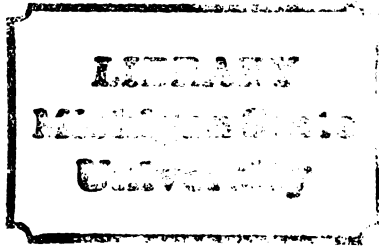RELATIVE STATUS, ANTICIPATED INTERACTION AND
SOCIAL FACILITATION AS DETERMINANTS OF HUMOROUS
RESPONSES TO EMBARRASSMENT

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
BARBARA ANN WALKER
1975

ABSTRACT

RELATIVE STATUS, ANTICIPATED INTERACTION, AND SOCIAL FACILITATION

AS DETERMINANTS OF HUMOROUS RESPONSES TO EMBARRASSMENT

By

Barbara Ann Walker

Humor is a face-saving technique that is frequently used to restructure an interpersonal communication situation when embarrassment has broken down communication patterns. In an embarrassing interaction, it is expected that more humor will be used between persons of relatively equal status than when people are of unequal status. It is expected that more humor will be initiated by a person of relatively higher status in an interaction than by a person of lower status. It is hypothesized that more humor will be used when interactants anticipate future interaction than when no future interaction is expected, and that more persons observing an interaction act to facilitate humorous responses to embarrassment.

Sixty subjects engaged in an embarrassing interaction with an experimenter by telephone. Results indicate that there is no significant effect for anticipated interaction. More laughter between persons of relatively equal status than between persons of unequal status is found. The number of people present has a positive, significant effect on laughter. Results are discussed in terms of the tentative nature of

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the communication process during embarrassment, and in terms of Goffman's (1959) concept of derisive collusion. Additional research issues concerning the study of humor and embarrassment are raised.

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AS DETERMINANTS OF HUMOROUS RESPONSES TO EMBARRASSMENT

By

Barbara Ann Walker

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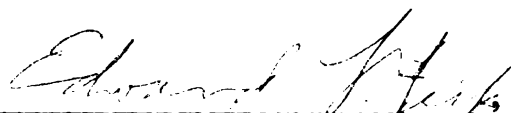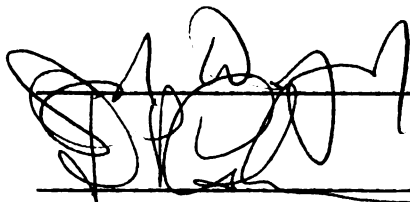
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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of Communication, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.

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Director of Thesis

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Finally, special thanks goes to my father, for expressing "I'll believe it when I see it."

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CHAPTER I

1.1 Introduction

Embarrassment is a threat to any interaction we encounter. The experience of embarrassment quickly spreads from one person to all participants in an interaction. The fumbling and uncomfortable silences resulting from embarrassment are carefully and systematically avoided in most conversations.

Since embarrassment is undesirable for all interactants, an embarrassed individual will frequently try to save face - to create an impression that he or she has not lost composure. Face-saving may take many forms, including walking away from the situation, apologizing, becoming aggressive, or using humor and unseriousness. The focus of this research will be on humor and unseriousness as face-saving techniques in an embarrassing interaction.

A number of authors discuss humor and unseriousness as responses to an embarrassing interaction. Goffman (1967) describes joshing as a technique used to release tension caused by embarrassment, by creating the impression that nothing serious is happening. Emerson (1970) describes how humor functions in a gynecological exam to sustain the impression that "no one is embarrassed." The literature indicates that humor is a face-saving technique used as a response to an embarrassing interaction.

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In this chapter, the literature involving humor as a response to an embarrassing interaction will be discussed. Both the causes and consequences of embarrassment will be discussed. There will be a focus on face-saving as a consequence of embarrassment, and on humor as a face-saving technique.

The theoretic discussion will be organized as follows. First, an overview of the theoretic approaches to studying embarrassment and humor will be presented. Next, the causes and consequences of embarrassment will be discussed. Then, the literature presenting humor as a consequence of embarrassment will receive focused attention. Finally, the variables of anticipated future interaction and status will be described as variables affecting the use of humor.

As discussed, the study of embarrassment has been approached from several theoretic perspectives. The first section of this discussion will present an overview of the theoretic approaches to studying embarrassment.

1.2 An Overview of Theoretic Approaches to Studying Embarrassment

The occurrence of embarrassment in social interaction has been studied from several perspectives. Empirical research has been conducted from the point of view of role theory, empathy theory, balance theory and exchange theory. In this section, an overview of these different theoretic perspectives will be presented.

1.21 Role theory - Role theory looks at roles as sets of expectations of behavior shared among persons in a social interaction. Embarrassment occurs when an individual becomes aware that he or she is not behaving according to the expectations of others in an interaction.

Role theory explanations of embarrassment started with the work
of Erving Goffman (1967) in "Embarrassment and Social Organization."
Goffman describes the process by which individuals become embarrassed
and how embarrassment spreads in an interaction. Gross and Stone (1964)
expand Goffman's explanation by collecting recollections of embarrassing
incidents from over 1000 persons. Weinberg (1968), relying on Goffman's
conceptual explication, studied the occurrence of embarrassment in
nudist colonies.

1.22 <u>Empathy theory</u> - Empathy theory is concerned with the differential
ability of individuals to experience embarrassment. This theory con-
siders an individual's response to the social situation as the unit of
analysis. The more an individual can empathize with an interactant who
is experiencing embarrassment, the more he or she will experience
embarrassment.

Several authors focus on empathy as a necessary condition for
embarrassment, starting with Hellpach in 1913. Sattler, in an empirical
study (1965) and a literature review (1965), concludes that the more a
person can empathize, the more he or she will experience embarrassment.
Modigliani (1966) finds a positive relationship between the ability to
empathize and embarrassibility.

1.23 <u>Balance theory</u> - A balance theory conceptualization of embarrass-
ment occurs when there is incongruity between a person's expectations of
a social situation and events that take place in the situation. Another
person is necessary for someone to be conscious of the incongruity
between his or her subjective expectations and social reality. The unit
of analysis is an individual's subjective experience of embarrassment.

Heider (1958) first used balance theory to explain embarrassment. He describes embarrassment as "the disintegrating effect of self-consciousness produced by the seeming exposure of oneself to the perception of another" (1958:74). Sattler (1965) finds that people report that they would experience more embarrassment in an imbalanced state than in a balanced state.

1.24 Exchange theory - Exchange theory conceptualizes embarrassment as a cost in social exchange. Although an individual may be receiving tangible rewards by remaining in an interaction, the cost of embarrassment may cause him or her to withdraw from the situation.

Studies using this perspective measure the amount of facework an individual engages in to avoid embarrassment. Brown and Garland (1971) pay subjects to sing an embarrassing song, and measure facework as the amount of money lost by reluctance to sing this song to an audience. Garland and Brown (1972) conduct several studies measuring facework as a function of audience competency.

Embarrassment is an important concept in social interaction, receiving attention from several perspectives. Humor, another variable of interest in this study, has also been studied from different theoretic perspectives. Next, a brief overview of the humor literature will be presented.

1.3 An Overview of Theoretic Approaches to Studying Humor

Humor has been studied from a number of theoretic perspectives. Several authors have developed schemes for looking at the general social functions of humor. Other authors analyze how humor functions to socialize people for their roles. A few experimental studies of humor

have been conducted. Following is an overview of the humor literature.

1.31 <u>Social functions of humor</u> - Stephenson (1951) provides a useful analysis of the functions humor serves in social interaction, dividing humor into conflict and control functions. A major article about the conflict function of humor is Orbdick's (1942) article about gallows humor.[1] A model for the social function of humor is provided by Martineau, in Goldstein and McGhee (eds.) (1972). He looks at the social function of humor on three levels: (1) Totally within a group; (2) In an intergroup situation, focusing on the internal structure of the group; (3) In an intergroup situation, focusing on the interaction between groups.

1.32 <u>Socialization functions of humor</u> - Olsen and Whittaker (1966) stress the importance of joking in socializing student nurses for their roles. Ruth Coser's (1959) analysis of humor provides one of the most comprehensive treatments of the social functions of humor. Examining the social structure in a hospital ward, she emphasizes that humor functions to socialize people into different social groups. In a second study, Coser (1960) studies the social functions of humor among the staff in a mental hospital.

1.33 <u>Experimental studies of humor</u> - Davis and Farina (1970) conducted an experimental study of how humor functions as communication, concluding that people may choose to communicate by using humor because a direct expression would be socially awkward. Lefcourt <u>et al.</u> (1974) measure humor as a response to a word association test, using locus of control as an independent variable.

Next, a focused presentation of the variable of embarrassment will be presented. This discussion will be separated into the causes and

consequences of embarrassment. First, a consideration of the different
theoretic approaches to the causes of embarrassment will be presented.

1.4 Causes of Embarrassment

Several authors have looked at the conditions under which embar-
rassment occurs. One way of looking at the cause of embarrassment is
analyzing how people fail to maintain appropriate roles. We can also
focus on the process of alienation from interaction. Another analysis
of the cause of embarrassment looks at deficiencies in a person's self
image.

1.41 Failure to maintain appropriate roles - Goffman (1967) discusses
the role of interactant in a conversation. Each person is required to
maintain proper involvement and is also required to insure that others
maintain their involvement. A joint involvement emerges, which Goffman
describes as "a precariously steady state that is likely at any time to
lead the individual into some form of alienation" (1967:117). When the
proper role of interactant is not maintained, embarrassment occurs, up-
setting the equilibrium in the interaction.

Goffman explains that one of the ways in which embarrassment
arises is in situations of role conflict "when the self projected is
somehow confronted with another self which, though valid in other con-
texts, cannot be here sustained in harmony with the first" (1967:108).
Audience segregation normally keeps people from experiencing embarrass-
ment because people play out different roles for different audiences.
When audience segregation breaks down, people are called on to play out
conflicting roles. As a means of expressing that a conflict exists, an

individual becomes embarrassed.

Reflecting a role theory analysis, Gross and Stone (1964) define "embarrassment as occurring whenever some central assumption in a transaction has been unexpectedly and unqualifiedly discredited for at least one participant" (emphases in original, 1964:10). According to their survey of embarrassing incidents, Gross and Stone (1964) hold that one of three ways in which embarrassment occurs is when assumptions people make about each other are disturbed.

Weinberg (1968) extends the role theory analysis of Goffman and Gross and Stone. He defines embarrassment as "an experience where there is a leap out of the routine world, an absence of social guidelines and a subsequent discomposure and self consciousness" (1968:382). Embarrassment occurs when one's role is called into question, and there is a transition to experiencing one's self, stripped of role. This occurrence of experiencing one's self is the form of alienation Goffman calls self-consciousness.

Authors who have approached embarrassment from a role theory perspective describe embarrassment as occurring when an interactant fails to maintain an appropriate role, or when role conflict occurs. Another way of looking at embarrassment focuses on the process of alienation from interaction.

1.42 Alienation from interaction - In "Embarrassment and Social Organization," Goffman discusses the process by which alienated persons become embarrassed. Essentially, the alienated person becomes embarrassed due to the impressions he or she makes on others. As a requirement for interaction each individual must present himself or herself in a way that

is appropriate for the occasion and the audience. In order for the interaction to proceed, others must accept the identities presented by each person in the interaction. When identities that persons present are discredited by events that take place in the conversation, embarrassment occurs.

Interaction consciousness and external preoccupation are two other standard forms of alienative misinvolvement discussed by Goffman. Individuals experience interaction consciousness when they are concerned, more than is normative, with the way an interaction, as an interaction, is proceeding. The painful silences of many conversations illustrate a form of interaction consciousness that usually leads to embarrassment.

Self-consciousness is a common form of alienation leading to embarrassment. A self-conscious individual is appraising how well he or she is performing in a conversation. When an individual believes that he or she is not performing adequately, embarrassment may occur.

Individuals in an interaction become alienated when they break norms of involvement. Another way of looking at the cause of embarrassment focuses on the individual's self-image, instead of the normative structure.

1.43 <u>Deficiency in self-image</u> - Modigliani (1966) postulates an intervening process of attribution between the deviant act and an experience of embarrassment. During embarrassment, an individual attributes certain negative attributes to the self, which affects the person's self concept.

Few enough attribute dimensions are relevant on a specific occasion so that being lower on one makes a distinct difference in self-

image. A person's concept of his or her attributes, and therefore his or her self-image, is influenced largely by the most recent information he or she receives. When this recent information is negative, embarrassment is likely to occur.

Image is important in understanding Modigliani's concept of embarrassment. He defines image as the attributes that are salient in a given social encounter. He describes the experience of embarrassment as one of "heightened self-consciousness of a deficient image that is distinctly restricted in content" (1966:28).

Analyzing changes in an individual's self-image is one way of conceptualizing the cause of embarrassment. As discussed, we can also look at the failure to maintain appropriate roles or at the process of alienation from involvement to analyze the cause of embarrassment. In the next section of this discussion, the consequences of embarrassment will be considered.

1.5 Consequences of Embarrassment

There are several ways of looking at the consequences of embarrassment. Some authors have looked at the way in which embarrassment incapacitates interactants. Another consequence of embarrassment is an attempt to save face.

1.51 Incapacitates interactants - Gross and Stone (1964) emphasize the consequences of embarrassment for social relationships. They hold that the important social feature of embarrassment is that it incapacitates people for role performance. They suggest that every enduring social relationship provides ways of preventing embarrassment.

Goffman (1967) describes what happens to an individual who becomes embarrassed, or loses face, in an interaction. "His manner and bearing may falter, collapse, and crumble" (1967:8). The objective signs of embarrassment, including fumbling, stuttering, blushing, quavering speech, and absent-mindedness make it difficult for a person to fully participate in a conversation.

Embarrassment has consequences for all interactants in a conversation. Since an embarrassed individual is not able to fully perform the role of a poised interactant, others in the conversation are unsure of how to respond to the embarrassed person. Not knowing what to do or how to respond to the embarrassed person, other interactants may experience the flustering and fumbling of embarrassment. If embarrassment has been specificly caused by one individual, he or she may experience embarrassment for not maintaining the role of a tactful person.

As a consequence of embarrassment, we have looked at how people are incapacitated from participation in an interaction. Another consequence of embarrassment is that an individual attempts to save face. Next, face-saving as a consequence of embarrassment will be discussed.

1.52 <u>Face-saving</u> - An individual may attempt to use face-saving techniques in response to embarrassment. Goffman (1967) uses the phrase to save face to refer to the process by which a person creates an impression that he or she has not lost face. Face-saving techniques that are employed in any interaction are normative.

One face-saving technique used in response to embarrassment is establishing role distance. Goffman (1967) uses role distance to mean an expression of separateness between an individual and his or her role.

By becoming separate from a role, in the interaction, a person shields himself or herself from the disapproval of others. Archibald and Cohen (1971) find that the more role distance subjects establish, the less they are embarrassed by disapproval. Their results indicate that establishing role distance is an effective face-saving technique in preventing embarrassment.

Goffman (1961) discusses unseriousness and humor as strategies used to establish role distance. By behaving in an unserious way, an individual can project the image that events that are occurring should not be taken as a reflection on him or her. By joking, "the individual makes a plea for disqualifying some of the expressive features of the situation as sources of definitions of himself" (1961:105).

Several authors describe how different forms of humor are used in response to embarrassment. By using humor, an individual saves face in a situation where his or her identity as an interactant is threatened. In the next section of this discussion, humor will be analyzed as a face-saving technique.

1.6 Humor as a Face-Saving Technique

Several authors describe how different forms of humor are used in response to embarrassment. Joshing, joking, irony, and banter are forms of humor that are used as face-saving techniques. Due to the social structure, individuals repeatedly find themselves in situations of role conflict. By using humor, an individual saves face in these situations.

Goffman (1967) states that joshing is "a means of releasing the tension either caused by embarrassment or whatever caused embarrassment"

(1967:112 footnote). Goffman discusses joking in a situation of role conflict. Due to the way any organization is structured, an individual is frequently called on to play conflicting roles. He suggests that both joshing and embarrassment reduce role conflict by denying reality to the situation.

Burns (1953) describes irony and banter as two styles of inter- action used to avoid embarrassment. Embarrassment, he says, occurs most typically in a situation in which two statuses are presented simultan- eously. As an alternative to embarrassment, banter is a "style of inter- action used when two roles are presented to an individual and he decides to retain the status appropriate to both, while, as he must, acting out the role of only one" (1953:655). Banter is used to play at being hostile, distant, and unfriendly while suggesting friendliness. Irony is used when one is playing at being friendly, while intimating rejection or unfriendliness. Thus, instead of becoming embarrassed or allowing a conflict of status to be expressed, an individual uses irony or banter.

Emerson's (1970) explanation of the social reality of gyneco- logical exams directly relates humor to embarrassment. The major defini- tion to be sustained in such a situation is that "no one is embarrassed" because the patient is involved in a medical situation, not a sexual situation. Humor provides a way in which concern about the gynecological exam and the sexual connotations can be expressed indirectly. If expressed directly, the elements joked about would be embarrassing because they are contrary to the definition of the situation.

The use of humor allows an individual to save face in an embar- rassing interaction. In response to an embarrassing, or a potentially

embarrassing, situation humor releases tension and reduces conflict by defining the situation as unserious or not real. Humor is used to different degrees depending on the interaction in which embarrassment occurs. In the next section of this discussion, conditions effecting the use of humor in an embarrassing interaction will be examined.

1.7 Conditions Affecting the Use of Humor

1.71 Status - One important variable effecting the use of humor in an interaction is the relative status of the participants. Studies of joking relationships in primitive societies indicate that humor functions to maintain social status. Later research suggests that the relative status of interactants determines whether or not a person initiates humor in a conversation.

Radcliffe-Brown (1940) discusses how joking relationships in primitive societies function to maintain the social order. He distinguishes two main varieties of joking, symmetrical and asymmetrical. In symmetrical relationships, each party teases or makes fun of the other. In the asymmetrical relationship, person A jokes with person B, but person B does not joke back or jokes only a little.

Bradney (1957) maintains that the use of symmetrical or asymmetrical joking bears a definite relationship to status. Studying the joking relationship among members of the staff of a large department store, she found, in general, that joking was established more frequently between members of the same status. Between persons of different status, joking may either be symmetrical or asymmetrical. When asymmetrical joking does take place, it is usually initiated by superiors and aimed at subordinates.

Coser (1960) studies the distribution of the use of humor by status. If the conflict theories of humor are correct, she argues that those who are low in the status hierarchy would direct fewer witticisms at higher status persons than higher status persons would direct at lower status persons. Higher status persons, because of their legitimate authority, would feel free of the need to agress against persons of lower status. She finds that lower status members used humor <u>less</u> frequently than do persons higher in authority.

Coser proposes that "the status structure is supported by downward humor" (1960:86). Persons high in authority have more right to use aggressive humor whereas those low in status are not permitted an agressive outlet, even in the form of humor. Coser suggests that aggressive feelings experienced by lower status members may be expressed through humor in informal social gatherings among equals, but are not expressed directly to their superiors.

Based on the discussions of Bradney and Coser we would expect humor to be initiated more frequently between same status members, or directed at lower status persons by higher status persons. This leads to the following hypothesis:

In an embarrassing interaction, there will be less humor generated from a lower status person to a higher status person than when two persons are of the same status or from a higher status person to a lower status person.

Among the variables affecting the use of humor in an embarrassing interaction, the greatest theoretic support is found for hypotheses dealing with status. Another variable of interest, although receiving

less research attention, is anticipated future interaction. Next, the variable of anticipated future interaction will be discussed.

1.72 <u>Anticipated future interaction</u> - A variable of interest that has been theoretically related to face-saving is anticipated future interaction. Several authors, operating from an exchange theory perspective, measure the effect of anticipated future interaction on face-saving.

Brown and Garland (1971) argue that an audience's inability to provide feedback weakens the constraints it imposes, lessening the control it has over a person's behavior. They hypothesize that face-saving will be greater when a person expects to receive evaluative feedback than when this feedback is not expected. The effect of audience feedback on face-saving was nonsignificant.

In a second experiment, Brown and Garland (1971) again tested the effect of anticipated feedback on face-saving, strengthening the feedback manipulation. Whereas in the first experiment subjects were not certain whether the feedback was to be delivered personally or impersonally, in the second experiment subjects anticipated future interaction with the audience. Brown and Garland found that subjects sang five times longer when they did not expect to meet strangers than when they did anticipate future interaction.

The results of the Brown and Garland (1971) studies indicate that anticipated future interaction increases face-saving. Although there is not extensive empirical evidence on this variable, anticipated future interaction will be included as an independent variable of secondary interest. Based on the research discussed, the following hypothesis can be derived:

In an embarrassing interaction, an embarrassed individual will use more humor when there is anticipated future interaction than when there is no anticipated future interaction.

Another variable of interest that effects the use of humor is the number of people in an interaction. Next, different explanations of the effect of the number of people on the use of humor will be discussed.

1.73 <u>Number of people</u> - Several authors discuss how the number of people effects an interaction. Other people may increase an interactant's general level of arousal, which may increase the use of humor. Other people may also define humor as appropriate in the interaction. A greater number of people can affect embarrassment, embarrassment being mitigated as the number of people increases.

According to Zajonc (1965), social facilitation theory provides an explanation of why the presence of others may have an effect on the use of humor. According to social facilitation theory, the presence of others may provide cues as to what responses are appropriate or inappropriate. Other people may also increase a person's general level of arousal. Increased arousal, or the presence of others who define a situation as humorous may both increase the use of humor.

Coser (1960) discusses why audience size might effect the use of humor. According to her analysis, a humorist is a humorist because of the audience. Her definition of humor reflects an audience centered approach, humor being a remark that receives a laughing response. Humor depends on "the collective perception of those to whom it addresses and is therefore defined by the social situation in which it occurs"

(1960:81).

Goffman (1959) discusses how several participants in a conversation secretly communicate information about a third person. Goffman calls this activity "derisive collusion," and "it typically involves a secret derogation of the audience" (159:187). The presence of more persons in an interaction makes derisive collusion possible. One possible form of derisive collusion is humor. Participants in a conversation may joke in order to communicate information about a third person.

Sattler (1966) stresses the importance of the presence of others for embarrassment to occur. Embarrassment implies both the presence of another and the awareness that the other's presence is directed toward oneself. He also states that embarrassment can be mitigated in situations where there is a third person. Humor may be a technique that functions to mitigate embarrassment.

Goffman (1967) discusses how audience size has an effect on the behavior of the participants. He states that participants have more license in a large-scale interaction than when there are two or three people because "the more participants there are to sustain the proceedings, the less dependent the occasion will be on any one participant" (1967:131).

From social facilitation theory and the discussion of Coser (1960) we would expect the presence of a greater number of people to increase the use of humor. If humor is a form of derisive collusion, we would predict that a greater number of people increases the probability of derisive collusion, increasing the use of humor.

We have discussed the theoretical considerations of this experiment. Next, we will describe the experimental design and methods.

CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN AND METHODS

2.1 Overview of Experimental Design

This is an experimental study which was conducted by phone inter-
views. Male students in Communication 100 classes were interviewed by
female interviewers. Communication 100 is an introductory course
entitled "Human Communication I," which deals with basic communication
principles. Subjects were asked a series of embarrassing questions and
were later asked to rate the interview on a number of dependent vari-
ables, including unseriousness or humor.

Two trained coders listened to the interview on extension phones.
They were seated in separate rooms where they could not hear or see each
other. Mouth pieces on the phones were removed so that the subjects
could not hear the coders. As soon as the respondents were through
answering the embarrassing questions, the coders placed the receivers
where the rest of the interview could not be heard. The coders then
rated the interview on a set of dependent measures.

There were two independent variables in this experiment: antici-
pated interaction and status. Subjects were told by the interviewer
either to anticipate meeting with her in the future or not to anticipate
meeting her, creating two levels of the future interaction variable.
The interviewer introduced herself as either a college professor, an

undergraduate or a high school student, creating three levels of the

status variable. Thus, there were six experimental cells in this design,

which can be diagrammed as follows:

STATUS	ANTICIPATED INTERACTION	
	YES	NO
High	3	6
Medium	2	5
Low	1	4

The following variables were measured by the coders: humor or

unseriousness, laughter, openness, anger, avoidance, loss for what to say,

anxiety and embarrassment. The respondent also indicated the level of

these variables as he perceived them in the interaction. The interviewer

recorded some additional dependent measures. She counted the number of

speech blocks the respondent used in answering the five questions, and

she also recorded the total amount of time the subject spent answering the

five questions.

The following procedure will be used to describe the experimental

design. First, the selection and pre-test of embarrassing questions will

be described. Then, the two independent variables, status and future

interaction, will be examined, and the manipulation of these variables

will be described. Next, the sampling of subjects will be discussed.

After discussing sampling, the dependent variables and manipula-

tion checks will be described, and the measurement of these variables

will be discussed. Then, coder training and interviewer training will

be described. Now, we will turn to the selection and pre-test of embarrassing questions.

2.2 Stimulus Questions

2.21 Selection of embarrassing questions - Embarrassing questions were generated from Taylor and Altman's (1966) Intimacy-Scaled Stimuli for Use in Studies of Interpersonal Relationships. Items in this report consist of statements about various aspects of self that people might discuss when forming interpersonal relationships. These items were scaled according to their intimacy value by two populations, Navy men and college males. Items in this report that were scaled high in intimacy value by college males were considered in generating embarrassing questions. The items that were considered had a mean scale value of 9.00 or more out of 10.00. Theoretically, these items were used since embarrassment would be likely to occur when an individual discloses information that is intimate to him or her.

Several kinds of items that were ranked high in intimacy value were not used to generate embarrassing questions. Items dealing with sexual fantasies or masturbation were not used since respondents might consider the phone interview a prank call. Items dealing with one's spouse were eliminated because only a small percentage of undergraduates, who were being used as subjects, were married.

The following items were generated to be used as embarrassing questions in the pre-test:

Would you describe in detail the most embarrassing
situation you've ever been in.

Describe your most positive traits for attracting
the opposite sex.

Describe your most negative traits, those that turn
off the opposite sex.

2.22 <u>Pretest of embarrassing questions</u> - These questions were pre-tested
in several Communication 100 classes. The experimenter interviewed male
students individually in a private location while other students were in
class. The students' answers to the embarrassing questions were tape-
recorded.

During the pre-test, students were told that the interviewer was
conducting research on interpersonal communication for her Master's
Thesis, and that she wanted to ask them a few questions about interpersonal
relationships. After being asked the three embarrassing questions, the
tape recorder was turned off and the respondents were asked to evaluate
the interaction they just had. The following instructions were given:

> I would like you to evaluate our conversation. I would
> like to describe the measuring system to you, since you
> might be unfamiliar with it. I will call 10 units the
> average amount of a trait, say humor, in a conversation.
> Zero units will be the complete absence of a trait. If
> this conversation was twice as funny as an average con-
> versation, we would say it had 20 units of humor. If
> it was half as funny as an average conversation, we would
> say it had five units of humor. Is this rating system
> clear?

Using the system described, the respondents were asked to rate the
amount of the following traits in the conversation they just had: humor,
openness, anger, avoidance, embarrassment, anxiety, laughter, cooperation,
and loss for what to say. After these judgment items, the subjects were
asked the following questions:

1. Imagine if a female were to call you on the phone
   to ask you these questions. Would you hang up?

2. Can you think of any questions that I could ask
   that would be more embarrassing, but would not
   cause you to hang up if they were asked on the phone?

3. Which of the questions were most embarrassing?

4. Which of the questions were the least embarrassing?

Students suggested the use of the following items because they were considered to be very embarrassing:

> Describe your last sexual encounter; describe your body; describe your sexual fantasies; describe your sexual adequacy; describe your last date.

Items were eliminated that concerned sexual experience, however. A recent survey on campus indicated that many college freshmen had very little sexual experience. Since it is socially desirable to be sexually experienced, we might expect to get deceptive responses to questions about sexual experience. In addition, it conceivably is normative for college age males to exaggerate sexual experiences. If questions about sex were asked, we might be measuring deceiving responses instead of responses to embarrassment.

The items that were used for the interview were those that were judged to be the most embarrassing. Items were reworded and new items were added based on suggestions students made during the pre-test. There were five different pre-test sessions that lasted approximately one and one-half hours each. The following items were selected for use in the interview:

1. Describe in detail the most embarrassing situation you've ever been in.

2. Describe your most positive traits for attracting the opposite sex.

3. Describe your most negative traits for "turning off" the opposite sex.

4. Describe a recent situation with a female where you were at a loss for what to do or you didn't know how to behave.

5. Describe your body from head to foot. As you make
   your descriptions, explain what you like or don't
   like about each body part.

One of the purposes of the pre-test was to see how easily respondents could understand the measuring scale. During the pre-test, the experimenter found that all of the respondents were able to use the measuring system that was described to them. However, subjects had a tendency to respond as if 10 Units was the upper limit of the response set, instead of an average value. In the final instructions, redundant information was provided about the scaling system. This was to ensure that the respondents understood that the typical 1 to 10 Unit scaling system was not being used. The redundant information that was added to the instructions was the following:

> Remember that you choose numbers above 10 to indicate
> more than an average amount of a trait and numbers
> below 10 to indicate less than an average amount of a
> trait.

2.3 Experimental Manipulations and Independent Variables

Two variables in this experiment were manipulated, status and future interaction. There were three levels of the status relative to the status of the subject. The other variable was anticipated interaction, which had two levels. Subjects either anticipated or did not anticipate future interaction with the interviewer. Below is a description of the two experimental variables.

2.31 Status manipulation - High, medium, and low status was manipulated. Low status indicated that the interviewer was lower in status than the respondent. The number of years of school between the respondent and the interviewer was kept constant for this manipulation. The interviewer

introduced herself as being the same year in high school as the respon-
dent was in college. For example, if the respondent was a junior in
college, the interviewer introduced herself as a junior in high school.

The following introduction was used for the low status manipu-
lation:

> Hello, my name is _____. Although I am
> only a High School (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, or
> Senior), I am conducting research at M.S.U. with the
> Department of Communication. I am doing this to
> fulfill a requirement for my high school Social
> Studies class.

The interviewer introduced herself as "only a high school student"
to reinforce the low status manipulation. Additional reinforcement for
low status was added with the information that the interviewer was ful-
filling a high school social studies class requirement.

In the medium status manipulation, the interviewer introduced her-
self as being the same year in school as the respondent. The introduc-
tion for this manipulation was as follows:

> Hello, my name is _____. I am an under-
> graduate (Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, Senior), like
> yourself, conducting research with the Department of
> Communication. I am doing this to fulfill a require-
> ment for my undergraduate Social Science class.

"Like yourself" was added in the medium status manipulation to
reinforce that the interviewer was of equal status. The information
about fulfilling a requirement for an undergraduate social science class
was provided for two reasons. First, it was to strengthen the equal
status manipulation. Secondly, it was designed to provide equivalent
information to the low status condition.

In the high status condition, the interviewer introduced herself
as being of status higher than the respondent. She introduced hereself

as follows:

> Hello, my name is _____. I am a
> visiting professor at M.S.U., conducting research
> with the Department of Communication. I am doing
> this as part of my post-doctoral work in social
> science.

The information about doing post-doctoral work in social science was added to reinforce the high status manipulation. It was also provided so that there would be an equivalent amount and kind of information as in the other two conditions.

2.32 <u>Future interaction</u> - In order to manipulate future interaction, respondents were chosen so that interacting with the interviewer in the future would be a plausible interaction. If respondents had been called from the general population, it would have been difficult to provide an incentive for them to meet with the interviewer in the future. Subjects were chosen from Communication 100 classes to make future interaction plausible. In Communication 100 classes, researchers are frequently coming into class, and conducting personal interviews during class time.

Respondents were told, in the anticipated future interaction condition,

> In addition to talking with you on the phone, I will
> be talking with you in your Comm. 100 class at the
> earliest possible time. This will be a personal
> interview, giving me more information. Your instructor
> has given me permission to meet and talk with you.

Subjects were told that their instructor had granted permission for the interview in order to strengthen the manipulation. Instructors had been told the content of this manipulation, in case any questions arose in class.

In the no anticipated future interaction condition, subjects were told

> This will simply be a phone interview. I will not
> need to meet with you or talk with you after this
> interview.

2.33 Number of people - In section 1.73, the inclusion of the number of people as an independent variable is discussed in detail. This was a measured variable in the experiment. The interviewer asked the subject how many people were with him.

2.4 Subjects

Subjects chosen were male students in Communication 100 classes. Communication 100 students were chosen in order to make the anticipated future interaction manipulation plausible. Researchers frequently use Communication 100 students as subjects for research during class time. It would be reasonable for a researcher to conduct a personal interview with a student during class time.

Male students were selected as respondents to maximize embarrassment. Since the subject matter of the interview was sexual, embarrassment would be greatest if females interviewed males than if females interviewed females or if males interviewed males. Males interviewing females was ruled out because the phone call could possibly be viewed as obscene.

Subjects were chosen from fifteen sections of Communication 100. The night section of Communication 100 was eliminated since the instructor promised his class that no more research would be conducted during his class time. The total subject pool was approximately 400 males.

Subjects were chosen to be interviewed as follows. Out of the fifteen sections of Communication 100 that met during the day, seven classes were informed about the experimental procedures and were asked whether their classes could be used for interviews. All instructors who were asked agreed to let their classes be used.

The subjects who were actually interviewed were those who could be reached by phone in the evening (see Appendix B for the schedule of interviewing). Sixty interviews were completed, consisting of twenty-seven freshmen, fifteen sophomores, ten juniors, seven seniors, and one subject for whom year in school was not recorded.

2.5 Dependent Variables and Manipulation Checks

There were ten dependent variables and two manipulation checks. The dependent variables were humor or unseriousness, openness, anger, cooperation, avoidance, laughter, loss for what to say, anxiety, embarrassment, length of the conversation and number of monosyllabic speech blocks. Below is a brief description of the rationale for measuring these variables.

2.51 Description of dependent variables - The variable humor or unseriousness has been extensively discussed in Chapter I as a response to embarrassment. Laughter was measured to determine the extent to which it covaries with humor. It was expected that laughter would occur with extreme embarrassment, whereas humor would occur with moderate embarrassment.

Openness was measured because it was thought that the more open subjects were, the less likely they would be to experience embarrassment. Anger was measured because it was possible for subjects to become angry

at the embarrassing nature of our questions or at the intrusion of their privacy, instead of becoming embarrassed. Avoidance was included as a variable because Goffman (1967) and others describe this as a possible response to embarrassment. Cooperation was added as a variable to obtain a measure of the extent to which the subjects were willing to participate in the interview.

Loss for what to say and anxiety were included in order to estimate the concurrent validity of our measure of embarrassment. Both anxiety and loss for what to say were thought to be domains of content that are measuring a concept similar to embarrassment. The extent to which these variables correlate with embarrassment provides a measure of the concurrent validity of our measure of embarrassment.

The variable of length or total time the subject spent answering the questions was included as a variable to provide an estimation of the concurrent validity of our measures of embarrassment. Several authors, including Brown and Garland (1971), Garland and Brown (1972) and Kleck et al. (1966) find that the more embarrassed subjects are, the less time they spend in an interaction. If our measures of embarrassment correlate negatively with length of time, we will have concurrent validity for our measures of embarrassment.

The number of monosyllabic speech blocks was counted by the interviewer. Goffman (1967) discusses that stuttering and speech blocks are objective signs that embarrassment is occurring.

2.52 Measurement of dependent variables - Coders reached consensus on the criteria for coding the dependent variables after listening to a number of taped interviews. (See section 2.6 for a thorough discussion

of coder training.) Below is a description of how coders evaluated eight emotions: humor or unseriousness, anger, openness, laughter, avoidance, loss for what to say, anxiety and embarrassment. The variable cooperation was eliminated because coders thought that it was measuring the same phenomenon as anger.

(1) Unseriousness/Humor was divided into three different categories. The first category was making fun of self. Exaggeration and understatement were frequently used when individuals made fun of themselves. Secondly, humor or unseriousness was used to make fun of the interviewer. The third category was humor or unseriousness that was directed at the situation. In all three of the categories, the coders looked for banter, mock insults, sarcasm, exaggeration, teasing, and understatement.

(2) Openness: Coders were able to classify high and low openness. An individual who was very willing to discuss personal experiences was judged as being high in openness. Individuals who were rated highest in openness described their immediate emotional reactions to the situation, such as "I'm too embarrassed to tell you what happened," or "I'm scared to explain this because I don't know what you'll think."

Individuals rated low in openness, that is, less than average, were those who said as little as possible about their experiences. These individuals used a detached, monotone voice. They sounded as if they were reading an account of someone else's experiences.

(3) Anger: Anger was detected by short, abrupt sentences. Angry individuals were those who acted hostile. They spoke in a raised tone of voice.

(4) <u>Avoidance</u>: Several criteria were developed for avoidance that was higher than average. After listening to all the taped interviews, coders agreed that respondents who refused to answer one question displayed twice as much avoidance (20 Units) as an average interaction. They also agreed that respondents who refused to answer two questions were displaying three times as much avoidance (30 Units) as an average interaction.

Another category of responses considered as high in avoidance were "pseudo-intellectual" or highly intellectualized responses. For example, one subject said "One might use retrospective-introjection in order to answer this question."

(5) <u>Laughter</u>: Coders agreed that in the taped interactions they listened to, one laugh was average. If a respondent laughed once, he was given a score of ten units of laughter. The coders agreed that subjects who laughed three times showed twice as much laughter (20 Units) as an average interaction.

(6) <u>Loss for what to say</u>: This item was judged independently of the content of the response. Persons judged below 10 were characterized as "bullshitters," i.e. they would continue to talk after they had adequately answered the question. Persons who exhibited a lot of speech blocks and who stuttered were judged as above average in this category.

(7) <u>Anxiety</u>: Persons who were rated with a higher than average amount of anxiety stuttered and used speech blocks such as "um's" and "ah's." Talking exceptionally fast, using a high pitched voice, or having one's voice crack were also judged as indicating higher than average anxiety.

(8) Embarrassment: Persons who were rated with higher than average embarrassment stuttered and used speech blocks. They also swallowed and cleared their throats frequently. Subjects who changed the subject of the conversation frequently and who hesitated a lot when answering questions were judged as being higher than average in embarrassment.

The other two dependent measures were monosyllabic speech blocks and time. Both variables were measured by the interviewer. For a description of the measurement of these variables, see section 2.7.

2.53 Manipulation checks - Manipulation checks were added at the end of the interview to insure that anticipated future interaction and status were remembered by the subject. To check the manipulation of anticipated future interaction, the interviewer asked the respondent:

Do you remember if I mentioned that we were going to meet?

What did I say?

For the status manipulation check, the interviewer asked the respondent:

Do you remember who I said I was?

The interviewer probed until the subject gave her some indication of the status that he perceived her as occupying. The interviewer recorded on the coding form either high, medium, or low status, depending on the status of the interviewer relative to the subject, as perceived by the subject.

2.6 Coder Training

Males close to the age of the subjects were used as coders. It was expected that male coders would be more empathic than female coders with the male respondents, especially since some of the questions were sexual in nature.

Training of the coders took place over a three week period, prior to the phone interviews. Three coders were chosen from upper level communication courses. They were chosen based on their availability to make a time commitment to the research project.

Before training sessions for the coders started, the coders were told that their function was to judge the responses of subjects to a number of embarrassing questions. Coders were not told at this time that there would be different experimental conditions, leaving them naive to the research hypotheses.

The experimenter stressed to the coders that their judgments were extremely important. They were told that without their careful judgments, the experiment would be meaningless. This point was repeated several times during each training session.

Below is a description of the training sessions which took place over a three week period:

2.61 <u>Training session 1 (2 1/2 hours)</u> - During this session, the system of measurement was thoroughly explained. Ten units was called the average amount of a trait, and 0 units was called the complete absence of a trait. Coders were told that they could use any whole numbers they wished to indicate the amount of a trait in an interaction. Several examples were used to explain the measuring system. For example, if a conversation was

twice as funny as an average conversation, it would be rated as 20 units of humor, and if it was half as funny as average it would be rated 5 units of humor.

The coders were then told the 9 judgments they were to make: humor, openness, cooperation, anger, avoidance, laughter, loss for what to say, anxiety, and embarrassment. Questions arose as to what was meant by humor, and the meaning was clarified as the subject's general unseriousness about the situation.

The first taped interaction was then played. When the interaction was finished, the coders recorded their judgments, consisting of whole numbers, on a sheet of paper next to each of the 9 categories. When all three of the coders were finished with their judgments, each item was discussed separately.

As each category or item was discussed, each coder gave reasons for his judgment. If there was a discrepancy of more than 5 units for an item, the taped interaction was replayed. After the tape was replayed, the coders were told to discuss the judgments they had made until they reached consensus as to which judgment was most appropriate.

Two taped interviews were evaluated during the first session. During both interviews, each judgment item was discussed separately. At the end of the session, the coders were told to listen to interactions around them, trying to apply the measuring system being used.

2.62 <u>Training session 2 (3 hours)</u> - Four taped interviews were judged. The two interviews that were judged the first day were judged again, to refresh the coders' memories. Two new taped interviews were judged, and each item was discussed separately by the coders. Using the same

procedure used during the first training session, the tape was replayed for items with more than five units discrepancy, and the coders were told to reach a consensus as to what judgment was most accurate.

2.63 Training session 3 (3 hours) - First, each item of judgment was discussed. Each coder was asked to recall judgments that he had made that were both higher and lower than average. Then the coders discussed, item by item, what characteristics were present in the interactions that they had judged as being both more and less than average.

2.64 Training session 4 (2 1/2 hours) - One of the three coders was absent from the training session. It was decided that the absent coder would not be used in the experiment since it was difficult for him to meet regularly with the other coders.

Five interviews were judged. The coders were told to pay particular attention to the criteria they were using to make their judgments.

2.65 Training session 5 (3 1/2 hours) - The coders reached a consensus as to what criteria to use in making each of the eight judgments. See section 2.5 for a discussion of the criteria used to make each of the eight judgments.

2.66 Training session 6 (2 1/2 hours) - The criteria developed were applied to five new interviews. Two coders were used at this training session since the third coder had been eliminated. Judgments where there were more than five units of discrepancy were discussed separately.

2.67 Training session 7 (2 1/2 hours) - One of the nine judgment categories, cooperation, was eliminated from the dependent measures. Coders felt that cooperation was the opposite of avoidance, and that subjects who were low in avoidance could be considered cooperative.

During this training session, one interview as found where the subject scored average, i.e. 10 units, on all of the dependent measures. Another tape was found where the subject scored 10 units on all but one of the measures. These tapes were used as baseline tapes later to remind the coders of the criteria they started out with.

Three more interviews were judged during this session. The general procedure for completing telephone interviews was discussed. Times were arranged when both the coders could be available to interview subjects.

2.68 <u>Training session 8 (2 hours)</u> - Three practice phone calls were completed, with the coders listening on extension lines. After each phone call, the coders compared their responses. The coders then discussed the phone calling procedure.

In addition to the training described, the coders completed practice interviews immediately before most of the calling session. See Appendix B for the Experimental Schedule, which includes a description of the scheduling of practice calls.

In addition to training the coders, the interviewers were also trained to ensure that all the interviewers were conducting calls in the same way. The following is a description of how interviewers were trained.

2.7 <u>Interviewer Training</u>

Interviewers were two undergraduate upperclass females in addition to the author. They were selected as interviewers because they were poised and self-confident. This was desirable since the interviewers were going to ask embarrassing questions, and could easily become

embarrassed themselves.

One week before interviewing started, the interviewers were given

a copy of the experimental protocol (see Appendix A). They were

instructed to read and practice each of the six introductions, defining

the experimental conditions, the written instructions for the dependent

measures, and the five embarrassing questions.

Before interviewing started, each interviewer listened to 3 taped

interviews in order to obtain an idea of what kind of responses to expect.

Each interviewer interviewed another person while the experimenter

observed.

Specifically, the following instructions were given to the

interviewers:

(1) During the introduction, speak slowly enough to be understood.
Use a pleasant, conversational tone of voice.

(2) Use your own name for the introduction.

(3) Do not provide any additional information at the beginning of
the interview. If the subject wants to know more about the study,
repeat the information already given. Restate that we are conducting
research about interpersonal communication, and that we want to know
how the subject perceives his relationships with others.

(4) In conditions I, II, V or VI (Appendix A) look on the class list
to check the subject's year in school. In conditions I and IV, intro-
duce yourself as the same year in high school as the subject is in
college, according to the protocol for the introduction. In conditions
II and V, introduce yourself as the same year in college as the subject,
according to the protocol.

(5) The interaction is to be timed in the following way. As soon as
the subject starts talking, start the stop watch. As soon as the subject
pauses, stop the stop watch. Only the subject's responses to the five
embarrassing questions are to be timed.

(6) Monosyllabic speech blocks are to be timed in the following way.
Every time a subject used the following sounds: "ah," "uh," "um," "er,"
or any other similar one-syllable sound, the interviewer is to make a
score on a scratch pad. Only speech blocks in response to the five
embarrassing questions are to be recorded.

(7) Interviewers were told to give no feedback to the subject's answers to the five embarrassing questions. If the subjects did not understand the initial question, the interviewer was told to repeat it.

(8) If a respondent indicated that the subject was having a hard time answering a question by responding "I don't know if I can answer that," "I can't think of anything," or "Do I have to answer this?," the interviewer was told to respond "Do the best you can."

(9) If the respondent refuses to answer, or indicates that he can not answer after being told to do the best he could, the interviewer was told to go on to the next question.

(10) After asking the embarrassing questions, the interviewer read the evaluation instructions as they are written (Appendix A). The interviewer was instructed to answer all questions thoroughly, making sure that the subject understood the task.

(11) After collecting the subject's judgment about the dependent measures, the interviewer was instructed to read the closing remarks on the last page of the protocol. They were instructed to honestly answer any questions the subject might have.

2.8 Experimental Procedure

The experiment consisted of a phone interview, where a subject was asked a number of embarrassing questions. Two coders unobtrusively listened to the interview and coded the subjects' responses on a number of dependent variables, which were described in section 2.7. Below is a description of the experimental preparations, interview protocol and the coders' protocol.

2.81 Experimental preparations - The following procedures were used to set up the experiment. Several hours before the experiment started the Experimenter checked the copies of the M.S.U. class lists from which the subjects were taken. The phone numbers of the male students in the class were obtained from the M.S.U. student directory, and were written on the copy of the class list.

Ten minutes before phone calling started, the instruments were prepared and set up in the appropriate rooms. The following instruments were placed in the room where the interviewer was making calls: a set of class lists with phone numbers, a scratch pad, a set of coding forms, a copy of the experimental protocol, and an orthogonal polynomial table. The interviewer was given a whistle.

The two coders went to Rooms 525 and 527 South Kedzie Hall. They each took a set of dependent measures with them. As soon as they reached the telephones, they unscrewed and removed the mouth pieces. They checked their telephones to ensure that they were listening on the appropriate extension.

The Experimenter then told the interviewer which one of the six conditions to start with in making the phone calls. The condition that interviewers started with was rotated. Interviewers were told to try to complete interviews in blocks of six, i.e., to try to complete one interview in each condition in each session.

2.82 <u>Interviewer protocol</u> - After preparing the experimental set-up, the interviewer dialed a number on the class list. As soon as she was finished dialing the number, but before the phone started ringing, she blew the whistle. This was a signal for the coders to pick up their phones. If the individual on the class list was not there, the interviewer asked for a time to call back.

The interview was completed as described in the training of the interviewers, in section 2.7. As soon as the interviewer completed the phone call, the phone number of the subject was recorded on the coding sheet, in a way that ensured confidentiality.

The experimenter was present in the room where the phone calling was taking place when she was not the interviewer. This was to ensure that phone calls were being completed in a similar way across interviewers.

2.83 Coder protocol - After arranging the telephones as described in the experimental set up, the coders recorded caller number and coder number on all of their coding sheets. When the whistle was blown, they were told to pick up their receivers. The coders listened to the interview up to the point where the interviewer started to explain the dependent measure. At this point, the coders placed the receiver on the desk so that they could not hear the conversation. Then they started to record their judgments of the eight dependent variables. They waited in their rooms until the interviewer yelled "O.K.," indicating that the interview was over. The coders then placed the telephone receivers back on the hook, and went into the interviewer room.

The coders then sat down in two chairs facing the interviewer's desk. She read the coded phone number and the year in school to the coders, who recorded these on their coding forms. The interviewers then looked on top of the protocol sheet for the condition number that the interviewer had used. They similarly recorded "Condition." The interviewer and the coders then compared the five digits they had recorded as condition, to eliminate possible coding errors. An experimental schedule of calling is provided in Appendix B.

We have now considered the theory and methodology of our experiment. Next, we will discuss the results and conclusions.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS, AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Manipulation Checks

The correlation of the manipulation of status and recalled status is .580. The correlation of our manipulation of anticipated interaction and recalled anticipated interaction is .845. Both of these correlations are significant beyond the .001 level. Hence, both manipulations seem to be highly successful.

3.2 Reliability and Validity of Measures

3.21 Reliability - The reliability between coders is the correlation between their estimates of each dependent variable. Table 1 contains the intercorrelations among all variables to be discussed. The intercoder reliabilities for the dependent measures of interest are from .84 to .99; this is clear evidence for the high reliability of all measures.

3.22 Validity - We expect embarrassment to correlate highly with anxiety and speech loss because both variables measure similar domains of content. We also expect embarrassment to correlate negatively with the length of the conversation. An examination of ten appropriate correlations in Table 1 shows all to be significant at least at $p < .01$, indicating the validity of the embarrassment measures.

Table 1. Intercorrelations Among and Descriptive Statistics for Variables[a]

	MEAN (S.D.)	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}
X_1 Anticipate Meet (A)	1.00 (1.01)	1									
X_2 Status, Linear (B_L)	2.00 (.82)	0	1								
X_3 Status, Quadratic (B_Q)	2.00 (1.43)	0	0	1							
X_4 A x B_L Interaction	2.00 (.82)	0	0	0	1						
X_5 A x B_Q Interaction	2.00 (1.43)	0	0	0	0	1					
X_6 Facilitators	1.22 (1.52)	.01	–.07	–.23	–.01	.05	1				
X_7 Embarrassment 1	13.17 (2.75)	.10	.16	.11	–.19	–.07	–.29*	1			
X_8 Embarrassment 2	13.72 (2.58)	.06	.21	.02	–.21	–.11	–.32*	.85**	1		
X_9 Anxiety 1	13.62 (2.69)	.09	.17	.07	–.14	–.11	–.34**	.94**	.84**	1	
X_{10} Anxiety 2	13.87 (2.60)	.03	.24	–.01	–.22	–.09	–.30*	.84**	.98**	.84**	1
X_{11} Speech Loss 1	13.45 (3.02)	–.03	.11	.19	–.04	–.01	–.31*	.86**	.80**	.88**	.79**
X_{12} Speech Loss 2	13.12 (2.82)	.02	.13	.12	–.12	–.33	–.30*	.79**	.89**	.80**	.86**
X_{13} Length	132.47 (132.95)	–.01	.02	–.10	.00	.15	.41**	–.53**	–.60**	–.52**	–.56**
X_{14} Laugh 1	12.88 (9.63)	.09	–.06	–.23	–.06	.01	.18	.00	–.02	.05	–.03
X_{15} Laugh 2	12.87 (9.05)	.05	–.04	–.24	–.03	.03	.22	–.05	–.07	.00	–.08
X_{16} Verbal Humor 1	9.95 (3.51)	–.17	–.05	.01	–.05	–.10	.13	–.09	–.14	–.12	–.15
X_{17} Verbal Humor 2	9.53 (3.22)	–.13	–.14	–.15	.05	–.07	.29*	–.16	–.20	–.21	–.22

[a]N = 60 for each variable except X_{13} (Length), for which N = 57, and X_6 (Facilitators), for which N = 59. Variables marked "1" were coded by Coder 1, and those marked "2" by Coder 2.
*p < .05
**p < .01

Table 1 (cont'd)

	MEAN (S.D.)	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}	X_{14}	X_{15}	X_{16}
X_{11} Speech Loss 1		1					
X_{12} Speech Loss 2		.84**	1				
X_{13} Length		-.56**	-.58**	1			
X_{14} Laugh 1		-.05	-.13	-.02	1		
X_{15} Laugh 2		-.08	-.16	.03	.99**	1	
X_{16} Verbal Humor 1		-.18	-.27*	.25*	.64**	.63**	1
X_{17} Verbal Humor 2		-.24	-.33**	.22	.65**	.64**	.82**

[a]N = 60 for each variable except X_{13} (Length), for which N = 57, and X_6 (Facilitators), for which N = 59. Variables marked "1" were coded by Coder 1, and those marked "2" by Coder 2.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Evidence for the validity of the humor measures are the correlations of estimates of verbal humor with estimates of laughter. These correlations in Table 1 are all significant at p<.001, providing some evidence of the validity of these measures. In addition, the canonical correlation between the two measures of verbal humor and the two measures of laughter shows that these sets of measures have one and only one set of factors that significantly correlate, and the correlation between these factors is .681 (p<.001).

3.3 Embarrassment as a Dependent Variable

Table 2 contains cell means for embarrassment by experimental conditions. From the correlations of the six independent variables in Table 1 (X_1 to X_6) with the two measures of embarrassment, it is clear that only the number of people (facilitators) is significantly associated with embarrassment; the more people present, the less embarrassment observed. A canonical correlational analysis of all six independent variables with both coders' estimates of embarrassment indicates that there are no significant canonical relationships.

Table 2. Cell Means for Embarrassment (Evaluated by Coders).[a]

Relative Status of Experimenter	Anticipated Interaction	
	Yes	No
Low	13.65	12.30
Equal	13.75	12.65
High	13.55	14.75

[a]N = 10 per cell. Measures are averaged over coders. High values are associated with greater embarrassment.

Table 3. Canonical Correlations of Independent Variables with Embarrassment.[a]

Canonical Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	x^2	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1	.443	12.09	12	.438
2	.203	1.96	5	.855

First Set (Independent)	Variate 1	Variate 2
X_1 Anticipate Meet (A)	.141	-.442
X_2 Status, Linear (B_L)	.415	.176
X_3 Status, Quadratic (B_Q)	-.117	-.857
X_4 A x B_L Interaction	-.476	.098
X_5 A x B_Q Interaction	-.210	-.189
X_6 Facilitators	-.715	-.022

Second Set (Dependent)		
X_7 Embarrassment (Coder 1)	.022	-1.875
X_8 Embarrassment (Coder 2)	.981	1.598

[a]N = 60 for each variable except X_6 (Facilitators) for which N = 59.

We have demonstrated that embarrassment is uniformly high (Table 2). In addition, our analysis indicates that embarrassment does not differ significantly by experimental condition. Therefore, if we demonstrate differential humor by experimental condition, it is not due to differential levels of embarrassment across the experimental conditions.

3.4 Humor and Laughter as Dependent Variables

3.41 Laughter - Table 4 contains cell means for laughter by experimental conditions. From the correlations in Table 1 with the two measures of laughter, it is seen that the only independent variables affecting laughter are the quadratic effect of status, and the number of people (facilitators); neither, however, is significant. The interpretation of these results is that greater laughter occurs between status equals, and when more individuals are present.

Table 4. Cell Means for Laughter (Evaluated by Coders).[a]

Relative Status of Experimenter	Anticipated Interaction	
	Yes	No
Low	13.15	10.60
Equal	16.25	15.60
High	11.05	10.45

[a]N = 10 per cell. Measures are averaged over coders. High values are associated with greater laughter.

A canonical correlational analysis has been performed using the independent variables with the two measures of laughter. The canonical correlation yields the information in Table 5.

The first canonical correlation is .413, which is not significant. However, in the first set most variance is accounted for by number of people as facilitators. Notice that this variable has an extremely high weight compared to the weights of the other variables in the first independent canonical variate.

Table 5. Canonical Correlations of Independent Variables
with Laughter.[a]

Canonical Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	x^2	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1	.413	11.72	12	.468
2	.250	3.01	5	.698

First Set (Independent)	Variate 1	Variate 2
X_1 Anticipate Meet (A)	-.226	.493
X_2 Status, Linear (B_L)	.173	-.322
X_3 Status, Quadratic (B_Q)	-.313	-.641
X_4 A x B_L Interaction	.327	-.463
X_5 A x B_Q Interaction	.240	-.132
X_6 Facilitators	.747	.026

Second Set (Dependent)		
X_{14} Laugh (Coder 1)	-5.584	3.445
X_{15} Laugh (Coder 2)	6.043	-2.554

[a]N = 60 for each variable except X_6 (Facilitators) for which N = 59.

The second canonical independent variate in Table 4 explains a component of variance that is not explained by the first canonical variate. The second canonical relationship is explained largely by the quadratic effect of status in the first set. It is clear that the number of people and the quadratic effect of status are explaining separate and independent components of laughter.

Since the quadratic effect of status and the number of people seem to be the major variables that explain laughter, we entered them into a canonical correlation as the independent variable set and the two measures of laughter as the dependent variable set. Table 6 gives the results of this analysis. The first variate is explained by number of people and the second variate is explained by the quadratic effect of status. We can see that "facilitators" is only significant at the .10 level, and that the second canonical correlation is not significant.

Table 6. Canonical Correlations of Status (Quadratic) and Facilitators with Laughter.[a]

Canonical Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	x^2	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1	.375	8.07	4	.089
2	.122	.73	1	.393

First Set (Independent)	Variate 1	Variate 2
X_3 Status, Quadratic (B_Q)	-.459	-.919
X_6 Facilitators	.790	-.657

Second Set (Dependent)		
X_{14} Laugh (Coder 1)	-4.276	4.976
X_{15} Laugh (Coder 2)	4.985	-4.266

[a]$N = 60$ for each variable except X_6 (Facilitators) for which $N = 59$.

3.42 <u>Humor</u> - Table 7 contains the cell means for humor by experimental conditions.

Table 7. Cell Means for Humor (Evaluated by Coders).[a]

Relative Status of Experimenter	Anticipated Interaction	
	Yes	No
Low	8.80	10.15
Equal	9.45	9.65
High	8.00	9.40

[a]N = 10 per cell. Measures are averaged over coders. Higher values are associated with greater humor.

From the correlations in Table 1 with the two measures of humor, it is found that humor as measured by Coder Two is associated with number of people (facilitators); the more people present, the greater the use of humor. The canonical correlation of both measures of humor with our independent variables indicates that there are no significant canonical relationships (Table 8). However, facilitators has the largest effect in the first canonical variate in the independent set (.641).

3.5 Evidence for Hypotheses

3.51 Anticipated Future Interaction - It was predicted that in an embarrassing interaction, an individual will use more humor when there is anticipated future interaction than when there is no anticipated future interaction. No significant effect of this variable on humor or laughter is found.

As discussed earlier, our prediction was based on Brown and Garland (1971), who found that anticipated future interaction significantly increases face-saving. In their experiment, face-saving was

Table 8. Canonical Correlations of Independent Variables with Humor.[a]

Canonical Variate Number	Canonical Correlation	x^2	Degrees of Freedom	Significance
1	.456	13.58	12	.329
2	.240	2.75	5	.739

First Set (Independent)	Variate 1	Variate 2
X_1 Anticipate Meet (A)	-.026	-.708
X_2 Status, Linear (B_L)	-.345	-.056
X_3 Status, Quadratic (B_Q)	-.443	.341
X_4 A x B_L Interaction	.345	-.342
X_5 A x B_Q Interaction	-.020	-.443
X_6 Facilitators	.641	.376
Second Set (Dependent)		
X_{16} Humor (Coder 1)	-1.239	1.253
X_{17} Humor (Coder 2)	1.731	-.328

[a] $N = 60$ for each variable except X_6 (Facilitators for which $N = 59$.

measured after an incompetency manipulation. In our experiment, although the subjects were asked to disclose intimate information, we did not directly manipulate the subjects' feelings of competency. Another difference between our experiment and the Brown and Garland experiment is that the subjects in the Brown and Garland study were in a performance situation singing a song before an audience, and they expected to receive evaluative feedback, whereas subjects in our experiment engaged in a conversation with one other person, an interactional

situation.

3.52 Relative Status - It was hypothesized that in an embarrassing interaction, there will be more humor generated from a relatively higher status person to a lower status person, than vice-versa. In addition, it was expected that most humor will occur in the equal status situation. The results partly support this hypothesis. For the humor variable, no significant difference due to status is found. For the laughter variable, relative status has a nearly significant effect, in that most laughter occurs when the subject interacts with a status equal. Relative status seems to directly affect the use of laughter. We find that there is no significant difference in embarrassment by experimental condition. Therefore, greater laughter in the equal status condition is not caused by a greater level of embarrassment in this condition.

In addition, while more humor and laughter occur when the experimenter is of lower rather than higher status, this relationship is not very strong. This effect weakly supports Coser (1960), who discusses the use of humor as less from lower to higher status persons than from higher to lower status persons.

3.53 Number of People (Social Facilitation) - It was suggested that as the number of people increases in an interaction, the greater will be the use of humor. We find that the number of people has a positive effect on laughter, and a smaller effect on humor. Furthermore, canonical correlational analysis indicates that the number of people and the quadratic effect for status somewhat explain separate and independent components of laughter.
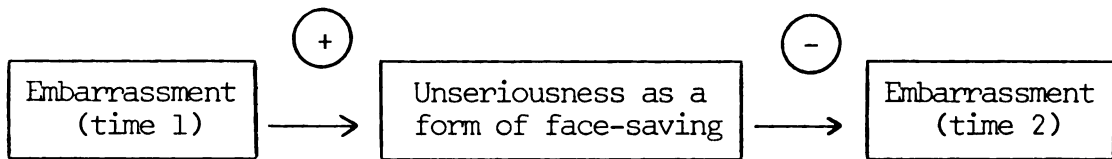
3.6 Implications

The major findings in this study concern how relative status and the number of people affect humor, laughter, and embarrassment in interaction. These results indicate the importance of the presence of others in responding to embarrassing situations. Goffman's discussion of "derisive collusion" (1959:187) as an activity whereby people secretly communicate information about a third person is of interest here. Laughter could be used as a component of derisive collusion, communicating to other people that what is taking place is not to be taken seriously. In addition, laughter may have increased as number of people increased because subjects experience a greater feeling of licence or freedom of expression (Goffman, 1957).

The finding that persons laugh more with relatively equal status persons than with those either higher or lower in status has several implications. This supports Bradney's (1957) hypothesis that joking is established more frequently and more easily between same status members than between members of different statuses. However, our results do not strongly support the notion, discussed by Coser (1960) and Bradney (1957), that there will be more humor generated by a high status person to a lower status person than from a lower status person to a higher status person. The findings for the use of laughter support the notion that laughter is used in embarrassing situations when one is with equals.

Three issues not previously explicitly discussed are relevant here. First, if one engages in unseriousness because of the realization of embarrassment, then one is using face-saving as an interpersonal

technique. For people engaging in face-saving, embarrassment and un-
seriousness should be positively related initially; if unseriousness

is <u>successful</u> at face-saving, then face-saving may be negatively related

with the embarrassment observed at the end of the interaction. Hence,

the following:

```
         (+)                              (-)
┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│Embarrassment │      │Unseriousness as a│      │Embarrassment │
│(time 1)      │ ───> │form of face-saving│ ───>│(time 2)      │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```

On the other hand, if one uses unseriousness to establish distance from

an interaction to <u>prevent</u> embarrassment, unseriousness may be negatively

related or unrelated to embarrassment. Among all subjects, then, the

relationship between unseriousness and embarrassment may be spuriously

influenced by the proportion of subjects differing in these uses of

unseriousness, and by the time span of the interaction and of the

measurement procedure.

Secondly, all relations in this discussion have been tested

statistically with models that are linear in form; other effects have

been examined by appropriate coding so that the relations could be

examined within the general linear model. Since the dependent variables

are measured in ways akin to psychophysics, perhaps some form of power

law might be more appropriate to these data (see, e.g., Hamblin, 1974).

Thirdly, the evaluation of the subjects' responses to the inter-

action was made by coders in the included analyses. Clearly, these

coders lacked any visual means for assessing the subject's response;

even if the visual component were available, the coders' estimates may not be equivalent to the subject's own assessment. This is the issue of self-perception vs. person-perception by observers, and is worth further investigation.

The three above issues require additional research. The results we have reported concern the nature of interaction, and deal with verbal humor and laughter as interactional techniques employed to maintain self and the process of interaction. Humorous responses to embarrassing interactions give us important information on how communication patterns are restructured once communication breakdown begins. We find that a key determinant of the use of laughter is the sheer number of others present in the communication situation. Further research specifying the nature of the causal link between failure of the communication system and interpersonal strategies for its recovery are clearly needed to expand our understanding of social interaction.

APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENTAL PROTOCOL

APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENTAL PROTOCOL

CONDITION I

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. ALTHOUGH I AM

ONLY A HIGH SCHOOL _____, I AM CONDUCTING RESEARCH AT M.S.U.

WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION. I AM DOING THIS TO FULFILL A

REQUIREMENT FOR MY HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CLASS.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL

RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

IN ADDITION TO TALKING WITH YOU ON THE PHONE, I WILL BE TALKING

WITH YOU IN YOUR COMM. 100 CLASS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. THIS

WILL BE A PERSONAL INTERVIEW, GIVING ME MORE INFORMATION. YOUR

INSTRUCTOR HAS GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO MEET AND TALK WITH YOU.

CONDITION II

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. I AM AN UNDER-

GRADUATE _____, LIKE YOURSELF, CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH THE

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION. I AM DOING THIS TO FULFILL A REQUIREMENT

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FOR MY UNDERGRADUATE SOCIAL SCIENCE CLASS.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.
WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.
YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

IN ADDITION TO TALKING WITH YOU ON THE PHONE, I WILL BE TALKING
WITH YOU IN YOUR COMM. 100 CLASS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. THIS
WILL BE A PERSONAL INTERVIEW, GIVING ME MORE INFORMATION. YOUR
INSTRUCTOR HAS GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO TALK WITH YOU.

CONDITION III

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. I AM A VISITING
PROFESSOR AT M.S.U., CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUN-
ICATION. I AM DOING THIS AS PART OF MY POST-DOCTORAL WORK IN SOCIAL
SCIENCE.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.
WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.
YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

IN ADDITION TO TALKING WITH YOU ON THE PHONE, I WILL BE TALKING
WITH YOU IN YOUR COMM. 100 CLASS AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME. THIS
WILL BE A PERSONAL INTERVIEW, GIVING ME MORE INFORMATION. YOUR
INSTRUCTOR HAS GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO TALK WITH YOU.

CONDITION IV

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. ALTHOUGH I AM

ONLY A HIGH SCHOOL _____, I AM CONDUCTING RESEARCH AT M.S.U.

WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION. I AM DOING THIS TO FULFILL A

REQUIREMENT FOR MY HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES CLASS.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL

RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

THIS WILL SIMPLY BE A PHONE INTERVIEW. I WILL NOT NEED TO MEET

WITH YOU OR TALK WITH YOU AFTER THIS INTERVIEW. YOUR INSTRUCTOR HAS

GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO TALK WITH YOU.

CONDITION V

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. I AM AN UNDERGRADUATE

_____, LIKE YOURSELF, CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH THE DEPART-

MENT OF COMMUNICATION. I AM DOING THIS TO FULFILL A REQUIREMENT FOR MY

UNDERGRADUATE SOCIAL SCIENCE CLASS.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL

RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

THIS WILL SIMPLY BE A PHONE INTERVIEW. I WILL NOT NEED TO MEET

WITH YOU OR TALK WITH YOU AFTER THIS INTERVIEW. YOUR INSTRUCTOR HAS

GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO TALK WITH YOU.

CONDITION VI

HELLO, MY NAME IS _____. I AM A VISITING

PROFESSOR AT M.S.U., CONDUCTING RESEARCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF

COMMUNICATION. I AM DOING THIS AS PART OF MY POST-DOCTORAL WORK IN

SOCIAL SCIENCE.

WE ARE CONDUCTING RESEARCH ABOUT INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

WE WANT TO KNOW HOW YOU PERCEIVE YOUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER PEOPLE.

YOUR HELP CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO WHAT WE KNOW ABOUT INTERPERSONAL

RELATIONSHIPS. CAN I ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS?

THIS WILL SIMPLY BE A PHONE INTERVIEW. I WILL NOT NEED TO

MEET WITH YOU OR TALK WITH YOU AFTER THIS INTERVIEW. YOUR INSTRUCTOR

HAS GIVEN ME PERMISSION TO TALK WITH YOU.

1. FOR THE FIRST QUESTION, I WOULD LIKE YOU TO DESCRIBE IN DETAIL THE

MOST EMBARRASSING SITUATION YOU'VE EVER BEEN IN.

2. DESCRIBE YOUR MOST POSITIVE TRAITS FOR ATTRACTING THE OPPOSITE

SEX.

3. DESCRIBE YOUR MOST NEGATIVE TRAITS FOR "TURNING OFF" THE OPPOSITE

SEX.

4. DESCRIBE A RECENT SITUATION WITH A FEMALE WHERE YOU WERE AT A LOSS
FOR WHAT TO DO, OR YOU DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO BEHAVE.

5. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO DESCRIBE YOUR BODY FROM HEAD TO FOOT. AS YOU
MAKE YOUR DESCRIPTIONS, EXPLAIN WHAT YOU LIKE OR DON'T LIKE ABOUT EACH
BODY PART.

I WOULD LIKE YOU TO EVALUATE THE CONVERSATION WE JUST HAD. IN
ORDER TO MAKE THIS EVALUATION, I WOULD LIKE TO DESCRIBE THE MEASURING
UNITS. WE ARE GOING TO CALL 10 UNITS THE AVERAGE AMOUNT OF A TRAIT,
SAY HUMOR, IN A CONVERSATION. 0 UNITS WILL BE THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF
HUMOR. IF THIS CONVERSATION WAS HALF AS FUNNY AS AN AVERAGE INTER-
ACTION, YOU WOULD RATE IT AS 5 UNITS OF FUNNINESS. IF IT WAS TWO TIMES
AS FUNNY AS AN AVERAGE CONVERSATION, IT WOULD BE RATED AS 20 UNITS OF
FUNNINESS. YOU CAN USE ANY WHOLE NUMBERS YOU WISH. REMEMBER THAT YOU
CHOSE NUMBERS ABOVE 10 TO INDICATE MORE THAN AVERAGE AMOUNT OF A TRAIT,
AND NUMBERS BELOW 10 TO INDICATE LESS THAN AVERAGE AMOUNT OF A TRAIT.

PHONE NO: ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐   CALLER: ☐

YEAR SCHOOL: ☐   CONDITION: ☐☐☐☐☐

CODER: ☐

1. IF 10 UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF HUMOR OR UNSERIOUSNESS IN AN AVERAGE
INTERACTION, AND 0 IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW HUMOROUS
OR UNSERIOUS WAS THIS CONVERSATION?

☐☐ UNITS

2. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>OPENNESS</u> IN THE AVERAGE INTERACTION, AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW OPEN WERE YOU (WAS THE SUBJECT) DURING THE INTERACTION?

☐☐ UNITS

3. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>ANGER</u> IN AN AVERAGE INTERACTION, AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW ANGRY WERE YOU (WAS THE SUBJECT) DURING THIS CONVERSATION?

☐☐ UNITS

4. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>AVOIDANCE</u> IN THE AVERAGE INTERACTION, AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF AVOIDANCE, HOW MUCH DID YOU WANT TO (DID THE SUBJECT) AVOID THIS INTERACTION?

☐☐ UNITS

5. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>LAUGHTER</u> IN AN AVERAGE CONVERSATION, AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF LAUGHTER, HOW MUCH DID YOU (DID THE SUBJECT) LAUGH?

☐☐ UNITS

6. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT THAT PEOPLE ARE <u>AT A LOSS FOR WHAT TO SAY</u> IN AN AVERAGE CONVERSATION, AND <u>0</u> UNITS IS THE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW MUCH WERE YOU (WAS THE SUBJECT) AT A LOSS FOR WHAT TO SAY?

☐☐ UNITS

7. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>ANXIETY</u> IN AN AVERAGE INTERACTION, AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW ANXIOUS WERE YOU (WAS THE SUBJECT) DURING THIS CONVERSATION?

☐☐ UNITS

8. IF <u>10</u> UNITS IS THE AMOUNT OF <u>EMBARRASSMENT</u> IN AN AVERAGE INTER-ACTION AND <u>0</u> IS THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF THAT TRAIT, HOW EMBARRASSED WERE YOU (WAS THE SUBJECT) DURING THIS CONVERSATION?

☐☐ UNITS

9. LENGTH OF CONVERSATION.

[ ][ ][ ] SEC.

10. DO YOU REMEMBER IF I MENTIONED THAT WE WERE GOING TO MEET?

WHAT DID I SAY?

[ ][ ]

11. DO YOU REMEMBER WHO I SAID I WAS?

[ ] HIGH

MEDIUM

[ ] LOW

12. NUMBER OF UM'S AND AH'S, INCLUDING ALL MONOSYLLABIC SPEECH

BLOCKS:

[ ][ ]

13. HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE WITH YOU?

[ ][ ]

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ANSWERS. (AS I INDICATED EARLIER,

I WILL NOT BE COMING INTO YOUR COMM. 100 CLASS TO TALK WITH YOU.) I

WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD NOT DISCUSS THIS INTERVIEW WITH ANYONE

IN YOUR CLASS. DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS. (IF NOT) THANK YOU VERY

MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

APPENDIX B

EXPERIMENTAL SCHEDULE

APPENDIX B

EXPERIMENTAL SCHEDULE

	Practice in conditions	Calls completed in conditions	Time (p.m.)	Interviewer
Day 1	I & II	I, II, & III	7:30-10:30	Barb
Day 2	III	IV, V, & VI	7:30-10:00	Barb
Day 3	IV	II & III	8:00- 9:30	Barb
Day 4	NONE	NONE	2:00- 3:30	Barb
Day 5		TAPE REPLAYED		
Day 6	NONE	IV, V, VI & I	6:30- 9:30	Barb
Day 7	II & III	PROCEDURE EXPLAINED TO NEW CALLER	7:00- 8:30	Cheryl
Day 8	IV	II, IV, & V	7:00- 9:30	Cheryl
Day 9	NONE	VI, I, & II	7:30- 9:45	Cheryl
Day 10		TAPE REPLAYED		
Day 11	I & II	PROCEDURE EXPLAINED TO NEW CALLER	7:00- 9:00	Carol
Day 12	III	IV & V	7:00-10:30	Carol
Day 13	NONE	VI, I, II, III	7:00-10:00	Carol
Day 14		TAPE REPLAYED		
Day 15	IV	IV, V & VI	7:30-10:00	Barb
Day 16	NONE	VI, V & IV	8:00- 9:30	Barb

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	Practice in conditions	Calls completed in conditions	Time (p.m.)	Interviewer
Day 17	III	I, II, & III	8:00- 9:30	Barb
Day 18	NONE	III, II, & I	7:30- 9:45	Barb

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