present study are consistent with these results. Outcome dependent perceivers made more extreme judgments on all of the rating scale content measures than perceivers in the Validation Sample--they saw the target characters as more assertive, cooperative and competitive, as well as more warm and responsible--and the extremity of trait ratings has been shown to be associated with both increased confidence in judgments and greater dispositional attribution (e.g., Jones & Davis, 1965). However, contrary to the findings of Berscheid et al., involved perceivers

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in the present study were significantly lower, rather than higher, in dispositional attributions for the target's observed behavior.

This difference may relate to differences between the two studies in the evaluative aspects of the target character's behavior. All of the target characters in Berscheid et al.'s (1976) study were positively evaluated, and their behavior was not extreme along any dimension. In contrast, the Assertive-Disaffiliative and, to a lesser extent, Submissive-Disaffiliative characters in the present study were clearly negatively evaluated. As noted earlier, given the desire to maintain positive outcome expectations about the future interaction with the target character, perceivers may have attributed causality for observed negative behaviors to the other person in the videotape discussion and/or the characteristics of the situation itself. There is some indication that this may have occurred: while both motive groups were somewhat higher than subjects in the Validation Sample in person attribution for the Assertive-Affiliative character ($\bar{X}$ deviation = +4.30), they attributed less causal influence to the negative Assertive-Disaffiliative character ($\bar{X}$ deviation = -6.78). Unfortunately, without data on differential attribution for negative and positive behaviors to target, other person, and situational factors, this hypothesis cannot be adequately examined.

There is also some suggestion in the data that person perception under conditions of outcome dependency is somewhat more dynamic, and that involved perceivers are more discriminating in their judgments. The effects of the manipulated target characteristics on impressions were relatively more constrained among involved perceivers. Particularly in terms of assertiveness, the impressions of outcome dependent

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perceivers were generally affected by this factor only in terms of assertiveness-related qualities, while those of perceivers in the Validation Sample also differed in warmth-related and evaluative aspects across variations in target assertiveness. On the other hand, only the main effects of target assertiveness and affiliativeness significantly influenced impressions of the Validation Sample perceivers, while the Assertiveness X Affiliativeness of Target interaction was significant among involved perceivers. This implies that perceivers under conditions of outcome dependency integrated more target information in their impressions, and were thus more complex in their processing of stimulus information. Given the conditions of outcome dependency and consequent personal relevance of the target's dispositional characteristics, it is not surprising that these perceivers were more considerate and apparently expended more cognitive effort in analysing the target characters.

The findings regarding the effects of cooperative and competitive involvements were consistent with the proposed model, and strongly support Jones and Thibaut's (1958) major hypothesis that perceivers are particularly interested in those qualities of the target character which are relevant to adequate performance in their interaction task. While the present study does not allow evaluation of their more specific hypotheses about particular types of interaction goals and accompanying cognitive "sets," perceivers in the present study clearly focused on those characteristics of the target person most directly relevant to outcomes in the particular type of interaction situation expected. As noted previously, affiliative qualities were generally perceived as most relevant to cooperative ability, while assertive qualities

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were perceived as most relevant to competitive ability. Consistent with these logical implications, perceivers who expected to cooperate with the target characters focused significantly more on their affiliative qualities, while competitively-oriented perceivers showed a greater interest in assertive qualities of the targets.

Aside from these general differences, impressions of interaction-relevant target characteristics were also significantly affected by the interactions of cooperation-competition and the assertiveness and affiliativeness of the target characters. In their subjective confidence in judgments of interaction-relevant target qualities and the prevalence of these qualities in impressions, perceivers were unaffected by actual variations in interaction-relevant target behaviors. Thus, perceivers who expected to compete with the targets were equally confident in their judgments of the assertiveness of the Assertive and Submissive targets, while cooperatively-oriented perceivers were equally confident in their judgments of the warmth of the Affiliative and Disaffiliative target characters. Conversely, perceivers appeared generally less concerned with those target qualities which were irrelevant to their interaction situation. For example, perceivers under competitive conditions varied in their confidence in impressions of target warmth across actual variations in target affiliativeness, while perceivers expecting cooperation varied in their confidence in impressions of assertiveness between Assertive and Submissive targets. Overall, then, perceivers appeared to remain vigilent toward target information which was relevant to their interaction outcomes, regardless of the target's actual behavior, while their impressions of irrelevant target qualities were affected by variations in target

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characteristics. In addition, perceivers' expectations about interaction outcomes were significantly affected by the target's interaction-relevant qualities, but not irrelevant qualities.

These patterns of impression differences as a joint function of interaction condition and target characteristics also appear to indicate some cognitive defensive processes, in addition to a heightened salience of interaction-relevant target qualities. Under cooperative conditions, perceivers focused significantly less on the assertive qualities of the Affiliative than Disaffiliative characters, while competitively-oriented perceivers focused significantly less on the affiliative qualities of the Submissive than Assertive characters. These findings appear to indicate that, when impressions of the target character's interaction-relevant qualities are unfavorable (i.e., high assertiveness for competitive interactions, and low affiliativeness for cooperative interactions), perceivers process more information about irrelevant target qualities, perhaps in the hope of acquiring information which would indicate that the initial unfavorable impressions were unwarranted. For example, by considering the affiliative qualities of the Assertive characters, perceivers expecting to compete with them may have been able to remain optimistic about their upcoming interaction (i.e., when the target was also affiliative). Further, consistent with this hypothesis of defensive processes, perceivers who expected to compete with the target characters were significantly less confident than perceivers under cooperative conditions in their impressions of the warmth of the Disaffiliative characters and, for impressions of the Affiliative characters, perceivers expecting competition were most confident in the warmth of the Assertive-Affiliative character. Thus, despite the increased

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vigilance toward the other qualities of target characters whose interaction-relevant characteristics are unfavorable, perceivers report being less confident in their judgments along these dimensions for unfavorable than favorable target characters.

Personality Factors. In addition to focusing on those qualities of the target characters which were most relevant to interaction conditions, perceivers also focused significantly more on the characteristics of the target which were related to their own interpersonal motives. Dominance-motivated perceivers focused more on assertive qualities of the target characters, and were more confident than Succorance-motivated perceivers in their judgments about these target characteristics, while Succorance-motivated perceivers focused more on the affiliative qualities of the targets. However, while both the motivational orientation of the perceiver and the nature of the expected interaction between perceiver and target significantly affected the salience of assertive and affiliative target qualities to perceivers, the interaction of these two factors was not significant. Within each motive group, competition increased the salience of assertive qualities, but decreased the salience of affiliative qualities.

On the other hand, while the interaction of motivation and cooperation-competition did not largely affect impressions of the charactertistics of the target per se, the hypothesis that perceivers would prefer interaction conditions which support or encourage their desired interpersonal behavior was strongly supported. Dominance-motivated perceivers consistently viewed competitive interactions as likely to be more pleasant and satisfying, and were significantly more confident in attaining successful outcomes under competitive than cooperative conditions.

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Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, showed an opposite pattern on these evaluative measures. They expected cooperative interactions to be more pleasant and satisfying than competitive ones, and were more optimistic about attaining the interaction goals under cooperative than competitive conditions. Thus, in addition to focusing on those qualities of the target character with implications for motive-relevant interpersonal outcomes, perceivers prefer interaction conditions in which the normative structure governing role relationships is congruent with their motivational interpersonal orientation.

In contrast to the findings of a number of previous studies which have demonstrated consistent individual differences in the tendency to evaluate other people poitively or negatively (e.g., Assor, Aronoff, & Messe', 1978; Kaplan, 1973; Larson, 1975; Messe' et al., 1979), the motive groups in the present study did not differ overall in their evaluations of the target characters. That is, across all target characters, Dominance-motivated and Succorance-motivated perceivers were almost identical in liking and their expectations about the pleasantness and satisfaction of interacting with the target characters. While their evaluations of specific target characters often differed substantially, no evidence was obtained for any general, motive-related evaluative biases.

This inconsistency in findings may relate to differences in the characteristics of the stimulus characters and/or the measures used in assessing perceivers' personality. For example, Assor et al. (1978) used the same instruments as were used in the present study (the Dominance scale of the CPI and the Succorance scale of the EPPS, although a shortened version of the latter was used) to classify subjects as either Dominance or Dependency oriented. However, these investigators also used

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several subscales of the Sentence Completion Test (Aronoff, 1975) to further classify the subjects as high in either Personal Incompetence (Safety 1c), Ungratified Esteem (Esteem 3a) or Gratified Esteem (Esteem 3b). The subjects viewed a videotaped interaction of a male and female interacting on a number of tasks. Both individuals in the videotape were equally competent and assertive (e.g., handled the task equally well, proposed an equal number of solutions, spoke an equal length of time), and behaved cordially toward one another. However, subjects were told that one of the interactants (crossed with sex) was of high social status and one was of low social status. In the high status condition, subjects were told that the actor was "an advanced graduate student... who has had a very successful career, and...holds an important job as head of a research team" (p. 8). The low status actor was described as an assistant or aide in the physical plant at a university and a part-time student at a community college.

Although the effect was only obtained for male perceivers, those high in personal incompetence or ungratified esteem consistently evaluated the actors negatively on a number of evaluative trait rating scales, while perceivers high in gratified esteem displayed a general positivity bias in their impressions.

Aside from the more refined classification criteria used by Assor et al., the differences in stimulus characters between their study and the present research are clearly extreme. While Assor et al.'s stimulus characters differed in manipulated status (note that this was an instructional, and not a behavioral manipulation), they did not differ in either assertiveness or affiliativeness: both characters were moderately assertive and moderately "cordial." In contrast, the differences in

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both assertiveness and affiliativeness between target characters in the present study were large and significant. As previously noted, these extreme behavioral differences may have suppressed personality influences. Further, half of the target characters in the present study were clearly negative, and perceivers expected to interact with these individuals. In terms of the present definitional criteria, then, the target characters in the Assor et al. study may be considered "ambiguous" in their behavioral dispositions, and their characteristics had no implications for perceivers' outcomes. Evaluative biases may only be apparent in impressions of characters who are not extreme in their behavioral dispositions, but may be overcome when the characters are clearly and strongly positive or negative, particularly under conditions of outcome dependency. Further, as will be discussed in more detail below, the lack of significant evaluative differences in impressions of the two motive groups may also relate to the selection measures utilized: while Succorance was not significantly associated with a global positivity bias, nor Dominance with a global negativity bias, subjects high in Approval were generally more positive in their evaluations of the target characters, while those high in Machiavellianism displayed a consistent negativity bias.

Although the general hypotheses about situational and motivational influences on impression formation were supported by the obtained findings, the more specific and complex hypotheses concerning joint influences of target, perceiver and situational factors on specific aspects of impressions received considerably less support. The predicted mean differences were often obtained for specific target characters and/or one of the motive groups, but none of the predicted patterns of differences in content, structure, valence, or distortion in impressions were entirely

consistent with the obtained results. Thus, although the general model was supported in terms of the global influences of target characteristics, situational factors, and perceiver personality, the most precise reasoning about specific changes in cognitive information processing appears in need of revision.

The "interactive" hypotheses were based on theoretical and empirical work on the influence of anxiety or threat on cognitive processes, and depended upon the extent to which the particular target characters conformed to expectations about the extent to which they aroused anxiety among perceivers in the two motive groups. On the basis of logical considerations, the probability of one's interaction with another individual resulting in personally gratifying outcomes should be a function of both the normative structure governing role relationships in the situation and the dispositional characteristics of the other person. Certain situations embody a demand for particular types of interpersonal behavior, and individuals differ in the extent to which their behavioral dispositions are congruent with these normative expectations. This reasoning is supported by empirical research demonstrating that individuals differ in their preferred style of interpersonal behavior (e.g., Aronoff & Messe', 1971; Larson, 1975), and that people perceive situations as differing in their demands for specific types of behavior (e.g., Orvis, Cunningham, & Kelley, 1975; Price & Bouffard, 1978; Snyder, 1977). Further, dispositional attributions for another person's behavior typically imply certain situational conditions (cf. Tagiuri, 1969). Thus, both the target's behavior per se and the normative structure of the situation are relevant to the perceiver's interaction outcomes.

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To the extent that the perceiver's judgments about the target character's dispositions and his expectations about the nature of their interaction imply that the perceiver will incur negative outcomes, arousal should increase and, particularly, the perceiver should become anxious. Anxiety or threat generally disrupts cognitive processes, and the complexity of information processing has been shown to decrease under threatening conditions (e.g., Rosenbach, Crockett, & Wapner, 1973; Vallacher, 1976). Distortion of the target character's attributes is also more likely when the perceiver is anxious or threatened (Feshbach, 1963; Feshbach & Singer, 1957; Murray, 1933). Anxious perceivers have been shown to make more extreme evaluations of target characters (McArthur & Solomon, 1978) and, generally, these evaluations are consistent with the nature of the aroused affect--positive or negative (Bossom & Maslow, 1957; Isen, Shaiken, Clark, & Karp, 1978; Johnson & Gormley, 1975; Purcell, 1952). However, as noted before, given the empirical evidence for general positivity biases under conditions of outcome dependency (Berscheid et al., 1976; Jones & Dougherty, 1959; Tyler & Sears, 1977), and the corresponding tendency of perceivers to interpret ambiguous information about a target character in a personally gratifying manner (Berscheid et al., 1968; Darley & Berscheid, 1967; Levine et al., 1942; Pepitone, 1950), strong negativity biases would only be expected under the most clearly aversive conditions.

Finally, in addition to these expected changes in valence and complexity of impressions, as well as distortion, it was expected that the salience of motive-related qualities to perceivers would increase directly with the extent to which the expected interaction with the target character was threatening. It has already been shown

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that perceivers primarily focused on those qualities of the perceiver which were most relevant to their own interpersonal motives. However, once the perceiver's inferences about the target character's dispositions indicate that the target's behavioral tendencies are congruent with the perceiver's desired outcomes, the salience of these motive-relevant target qualities should decrease, relative to other target qualities, and the perceiver's attention should turn to secondary concerns. Consequently, the perceiver should process more information about the target character, and complexity should increase while the prevalence of motive-relevant qualities should decrease. On the other hand, when initial impressions of the target's qualities are ambiguous in regard to the perceiver's desired interpersonal outcomes, attention should remain relatively focused on motive-relevant qualities and, as noted above, inferences should generally be in a wish-fulfilling direction. When the initial impression of the target character is highly negative, however, it was expected that attention would remain focused on motive-relevant qualities, but that inferences about the target's behavioral dispositions and the outcomes of the expected interaction between target and perceiver would be negative.

It should be noted here that while the hypotheses regarding positive and ambiguous characters are consistent with previous theoretical and empirical work (e.g., Berscheid et al., 1976; Rosenbach, Crockett, & Wapner, 1973), the predictions about reactions to the most negative characters were based solely on the proposed model. Further, a strong case could be made for opposite predictions under these conditions. That is, when the involvement between target and perceiver is highly threatening to the perceiver, cognitive defensive mechanisms may be activated and the threatening qualities of the target may be repressed or denied. If this

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occurs, contrary to the hypothesis, impressions of the negative target character would not be focused on motive-relevant qualities, complexity might increase in an attempt to avoid unpleasant cognitions about the target, and the valence of the perceiver's impression may well be positive rather than negative. There is even some indication that this process occurred in the present research. For example, perceivers whose impressions of interaction-relevant target qualities were unfavorable showed an increased, rather than decreased, focus on irrelevant target qualities. Under these conditions, then, perceiver's impressions would be inconsistent with the model, and the impressions of the ambiguous characters, rather than the negative characters, would be most focused on motive-relevant qualities, least complex, and have the least positive valence. Thus, the model was based on assumptions that perceivers would be vigilant to threatening information and, if anything, would augment rather than deny the target's negative dispositional qualities in their impressions under highly aversive conditions.

It is because of this ambiguity in regard to reactions to highly threatening target characters that differences among perceivers in their preferred style of cognitive defensive processes seem important. It will be recalled that the two motive groups differed significantly on the measure of Repression-Sensitization, with Dominance-motivated perceivers being sensitizers and Succorance-motivated perceivers being repressors. Thus, to the extent that these defensive tendencies were engaged by the highly aversive Assertive-Disaffiliative character, the predictions should generally have been supported among Dominance-motivated perceivers, but not have been supported among Succorance-motivated perceivers.

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In general, the results of univariate analyses of these complex hypotheses were indeed more consistent for Dominance-motivated than Succorance-motivated perceivers. The Dominance-motivated perceivers were most focused on the assertive qualities of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character in their impressions, had the lowest variance (i.e., articulation) in their ratings of the perceived assertiveness of this character, had the fewest total constructs in their impressions, and expected an interaction with the Assertive-Disaffiliative character to be least pleasant. Further, these findings held within both cooperative and competitive interaction conditions, as well as overall. Thus, as predicted, the impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character among these perceivers were most focused on motive-relevant qualities, most negative in valence, and least complex.

Among Succorance-motivated perceivers, on the other hand, the predicted effects for impressions of the Assertive-Disaffiliative character were rarely obtained. These perceivers were not most focused on the affiliative qualities of this character, and did not expect interacting with this character to be least pleasant. Further, while variance in impressions of target warmth and the total number of constructs in the free-response impressions were lowest for impressions of this character under competitive and cooperative conditions, respectively, articulation in impressions of warmth was not lowest for the Assertive-Disaffiliative character under cooperative conditions, nor were the total number of constructs fewest in impressions of this character under competitive conditions. In fact, these perceivers were less focused on affiliative qualities, had a greater number of total constructs in their impressions, and expected the interaction to be more pleasant with the Assertive-Disaffiliative

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character under competitive conditions--the interaction conditions which should be most threatening to these perceivers. Thus, at this level, it would appear that Succorance-motivated perceivers may have been repressing or denying the negative qualities of the most threatening character.

Although these findings indicate that consideration of cognitive defensive style should considerably improve prediction of impressions for threatening target characters, it would also appear that some of the reasoning about perceivers' reactions to the characteristics of particular target characters was somewhat in error. Succorance-motivated perceivers appeared to find interacting with the Submissive-Disaffiliative character much more aversive than expected, while Dominance-motivated perceivers reacted to the Assertive-Affiliative character in a very positive manner, suggesting that the assertiveness of this character was not particularly threatening to these perceivers--at least under cooperative interaction conditions. The findings regarding impressions of the Submissive-Disaffiliative character among Succorance-motivated perceivers could conceivably be accounted for by assuming that, given a repressive or denying style of cognitive defense, these perceivers should respond to the ambiguous or "moderately threatening" characters in a manner similar to the responses of "sensitizers" to highly threatening characters. This indeed appeared to be the case. However, this reasoning cannot account for the impressions of the Assertive-Affiliative character among Dominance-motivated perceivers.

Dominance-motivated perceivers, as predicted, generally preferred Submissive to Assertive characters. However, when the interaction of target assertiveness and affiliativeness is considered, it is the

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Submissive-Disaffiliative, rather than the Assertive-Affiliative character which is evaluated less positively by these perceivers--particularly under cooperative conditions. Dominance-motivated perceivers were least focused on the assertive qualities of the Assertive-Affiliative character overall and under both cooperative and competitive conditions, were more articulating in impressions of the assertiveness of the Assertive-Affiliative character than the Submissive-Disaffiliative character under both interaction conditions, had the greatest number of total constructs in their impressions of this character under competitive conditions, and viewed interacting with the Assertive-Affiliative character as more pleasant than interacting with the Submissive-Disaffiliative character under competitive conditions, and as most pleasant of all characters under cooperative conditions. Thus, contrary to expectations, it would appear that the assertiveness of the Assertive-Affiliative character was not particularly threatening to these perceivers. In fact, under competitive (but not cooperative) conditions, Dominance-motivated perceivers appeared less threatened by this character than Succorance-motivated perceivers.

It will be recalled that the model assumed that Dominance-motivated perceivers desired to control their interactions with others, and preferred interactions which supported their assertiveness. Thus, target characters should be negatively evaluated by these perceivers to the extent that they pose a control problem. While a disposition toward assertiveness would indeed lower the probability of the Dominance-motivated perceiver easily controlling the interaction, this is not the only target characteristic which would interfere with these perceivers' desired outcomes--particularly under cooperative conditions. In fact,

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upon reconsideration of the findings from the Validation Sample, it seems likely that the Submissive-Disaffiliative character, rather than the Assertive-Affiliative character, posed more of a potential control problem under cooperative conditions. That is, although the Submissive-Disaffiliative character was clearly submissive, this character was far from passively cooperative. In fact, the Submissive-Disaffiliative character gave the impression, if anything, of being passively hostile and resisting of control. This character was perceived as significantly less warm and responsible, tended to be liked less, and an interaction with this character was seen as less pleasant than with the Assertive-Affiliative character by perceivers in the Validation Sample. Further, both the Dominance-motivated and Succorance-motivated perceivers viewed this character as significantly less cooperative than the Assertive-Affiliative character. While this character clearly was not likely to assert himself in an interaction against the wishes of the Dominance-motivated perceiver, he was apparently seen as very likely to passively resist any control attempts.

On the other hand, the Assertive-Affiliative character, while clearly able and apparently willing to direct and control an interaction at need, was seen as fairly cooperative and therefore willing to work along with the perceiver toward attaining the interaction goals. Given this apparent willingness to cooperate, it would appear the the Dominance-motivated perceivers felt that they would be more likely to gratify their interpersonal motives in a cooperative interaction with this character than with the Submissive-Disaffiliative character. Further, in contrast to the Assertive-Disaffiliative character, the Assertive-Affiliative character was seen as only moderately assertive by the Dominance-motivated

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perceivers. It may be that these perceivers preferred some challenge in their interactions, and consequently viewed a cooperative interaction with the Assertive-Affiliative character as even somewhat more pleasant than with the easily controlled Submissive-Affiliative character. It will be recalled here that the Dominance-motivated perceivers were significantly more confident in their ability to succeed in the interactions than Succorance-motivated perceivers, regardless of target character or interaction conditions. In addition, these perceivers were higher than Succorance-motivated perceivers in Gratified Esteem (Esteem 3b) motivation. Thus, these perceivers may generally prefer a little challenge in their interactions, as long as there is a reasonable probability of obtaining motive gratification. On the other hand, where the interaction norms mitigated against affiliativeness and tended to promote assertiveness, these perceivers saw the Submissive-Affiliative, rather than Assertive-Affiliative, character in the most favorable light. Thus, in contrast to expectations, assertiveness did not appear to be uniformly threatening to these Dominance-motivated perceivers. Rather, the aversiveness of target assertiveness depended upon interaction conditions and the target's other qualities.

Methodological Issues

As noted in the introduction, one of the major difficulties in previous attempts at demonstrating personality influences in person perception has been a failure of the research methodology to faithfully represent the complexity of the process of perceiving persons (cf. Tagiuri, 1969; Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Warr & Knapper, 1968). In particular, the bulk of previous impression formation/person

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perception research has utilized trait lists as operationalizations of target characters, and relatively few studies have attempted to measure the inferences and attributions subjects make on the basis of direct observation of actual behavior (cf. Maki et al., 1979). Yet, it has been previously argued that it is precisely under these latter conditions that personality influences should be most apparent.

Recently, this problem has been surmounted through increasing use of videotaped stimulus situations (Assor et al., 1978; Berscheid et al., 1976; Messe' et al., 1979). The use of videotape allows presentation of an actual sample of the behavior of the stimulus person(s), which is identical for all perceivers and is not confounded by the influence of the perceiver as a social stimulus. However, in addition to this general advantage, the use of videotape in the present research illustrates an additional advantage which has yet to be exploited to its full potential. Specifically, the use of videotape as a medium for manipulating target behavior, and subsequently obtaining relatively precise quantitative measures of target qualities. Not only does such a technique allow precise experimental control over stimulus conditions, but it becomes possible to examine such issues as the influence of relatively subtle changes in target behavior on subsequent impressions, how perception is influenced by the dynamic interplay of interactions between two or more target characters and, with repeated assessment of impressions over the course of a particular interaction, the influence of initial impressions on subsequent processing of stimulus information. This technique thus allows presentation of highly naturalistic, ecologically valid stimuli, without any sacrifice in experimental rigor or quantitative precision.

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In terms of issues more specifically related to the present research, however, there is some indication that the particular videotapes utilized may have had undesirable properties. As noted previosly, it is possible that the manipulations of target assertiveness and affiliativeness were too strong, and consequently overshadowed the effects of personality factors. In the discussion of trait lists vs. actual behaviors as an operationalization of target characters, it was noted that a trait description is less ambiguous than actual behavior, and hence less likely to allow the relatively more subtle influences of personality to affect impressions. In the same fashion, extreme behavior along a particular dimension is undoubtedly very clear and unambiguous to perceivers. Yet, it is where behavior is to some extent ambiguous in regard to underlying dispositions that perceivers should differ maximally in their subsequent inferences and, consequently, where the influence of personality differences should be most apparent. Consequently, in future investigations, manipulations of target characteristics should be more subtle. For example, by utilizing a longer sequence of observed behavior, it should be possible to obtain equally clear differences between target characters in terms of global dispositions, but without necessitating use of the extreme contrasts apparent in the present stimulus tapes.

In addition to a longer temporal sequence, it would seem desirable to include more than two stimulus characters in the videotaped situation. While the dyad used in the present research insured that the behavior of the target character and his discussion partner would be very salient to perceivers, the dyad is less desirable from the standpoint of certainty in dispositional attributions. Specifically,

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in the present case, perceivers could easily attribute the target's behavior to the influence of the particular individual with whom he was interacting. This would seem particularly likely where this individual was not perceived as similar to the perceiver in terms of his behavior in the videotaped situation. On the other hand, in a large group situation, it would be possible to utilize consistency information as an indicator of underlying dispositions. To the extent that the target character behaves consistently along a particular behavioral dimension in his responses to a number of individuals who differ from one another in attributes, perceivers should be more certain that the target's behavior reflects an underlying disposition and consequently, that the target character is likely to behave in a similar manner toward the perceiver in any subsequent interaction. In addition, the use of a group situation would also allow manipulations of the target character's behavior to be more subtle, since consistency could be used to a relatively greater extent than extremity of behavior to reflect the target's dispositions.

Finally, in future investigations it would be highly desirable to assess perceivers' impressions of not only the specific target character, but also the other individuals in the stimulus situation. Through measurement of multiple impressions and attributions, it should be possible to assess such defensive processes as differential causal attribution for positive and negative behaviors to target vs. other stimulus characters, and negativity biases in the impressions of <u>other</u> target characters in an attempt to deny negative target characteristics, as well as more generally to begin to measure the influence of the dynamic interplay between stimulus characters on impressions of perceivers.

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A second methodological advantage of the present research over previous studies of person perception was the use of multiple measures of impressions, and the independent assessment of different aspects of impressions. At the level of the person perception process per se, this allowed examination of how such diverse aspects as content, valence, and structure of impressions covary across differences in target and situational characteristics. Consequently, one may begin to examine such issues as the organization of impressions and the processes through which consistency and coherence are maintained.

However, it is in terms of personality influences that this multiple focus would seem most advantageous. As noted before, personality influences were only significant for a subset of the impression measures, while other aspects of impressions were only significantly affected by the manipulations of target characteristics. This is particularly significant insofar as the majority of previous studies have utilized only trait ratings as measures of impressions. In the present study, the trait rating measure was primarily affected only by the manipulations of target characteristics, while personality influences were most apparent in measures derived from the free-response measures. Such unstructured measures avoid a number of problems inherent in the use of standardized trait ratings (Koltuv, 1962). Further, as Schneider (1977) has commented, the richness and coherence in impressions of people can only be captured adequately in subjects' unconstrained impressions. Free-response impressions are admirably suited for assessing such factors as the salience or importance of particular aspects of target characteristics to perceivers (Fiske, 1978)--aspects which are difficult to assess with standardized trait ratings. Thus, not only do the present findings support the

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contention that personality influences may only affect perception of certain aspects of target qualities (Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964), but they illustrate that such influences would probably not be apparent if only standardized rating scale measures were used.

While commenting on the utility of multiple measures, it should also be noted that measurement of certain aspects of impressions could be considerably improved over the indices used in the present study. In particular, the indices of complexity of impressions have several problems. As noted previously, the use of variance measures as indices of articulation, while consistent with previous research (e.g., Crano & Bettinghaus, 1970; Vallacher, 1976), is problematic.

These indices do indicate differences in the extent to which trait ratings along a particular dimension are polarized. However, they do not reveal where along a particular dimension the perceiver's impressions are centralized, if at all. On the other hand, a measure of kurtosis would provide a better measure of articulation, and one which also indicates the direction of any polarization.[7] To the extent that a perceiver's ratings of a stimulus person are evenly distributed across all categories of judgment along a particular dimension or, for ratings of a number of different stimulus persons, are evenly distributed across the categories of a particular scale, impressions are maximally discriminating. Thus, for example, if when rating a set of 15 individuals along a five-point scale the frequency of each scale point was equal (i.e., three "1's," three "2's," etc.), the individual's judgments are maximally discriminating. In addition, to the extent judgments deviate from this equal distribution, examination of the frequency distribution will reveal in which direction judgments tend to be polarized.

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The measure of total constructs in the free-response impressions as a measure of complexity in terms of the total amount of information contained in a perceiver's impression is also problematic. As noted in the discussion of the dependent measures, this measure is confounded with verbal fluency. Although the use of random assignment of subjects to conditions and the focus on relative changes in this measure across changes in target and situational characteristics supports the use of this measure in the present research, it would clearly be desirable in the future to use a measure which avoids the confound.

Several methods of assessing complexity from free-response measures have been proposed (e.g., Crockett et al., 1975). In addition, the number of factors necessary to account for a specified percentage of the variance in a subject's trait ratings of target characters could also be used as a measure of complexity (Scott, 1963).

Finally, there are a number of additional measures which, while not utilized in the present investigation, should prove particularly useful for the demonstration of personality influences in person perception. The reference here is to measures of memory for specific aspects of observed target characteristics, both in terms of recognition and recall measures. The observed behaviors of the target character are interpreted within the framework of the perceiver's existing cognitive structure, and there is considerable evidence that individuals more readily assimilate person information which is congruent with this structure. For example, Markus (1977) has shown that the self serves as a superordinate cognitive schema, and that individuals recognize and process self-referent information more rapidly. Recently, Snyder and others (Cantor & Mischel, 1978; Snyder, 1978; Snyder & Uranowitz, 1978)

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have shown that perceivers recall and recognize more readily information about other persons which is congruent with initial trait attributions--i.e., which is consistent with pre-existing impressions. Further, as previously noted, there is some indication that an individual's motives are represented in his/her implicit theory of personality (e.g., Cantor, 1976), and the present research has shown that perceivers pay particular attention to those target characteristics which are relevant to their own interpersonal motives. Consequently, one would expect that perceivers would recognize motive-relevant target characteristics more readily than those characteristics of the target not related to their motivational structure, and would also recall more motive-relevant than irrelevant information about a target person.

It also seems likely that motivational influences would be even greater in impressions of a person after some time has lapsed between observation and assessment of impressions. That is, over the course of time, information which is inconsistent with initial impressions and/or which is not readily assimilable to existing cognitive structures would be expected to "fade" from memory--particularly where the perceiver only observes the target character on a single occasion. If this reasoning is correct, personality influences on impressions should be more apparent when some delay is imposed between observation of the target's characteristics and the assessment of impressions. Since impressions were assessed immediately after observation of the target characters in the present study, this factor may also have reduced the significance of motivational influences.

The final methodological issue having implications for the examination of personality influences in person perception concerns

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the assessment of personality per se. The recent trait vs. situational causality controversy has generated considerable discussion of this measurement issue (e.g., Bowers, 1973; Endler & Magnusson, 1978; Mischel, 1968). Although a review of this controversy is inappropriate here, the continuing debate has served to highlight the difficulties in assessing motivation and other personality variables. In particular, it is clear that assessment based on single instruments is problematic. Any particular measure is likely to be confounded with a number of response biases, including social desirability influences, and such "measurement errors" are particularly likely to affect self-report indices. As Mischel (1968) has noted, validity coefficients for individual self-report measures rarely exceed .30--a very modest relationship. On the other hand, projective and semi-projective measures, while apparently less subject to biases resulting from the subject's conscious attempts at self-presentation, have not been shown to be any better predictors of criterion behaviors. Further, where the convergent validity of various measures of a particular construct has been examined, not only are self-report and projective measures typically uncorrelated, but the correlations within instruments of a particular type (i.e., projectives or self-report measures) are often very low (e.g., Fineman, 1977).

Given this generally low validity for personality measures, any reasonable degree of certainty in assessment is difficult to obtain. In particular, assessment strategies relying on single instruments, or even those such as that used in the present research, where two self-report measures were utilized, are likely to have a relatively high rate of errors in identification. Consequently, the strength of personality influences is likely to be reduced, and this reduction is probably

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proportional to the subtlety of the effect examined. Thus, in studies of person perception where target and situational effects are also operative, this factor becomes especially important.

As noted in the introduction, it is highly desirable to utilize an assessment strategy based on multiple measures and multiple methods. To the extent that individuals respond consistently across conceptually-related measures, one may have increasing confidence that the individuals actually represent the desired populations. An example of such an approach may be found in the study by Assor, Aronoff, and Messe' (1978), previously reviewed. These investigators used both self-report and semi-projective measures to assess the motivational orientation of subjects. As they note in discussing the selection instruments, a general motivational orientation such as "dominance" or "dependency" may manifest itself in diverse ways, and individuals differing considerably in "basic" motivation may respond in a highly similar fashion to any particular measure. For example, both individuals scoring high in Ungratified Esteem (Esteem 3a) and Gratified Esteem (Esteem 3b) needs on the Sentence Completion Test (Aronoff, 1972) tend to also score high on the Dominance scale of the CPI (Gough, 1956). However, Assor et al. found that Ungratified Esteem was associated with a consistent negativity bias in impressions of the target characters, while Gratified Esteem was associated with a consistent positivity bias. Thus, prediction is considerably improved when the subject's configuration of responses to the personality measures is considered.

Despite awareness of these issues, it was not possible to utilize the multiple-criteria assessment strategy initially planned in the present research. Consequently, it seems likely that some degree of error

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was associated with the classification of subjects into the motive groups. This speculation is borne out by inspection of the intercorrelations among the selection instruments. Although the Dominance-related and Succorance-related measures were indeed typically negatively correlated with each other, the measures within each group were not highly interrelated. This was particularly true for the Succorance-related measures, and the hypotheses were generally supported less by the findings for this group than for the Dominance-motivated perceivers. Further, it was in terms of the more complex and specific hypotheses that the results for the Succorance-motivated subjects were least consistent with the hypotheses--precisely in the area where a lack of precision in assessment would be expected to have the greatest effect. Thus, there can be little doubt that personality influences would have been larger if a more adequate assessment strategy could have been utilized.

Hopefully, this brief discussion has served to highlight several of the issues and problems which must be addressed in research on the influence of personality on person perception. Despite the problems in the present methodology, however, the findings generally supported the general interactive model. To the extent that these problems are overcome in future research in this area, the understanding of personality and social cognition should be considerably enhanced.

Limitations of the Present Research

Aside from the methodological considerations discussed above, there are a number of other aspects of the present research which considerably limit the generality of the findings. Perhaps the most obvious is the exclusive focus on males. As in most areas of psychological research, a large number of consistent sex differences have been reported in the

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area of person perception (see Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969), and males and females already differ in the salience of particular qualities of target characters at a young age (e.g., Campbell & Radke-Yarrow, 1956; Warr & Knapper, 1968). Aside from content issues, it also seems likely that males and females would differ in the structure or complexity of impressions. Females generally appear to be more "psychologically minded" than males. While males generally tend to concentrate on physical aspects of target characters, females focus on such psychological factors as traits, motives, and attitudes (cf. Shrauger & Altrocchi, 1964; Tagiuri, 1969). This being the case, one might expect that females would not only make more extreme inferences about target qualities, but that their impressions would be more integrated and complex.

In terms of issues more specifically relevant to the present study, it not only seems likely that males and females would differ in their impressions of target characters, but that impressions of, for example, an Assertive-Affiliative target character would differ depending upon the sex of the character. For example, one would expect that given current sex-role stereotypes, assertiveness would be evaluated much more negatively in a female than male target character.

In fact, the predicted "negativity bias" might have been obtained for impressions of a female Assertive-Disaffiliative target character. Among Dominance-motivated perceivers, at least, whose self-esteem is grounded in maintaining control over their interactions and directing the behavior of others, the possibility of being "beaten" in a competitive interaction should be much more aversive to a male perceiver if the target is female than male. However, at the same time it would

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seem much more difficult to equate "objective" assertiveness for male and female targets, since a given behavioral action may actually be much more assertive for a female than male actor, given the "reality" of sex-role related constraints on behavior. It was because of the pervasiveness of such sex-role stereotypes and their implications for interpersonal behavior that the present research was restricted to males. Nevertheless, to the extent that sex differences are considered in future research, regardless of increased methodological problems, understanding of the person perception process should be considerably improved.

Similar issues may be raised concerning the particular motives, target characteristics, and situations used in the present research. On the one hand, an effort was made to focus on the target characteristics and situational distinctions which were generally most salient to people, and the motivational orientations of perceivers were selected because of their particular relevance to these target and situational distinctions. This coordination of perceiver, target and situational factors would seem necessary if research in this area is to advance. However, individuals differ along a number of behavioral dimensions other than assertiveness and affiliativeness, it is possible to conceive of a number of situational distinctions besides cooperative and competitive role relationships, and there are a great many more motivational orientations which have been identified in the literature (see Murray, 1938, in particular). The salient dimensions of situations have only begun to be identified (cf. Battistich & Thompson, 1978, in press; Endler & Magnusson, 1978), and such distinctions undoubtedly influence perception of the dispositional characteristics

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of target persons. Given the large number of potentially influential variations in each of the three areas, it will require a great deal of additional research before any indication of the generality of the effects observed in the present study can be obtained.

Even within the present study, however, a number of additional factors could have been considered. For example, it seems likely that the dimension of "intellectual competence" influenced perceivers' impressions of the target characters, in addition to the influences of assertiveness and affiliativeness. Given the nature of the expected involvements, such factors as the target's responsibility, intelligence, and reliability should have implications for the outcomes of the interaction--especially under cooperative conditions. Some indication of the effect of this dimension of target behavior may be determined from inspection of the intercorrelations among the dependent measures. However, while it is clear that impressions of the target's intellectual competence (i.e., the "responsibility" scale) were influenced by assertiveness and affiliativeness, and covaried with other aspects of impressions, the effect of actual variations in this dimension cannot be determined from the present study.

Extending the Model: Personality, Perception, and Interpersonal Behavior

In introducing the area of person perception research, it was noted that a great deal of the emphasis on research in this area is due to the common assumption that our perceptions and judgments of other people significantly affect our interpersonal behavior (e.g., Asch, 1952; Lewin, 1936; Murphy, 1947; Sherif & Sherif, 1966). In fact, it has been contended (e.g., Tagiuri, 1969) that a science of interpersonal behavior must be grounded in knowledge about person

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perception processes. In order to effectively adapt to the social environment, an individual must be able to adjust his/her behavior to situational demands, including the behavior of others, and consequently establish some degree of control over environmental events (Heider, 1944, 1958). This requires a relatively accurate understanding of other individuals, and an ability to predict the responses of others to one's own behavior and situational conditions. This being the case, it is surprising that until recently, remarkably little attention has been addressed to the relationship between person perception and interpersonal behavior (cf. Warr & Knapper, 1968).

Several recent studies have shown promising results in this area. Larson (1975) has extended the work of Messe' and Stollak (Larson, Messe', & Stollak, 1977; Stollak, Messe', Michaels, & Ince, 1978; Messe', Stollak, Larson, & Michaels, 1979) on individual differences in evaluative aspects of person perception to the realm of interpersonal behavior. Although these characteristic evaluative biases have not been directly linked to basic personality dimensions, work is continuing in this area, and the results of Larson's study have shown that these perceptual tendencies are associated with relatively clear differences in interpersonal behavior.

Recent studies by Snyder and his colleagues (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977; Snyder & Swann, 1978) have focused on the influence of more specific impressions of an individual on subsequent interpersonal behavior between perceiver and target. In the first study, Snyder et al. (1977) demonstrated that perceivers differ significantly in their behavior toward individuals whom they are led to believe are

physically attractive or unattractive. Further, independent of the target's actual level of attractiveness, targets who are perceived to be attractive behave toward the perceiver in a manner which conforms to the perceiver's stereotypic expectations, indicating that once our impressions have led us to behave in a certain way toward a target person, their responses may come to "confirm" our expectations.

This finding was strengthened by the results of the later study (Snyder & Swann, 1978). In this investigation, individuals were initially shown to behave toward a target person in a manner consistent with their expectations about the target's personality, and the target person in his responses to the perceiver's behavior subsequently came to confirm these expectations. However, at a later interaction with another subject, targets who had been led to believe that their behavior toward the first perceiver was a function of their actual dispositions continued to behave in a manner consistent with their initial behavior, regardless of the second subject's initial behavior toward them. Thus, not only may impressions lead the perceiver to behave toward a target in a manner which confirms his expectations but, under certain conditions, the target may actually come to view himself in these terms. Apparently, our impressions not only channel and guide behavior in our specific interactions with another individual, but the outcomes of this interaction may perseverate and continue to influence the person's interpersonal behavior toward other people in the environment.

Although research in this area is still in its infancy, the results of these initial investigations are extremely promising. In conjunction with the large number of studies on person perception per se, these investigations extend the model to the arena of

interpersonal behavior, and begin to address issues concerning the dynamic interplay of cognition and behavior in the social domain. However, while these findings are fascinating, the link between personality, cognitive-perceptual processes, and interpersonal behavior has not yet been firmly established. Previous research has shown how personality factors influence cognitive structures for processing information about people in general (e.g., Cantor, 1976), and research such as the present study has begun to examine how these personality factors may influence impressions of specific others under particular situational circumstances. What remains is to examine how these initial impressions influence subsequent behavior of the perceiver toward the stimulus person, and how the dynamic interplay of the perceiver-target interaction feeds back to affect subsequent information processing during the interaction, and the perceiver's later impressions of the target character.

Such an investigation would involve first determining how the specific personality factors of interest affect initial impressions of the target character. A methodology similar to that used in the present study would be appropriate here, including the improvements in methodology recommended earlier. Subsequently, the perceivers would actually interact with the target character(s), and this interaction could be coded using any of the analysis schemes currently available. Of course, it would be necessary to control as much as possible the behavior of the target character, but this should not be exceptionally difficult. For example, a method similar to that used by Larson (1975) or Pepitone (1950) would serve well. Finally, impressions of the target character subsequent to the interaction would

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be assessed, and the extent to which the observed behaviors of the target character were assimilated to the perceiver's initial impressions, as well as any changes in impressions (reflecting accommodation) could be assessed. This procedure could be further extended to additional interactions with the target character(s), and such factors as the consistency of target behavior could be manipulated to examine the effects on impressions. While such an investigation would require a substantial investment of time and energy on the part of the investigator, the studies reviewed above illustrate that both the methodology and conceptual framework exist, and the benefits in terms of increasing our understanding of the influence of personality on social cognition would be considerable.

Summary and Conclusions

In overview, the present research examined the influences of perceiver motivation, target behavior, and situational factors on person perception. Analyses indicated that each of these factors significantly affected perceivers' impressions of the target characters. Target characteristics, in general, were found to have the largest influence on impressions. However, these influences were restricted to certain aspects of impressions--particularly, the perceiver's trait ratings of target assertiveness and warmth. On the other hand, the prevalence of assertiveness-related and affiliation-related qualities in perceivers' free-response impressions of the target characters were not affected by the manipulations of target behavior. Rather, these impression factors were primarily a function of the relevance of these characteristics to the perceiver's motivational orientation. Thus, the level of target assertiveness and affiliativeness, or the particular

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trait attribution made by the perceiver, was primarily a function of the target's actual behavior. On the other hand, the extent to which perceivers' focused on particular target qualities, and hence their salience to the perceiver, was primarily a function of the perceiver's motivational orientation. Motivation also significantly affected the perceiver's evaluation of the expected interaction with the target character. Perceivers consistently preferred interactions in which the normative structure was congruent with their motives.

Both involvement per se, in the form of an expected interaction between target character and perceiver, and the specific nature of cooperative and competitive interactions also significantly influenced impressions. Involvement was associated with a general positivity bias in impressions of the target characters, and there was some indication that this factor also led to more discriminating and dynamic processing of person information. Cooperation and competition significantly influenced the salience of particular target characteristics to perceivers. In each case, perceivers were especially attentive to those target qualities most relevant to the goals of the expected interaction. In addition, perceivers were more confident in their impressions of interaction-relevant target qualities.

Specific hypotheses about the changes in content, valence and complexity of impressions, as well as the amount of bias or distortion in impressions as a function of variations in target and situational factors were only partially supported. Consideration of such factors as the perceiver's preferred style of cognitive defense, as well as several methodological improvements, suggests that the prediction of

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impressions at this level of specificity could be considerably improved in future investigations.

Overall, the obtained results offered considerable support for the proposed model of impression formation as a joint function of perceiver personality, target behavior, and situational influences. In addition to future investigations on the influence of personality on impression formation and person perception, recent research on the relationship between perception and behavior suggests that the model could be profitably extended to examine the chain of influences from motivation to perception, to subsequent interpersonal behavior, and back to perceptions of the target character.

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[1]I would like to thank Dr. Joel Aronoff for his assistance in resolving these discrepancies between coders.

[2]Because of sex-role stereotypes and the particular difficulities in manipulating assertive behavior for female target characters, only males were used as subjects and target characters. The extent to which impressions of assertiveness differ for male and female target characters of equal assertiveness (as assessed through objective analysis of their behavior) and for male and female perceivers is an interesting question which deserves empirical attention.

[3]Although this positive relationship between Dominance and Approval is inconsistent with the typical conceptualization of these motives, it is not an uncommon empirical finding (e.g., Assor, 1978). Since the Crowne-Marlowe scale was originally developed to assess individual differences in the tendency to respond in a socially desirable way and deny personal inadequacies, and since individuals who score highly on the CPI Dominance scale are typically high in self-esteem, this relationship between the two measures is perhaps not entirely inexplicable.

[4]I would like to thank Dr. Eileen Thompson for her assistance in assessing the reliability of the free-response coding scheme.

[5]Since none of the complexity or free-response measures were obtained for subjects in the Validation Sample, these variables were not included in the MANOVA.

[6]The Sample X Assertiveness of Target X Affiliativeness of Target MANOVA interaction was not statistically significant.

[7]I would like to thank Jack Condon for pointing out this use of kurtosis measures, as well as for his extensive discussions of both the conceptual and methodological aspects of cognitive complexity.

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APPENDIX A

SELECTION INSTRUMENTS

IMPORTANT: Before beginning, write the last three (3) digits of the subject number appearing in the upper-right-hand corner above in spaces 1-3 of the answer sheet. Next, place the number 1 in space 4 of the answer sheet.

Below there is a list of statements expressing attitudes or beliefs about themselves which some people have. Please read each item carefully. On the separate computer answer sheet, please respond to each statement according to whether you feel the statement is true or false for you. Mark a T in the appropriate space on the answer sheet if you feel the statement is true for you, and mark an F on the answer sheet if you feel the statement is false for you. Notice that the statement numbers begin with the number "5." Please be careful to mark your answers in the space on the answer sheet corresponding to the statement number. Continue working until you have finished the booklet. Thank you for your cooperation!

5. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.

6. My behavior is usually an expression of my true inner feelings, attitudes, and beliefs.

7. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.

8. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.

9. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.

10. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people.

11. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues.

12. I would probably make a good actor.

13. I rarely need the advice of my friends to choose movies, books, or music.

14. I sometimes appear to others to be experiencing deeper emotions than I actually am.

15. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone.

16. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.

17. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.

18. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.

(OVER)

19. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time.

20. I'm not always the person I appear to be.

21. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor.

22. I have considered being an entertainer.

23. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else.

24. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.

25. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.

26. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.

27. I feel a bit awkward in company and do not show up quite so well as I should.

28. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).

29. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.

30. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.

31. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

32. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.

33. I have never intensely disliked anyone.

34. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.

35. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

36. I am always careful about my manner of dress.

37. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.

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

39. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.

40. I like to gossip at times.

41. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.

42. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.

43. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

44. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.

45. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

46. I always try to practice what I preach.

47. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.

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

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

50. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

51. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.

52. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.

53. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.

54. I never resent being asked to return a favor.

55. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.

56. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.

57. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

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

59. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

60. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.

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

62. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

63. I doubt whether I would make a good leader.

64. I think I would enjoy having authority over other people.

65. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.

(OVER)

66. I have sometimes stayed away from another person because I feared doing or saying something that I might regret afterwards.

67. When in a group of people I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.

68. School teachers complain a lot about their pay, but it seems to me that they get as much as they deserve.

69. I don't blame anyone for trying to grab all he can get in this world.

70. Every citizen should take the time to find out about national affairs, even if it means giving up some personal pleasures.

71. I should like to belong to several clubs or lodges.

72. I am certainly lacking in self-confidence.

73. When I work on a committee I like to take charge of things.

74. If given the chance I would make a good leader of people.

75. Sometimes at elections I vote for men about whom I know very little.

76. I very much like hunting.

77. A person does not need to worry about other people if only he looks after himself.

78. I can honestly say that I do not really mind paying my taxes because I feel that's one of the things I can do for what I get from the community.

79. When prices are high you can't blame a person for getting all he can while the getting is good.

80. In school I found it very hard to talk before the class.

81. I am a better talker than a listener.

82. I would be willing to give money myself in order to right a wrong, even though I was not mixed up in it in the first place.

83. We should cut down on our use of oil, if necessary, so that there will be plenty left for the people fifty or a hundred years from now.

84. When the community makes a decision, it is up to a person to help carry it out even if he had been against it.

85. I would rather have people dislike me than look down on me.

86. I must admit I try to see what others think before I take a stand.

87. People should not have to pay taxes for the schools if they do not have children.

88. In a group, I usually take the responsibility for getting people introduced.

89. I would be willing to describe myself as a pretty "strong" personality.

90. There are times when I act like a coward.

91. I must admit I am a pretty fair talker.

92. I have strong political opinions.

93. I think I am usually a leader in my group.

94. I seem to do things that I regret more often than other people do.

95. Disobedience to any government is never justified.

96. I enjoy planning things, and deciding what each person should do.

97. I would rather not have very much responsibility for other people.

98. I usually have to stop and think before I act even in trifling matters.

99. It is pretty easy for people to win arguments with me.

100. I have not lived the right kind of life.

101. I have a natural talent for influencing people.

102. I like to give orders and get things moving.

103. I am embarrassed with people I do not know well.

104. The one to whom I was most attached and whom I most admired as a child was a woman (mother, sister, aunt, or other woman).

105. I'm not the type to be a political leader.

106. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made.

107. I dislike to have to talk in front of a group of people.

108. I have more trouble concentrating than others seem to have.

(OVER)

Below you will find a list of statements about yourself and your beliefs. In responding to these statements, you will use the spaces on the answer sheet labeled A, B, C, D, and E rather than the T or F spaces. For each statement, please respond by indicating the extent to which you personally agree or disagree with the statement. Read each statement carefully before responding. On the separate computer answer sheet, please mark the letter for each statement which most closely reflects your personal agreement or disagreement according to the following scale:

A. Strongly Agree B. Agree Somewhat C. Neither Agree nor Disagree

D. Disagree Somewhat E. Strongly Disagree

109. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

110. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

111. One should take action only when sure it is morally right.

112. Most people are basically good and kind.

113. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.

114. Honesty is the best policy in all cases.

115. There is no excuse for lying to someone else.

116. Generally speaking, men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so.

117. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.

118. When you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons which carry more weight.

119. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.

120. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.

121. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that the criminals are stupid enough to get caught.

122. Most men are brave.

123. It is wise to flatter important people.

124. It is possible to be good in all respects.

125. Barnum was wrong when he said that there's a sucker born every minute.

126. It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.

127. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death.

128. Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.

Finally, the last set of statements concerns things you may or may not like, and ways in which you may or may not feel. Each item is composed of two statements labeled "A" and "B." In responding to these items, select which of the two statements is more characteristic of you, of how you feel or what you like. If statement A is more characteristic of you, mark the space labeled "A" on the separate computer answer sheet. Likewise, if statement B is more characteristic of you, mark the "B" space on the answer sheet.

If both statements are characteristic of you, choose the one which you feel is more characteristic. If neither statement is characteristic, choose the one which is less inaccurate. In any case, please do not skip any items. Once again, please be certain to place your response in the appropriate place on the answer sheet. When you have finished, please complete the information requested on the last page and turn in the booklet and answer sheet to the experimenter.

129. A I like my friends to feel sorry for me when I am sick.
B I feel better when I give in and avoid a fight, than I would if I tried to have my own way.

130. A I like my friends to do many small favors for me cheerfully.
B I like to judge people by why they do something--not by what they actually do.

131. A I like to avoid situations where I am expected to do things in a conventional way.
B I like my friends to sympathize with me and to cheer me up when I am depressed.

132. A I feel like criticizing someone publicly if he deserves it.
B I like my friends to make a fuss over me when I am hurt or sick.

133. A I like my friends to treat me kindly.
B I like to have my work organized and planned before beginning it.

134. A I like to forgive my friends who may sometimes hurt me.
B I like my friends to encourage me when I meet with failure.

135. A I like to judge people by why they do something--not by what they actually do.
B I like my friends to show a great deal of affection toward me.

136. A I like my friends to be sympathetic and understanding when I have problems.
B I like to meet new people.

(OVER)

137. A I like to accomplish tasks that others recognize as requiring skill and effort.
B I like my friends to encourage me when I meet with failure.

138. A I like my friends to feel sorry for me when I am sick.
B I like to avoid situations where I am expected to do things in a conventional way.

139. A I like my friends to make a fuss over me when I am hurt or sick.
B I feel like blaming others when things go wrong for me.

140. A I like my friends to help me when I am in trouble.
B I like to treat other people with kindness and sympathy.

141. A I like my friends to do many small favors for me cheerfully.
B I like to stay up late working in order to get a job done.

142. A I like to have my life so arranged that it runs smoothly and without much change in my plans.
B I like my friends to feel sorry for me when I am sick.

143. A I feel that I should confess the things that I have done that I regard as wrong.
B I like my friends to sympathize with me and to cheer me up when I am depressed.

144. A I like to be called upon to settle arguments and disputes between others.
B I like my friends to do many small favors for me cheerfully.

145. A When planning something, I like to get suggestions from other people whose opinions I respect.
B I like my friends to treat me kindly.

146. A I like to be regarded as physically attractive by those of the opposite sex.
B I like my friends to show a great deal of affection toward me.

147. A I like to experiment and to try new things.
B I like my friends to be sympathetic and understanding when I have problems.

148. A I like my friends to show a great deal of affection toward me.
B I like to become sexually excited.

149. A I like my friends to encourage me when I meet with failure.
B I like to be successful in things undertaken.

150. A I like to keep working at a puzzle or problem until it is solved.
B I like my friends to treat me kindly.

151. A I like my friends to help me when I am in trouble.
B I like to do things for my friends.

152. A I like my friends to sympathize with me and to cheer me up when I am depressed.
B When with a group of people, I like to make the decisions about what we are going to do.

153. A I like my friends to be sympathetic and understanding when I have problems.
B I like to accept the leadership of people I admire.

154. A I like to be the center of attention in a group.
B I like my friends to make a fuss over me when I am hurt or sick.

155. A I like to form new friendships.
B I like my friends to help me when I am in trouble.

156. A I like my friends to make a fuss over me when I am hurt of sick.
B I like to talk about my achievements.

IMPORTANT: Please mark your subject number in spaces 157-159 (this number should be the same as that in spaces 1-3), and then mark a "2" in space 160. Thank you.

The information requested below concerns your background and experiences. In addition, we ask you for your name, address (both home and campus) and phone number (again, both home and campus). Please be sure to list the address and phone number(s) where you can be contacted for participation in the later parts of this research. Unless we can contact you later, you cannot participate in the rest of the research, and we will not be able to pay you for your involvement. Of course, all of this information will be kept strictly confidential. Thank you.

(Please print)
Name: _____
Last First

Home Address: _____
Number & Street City State Zip

Home Phone: _____
(area Code)

Campus Address: _____

Campus Phone: _____

Age: _____

Major: (If undecided, indicate probable major)

_____1. Natural Science (inc. Engineering, Math, & Computer Science)

_____2. Pre-med, Nursing, etc.

(OVER)

Major continued. . .

_____3. Education

_____4. Social Science (inc. Communications)

_____5. Business

_____6. Pre-law

_____7. Art & Fine Arts (inc. music, theatre, TV, etc)

_____8. Liberal Arts (inc. english, history, languages)

_____9. Other

Parent's Approximate Annual Income: _____1. less than $5,000

_____2. $5,000 - 9,999

_____3. $10,000 - 14,999

_____4. $15,000 - 19,999

_____5. $20,000 or more

Level of education completed by parent with most education:

_____1. less than high school diploma

_____2. high school grad

_____3. some college

_____4. college grad (B.A., B.S., or equivalent)

_____5. some post grad, inc. master's degree

_____6. doctorate or professional degree (M.D., Ph.D. law degree, D.D.S., etc)

Date:_____

Name:_____

Below are forty incomplete sentences. Read and complete each one. If the suggested word occurs in the middle of the line, place it wherever you wish.

1. I should like to

2. Most important

3. My appearance

4. good mood

5. When I am not treated right, I

6. If I could only

7. My head

8. The people who work for me

9. The main driving force in my life is

10. Other people are

11. If I could change anything, I

12. For sure

13. last

14. The more involved one gets

15. For me, the best

16. As a child, I

17. A friend

18. I will fight when

19. care

20. It's fun to daydream about

21. valuable possession

22. A stranger

23. When told to keep my place, I

24. Dormitory living

25. When an animal is wild,

26. If I were in charge

27. Being

28. People think I am

29. I don't like

30. What bothers me most

31. continually

32. To me, people

33. If I am put under pressure

34. I am happy when

35. broke , then

36. I want

37. The future

38. The people I like best

39. When I can't do something, I

40. Tests like this

INSTRUCTIONS

Important: Before beginning, please write your subject number in spaces 130, 131 & 132 of the separate computer answer sheet. Next, please write the number 3 in space133. If you do not remember your subject number, please raise your hand and we will give it to you.

Below you will find a number of statements expressing beliefs or attitudes about themselves which some people have. Please read each statement carefully and decide if the statement is true or false for you. On the separate computer answer sheet, please mark a "T" in the appropriate space if the statement is true or mostly true for you, and an "F" in the appropriate space if the statement is false or mostly false for you. Please respond to each statement by marking a "T" or an "F" in the appropriate space. Do not skip any statements.

1. I wake up fresh and rested most mornings.
2. My hands and feet are usually warm enough.
3. My daily life is full of things that keep me interested.
4. There seems to be a lump in my throat much of the time.
5. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about.
6. At times I have fits of laughing and crying that I cannot control.
7. I feel that it is certainly best to keep my mouth shut when I'm in trouble.
8. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
9. I seldom worry about my health.
10. I have had periods of days, weeks,,or months when I couldn't take care of things because I couldn't "get going".
11. My sleep is fitful and disturbed.
12. Much of the time my head seems to hurt all over.
13. I am in just as good physical health as most of my friends.
14. I prefer to pass by school friends, or people I know but have not seen for a long time, unless they speak to me first.
15. I am almost never bothered by pains over the heart or in my chest.
16. I am a good mixer.
17. I wish I could be as happy as others seem to be.
18. Most of the time I feel blue.
19. I am certainly lacking in self-confidence.
20. I usually feel that life is worth while.
21. It takes a lot of argument to convince most people of the truth.
22. I think most people would lie to get ahead.
23. I do many things which I regret afterwards (I regret things more or more often than others seem to).
24. I have very few quarrels with members of my family.

25.. My hardest battles are with myself.

26. I have little or no trouble with my muscles twitching or jumping.

27. I don't seem to care what happens to me.

28. Much of the time I feel as if I have done something wrong or evil.

29. I am happy most of the time.

30. Some people are so bossy that I feel like doing the opposite of what they request, even though I know they are right.

31. Often I feel as if there were a tight band about my head.

32. I seem to be about as capable and smart as most others around me.

33. Most people will use somewhat unfair means to gain profit or an advantage rather than to lose it.

34. Often I can't understand why I have been so cross and grouchy.

35. I do not worry about catching diseases.

36. I commonly wonder what hidden reason another person may have for doing something nice for me.

37. Criticism or scolding hurts me terribly.

38. My conduct is largely controlled by the customs of those about me.

39. I certainly feel useless at times.

40. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.

41. I have often lost out on things because I couldn't make up my mind soon enough.

42. It makes me impatient to have people ask my advice or otherwise interrupt me when I am working on something important.

43. Most nights I go to sleep without thoughts or ideas bothering me.

44. I cry easily.

45. I cannot understand what I read as well as I used to.

46. I have never felt better in my life than I do now.

47. I resent having anyone take me in so cleverly that I have had to admit that it was one on me.

48. I do not tire quickly.

49. I like to study and read about things that I am working at.

50. I like to know some important people because it makes me feel important.

51. It makes me uncomfortable to put on a stunt at a party even when others are doing the same sort of things.

52. I frequently have to fight against showing that I am bashful.

53. I seldom or never have dizzy spells.

54. My memory seems to be all right.

55. I am worried about sex matters.

56. I find it hard to make talk when I meet new people.

57. I am afraid of losing my mind.

58. I frequently notice my hand shakes when I try to do something.

59. I can read a long while without tiring my eyes.

60. I feel weak all over much of the time.

61. I have very few headaches.

62. Sometimes, when embarrassed, I break out in a sweat which annoys me greatly.

63. I have had no difficulty in keeping my balance in walking.

64. I wish I were not so shy.

65. I enjoy many different kinds of play and recreation.

66. In walking I am very careful to step over sidewalk cracks.

67. I frequently find myself worrying about something.

68. I hardly ever notice my heart pounding and I am seldom short of breath.

69. I get mad easily and then get over it soon.

70. I brood a great deal.

71. I have periods of such great restlessness that I cannot sit long in a chair.

72. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.

73. I believe I am no more nervous than most others.

74. I have few or no pains.

75. I have difficulty in starting to do things.

76. It is safer to trust nobody.

77. Once a week or oftener I become very excited.

78. When in a group of people I have trouble thinking of the right things to talk about.

79. When I leave home I do not worry about whether the door is locked and the windows closed.

80. I have often felt that strangers were looking at me critically.

81. I drink an unusually large amount of water every day.

82. I am always disgusted with the law when a criminal is freed through the arguments of a smart lawyer.

83. I work under a great deal of tension.

84. I am likely not to speak to people until they speak to me.

85. Life is a strain for me much of the time.

86. In school I found it very hard to talk before the class.

87. Even when I am with people I feel lonely much of the time.

88. I think nearly anyone would tell a lie to keep out of trouble.

89. I am easily embarrassed.

90. I worry over money and business.

91. I easily become impatient with people.

92. I feel anxiety about something or someone almost all the time.

93. Sometimes I become so excited that I find it hard to get to sleep.

94. I forget right away what people say to me.

95. I usually have to stop and think before I act even in trifling matters.

96. Often I cross the street in order not to meet someone I see.

97. I often feel as if things were not real.

98. I have a habit of counting things that are not important such as bulbs on electric signs, and so forth.

99. I have strange and peculiar thoughts.

100. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.

101. I have no dread of going into a room by myself where other people have already gathered and are talking.

102. I have more trouble concentrating than others seem to have.

103. I have several times given up doing a thing because I thought too little of my ability.

104. Bad words, often terrible words, come into my mind and I cannot get rid of them.

105. Sometimes some unimportant thought will run through my mind and bother me for days.

106. Almost every day something happens to frighten me.

107. I am inclined to take things hard.

108. I am more sensitive than most other people.

109. If given the chance I could do some things that would be of great benefit to the world.

110. People generally demand more respect for their own rights than they are willing to allow for others.

111. I enjoy social gatherings just to be with people.

112. I enjoy the excitement of a crowd.

113. My worries seem to disappear when I get into a crowd of lively friends.

114. Whenever possible I avoid being in a crowd.

115. In a group of people I would not be embarrassed to be called upon to start a discussion or give an opinion about something I know well.

116. I like parties and socials.

117. I shrink from facing a crisis or difficulty.

118. Religion gives me no worry.

119. I am apt to take disappointments so keenly that I can't put them out of my mind.

120. At times I think I am no good at all.

121. I worry quite a bit over possible misfortunes.

122. I am apt to pass up something I want to do because others feel that I am not going about it in the right way.

123. I have several times had a change of heart about my life work.

124. I have a daydream life about which I do not tell other people.

125. I have often felt guilty because I have pretended to feel more sorry about something than I really was.

126. I feel tired a good deal of the time.

127. I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SPRING AND FALL SAMPLES

Table 36

Demographic Characteristics of Subjects in Spring and Fall Samples

Variable	Spring (n=96) n (%)	$\bar{X}$	s.d.	Fall (n=64) n (%)	$\bar{X}$	s.d.
Age		19.01	2.34		18.67	.998
Academic Major						
natural science	13 (13)			4 (6)		
pre-med, etc.	19 (20)			18 (28)		
social science	13 (13)			14 (22)		
business	27 (28)			17 (26)		
other	24 (25)			11 (17)		
Annual Family Income						
< $10,000	4 (4)			4 (6)		
$10 - 14,999	9 (9)			6 (9)		
$15 - 19,999	16 (17)			11 (17)		
> $20,000	67 (70)			43 (67)		
Parent's Education						
high school	22 (23)			15 (23)		
some college	20 (21)			12 (19)		
college grad.	30 (31)			17 (26)		
post-grad.	17 (18)			13 (20)		
doctorate	7 (7)			7 (11)		

Note: None of the sample differences are statistically significant.

APPENDIX C

ORIENTATION MATERIALS FOR

SELECTION PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

You are about to participate in a study of the influence of personality on interpersonal behavior. We are interested in how people differ in their interpersonal behavior in a group setting. That is, we are looking at how people with different beliefs, orientations, and concerns work together on particular types of group tasks -- for example, cooperative and competitive tasks.

The research consists of two parts. Today you will finish the first phase. Basically, we have a number of questionnaires we would like you to complete for us. Each of these instruments measures various aspects of your beliefs, orientations and concerns. It should take about an hour and a half to complete the questionnaires, and you will receive 3 research credits for your participation today.

After we have had a chance to analyse the questionnaires, you will be contacted by phone and scheduled to complete the second part of the research. This second phase basically consists of interacting with other subjects on certain tasks. Your participation in the second phase will take about 3 to 4 hours, spread out over the quarter. The exact times of your participation will depend upon your schedule and that of your interaction partners. You will receive an additional 5 research credits for participating in part two of the study. Also, you will be paid $1 per hour for any time you spend over 3 hours in part two, or you may elect to receive money rather than credit for all of the time you spend in part two. Finally, the individuals who are most successful at each of the various interaction tasks in phase two will receive an additional bonus of $10 each. Thus, you can earn both research credits and money for your participation. The exact nature of the tasks will be explained fully during part two.

Since participants will be selected from among all those completing the questionnaires in part one, not all of you will be contacted for part two. However, about eight out of ten of you will be contacted. If you have not been contacted within two weeks, you may assume that you will not be called back. Also, you must complete the questionnaires today if you wisk to participate in the second part of the research. By completing the questionnaires today and receiving research credit for your participation, you are indicating your willingness to participate in part two. DO NOT COMPLETE THE INSTRUMENTS TODAY UNLESS YOU ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN PART TWO.

Aside from receiving research credit and/or money for your participation, you will have the opportunity to learn about your own "personality" and ability to work successfully with other people under certain conditions. All participants will receive detailed feedback on all of the instruments, the results of the group interaction tasks, and the research hypotheses following completion of the research. Thus, your participation should be a significant learning experience for you.

Before we begin completing the questionnaires, do any of you have any questions??

APPENDIX D

SCRIPTS USED FOR CONSTRUCTION

OF STIMULUS VIDEOTAPES

Person Perception Script
Actor: S-A
8/77

Topic for Discussion: A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society.

Actor: John (J); Confederate: Frank (F)

(E, J & F enter room; E allows J & F to enter, follows behind after closing door.)

E: O.K. John, Frank, why don't you go over and take a seat at the table.

(J looks at F; F walks over and takes seat with back toward camera; J follows and takes remaining seat [face toward camera].)

E: (Walks over and stands near J & F at table) Now, as I mentioned before, what we would like you to do is merely to spend about 10 minutes talking and getting acquainted with each other. In order to give you something to talk about while you're getting acquainted, we've prepared a statement for you to discuss. You'll find the statement inside the envelope between you on the table (points to envelope). I'll return in about 10 minutes when your time is up. Do you have any questions?

J: (Looks questioningly at F)

(1) F: No (2) it sounds pretty easy (1).

(1) J: No (2).

E: O.K. I'll see you in 10 minutes (leaves room while J & F watch).

(2) J: (Smiles at F) Well (2), here we are (4).

(2) F: (Laughs) (4) Yeh (5) I guess we should see what it is we're supposed to talk about (2). (Reaches over and opens envelope; removes piece of paper and reads) "A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society" (4).

(3) J: (Laughing) Oh (5) terrific (5)!

(3) F: Yeh (5) That's what it says (1). I think I disagree that it's the best way (2).

(4) J: I guess I do, too, at this point ( ).

(4) F: Why do you disagree ( )?

(5) J: Well ( ), I don't know very much about it ( ), but it seems there's a lot of other alternatives right now ( ). There's other programs you can go through ( ) on the job training programs ( ), that ( ), um ( ))you can get jobs a lot easier in our society ( ).

(5) F: Yeh ( ) that's probably true ( ). But what does a college education do for you ( ), to prepare you for living in society ( )? I'm not sure getting a job is all that important ( ), you know ( )?

(6) J: That's true ( ), but don't you think there's too many people who just get into it ( ), and don't know where they're going ( ), and don't get enough out of it ( )?

(6) F: Yes ( ), I know some people like that ( ). But you're only talking about what classes a person takes ( ), and how hard they study and try to learn ( ), aren't you ( )?

(7) J: Yeh ( ) I guess so ( ).

(7) F: Well ( ), I'm not sure that's all there is to a college education ( ). I mean ( ), I think the good part about going to college is the exposure to different lifestyles and different people ( ), personal growth ( ), you know ( )? The experience ( )

(8) J: Right ( )!

(8) F: The ( ), um ( ) personal experience ( ), outside of the classroom ( ). I'm not sure that the classes you take make that much of a difference ( ). It's learning to live with different kinds of people ( ), being exposed to fucked-up people and together people ( ), that's the growth ( ), that's what prepares you for a complex society ( ), 'cause those are complex people and a different ( ), coming

from a different place than where you're at (/).

(9) J: Yeh (5), people are what it's really all about (2A). But then I sometimes wonder if... ah (1e), being aware of a lot of (/), um (1e) Oh (2A)! What is it I'm trying to say (1d)? Sometimes it seems that being ignorant (1B), it would be a lot easier trying to live in this society (/).

(9) F: How's that (6)? I don't really follow you (/).

(10) J: Well (2), um (1e), there's a lot of occasions when (/), I think (/), not knowing (/), you know (/), a lot about some of the things that go on in this society, you know (6)? and (4)...

(10) F: Right (5), go on (1d).

(11) J: I don't know (2). I mean (/), you start thinking about the experts in this country (/) you may be as good as them by the time you get out of college (/), you know (2)? But because that person has connections or gets into a certain position (/), you're not (/) well (/) you can get ripped-off by the system (/).

(11) F: Yeh (5), I see what you're saying (2A). But I don't think you're any better off not knowing how the system works (3) I mean (/), you may find things out that you don't like ( ), but you're still better off than if you didn't know what was going on ( ).

(12) J: Yeh (5). You're right (2A). Still (2), it would be better if the system could be changed (/).

(12) F: Besides (2), I think we've gotten off the track a little (1e). I mean (/), is college the best way of preparing for living in society (2A)?

(13) J: Well (2), college does give you the chance to get away from home (/) and your parents (/), and to, you know (/) get out on your own and

make your own decisions (/) and also (/) uh (5)...

(13) F: But you can get the same experiences without going to college (2), can't you (2b)? Why not just move away from home and get a job (2), or travel around for awhile on your own (/)? You're still living on your own and making your own decisions (/).

(14) J: That's true (5) but (4)...

(14) F: (Interrupting) I mean (2), there are a lot of different ways to prepare yourself for living in society (/), but I'm still not sure college is the best way (/) It might be the easiest way for some people ( ).

(15) J: Yeh (5), I'd say you are right there (2b).

(15) F: Sure (5) and you're right about being on your own and making your own decisions (2b), you know (2)? It's pretty hard to find a decent job and make it on your own right out of high school (/) and if you go to college ( ), your parents help support you (/).

(16) J: Right (5), my parents don't mind paying for a college education (2). But they wouldn't if I had my own apartment and a job (/), or was just hanging around ( ).

(16) F: So going to college does make it easier to learn about the world (2), and it gives you more opportunities than if you were working or getting ( ) uh (2c) on the job training (/), or something ( ). Also, it does help you to get a better job and live more comfortably (/) uh ( ) but whether it's the best way or not depends upon the person ( ), and what he wants out of life ( ) For sure, the exposure to new and different people helps you to get along in the world ( ) but I think a lot of the classes you have to take ( ) and some of the things you're supposed to learn ( ) can really be a waste of time ( ).

(17) J: I sure agree with you there (bb)!

(17) E: But, otherwise (2), college does help you to get along in society (/). Like, if you live in the dorm (/), you're really forced to learn to live with all kinds of people (/). And your classes and all that are kind of like a job (/). I mean (/), you have to be there at a certain time (/), and do certain things (/).

(18) J: Yeh (5), and you're judged on how well you do (2), you know (6)?

(18) F: Right (6)! So, it's kind of a society all by itself (2), and by learning to get along in college (/), you can probably get along in society better (/).

(19) J: That's true (5).

(19) F: So I guess we agree that college is a good way to prepare yourself for living in society (2b) even if it's not necessarily the best way (/). Is that right (5)?

(20) J: Yeh (5) that's how I feel, too (2h).

(20) F: It's really the way you want to talk about "education" that makes a difference (2), you know (6)?

(21) J: How's that (2a)?

(21) F: Well (2), if by education you only mean (/), you know (/) classes and exams (/) then I think some people could learn more by just going out into the world (/) learn about society by living in it (/), you know (2) but if you include the (/) uh (1c) social part of college as part of education (/) then it's really the easiest way for some people to learn about society (/) and, also (4)...

E: (Enters room) O.K. Time's up. Thanks for your help.

Topic for discussion: A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society.

Actor: John (J); Confederate: Frank (F)

(E, J & F enter room; E allows J & F to enter, follows behind after closing door.)

E: O.K. John, Frank, why don't you go on over and take a seat at the table. (J hesitates, looks at F; F walks over and takes seat with back toward camera; J follows and takes remaining seat [face toward camera].)

E: (Walks over and stands near J & F at table) Now, as I mentioned before, what we would like you to do is merely to spend about 10 minutes talking and getting acquainted with each other. In order to give you something to talk about while you're getting acquainted, we've prepared a statement for you to discuss. You'll find the statement inside the envelope between you on the table (points to envelope). I'll return in about 10 minutes when your time is up. Do you have any questions?

(1) F: No (2), it sounds pretty easy (1).

(1) J: I guess not (2).

E: O.K. I'll see you in 10 minutes (leaves room while J & F watch).

J: (Looks at floor; scowls)

(2) F: (Glances at J; smiles) Well, John (2b), I guess we should see what it is we're supposed to talk about (2a), (reaches over and opens envelope; removes piece of paper and reads) "A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society" (2a).

(2) J: (Frowning; referring to E) It figures he'd give us some boring statement like that to talk about (3).

(3) F: Yeh (5), that's what it says (1). What do you think about it (2a)?

(3) J: Not much (3), (laughs) (1c) But, if we're supposed to talk about it

(5a), I guess I disagree (2).

(4) F: Why do you disagree (2a)?

(4) J: Well, (2) uh (1c), I don't know (4), For one thing (2), there's a lot of other alternatives right now (/). There's other programs you can go through (/), on the job training programs (/), that (/), um (1c), you can get jobs a lot easier in our society (/).

(5) F: Yeh (5), that's probably true (1b). But what does a college education do for you (2a), to prepare you for living in society (1a)? I don't think getting a job is all that important (3), you know (6)?

(5) J: Well (2), there's also too many people who just get into it (/), and don't know where they're going (/), and don't get anything out of it (/).

(6) F: Yeh (5), I know some people like that (6b). But you're only talking about what classes a person takes (2), and how hard they study and try to learn (/), aren't you (6)?

(6) J: Yeh (5), I guess I am (6). But that's what college is (2)! A place to get educated (/).

(7) F: I'm not so sure that's all there is to a college education (3). I mean (/), I think the good part about going to college is the exposure to different lifestyles and different people (/), personal growth (/), you know (6)? The experience (1c) . . .

(7) J: (Sarcastically) Yeh (3), hooray for parties (3a).

(8) F: The (2), um (1c), personal experience (/), outside of the classroom (/). I'm not sure that the classes you take are all that important (2). It's learning to live with different kinds of people (/), being exposed to fucked-up people and together people (/), that's the growth (/), that's what prepares you for a complex society (/), 'cause those are complex

people and a different (1c), coming from a different place than where you're at (1).

(8) J: Well (2), you probably know more about it than I do (6b), but I don't see what's so fantastic about the people you meet in college (3). I mean (1), a lot of them are just as fucked-up as people anywhere else (1), and I don't see how being around them helps you at all (1), they just bum you out (1).

(9) F: But there are people like that all over (3), and you have to learn how to live with them sometime (1).

(9) J: Why (3)? I don't need anything from them (3). Besides (2), the rest of the educational system isn't so great either (1).

(10) F: Go on (5).

(10) J: Well (2), you start thinking about the experts in this country (1), you may be as good as the experts by the time you get out of college (1), you know (6)? But because that person has connections or gets into a certain position (1), you're out in the cold (1). So college doesn't prepare you very well for that part of society (1).

(11) F: Yeh (5), I see what you're saying (3b). But I don't think you're any better off not knowing how the system works (3). I mean you may find things out that you don't like (1), but you're still in a better position than if you didn't know what was going on (1).

(11) J: Yeh (5) I guess you're right (6b).

(12) F: Besides (2), I think we've gotten off the track a little (1a). I mean (1), is college the best way of preparing for living in society (2a)?

(12) J: You tell me (2). College does give you the chance to get away from home and to (1), you know (1), get out on your own and make your own decisions (1), and also (1), uh (4)...

(13) F: But you can get the same experiences without going to college (3), can't you (6)? Why not just move away from home and get a job (2), or travel around for awhile on your own (1)? You're still living on your own and making your own decisions (1).

(13) J: Maybe you're right (5), but (4)...

(14) F: (Interrupting) I mean (2), there are a lot of different ways to prepare yourself for living in society (1), but I'm not sure college is the best way (3). It might be the <u>easiest</u> way for a lot of people (1).

(14) J: Yeh (5). I guess you're right about that (6b), at least (1).

(15) F: Sure (5), and you're right about being on your own and making your own decisions (6b), you know (6)? It's pretty hard to find a decent job and make it on your own right out of high school (2), and if you go to college (1), your parents help support you (1).

(15) J: Yeh (5), my parents don't mind paying for a college education (2). But they wouldn't if I had my own apartment and a job (1), or was just hanging around (1).

(16) F: So going to college does make it easier to learn about the world (2), and it gives you more opportunities than if you were working or getting (1), uh (1c), on the job training (1), or something (1). Also, (1), it does help you to get a better job and live more comfortably (1), um (1c), but whether it's the best way or not depends upon the person (1), and what he wants out of life (1) For sure the exposure to new and different people helps you to get along in society (1), but I think a lot of the classes you take (1), and some of the things you're supposed to learn (1), can really be a waste of time (1).

(16) J: If you say so (5).

(17) F: But (2), otherwise (1), college does help you to get along in society

(/). Like, if you live in the dorm (/), you're really forced to learn to live with all kinds of people (/). And your classes and all that are kind of like a job (/). I mean (/), you have to be there at a certain time (/), and do certain things (/).

(17) J: Yeh (5), and they judge you on how well you do (2).

(18) F: Right (6b)! So, it's kind of a society all by itself (2), and by learning to get along in college (/), you can probably get along in society better (/).

(18) J: I guess that's true (5).

(19) F: So I guess we do agree that college is a <u>good</u> way to prepare yourself for living in society (2b), even if it's not necessarily the best way (/). Is that right (5b)?

(19) J: Well (2), if you say so (5), I guess that's how I feel, too (6b).

(20) F: It's really the way you talk about "education" that makes a difference (2), you know (6)?

(20) J: What do you mean (2a)?

(21) F: Well (2), if by education you mean (/), you know (/), classes and exams (/) then I think some people could learn more by just going out into the world (/), learn about society by living in it (/), you know (6)? But if you include the (1) uh (1a), social part of college as education (/), then it's really the easiest way for some people to learn about society (/), then college is really important (/).

(21) J: I guess I can agree with that (2b). They both (4)...

E: (Enters room) O.K. Time's up. Thanks for your help.

Topic for Discussion: A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society.

Actor: John (J); Confederate: Frank (F)

(E, J, & F enter room; E allows J & F to enter, follows behind after closing door.)

E: O.K. John, Frank, why don't you go on over and take a seat at the table. (J walks over and sits in seat facing camera. F follows and takes remaining seat [back toward camera].)

E: (Walks over and stands near J & F at table) Now, as I mentioned before, what we would like you to do is merely to spend about 10 minutes talking and getting acquainted with each other. In order to give you something to talk about while you're getting acquainted, we've prepared a statement for you to discuss. You'll find the statement inside the envelope between you on the table (points to envelope). I'll return in about 10 minutes when your time is up. Do you have any questions?

(1) J: No (2) it sounds pretty easy (/).

(1) F: No (2).

E: O.K. I'll see you in 10 minutes (leaves room as J & F watch).

(2) J: (Glances at F; smiles) Well, Frank, (6b) I guess we should see what it is we're supposed to talk about (2a) (reaches over and opens envelope; removes piece of paper and reads) "A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society" (1a).

(2) F: (Laughs) (2c)

(3) J: Yeh (5) That's what it says (/). I think I disagree that it's the best way (2).

(3) F: So do I at this point (6).

(4) J: Why do you disagree (2a)?

(4) F: Well, (2) uh (/) for one thing (/), there's a lot of other alternatives right now (/). There's other programs you can go through (/), on the job training programs (/) that (/) uh (/c) you can get jobs a lot easier in our society (/).

(5) J: Yeh (5) that's probably true (b). But what does a college education do for you (2a) to prepare you for living in society (/a)? I don't think getting a job is all that important (2), you know? (6)?

(5) F: And also (2), there's too many people who just get into it (/) and don't know where they're going (/), and don't get enough out of it (/).

(6) J: Yeh (5) I know some people like that (b). But you're talking about what classes a person takes (2) and how hard they study and try to learn (/), aren't you (b)?

(6) F: Yeh (5) I guess so (2).

(7) J: Well (2), I'm not sure that's all there is to a college education (3). I mean (/), I think the good part about going to college is the exposure to different lifestyles and different people (2) personal growth (/), you know (b)? The experience (/c) . . .

(7) F: Right (5).

(8) J: The (2), um (/c), personal experience (/), outside of the classroom (/). I'm not sure that the classes you take are all that important (/). It's learning to live with different kinds of people (/), that's the growth (/), that's what prepares you for a complex society (/), 'cause those are complex people and a different (/a), coming from a different place than where you're at (/).

(8) F: Yeh (5), but then I sometimes wonder if, ah(2), being aware of a lot

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of (/), um (1c) ~~oh~~, what is it I'm trying to say (1b) ~~s~~ometimes it seems that being ignorant (/), it would be a lot easier trying to live in this society (/).

(9) J: How's that (6)? I don't really follow you (/).

(9) F: Well, (2) um (1c), there's a lot of occasions when (/), I think (/), not knowing (/), you know (/), a lot about what kinds of people become college instructors (/), you know, (2)? and (4) . . .

(10) J: Right (5). Yeh (5).

(10) F: They're just bullshit (2d). I mean (/), you start thinking about the experts in this country (/), you may be as good as the experts by the time you get out of college, (1) you know (6)? but because that person has connections or gets into a certain position (/), and (1) . . . um (1c), when you haven't gotten into the college system (/), you're not (/) you know (/), aware of those things (/).

(11) J: Yeh (5), I see what you're saying (6b). But I don't think you're any better off not knowing about how the system works (3) I mean, (1) you may find things out that you don't like (/), but you're still better off than if you didn't know what was going on (/).

(11) F: Yeh (5), I guess you're right (6).

(12) J: Besides (2), I think we've gotten off the track a little (1a) I mean (/) is college the <u>best</u> way of preparing for living in society (2a)?

(12) F: Well (2), college does give you the chance to get away from home (/), and your parents (/) and to, (1) you know (/), get out on your own and make your own decisions (/) and also (/), uh (4) . . .

(13) J: But you can get the same experiences without going to college, (2) can't you (6b)? Why not just move away from home and get a job (2) or travel around for awhile on your own (/)? You're still living on

your own and making your own decisions (/).

(13) F: That's true (5), but (4)...

(14) J: (Interrupting) I mean, (2) there are a lot of different ways to prepare yourself for living in society (/), but I'm still not sure college is the best way (3). It might be the easiest way for a lot of people (/)

(14) F: Yeh (5), I think you're right there (ℓb).

(15) J: Sure (5), and you're right about being on your own and making your own decisions, you know (ℓb)? It's pretty hard to find a decent job right out of high school (/), and if you go to college (/), your parents help support you (/).

(15) F: Yeh (5), my parents don't mind paying for a college education (2). But they wouldn't if I had my own apartment and a job (2), or was just hanging around (/).

(16) J: So going to college does make it easier to learn about the world (2), and it gives you more opportunities than if you were working or getting (/), uh (/c) on the job training, or something (/). Also, (2) it does help you to get a better job and live more comfortably (/), uh (/c), but whether it's the best way or not depends upon the person (/), and what he wants out of life (/). For sure the exposure to new and different people helps you to get along in the world (/). but I think a lot of the classes you have to take ( ), and the things you're supposed to learn (/) can really be a waste of time (/).

(16) F: I sure agree with that (/h).

(17) J: But, otherwise (2) college does help you to get along in society (/). Like, if you live in the dorm ( ), you're really forced to learn to live with all kinds of people (/). And your classes and all that are

kind of like a job (/) I mean, you have to be there at a certain time (/), and do certain things (/)

(17) F: Yeh (5) And you're judged on how well you do, you know (3b)?

(18) J: Right (6)! So, it's kind of a society all by itself (2), and by learning to get along in college (/), you can probably get along in society better (/).

F: That's true (6).

F: So I guess we do agree that college is a <u>good</u> way to prepare yourself for living in society (2a), even if it's not necessarily the best way (/). Is that right (6)?

(19) F: I think that's how I feel, too (3b).

(20) J: It's really the way you want to talk about "education" that makes a difference (2), you know (6)?

(20) F: How's that (2a)?

J: Well, if by education you only mean (2), you know (/), classes and exams (/), then I think some people could learn more by just going out into the world (/), learn about society by living in it, you know (6); but if you include the (/), uh (/), social part of college as part of education (/), then it's the easiest way for some people to learn about society (/), then college is really important (/).

(21) F: Yeh (5) you really need to consider both parts, I guess (2), because they both (4) . . .

E: (Enters room) O.K. Time's up. Thanks for your help.

Topic for Discussion: A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society.

Actor: John (J); Confederate: Frank (F)

(E, J, & F enter room; E allows J & F to enter, follows behind after closing door.)

E: O.K. John, Frank, why don't you go on over and take a seat at the table. (J walks over and takes a seat facing camera. F follows and takes remaining seat (back toward camera].)

E: (Walks over and stands near J & F at table) Now, as I mentioned before, what we would like you to do is merely to spend about 10 minutes talking and getting acquainted with each other. In order to give you something to talk about while you're getting acquainted, we've prepared a statement for you to discuss. You'll find the statement inside the envelope between you on the table (points to envelope). I'll return in about 10 minutes when your time is up. Do you have any questions?

(1) J: No ( ), it sounds pretty simple ( ).

(1) F: No ( ).

E: O.K. I'll see you in 10 minutes (leaves room as J & F watch).

(2) J: (Without looking or smiling at F) I'll see what it is we're supposed to talk about ( ). (Reaches over and opens envelope; removes piece of paper and reads) "A college education is the best way to prepare oneself for living in today's complex society" ( ).

(2) F: (Laughs) ( )

(3) J: Yeh ( ), it figures that they would give us a stupid statement like that ( ). What do you think about it ( )?

(3) F: I don't know ( ). I guess I disagree ( ).

(4) J: Well (2), what do you think is better than a college education (2a)?

(4) F: Well, uh (2) (2a), for one thing (1), there's a lot of other alternatives right now (1). There's other programs you can go through (1), on the job training programs (1) that (1), uh (2a), you can get jobs a lot easier in our society (1).

(5) J: So what (3)? I think a college education does a lot to prepare you for living in society (3) and I don't think getting a job is the most important thing in the world (3).

(5) F: Well (2) . . . also (1), there's too many people who just get into it (1), and don't know where they're going (1), and don't get enough out of it (1).

(6) J: That's their own fault (2), not the college's problem (1). If they don't take advantage of their opportunities (1), you can't blame the university (1).

(6) F: Yeh (5), I guess you're right (6).

(7) J: Of course I am (2)! I mean (1), college only gives you the opportunity to accomplish something (1). You have to do the work yourself (1). Beside that, though (1), do you think what you learn from classes is all there is to a college education (2a)?

(7) F: No (5), I guess there's also the benefits of being exposed to different people and different lifestyles (2)

(8) J: Yeh (5), maybe (5), but you can get social experiences without going to college (1). Anyway, what's so important about meeting lots of people (3)? I think it's a waste to see college as only a series of keggers and parties (1). As far as I'm concerned (2), the important thing about college is what you can do for yourself (1) it gives you the opportunity to be somebody and do something (2a) important and

worthwhile (/).

(8) F: Yeh (5), but I sometimes wonder if (2), ah (1c), being aware of a lot of (/), um (1c) oh, what is it I'm trying to say (1d)? sometimes it seems like being ignorant (/), it would be a lot easier trying to live in this society (/).

(9) J: That doesn't make any sense at all (3)! How can anyone be any better off being stupid (3), not knowing about the society they live in (/)?

(9) F: Well (2), um (1c), there's a lot of occasions when (/), I think (/), not knowing (/), you know (/), a lot about what kinds of people become college instructors, you know (1c)? and (4)...

(10) J: I still don't see what that has to do with anything (3). What are you trying to say (/)?

(10) F: They're just bullshit (3)! I mean (2), you start thinking about the experts in this country (/), you may be as good as they are by the time you get out of college, you know (1c)? but because that person has connections or gets into a certain position (/), and (/), um (1c), when you haven't gotten into the college system (/), you're not (/) you know ( ), aware of those things (/).

(11) J: I can't agree with you at all there (3). Even if the system is unfair (2), I don't think you're any better off not knowing how it works (/) You may find things out that you don't like (/), but you're still better off than if you didn't know what was going on (/).

(11) F: Yeh (5) I guess you're right (5).

(12) J: Besides (2), I think we've gotten off the track a little (1c). I mean, is college the <u>best</u> way of preparing for living in society (2)?

(12) F: Well (2) college does give you the chance to get away from home ( ) and your parents (/) and to, you know, get out on your own and make

your own decisions (/), and also (/) uh (4)...

(13) J: But you can get the same experiences without going to college (3), can't you (6)? Why not just move away from home and get a job (2), or travel around for awhile on your own (/)? You're still living on your own and making your own decisions (/)

(13) F: That's true (5) but (4)...

(14) J: (Interrupting) I mean (2), there are a lot of different ways to prepare yourself for living in society (/), but is college the best way (2a)? It might be the <u>easiest</u> way for some people (/).

(14) F: I agree with you there (6b). That makes a lot of sense (6).

(15) J: Sure it does (6). It's pretty hard to find a decent job and live on your own right out of high school (/), and if you go to college (/), your parents support you ( ). You get a chance to run your own life without having to worry about eating or paying the rent (/).

(15) F: Yeh (5), my parents don't mind paying for a college education (2). But they wouldn't if I had my own apartment and a job (2), or was just hanging around (/).

(16) J: So going to college does make it easier to learn about the world (2), and it gives you more opportunities than if you went right to work or were getting (/), um ( ), on the job training, or something (/). Also (/), it does help you to improve yourself and possibly do something important (/), uh ( ), but whether it's the best way or not depends upon the person (/), and what he wants out of life (/). College gives you all the opportunities you need (/), but if you're not into it (/) or are more concerned with partying (/) then as far as I'm concerned it's a waste of time (/).

(16) F: I sure agree with that ( ).

(17) J: But, otherwise (2), if you're really into it and work (/), college does help you to get along in society (/). Besides (/), the classes you take are kind of like a job (/). I mean, you have to be there at a certain time (/), and do certain things (/) at least if you're going to get anything out of it (/).

(17) F: Yeh (5), and you're judged on how well you do (2), you know (2b)?

(18) J: So, college is kind of a society all by itself (2), and by learning to get along in college (/), you can probably get along in society better (/).

(18) F: That's true (5).

(19) J: So I guess you agree with me that college is a <u>good</u> way to prepare yourself for living in society (2b) even if it's not necessarily the best way (/). Is that right (2)?

(19) F: I guess that's how I feel, too (2).

(20) J: It's really the way you want to talk about "education" that makes a difference (2), you know (2)?

(20) F: How's that (2a)?

(21) J: Well, if by education you mean (2), you know (2), living in a dorm and socializing with roomates and friends (/) and only going to classes in your spare time or because you have to (/) then I think people could learn more by just going out into the world (/), learn about society by living in it, you know (2)? but if you include the (2), uh (2a), intellectual and personal growth as part of education (/) like it should be (/), then college is really important (/).

(21) F: Yeh (5), you really need to consider both parts, I guess (/) because they both (2).

E: (Enters room) O.K. Time's up. Thanks for your help.

APPENDIX E

ORIENTATION MATERIALS FOR IMPRESSION FORMATION PHASE OF THE RESEARCH

Phase 2 Introduction

Today you will begin the "Group Interaction Phase" of this research. However, before getting started I would like to take a minute or two to give you a little more information about the research, and explain to you exactly what your participation today will involve.

To back-up a little, our basic interest is in how well people with different beliefs, orientations, and concerns work together on particular tasks. In our day-to-day lives, much of our time is spent interacting with other people in groups of various sizes. Although we often get together with others just to socialize and have fun, we also make many, if not most, of our important decisions as a group process. For example, marital partners usually decide jointly whether or not to have children, buy a new car, or take a trip to Europe. At the societal level, decisions about local, state, and national governmental policies are made by such groups as select committees, task forces, and legislative groups. Further, decisions involving many nations or even the entire world are made by such groups as NATO, the United Nations, and so on.

Since virtually all of the important decisions that affect our lives are made by groups of people rather than single individuals, it is clearly important to learn as much as we can about how groups of people go about making decisions. Now, the best way to do this is to observe groups of people interacting and attempt to measure what happens. This is essentially what we are trying to do in this study: seeing <u>how</u> group processes are affected by the characteristics of the particular members composing the group, and the group task.

the particular tasks you will be engaged in are covered in this short handout. (DISTRIBUTE ORIENTATION SHEET) Please take a couple of minutes and follow along with me as I read over the handout. Afterward, I will answer any questions you may have, and we can begin on today's tasks.

* * *

O.K. At the end of today's session we will arrange for each of you to contact your partner and set up times for your interaction. Each of you will be interacting with your partners in a (COOPERATIVE/COMPETITIVE) situation. Given the nature of your task, you can probably see why it is advantageous for you to acquire some "advance" information about your partner. Even though the videotape situation is neither clearly cooperative nor competitive, by observing your partner's characteristics and behavior during the discussion, you should be able to get some idea of his beliefs, orientations, and concerns. In short, you should form some impression of his personality. This will allow you to anticipate to some extent how your partner will behave in your future interactions, and allow you to plan your own strategy for attaining your goal and accomplishing the group task.

Unfortunately, we can only videotape ten minutes of discussion -- not a terribly large amount of time for a person to get a good idea of another person's "personality." So, in order to make this short videotape as informative as possible, we will provide you with a topic to discuss. This topic will concern the "college experience", and you should spend some time between now and the time you make the tape formulating your opinions about college. Try to prepare yourself well enough so that you do not spend much of the time during the tape in silence, thinking of something to say. Of course, what happens in the videotape will also depend upon what the other person says, but if you think about the college experience now, by the time the two of you sit down to make the tape you will most likely be able to spend almost the entire time talking. Also, remember that your interaction partner will be seeing your videotape before the two of you get together. Since the two of you will be forming an impression of each other based on your behavior in the videotape, try to relax and be yourself, so that the tape is as informative as possible for your partner.

COMPETITIVE TASK ORIENTATION

Last quarter you completed a number of questionnaires measuring various aspects of your beliefs, orientations, and concerns. On the basis of your responses to these measures, you have been asked here today to participate in the "Group Interaction Phase" of this research. Your participation will involve a number of different activities. First, and most important, we would like you to interact with another subject for a few hours, spread over the next few weeks. The exact times of these interactions can be anytime between 8:00 in the morning and 9:00 at night, and any day of the week. So, it should be fairly easy for you and your partner to arrange a mutually convenient time. Your interaction with this other subject will be videotaped and coded by trained observers. We will attempt to measure how well the two of you work together, and how successful you are as an individual at the particular task.

Your activities today are geared for preparing you for this future interaction. First we would like you to complete another short questionnaire for us. As with the instruments you completed earlier, the purpose and nature of this questionnaire will be fully explained to you later. Basically, like the others, it concerns your beliefs, orientations, and concerns.

After completing the questionnaire, we would like to give you the opportunity to learn something about your interaction partner before the two of you begin to work together. You will be shown a ten minute videotape of your partner engaged in a "get acquainted" discussion with another experimental subject. Your partner and the other subject were asked to spend ten minutes talking and getting acquainted. However, in order to make the videotape as informative as possible and avoid the prolonged periods of silence, numerous hesitations, and so on, characteristic of discussions between strangers, we provided your partner and the other subject with a topic to discuss. They were told beforehand that the topic would concern the "college experience," and were asked to spend some time thinking about what college means to them, why people go to college, and so on. This allowed them to be prepared for the discussion, and to express as much of their own opinions, beliefs, and "personalities" as possible in the short amount of time involved.

Of course, since you will be able to acquire some advance information about your partner, it is only fair that he be given the same opportunity. So, after viewing your partner's tape, you and the other subject here today will also discuss a topic related to the college experience. We will videotape this discussion and arrange for your partner to see this tape before the two of you begin to interact in your particular task. In the time being, you should do some thinking about your own college experience and try to prepare yourself for the discussion.

You and your partner will be interacting in a COMPETITIVE situation. Specifically, you and your partner will be interacting in the roles of opposing negotiators or political opponents trying to reach agreement on a tactical plan for colonization of the moon. With the advent of the "space race" and having already placed a man on the moon, it will probably not be long before this issue arises in the arena of world politics. Thus, the task itself should have some practical benefits, in addition to allowing us to learn something about group interaction. Of course, this is also an issue which is probably pretty new to most college students, and it is unlikely that any of our subjects have attempted to do anything similar to this task. So, we will provide you with all of the information and materials you need for developing your own plan, as well as some possible strategies for countering your partner's arguments. Thus, each of you will know as much about the task as any other subject.

Your's and your partner's (or opponents) task will be to try and reach an agreement, if possible, about a final plan. Although this final plan may require some compromise, each of you should attempt to have as many elements of YOUR OWN PLAN as possible included in the final plan. Thus, the two of you will be competing with each other. Your final outcome and personal success at the task will depend upon BOTH you and your partner or, more exactly, your success will depend upon <u>how well</u> you are able to argue for your own point-of-view and counter your opponent's arguments.

Of course, both you and your partner will be paid $1.00 for every hour you spend engaged in experimental tasks, including today. However, in addition to this standard payment, the individual that is judged by our trained coders as the most effective negotiator will receive a BONUS reward of an additional $10.00. Thus, although you will be competing against all the other subjects engaged in competitive tasks, our judges have indicated that the most influential person is your partner. <u>The more effectively you present your own plan and argue against your opponent's, the greater your chance of winning the bonus payment</u>.

COOPERATIVE TASK ORIENTATION

Last quarter you completed a number of questionnaires measuring various aspects of your beliefs, orientations, and concerns. On the basis of your responses to these measures, you have been asked here today to participate in the "Group Interaction Phase" of this research. Your participation will involve a number of different activities. First, and most important, we would like you to interact with another subject for a few hours, spread over the next few weeks. The exact times of these interactions can be anytime between 8:00 in the morning and 9:00 at night, and any day of the week. So, it should be fairly easy for you and your partner to arrange a mutually convenient time. Your interaction with this other subject will be videotaped and coded by trained observers. We will attempt to measure how well the two of you work together, and how successful you are as an individual at the particular task.

Your activities today are geared for preparing you for this future interaction. First we would like you to complete another short questionnaire for us. As with the instruments you completed earlier, the purpose and nature of this questionnaire will be fully explained to you later. Basically, like the others, it concerns your beliefs, orientations, and concerns.

After completing the questionnaire, we would like to give you the opportunity to learn something about your interaction partner before the two of you begin to work together. You will be shown a ten minute videotape of your partner engaged in a short "get acquainted" discussion with another experimental subject. Your partner and the other subject were asked to spend ten minutes talking to each other and getting acquainted. However, in order to make the videotape as informative as possible and avoid the prolonged periods of silence, numerous hesitations, and so on, characteristic of discussions between strangers, we provided your partner and the other subject with a topic to discuss. They were told beforehand that the topic would concern the "college experience," and were asked to spend some time thinking about what college means to them, why people go to college, and so on. This allowed them to be prepared for the discussion, and to express as much of their own opinions, beliefs, and "personalities" as possible in the short amount of time involved.

Of course, since you will be able to acquire some advance information about your partner, it is only fair that he be given the same opportunity. So, after viewing your partner's tape, you and the other subject here today will also discuss a topic related to the college experience. We will videotape this discussion and arrange for your partner to see this tape before the two of you begin to interact in your particular task. In the time being, you should do some thinking about your own college

experience and try to prepare yourself for the discussion.

You and your partner will be interacting in a COOPERATIVE situation. Specifically, the two of you will work together to develop a tactical plan for colonization of the moon. With the advent of the "space race" and having already placed a man on the moon, it will probably not be long before this issue arises in the arena of world politics. Thus, the task itself should have some practical benefits, in addition to allowing us to learn something about group interaction. Of course, this is also an issue which is probably pretty new to most college students, and it is unlikely that any of our subjects have ever attempted to do anything similar to this task. So, we will provide you with all of the information and materials you need for developing your plan. Thus, each of you will know as much about the task as any other subject.

Your's and your partner's task will be to review the information, discuss its relevance for the final plan, and try to arrive at some agreement about the final strategy. Thus, throughout the development of the plan, you and your partner will be working cooperatively. The way you approach the task, divide up the work, decide on the final plan, and so on, is totally up to you and your partner. Your final outcome and personal success at the task will depend upon BOTH you and your partner or, more exactly, on <u>how well</u> the two of you work together.

Of course, both you and your partner will be paid $1.00 for every hour you spend engaged in experimental tasks, including today. However, in addition to this standard payment, the team that is judged by our trained coders as the most successful team will receive a BONUS reward of an additional $10.00 each. Thus, <u>the more effectively you and your partner work together, the greater your chances of winning the bonus payment</u>.

RESEARCH PARTICIPATION AGREEMENT

I have freely consented to take part in a scientific study being conducted by Victor A. Battistich, under the supervision of Professor Joel Aronoff, Department of Psychology, Michigan State University.

The study has been explained to me, and I understand the explanation that has been given and what my participation will involve. Specifically, I agree to participate in the following aspects of the study to the best of my ability:

1. To participate in a short videotaped discussion concerning the "college experience" with another subject, and to allow this videotape to be shown to other experimental subjects.

2. To view a videotape of a similar discussion made by two other subjects.

3. To participate in a group interaction task lasting no more than five (5) hours, over a period of two to three weeks, with another subject designated by the experimenter.

4. To supply the experimenter with additional information concerning my beliefs, orientations, and concerns, and my reactions to the study and the other participants.

I understand that in return for my participation I will be paid the sum of one (1) dollar for each hour I spend engaged in experimental tasks, or a minimum of two (2) dollars, regardless of my time commitment.

I understand that any and all information I supply will be treated in strict confidence, and that I will remain anonymous. Within these restrictions, results of the study will be made available to me upon request.

Signed: _____

Date: ____/____/____

APPENDIX F

DEPENDENT MEASURE

QUESTIONNAIRES

I.D.: _____

FREE-RESPONSE DESCRIPTION

On the remainder of this page, please describe your impression of your interaction partner. Please do not concentrate on his physical appearance (e.g., eye color, height, weight) or try to quote his statements exactly unless it is necessary for understanding your impression. We are most interested in what you have observed about your future partner's "personality". Please describe what kind of person you think he is. Try to write down the most important aspects of his personality you observed through viewing the videotape. If you run of space, continue writing on the back of this page. You will have 5 minutes to write your impressions. Please try to give as accurate and complete a description of your impressions as you can within this time limit. Thank you.

I.D.: _____

INSTRUCTIONS

On the following pages you will find a number of bi-polar rating scales to be used for describing how you perceived your interaction partner. You will be making your judgements for each of the rating scales along a seven-point continuum, as shown in the examples below:

	Very	Moderately	Somewhat	Neither	Somewhat	Moderately	Very	
GOOD	____	____X____	____X____	____	____	____	____	BAD
GOOD	____	____	____	____X____	____	____	____	BAD
GOOD	____	____	____	____	____	____X____	____	BAD

If you felt your interaction partner was somewhat good, you would mark the space shown in the first example. If you felt he was neither good nor bad, you would mark the space shown in the second example. Similarly, if you felt he was moderately bad, you would mark the space shown in the third example. THE CLOSER YOUR CHECKMARK IS TO ONE END OF THE SCALE, THE MORE YOU FEEL YOUR INTERACTION PARTNER IS LIKE THE ADJECTIVE AT THAT END OF THE SCALE.

Below each bi-polar scale you will find another scale to be used for indicating how confident you feel about the rating you just made. For example, you may feel very confident that your partner is "competent," but not at all confident that he is "relisble." Thus, you would mark the confidence scale close to the LEFT end for your rating for "competent," and close to the RIGHT end for your rating for "reliable." An example of this scale is shown below:

		Moderately	Somewhat				
Very Confident	____	____	____	____	____	____	____ Not at all Confident

Please make a judgement for every bi-polar and confidence scale. DO NOT SKIP ANY RATINGS. If you do not feel able to make a valid judgement for a particular bi-polar scale, use the confidence scale to reflect your uncertainty (e.g., by checking "Not at all Confident").

If you have any questions about how to use the rating scales, please call the experimenter for help. Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

(OVER)

To what extent do you feel your interaction partner is:

1. EVEN-TEMPERED	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	MOODY
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
2. DISAPPROVING	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	APPROVING
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
3. WARM	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	COLD
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
4. PESSIMISTIC	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	OPTIMISTIC
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
5. INFORMED	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	NAIVE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
6. UNSCIENTIFIC	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	SCIENTIFIC
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
7. VAIN	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	MODEST
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
8. ACCEPTING	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	UNACCEPTING
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
9. UNINTELLIGENT	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	INTELLIGENT
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
10. HAPPY	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	UNHAPPY
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
11. WAVERING	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	DETERMINED
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
12. DOMINANT	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	SUBMISSIVE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
13. UNSOCIABLE	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	SOCIABLE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident

(OVER)

14. GOOD-NATURED	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	IRRITIBLE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
15. FOOLISH	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	WISE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
16. SKILLFUL	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	UNSKILLFUL
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
17. EASYGOING	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	FORCEFUL
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
18. BOASTFUL	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	MODEST
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
19. RESPONSIBLE	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	IRRESPONSIBLE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
20. DISAGREEABLE	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	AGREEABLE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
21. FRIENDLY	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	UNFRIENDLY
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
22. HUMORLESS	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	HUMOROUS
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
23. DEEP	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	SUPERFICIAL
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
24. UNIMAGINATIVE	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	IMAGINATIVE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
25. HONEST	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	DISHONEST
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
26. INCONSIDERATE	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	CONSIDERATE
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident
27. INDUSTRIOUS	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	LAZY
Very Confident	___:___:___:___:___:___:___	Not at all Confident

(OVER)

28. SILENT ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ TALKATIVE

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

29. POPULAR ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ UNPOPULAR

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

30. UNPLEASANT ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ PLEASANT

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

31. ACTIVE ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ PASSIVE

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

32. DOUBTING ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ SELF-CONFIDENT

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

33. RELIABLE ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ UNRELIABLE

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

34. FOLLOWER ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ LEADER

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

35. KIND ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ UNKIND

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

36. UNSYMPATHETIC ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ SYMPATHETIC

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

37. ASSERTIVE ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ UNASSERTIVE

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

38. UNAFFECTIONATE ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ AFFECTIONATE

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

39. CONTROLLING ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ UNCONTROLLING

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

40. SOFT ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ HARD

Very Confident ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ Not at all Confident

(OVER)

Please indicate your judgements about your interaction partner along each of the following dimensions:

How similar to other male college students do you feel your interaction partner is?:

EXTREMELY SIMILAR ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ EXTREMELY DISSIMILAR

How similar to you do you feel your interaction partner is?:

EXTREMELY SIMILAR ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ EXTREMELY DISSIMILAR

How much do you like your interaction partner?:

LIKE VERY MUCH ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ DISLIKE VERY MUCH

How satisfying do you feel your future interaction with your partner will be?:

VERY SATISFYING ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY DISSATISFYING

How pleasant do you feel your future interaction with your partner will be?:

VERY PLEASANT ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY UNPLEASANT

How successful do you feel you and your partner will be at accomplishing your group task?:

VERY SUCCESSFUL ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

How successful do you feel you will be at accomplishing your personal goal in your future interaction with your partner?:

VERY SUCCESSFUL ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

Obviously, it takes different qualities to be successful at different tasks. Judging from your observations and impressions of your interaction partner:

How successful to you feel he would be in general on a cooperative task?:

VERY SUCCESSFUL ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

How successful do you feel he would be in general on a competitive task?:

VERY SUCCESSFUL ___:___:___:___:___:___:___ VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

(OVER)

Finally, a person's behavior in any given situation may be influenced by one or more of three factors: (1) the person's "personality" or dispositions to behave in certain ways; (2) the behavior of other people present at the time; and (3) the demands and characteristics of the particular situation. Please indicate your opinion about the influence of each of these factors on the behavior of your interaction partner in the videotape by entering a number from 0 to 100 on each of the blanks below. The higher the number, the greater you feel the factor was influential in determining your partner's behavior in the videotape. For example, the number 100 would indicate that the particular factor was completely responsible for his behavior, while the number 0 would indicate that the factor was not at all responsible. Please enter the number corresponding to your judgement of the influence of each of the three factors on the blanks below. Please make sure that the three numbers total to 100 (e.g., 50+30+20=100).

YOUR PARTNER'S "PERSONALITY": _____

THE BEHAVIOR OF THE OTHER PERSON: _____

THE PARTICULAR SITUATION: _____

Total 100

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED, PLEASE TELL THE EXPERIMENTER.

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX G

RELIABILITY ANALYSES FOR TRAIT ATTRIBUTION AND CONFIDENCE SCALES

Table 37

Reliability Analysis for Perceived Assertiveness Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Determined	.84	
Dominant	.90	
Talkative	.80	
Active	.78	.95
Self-Confident	.76	
Leader	.90	
Assertive	.86	
Controlling	.77	

Note: n = 160.

Table 38

Reliability Analysis for Perceived Warmth Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Even-Tempered	.59	
Warm	.75	
Good-Natured	.83	
Friendly	.76	
Considerate	.76	.92
Pleasant	.79	
Kind	.75	
Sympathetic	.67	
Affectionate	.67	

Note: n = 160.

Table 39

Reliability Analysis for Perceived Responsibility Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Wise	.57	
Responsible	.70	.78
Deep	.47	
Reliable	.61	

Note: n = 160.

Table 40

Reliability Analysis for Confidence in Assertiveness Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Determined	.46	
Dominant	.57	
Talkative	.53	
Active	.55	.84
Self-Confident	.62	
Leader	.59	
Assertive	.67	
Controlling	.64	

Note: n = 160.

Table 41

Reliability Analysis for Confidence in Warmth Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Even-Tempered	.54	
Warm	.47	
Good-Natured	.62	
Friendly	.53	
Considerate	.62	.86
Pleasant	.62	
Kind	.71	
Sympathetic	.66	
Affectionate	.59	

Note: n = 160.

Table 42

Reliability Analysis for Confidence in Responsibility Scale

Item	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Coefficient Alpha
Wise	.44	
Responsible	.57	.72
Deep	.48	
Reliable	.56	

Note: n = 160.

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