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A sociological consideration of pretense

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A SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION
OF PRETENSE

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the
Faculty of the Graduate College
University of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John F. Else
August 1969

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Accepted for the faculty of The Graduate College of the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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It seems common practice in a page such as this to claim for a spouse much gratitude but to leave her mention to the last paragraph. I would like to violate that trend in order to express the highest gratitude first. My wife, Anne, has been a stimulating partner who has taught the discipline of self-criticism and has revealed the richness of sharing life.

I am grateful to O. K. Bouwsma, a teacher of several years past, who taught me that, more important than the acquisition of information, education is a process of learning to think.

A thesis cannot be the work of a single person. If ideas have matured or if methodology has been refined, a process of interaction has taken place in which two or more persons are active participants. Thus, I am deeply indebted to George Helling, not just for the time he gave in discussion, but for his sharing of himself and his creative ideas, for his stimulating, penetrating and provocative questioning, and for treating his student as a colleague. I am grateful also to George Barger for his criticisms and suggestions (which he gave so generously and cheerfully) on the methodological aspects of this study.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Few, if any, persons pass through a day without observing and engaging in some form of pretense. Pretense is a basic aspect of interpersonal relations. In an office or factory the supervisor tells the worker to "look busy" even when he does not have work to do. The salesman tries to make the customer feel as if the item being presented is the best buy ever placed on the market. Two people meet and exchange "Pleased to meet you!" when neither actually cares at all about the presence of the other; in fact, each may have negative feelings about meeting the other. A conversational circle at a party laughs, but is actually repulsed by the dullness of the "joke" just told by the host.¹ In short, ". . . there is hardly a legitimate everyday vocation or relationship whose performers

¹"We meet someone on the street and wish him a good day, and we would be glad to learn that he had broken both his legs at the next step. We urge a visitor to call again soon, when we have at the sight of him the same sensation as if we had laid our hand unexpectedly upon an angleworm. We arrange festivities and invite people to them whom we despise, whom we hate, behind whose backs we repeat all sorts of malicious things to their discredit. . . . We go to other people's parties, spending the hours of the night which we would a thousand times prefer to devote to sleep, in silly chatter, smiling pleasantly, while we are nearly overpowered by a desire to yawn, returning compliments of which we do not believe a single word, thanking the lady of the house for her kind invitation, for which in our hearts we wish her in the depths of the Dead Sea, assuring the master of the house of our constant friendship, and next day, have our servants deny him admission if he should happen to come around to solicit some real favor of us." Max Nordau, The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization (Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1886, 1895), pp. 348-349.

do not engage in concealed practices which are incompatible with fostered impressions."²

This is not to say that pretense pervades the totality of interpersonal relations. It is a phenomenon which is exhibited sporadically as the occasion and/or personal needs warrant and demand. Sometimes pretense fulfills personal needs of the individual engaging in pretense and thereby reduces his internal stress and conflict. For example, a person who feels insecure in a particular social situation would probably find the stress multiplied if others became aware of his ineptness. If, however, he is able to give the impression (pretend) that he is in complete control of the situation, others will be likely to act toward him in ways that will reduce the internal stress he feels in the situation. Or if a doctor is uncertain of his diagnosis, he may pretend confidence so as to avoid arousing uncertainty in the patient which would likely increase both the external and the internal stress upon himself.

Sometimes pretense fulfills personal needs of the individual or group toward whom the pretense is directed and may thereby reduce the stress and conflict for both the person pretending and the object of the pretense. Goffman tells of "filling station attendants who resignedly check and recheck tire pressures for anxious women motorists (and) shoe clerks who sell a shoe that fits but tell the customer it is the size she wants to hear . . ."³

²Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959), p. 64.

³Ibid., p. 18.

At other times pretense is required by others or by the situation and violates the personality in ways that create internal stress and conflict. An example is provided by Mirra Komarovsky's study of the contradictory roles required of college coeds. The girls are socialized by the expectations of family and teachers to be bright, aggressive, competitive achievers in the academic sphere. But in order to succeed in the social sphere they must pretend to fulfill the traditional feminine role and be naive, inept, passive, and non-intellectual. This involves activities varying from intentionally losing at ping-pong to intentionally misspelling words in letters. The selections presented by Komarovsky from the autobiographical statements of these coeds indicate the personal conflicts present as they engage in such pretense and the stress placed upon them by such contradictory roles.⁴

Even these few illustrations show that pretense is a common phenomenon and that it occurs in a wide variety of contexts and takes many forms. This study is an attempt to examine, in a systematic way, that aspect of human behavior which in everyday speech is referred to by such terms as hypocrisy, pretense, deception, fraud, phoniness, sham, conning, and secrecy. Among sociologists it is referred to by such terms as role distance, cynical role performance, role calculation, minimum role involvement, impression management, and ingratiation. These terms all point to a concept which denotes an important aspect of behavior in everyday life and in the structure of interaction in our society.

⁴Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52:184-189, November, 1946.

THE SITUATION OF MODERN SOCIETY

While pretense appears to be a common aspect of human behavior, there is evidence that seems to indicate that it is becoming an increasingly central and crucial factor in modern urban America. Rural societies are characterized by what Frankenberg calls close-knit networks, diffuse roles, total status, and high social redundancy. By close-knit networks Frankenberg means that there are many overlapping friendship patterns: "Everyone knows and interacts with everyone else."⁵ By diffuse roles and high social redundancy, Frankenberg is referring to the fact that there are frequent repetitions of contacts with the same persons in a variety of roles in rural society:

In face-to-face communities each individual is related to every other individual in his total network in several different ways. In an extreme case a man's father is also his teacher, his religious leader, and his employer. A shopkeeper in the village is also a relative of many of his customers and a chapel deacon. . . . we may say that he is bound to his customer by a multiplicity of ties. He has perhaps a smaller choice of roles than he would in the town [city], and he has to play them all to the same audience.

The town [city] shopkeeper may have open to him roles in many different systems, but there is a degree of insulation between them that leads us to say that urban society is complicated rather than complex.⁶

Finally, total status refers to the fact that: "In rural societies status spreads from situation to situation. A man's status is the same whatever activity he is engaged in."⁷ This is in contrast to urban societies, in

⁵Ronald Frankenberg, Communities in Britain (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 19.

⁶Ibid., p. 17.

⁷Ibid., p. 289.

which "A man's status may be high in some activities and low in others."⁸

Thus in a rural society--as was the United States in the last century--there are many contexts and opportunities in which to judge the sincerity of an individual's performance in a role. In contrast, modern urban industrialized society is characterized by division of labor, specialization, and secondary relationships. Contacts are infrequent, specific, and functional.⁹ Persons usually have only a single context in which to judge the sincerity of a performance. The shopkeeper is chosen because of the convenience of his location, and perhaps the quality and prices of the goods; but the customer does not know the shopkeeper as a fellow-churchman, as a relative, or as a teacher and so cannot judge the sincerity of his performance as accurately. And, on the other hand, the shopkeeper, since he is not known in these other roles, has more freedom to sell a poor piece of meat as good and fresh; the shopkeeper's actions in the arena of his business life will not necessarily affect his relationships or reputation in other arenas of his life.

The point is this: pretense seems to be feasible and pervasive in this society.¹⁰ It also seems to have taken on a new quality in modern

⁸Ibid., p. 289.

⁹Frankenberg's rural-urban model is similar to the continuum models of other sociologists, such as: Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity; Maine's status and contract; Tönnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft; Redfield's folk society and secular society; McIver's communal and associational societies; Weber's traditional-rational; or Park's sacred and secular.

¹⁰"The close living together and working together of individuals who have no sentimental and emotional ties foster a spirit of competition, aggrandizement, and mutual exploitation." (Emphasis added) Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44:15, July, 1938.

urban society. The pretense that was possible in the rural society was largely pretense that served a community function, pretense which was supported by the audience for the general community self-interest or to keep certain ideals alive. Vidich and Bensman, in Small Town in Mass Society, discuss the rural mythologies of equalitarianism, neighborliness, friendliness, honesty, sobriety, clean-living, and self-identity as "just plain folks."

The observer who has been in the community for a length of time realizes that "everybody isn't really neighborly . . . that some people haven't talked to each other for years . . . that people whom you might think are friends hate each other . . . that there are some people who are just naturally troublemakers . . . that he'd skin his own grandmother for a buck. However, such statements are never made in public situations. The intimate, the negative and the private are spoken in inter-personal situations involving only two or three people. Gossip exists as a separate and hidden layer of community life.¹¹

Audience collusion in pretense is common in urban as well as rural societies. However, in urban cultures pretense by audience delusion is also observable.¹² Pretense is particularly visible and pervasive in the mass media, in the public relations enterprise, and in the competition to sell non-necessity items. A television advertisement claims, with no

¹¹Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Anchor Books, 1958), p. 43.

¹²In a column called "Quotes Without Comment," each issue of Consumer Reports selects enlightening quotes from various business magazines which the consumer ordinarily would not read. One of many possible selections to illustrate the prevalence of intentional audience delusion comes from the June, 1967, issue, p. 298: "Here's the latest twist in selling low-priced merchandize. Stamp your product 'Made in Japan'. . . . One tool manufacturer who does this says, 'People think you get a better product, especially in the low-priced field, if it's Japanese-made. After all, everyone knows labor's cheaper there.'" - SALES MANAGEMENT

satire intended, that using the right brand of coffee can save a marriage on the rocks. Teenagers hear first the inviting cigarette advertisement, followed by the Cancer Society's warnings against smoking. Political candidates hire public relations firms who create and manipulate the "image" of the candidate at will according to what their surveys indicate is needed to win the election. Pentagon officials return from the battle front to tell the public for the fortieth consecutive month that the enemy morale is failing and that we are beginning to win the war. The massive news industry, needing subject matter to keep its gears rolling, requires public officials to make public and to explain the most minute action or event, and so the official must give some response which will "inform" the public, while the actual facts of the case remain the subject of discussion in informal meetings.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

It is generally accepted that pretense is a functional form of behavior in society. Certain forms of pretense are built into the etiquette of the culture, and, like habits, allow us to make many contacts with a minimum of emotional and intellectual energy. For example, if every time one was greeted with "Hello! How are you?" he felt compelled to expound upon the state of his physical and emotional existence instead of simply answering "Fine," casual contacts would become impossible. Contacts would either be avoided or would all become primary relationships rather than secondary, which would be dysfunctional in a mass society. As Harvey Cox observes:

Urban man must distinguish carefully between his private life and his public relationships. In most of his relationships he will be dealing with people he cannot afford to be interested in as individuals but must deal with in terms of the services they render to him and he to them. This is essential in urban life. Supermarket checkers or gas-meter readers who became enmeshed in the lives of the people they were serving would be a menace. They would soon cause a total breakdown in the essential systems of which they are integral parts.¹³

Georg Simmel points out that pretense is even necessary in the early stages of a friendship: ". . . the temptation is very natural to open oneself to the other at the outset without limit . . . This, however, usually threatens the future of the relationship."¹⁴

While pretense may be functional in many respects, nevertheless it may be that if pretense becomes too pervasive and its control too sporadic in a society it may have dysfunctional consequences. Pervasive pretense may create a deeply ingrained distrust in the children of the society; it may create the necessity to nurture distrust in order to have a defense mechanism against constant deception. It may create among youth disillusionment with the verbalized ideals of the society; the youth will perceive that the ideals are obviously used only to veil the materialistically-oriented activities of adults. It may create alienation from and cynicism toward the norms and behavior patterns of the culture.¹⁵ Such alienation

¹³Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: McMillan, 1965), p. 41.

¹⁴Georg Simmel, "The Sociology of Secrecy and of Secret Societies," American Journal of Sociology, 11:460, January, 1906.

¹⁵"A certain man decides to enter upon a political career. The main-spring of his decision is self-interest; as he requires popularity to attain to the position he covets, and as popularity is usually only won by those who promote or appear to promote, the public welfare, he begins to work for the interests of the public, or to pretend that he does so . . .

and cynicism could lead to rebellion. Peter Berger notes, ". . . all revolutions begin in transformations of consciousness . . . From the point of view of the official guardians of order, it is dangerous to have too many individuals around play games with inner reservations."¹⁶

Revolution may be too strong a word, but there is evidence that pretense can be dysfunctional to the economic organizations, the political organization, and the social cohesion of a society. One of Max Weber's major theses was that the Protestant ethic, and especially attributes such as honesty, is essential to the successful operation of modern rational capitalism.

It is normally assumed by both partners to an exchange that each will be interested in the future continuation of the exchange relationship; be it with this particular partner or with some other, and that he will adhere to his promises for this reason and avoid at least striking infringement of the rules of good faith and fair dealing. It is only this assumption which guarantees the lawabidingness of the exchange partners. Insofar as that interest exists, "honesty is the best policy." This proposition, however, is by no means universally applicable, and its empirical validity is irregular; naturally, it is highest in the case of rational enterprises with a stable clientele. For, on the basis of such a stable relationship,

He must be ready to dissemble and lie, for he is obliged to assume friendly interest in certain men, who are, if not repugnant to him, yet certainly indifferent, otherwise he would make enemies of them. He must make hundreds of promises that he knows beforehand he will not be able to fulfill. He must learn how to assume and play upon the lower aspirations and passions of the public, their prejudices and customary beliefs, for these are the most widely extended, and he must win over the majority to his side. These traits combine to form a physiogomy absolutely repulsive to a nobler man. Such a figure in a novel would never arouse the sympathetic affection of the reader. But in real life the same reader casts his vote for him every time." Nordau, op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁶Peter Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), pp. 136-137.

which generates the possibility of mutual personal appraisal with regard to market ethics, trading may free itself most successfully from illimited dickering and return, in the interest of the parties, to a relative limitation of fluctuation in prices and exploitation of momentary interest constellations.¹⁷

If the social structure is such that the clientele is no longer "stable," and if pretense becomes a dominant form of behavior, then the basic trust necessary to the operation of the market economy may no longer be present, and exploitation would become the dominant pattern. Increasing government regulation of business is advocated by many (e. g., Ralph Nader) as the only practical defense for the consumer.

As previously noted, there is danger of political campaigns becoming nothing but contests testing the effectiveness of competing public relations firms. If the public "image" is separated so much from the actual candidate and his political positions, and if election success is directly related to the kind and amount of mass media presentation a candidate can obtain, then the entire institution of democratic election is in jeopardy of becoming dysfunctional.

The masses of men in the city are subject to manipulation by symbols and stereotypes managed by individuals working from afar and operating invisibly behind the scenes through their control of the instruments of communication. Self-government either in the economic, the political, or the cultural realm is under these circumstances reduced to a mere figure of speech . . .¹⁸

Finally, if social cohesion is based in part on adherence to certain ideals--which serve also as motivational and social control mechanisms--and

¹⁷Max Weber, Economy and Society (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), Vol. 2, p. 637.

¹⁸Wirth, op. cit., p. 23.

if youth become disillusioned because of the blatant inconsistency between verbalized ideals and actual behavioral patterns, then either the ideals which provide cohesion will be destroyed or the social structures supported by the behavior patterns will fall.

It becomes apparent that pretense is an important social phenomena to study and to understand. Yet little has been done toward systematic study of pretense. Most of the writing related to the topic has been descriptive comment rather than empirical research. Also, no real effort has been made to integrate the various discussions into a systematic conceptual framework from which the phenomenon can be viewed and on the basis of which instruments can be developed to measure it.

This study will have three aims. First, an attempt will be made to unify the various concepts and terms into a conceptual framework which defines and describes pretense. Second, an instrument will be developed to measure pretense empirically. The sub-system selected as the context in which to attempt to measure pretense is student relationships with faculty in a university. Finally, a test will be made to determine whether, in the population selected for this study, there is a correlation between the amount of pretense students exhibit and the amount of reward or benefits they receive.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

REVIEW OF RELEVANT THEORY

Role theory provides one perspective from which to study the phenomenon of pretense. "Role" is a widely used but diversely defined term in sociological theory and research. One basic approach to the concept of role is common in introductory sociology courses. This approach is simply to provide numerous illustrations of the use of the concept in familiar social situations on the assumption that the concept is thus adequately "understood."

A frequently quoted early definition is that of Linton, who affirms:

A role represents the dynamic aspect of a status. The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role.¹

It is such interpretation of role as a bridge between social structure and the individual, between social position and personal behavior, which has found its way into sociology textbooks. The Lundberg² text bases its discussion of role directly upon the Linton presentation.

Perhaps a clearer view of the difficulties, and the promise, of contemporary role theory for sociologists may be seen in a current textbook

¹Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 114.

²George Lundberg, et. al., Sociology (New York: Harper and Row, 1954, 1958, 1963, 1968).

by James McKee. It incorporates the Linton definition and then goes on to explain that the social source of the individual's conception of the "rights and duties" (to which Linton refers) is the expectations of others. McKee's explanation of role--which he feels is a key concept for the general sociology student--does not provide an adequate definition or propositional form. Instead, by means of reference to experience and to theatrical roles, he gives the student an intuitive grasp of the concept, a sense of understanding rather than a tight symbolic system.

A social role, then, is an expectation of behavior shared among actors in social relations. It emerges from and gives some stability to interaction and it does not exist outside of the interactional process from which the expectation emerges.

These expectations are never spelled out precisely, as if they were lines in a play. A role in life is not the same as a role in the theater, where the actor carefully learns his lines and then, on cue, acts out his part as the author wrote it or as someone else directs it. It is a conceptual error to conceive of social roles in such routine. Roles are simply not like that. The expectation of role does not prescribe actual behavior but, instead, suggests an orientation to a particular other. A role only exists when there are relevant other-roles to which it is oriented. The sociologist, Ralph Turner, has argued cogently against a view of role that sees it as conformity to prescribed behavior and for a view of role as consistency in orientation to others. Such a consistency specifies no particular conduct; rather, it implies the sharing of a perspective among those actors involved in a relation, a perspective that involves some common norms and some common agreed-upon basis for social interaction, which then makes possible some consistency in the modes of action that occur.³

McKee's treatment represents a typical approach to role theory. While the approach indicates the potential richness of role concepts, it is more

³James B. McKee, Introduction to Sociology (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), pp. 64-65.

literary than scientific. It is high in promise but low in precision.⁴ One such criticism is made by Deutsch and Krauss who point out that, in such explanations, prescribed, subjective, and enacted definitions are presumed to be identical.⁵

Central to this paper, however, is the kind of value brought to light by contrasting such approaches to role as McKee's with the views found in the work of Erving Goffman.⁶ The textbook view of role quite legitimately raises the issue of conformity, for it clearly appears that the role-player in such definitions is not his own creature but society's. He "fulfills expectations" and acts in accordance with the "modes agreed-upon." It would appear that to predict his behavior we have only to know

⁴Morton Deutsch and Robert Krauss, Theories in Social Psychology (New York: Basic Books, 1965), p. 173, state: "Role Theory consists mainly of a set of constructs, with little in the way of an interrelational calculus or rules of correspondence. Indeed, it is often difficult to find consensus on the nature of the concepts themselves . . . On the other hand, the constructs of role theory are exceptionally rich in their empirical referents and provide an approach to the analysis of social behavior which is missing from the other theories we have considered."

⁵Ibid., p. 175.

⁶There is good reason to venture beyond established theory of social roles and to explore a research problem which generates a new research instrument, in spite of all the risk that such exploratory work entails. The goal is to tie together the divergent definitions of role theory given in standard textbooks and in the works of such provocative thinkers as Goffman. The theory presented here, though not original, shows relationships between ideas that are generally treated independently. In general this paper is presented with the conviction that it is as worthwhile to try to answer a difficult but important question with less assurance of adequacy as it is to employ proven means to replicate and check previous studies.

the "rights and duties" of his position. Many⁷ have criticized this view of human behavior--for all the truth it seems to contain--as over-simple and too socially deterministic.

In order to make the implication of McKee's view more apparent, one could take the actual role prescriptions (norms prescribing the limits of variation) as given and focus on their subjective meaning, the meaning for the individual engaged in the role. McKee assumes that role is an aspect of the self (exhibiting "consistency of orientation to other") displayed in the appropriate situation. As such, the role behavior involves being spontaneous⁸ rather than being thought out for effect ("roles are simply not like" the actor's lines learned to be delivered on cue). Subjectively viewed, the behavior is genuine, which is to say, compatible with the image the actor has of himself. And it may be taken by the other ("shared perspective," "common norms") at face value, for it is open and is what it purports to be.

These three characteristics of role performance--spontaneity, genuineness, and openness--appear in most textbook descriptions of role and constitute what, in this paper, will be called "orthodox role performance." That is, these characteristics are assumed to be present in normal role relationships.

⁷Such as Dennis Wrong, "The Oversocialized Concept of Man in Modern Sociology," American Sociological Review, 26:183-193, April, 1961; and George Homans, "Bringing Men Back In," American Sociological Review, 29: 809-818, December, 1964.

⁸The term "spontaneous" as used here does not imply random behavioral activity. It simply means that the behavioral activities are automatic, non-premeditated response patterns.

Most textbook descriptions of role neglect, however, to describe those characteristics which are present in many role relationships and which are in direct opposition to or violation of orthodox role performance. Goffman and others focus on this neglected area. They concentrate on what will be referred to in this paper as "heterodox role performance"--role playing that violates the assumptions of orthodox role performances. They discuss behavior which is calculated rather than spontaneous, alienated from the self instead of genuine, and concealed in place of open. The work of these men is particularly relevant to the study of pretense. However, Goffman, like McKee, presents only a general description by referring to experience and theatrical roles. Like McKee he seems to aim for an intuitive understanding of the concepts rather than develop empirical or propositional definitions which could be seen as part of a systematic theoretical structure by which one could view pretense.

Having looked at these two basic perspectives within role theory in a general way, it is helpful to look at some concepts in role theory which related to the dichotomies just presented.

Self and Role. Sarbin and Allen refer to self-role incongruence: "Sometimes enacting a role requires that a person behave in a manner which violates his self concept or values."⁹ To use the terminology introduced in the dichotomies just presented, self-role incongruence refers to an

⁹Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon L. Allen, "Role Theory," in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, ed., The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd Edition (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1968), Vol. 1, pp. 524, 527.

individual whose role is "alienated" from the self instead of "genuine." Sarbin and Allen recount several research studies of self-role incongruence which indicate that such a gap produces less liking for, involvement in, commitment and attachment to a role. Role enactment is "less convincing, proper, and appropriate under conditions of incongruence."¹⁰ When there is a need, then, for a person to appear involved in a role which violates his self-concept, some form of deception or pretense would seem to be required.

Erving Goffman uses the concept role distance, which he defines as "'effectively' expressed pointed separateness between the individual and his putative role."¹¹ Goffman illustrates the concept by a description of adults riding a merry-go-round and exhibiting behavior which demonstrates that this is an inappropriate role for them. In other words, if the image of the role one is called upon to play is incompatible with his self-image, then the individual may exhibit some kind of behavior aimed at demonstrating to others this incongruence. Thus, what Goffman describes as role distance is (in terms of the Sarbin-Allen concept) self-role incongruence which is exhibited for some, if not all, audiences. Or in the terminology of this paper, the person is "alienated" from the role and openly expresses this alienation.

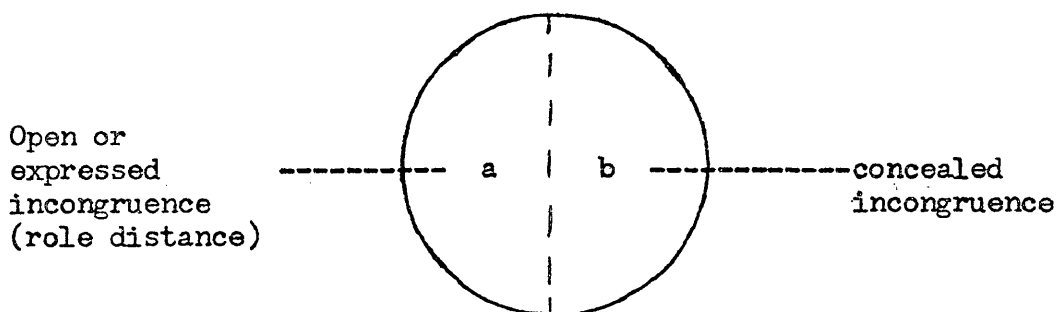
In the course of his discussion, Goffman points out that a person may be "alienated" from a role--self-role incongruence may exist--but this

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 527.

¹¹ Erving Goffman, Encounter (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1961), p. 108.

alienation might be "concealed." Following Goffman, it is possible to diagram the major alternatives within self-role incongruence by means of a divided circle. One part of the circle, segment (a), represents exhibited self-role incongruence or what Goffman has termed role distance. The other part of the circle, segment (b), is the object of interest for this study, for it constitutes one form of pretense.

FIGURE 1
SELF-ROLE INCONGRUENCE (ALIENATION)



Cynical and Spontaneous Role Performance. There are other terms in role theory that related to pretense. In The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Goffman uses the concept of cynical role performance, and he describes an individual who "engages in a . . . form of activity that is concealed from his audience and this is incompatible with the view of his activity which he hopes they will obtain."¹² This concept does not emphasize playing a role which is incongruent with the self. Rather it is playing a role in such a manner as to create in an observer a desired effect

¹²Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959), p. 43.

that would be different from his reaction had he known the facts. Such deception characteristically demands conscious intent. So there are two basic distinctions between standard role performance and cynical role performance: (a) standard performance is open while the cynical is concealed; and (b) standard performance is played without reflection (spontaneously) while in a cynical performance there is a conscious planning (calculation) of how the activities in the role will be exhibited.

Contrived¹³ and Authentic Role Performances. The idea of conscious planning is emphasized in John Mitchell's concept of role calculation, which he defines as "the conscious and deliberate simulation of conformity to the demands of power defined as real but not as moral to the person under its control. . . . the person conforms or appears to conform only to evade penalties or to maximize his own self-interest."¹⁴ Mitchell focuses on the prison inmate who must convince prison officials that he has been rehabilitated (as defined by prison officials) in order to improve his chances of obtaining parole. This concept differs from Goffman's cynical role performance in that it refers to pretending to take another role rather than engaging in deceptive activities within a role. This

¹³A contrived performance is one in which the performer is aware or conscious of the mechanisms he is employing and is sensitive to their effectiveness upon his audience. A "genuine" performance is one in which the performer's activities reflect a spontaneous and unself-conscious response to his definition of the situation. The terms, "conscious" and "unconscious," will not be used here because of their Freudian connotations.

¹⁴John Mitchell, "Cons, Square-Johns, and Rehabilitation," in Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 210.

concept implies concealment in addition to calculation and for most inmates it would also imply alienation from the self.

THEORY UNDERLYING THE CURRENT RESEARCH

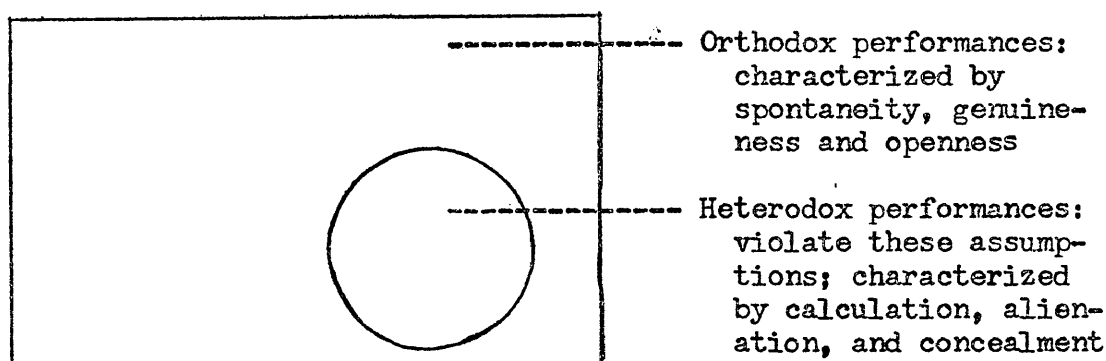
Since there is no single theory of role that provides an adequate framework for the study of pretense, it is necessary to seek to provide a limited theory within the framework of the textbook definitions. Such a theory will need to build upon Linton's "dynamic aspect of a status" definition but must also attempt to incorporate the conscious "presentation of self" emphasis particularly relevant to the research interests of this paper. A basic assumption of role theory is that, in the normal exchange between two role players, the behavior of one is accepted by the other at face value, for it is assumed to be genuine and spontaneous.¹⁵ In consequence, social activities may proceed on predictions or trust based on such definitions made by the individuals involved.

As previously stated, the textbook description of role will be called orthodox role performance. Role-playing that violates these assumptions will be called heterodox. Role performances that are not genuine, open, and spontaneous make social intercourse much more difficult. On the whole, heterodox role performances make prediction of the behavior of an individual less accurate. Nevertheless, general willingness to take performances at

¹⁵"Society is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second, namely that "an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is." Goffman, Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, op. cit., p. 13.

face value makes the manipulative use of the performance possible. A "quack doctor" has patients only because the people are generally able to assume that only trained and licensed practitioners "hang out their shingles" and practice medicine. Heterodox performance can exist, then, only in the larger context of assumptions of orthodox performance.

FIGURE 2
ROLE PERFORMANCES



Performances that violate the orthodox assumptions¹⁶ may be analyzed by means of a Venn diagram¹⁷ of three overlapping circles. Each circle represents a specific norm abrogation or a specific characteristic of heterodox role performance.

¹⁶What are assumptions or expectations to the individual area, from the group perspective, norms.

¹⁷Venn diagrams are frequently used where the data permits analysis by set theory. See Kemeny, Snell and Thompson, Introduction to Finite Mathematics (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 63, for the relationship between sets and compound statements so diagrammed. Since the measuring instruments for this research will not support analysis via sets, the presentation of theory is utilized only to clarify conceptual relationships that are not adequately defined in the English of ordinary speech. However, role theory is in need of even more precise statements for testing, and if further methodological problems can be solved, the use of sets and subsets may be feasible in future research into pretense or related phenomena.

"Calculated" means consciously intended. "Alienated" means separated from the self. "Concealed" means hidden. These three characteristics refer to role performance of the heterodox variety existing within a larger framework of orthodox performances. They cannot, however, be assumed to be exhaustive of the characteristics of heterodox performances.

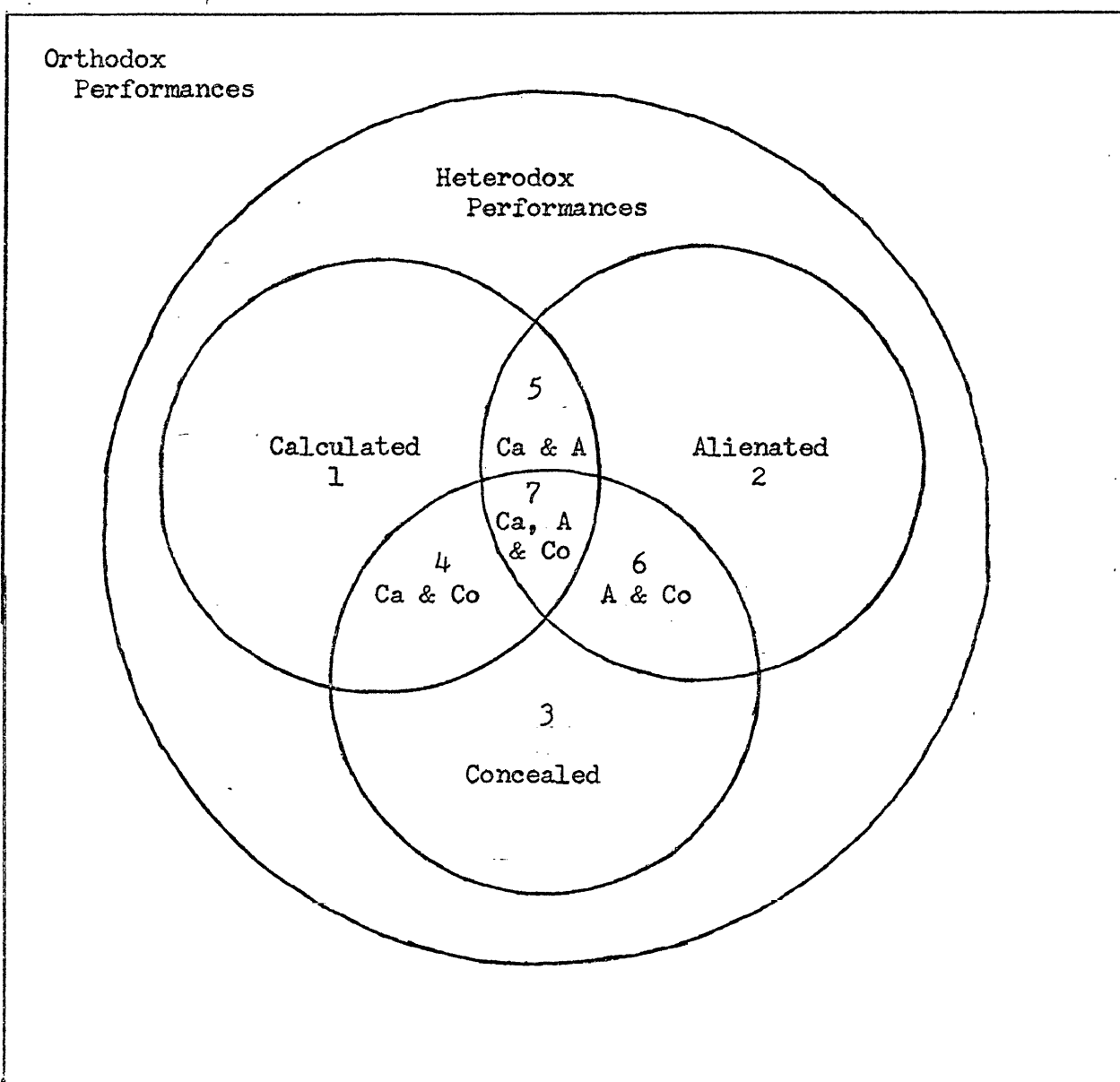
Any characteristic can be found independently or in combination with the others. In social life, which is mirrored in ordinary speech, these qualities of behavior are so frequently expressed together that it is difficult to find a word for one that does not imply the others in greater or lesser degree. Rather than coin new "pure" words for the basic characteristics described by the Venn diagram, this paper follows Zetterberg's advice.¹⁸ Ordinary language terms are used to encourage readability and general understanding for the lay reader. An attempt is then made to provide specific definitions that maximize precision, for scientific purposes.

Specific analysis of the characteristics pictured in the Venn diagram and relationships between the characteristics is necessary to an adequate theory of pretense. First each of the three characteristics of heterodox role performances will be described and illustrated. Each characteristic represents a violation of the orthodox norms. (1) Calculation violates the norm of spontaneity. An actor playing his role upon the stage is an example. He admits to being an actor (may, in fact, be proud of it); his role performance is not alienated from his self. The emotions

¹⁸Hans Zetterberg, On Theory and Verification in Sociology (Totowa, New Jersey: Bedminister Press, 1954, 1963, 1965), pp. 32-34.

he simulates and the lines he speaks are not spontaneous but consciously performed for effect. Both the audience and he are well aware, of course, that the interaction displayed is just a play. He does not contrive to pretend that the words and emotion are his own. (2) Alienation violates the assumption of compatibility (or congruence) of role with self. The

FIGURE 3
ROLE PERFORMANCES



behavior may, however, be open (e. g., role distance, the adults on a merry-go-round) and spontaneous as we have used these terms. Karl Marx indicates that the division of labor alienates man from his work.¹⁹ The factory worker is required to go through motions that have no relation to himself as a person, his goals, his self-concept. The pace and nature of his activities in the plant may be controlled by some external agency, e. g., the assembly line, to which he has become a human adjunct. Thus, his self can be exhibited only in his other (non-work) roles. (3) Concealment usually connotes conscious intent to obscure, but in this analysis it only means not visible. ("Calculation" carries the conscious element.) For example, in The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Goffman writes of "backstage" aspects of the playing of a role. The teacher, when before his audience of students, seems both learned and humorous; he gains such competence in hours of preparation which are invisible to the classroom audience. In his performance before his student audience his humor and erudition become manifest, but his memorization of jokes and quotations and his mnemonic devices remain concealed.

No one of these characteristics taken by itself--as illustrated by the actor, the factory worker, or the teacher--adequately define pretense, though all are in some way related to it. The next step, then, is to analyze the various combinations of characteristics, the areas of overlap in the Venn diagram.

¹⁹David Braybrooke, "Diagnosis and Remedy in Marx's Doctrine of Alienation," Social Research, 25:325-345, Autumn, 1958; and Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, 2nd Edition (New York: MacMillan, 1957, 1964), pp. 521-525.

Taken in combination, these characteristics give the following kinds of role performances. (4) Calculated-Concealed:²⁰ means that the individual is consciously putting on an act but conceals the fact that it is an act. The "act" in this case is not alien from the self-concept of the individual engaging in the deception. An example is that of a salesman who has a firm concept of himself as a salesman. In the salesman role, he exudes "confidence" in the product and "concern" for the prospective client in order to make a sale. Calculation of performance, as in the case of the dramatic actor, is essential to making the product attractive and to manipulating the emotions of the client. But if the client is aware that the confidence and concern are not spontaneous, he will become suspicious and will not buy. As a result, the calculation must be concealed.

This combination is akin to Goffman's concept "cynical role performance." It involves engaging in deceptive activities within a role which one basically identifies with. Two vivid illustrations were quoted earlier: "filling station attendants who resignedly check and recheck tire pressures for anxious women motorists (and) shoe clerks who sell a shoe that fits but tell the customer it is the size she wants to hear . . ." ²¹
In these cases, the employees may see themselves as good attendants or

²⁰Calculated-concealed implies the interaction of both variables within the playing of the role. Thus, the role is played with concealed calculation and is also played with calculated concealment. The two do not mean exactly the same thing and there is no implication that they are present in equal amounts in any role performance. All that the diagram indicates is that calculation and concealment are both present in the performance. Of course, calculation can affect all parts of the performance, including the thinking-through of the most effective means of concealing what calculation is going on.

²¹Goffman, Presentation, op. cit., p. 18.

clerks. They engage in deceptive activities within a role which they fully accept. The role is not alien, but both calculation and concealment are present.

(5) Calculated-Alienated role behavior is purposefully engaged in but is not congruent with the self-image. The individual is engaged in a role which is alien to his self-concept, and he consciously plans his activities within the role, but he does not conceal his alienation. This combination is basically what was discussed earlier as Goffman's concept "role distance." That is, it is openly expressed (exhibited) self-role incongruence (alienation). Goffman describes an adult riding a merry-go-round and exhibiting behavior that demonstrates that this role is inappropriate. Goffman does not explicitly discuss--though the illustration surely would suggest--the calculation which the adult engages in as he plans antics which will make the inappropriateness of the role apparent.

This combination of characteristics does not consist of role behavior which would generally be considered pretense. No deception is taking place, either by audience collusion or attempted audience delusion.

(6) Alienated-Concealed involves participation by an individual in a role which is alien to his self-concept and the alienation is concealed but neither the involvement in the role nor the concealment is consciously planned. Laing's description of self-definition among schizophrenics²² provides considerable evidence which indicates that this combination of characteristics is disorganizing to the personality when it occurs. The

²²R. D. Laing, The Divided Self (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1960, 1965).

false (alienated) self has become so real to the individual that he plays it spontaneously. Such a person begins to be unclear as to which of his "selves" is real (genuine) and which is false (alien).

An example might be a Negro who had been thoroughly socialized into behavior as an inferior in the presence of whites. He may serve as a dignitary in the black community and have a concept of himself as a knowledgeable and able man. In the presence of whites he plays an alien role, concealing his true self-concept; yet he may play this alien role quite unconsciously (without calculation).²³

(7) Calculated-Alienated-Concealed role behavior consists of the complete rejection of the assumptions of the orthodox performance. It is represented by the control segment of the Venn diagram in the area where all three circles overlap.

This combination involves taking an alien role, calculating one's activities in the role, and concealing both the alienation and the calculation. The college girls whom Komarovsky studied were involved in contradictory roles. As previously noted, they socialized into the role of bright, aggressive, competitive achievers. But in order to succeed in the social sphere, they had to take an alien role, the traditional feminine role as naive, inept, and non-intellectual persons. This required conscious planning to exhibit behavior consistent with what was expected in the alien role, and it required concealment of both the alienation and the calculation involved in the role performance.

²³One could speculate that a social situation which requires such thorough segregation of selves may account in part for the high occurrence of schizophrenia in minority groups.

The role of prison inmate requires that one take the alien role of a "reformed" man and plan behavior which will convince prison officials that he is reformed. The role of prostitute requires that a woman pretend to be greatly impressed and enchanted by a man who may be repulsive to her; she must plan behavior which will demonstrate love when she feels contempt.

Employee roles toward supervisors, social contacts between persons who dislike each other, and many other examples in everyday life involve similar relations. One behaves in ways that are alien to his self-concept, engages in conscious planning of the behavior exhibited, and conceals both the alienation and the calculation.

Completely orthodox role performance (spontaneous, open and genuine) implies sincerity of purpose and willingness to participate honestly in a transaction. Completely heterodox role performance (calculated, alienated, concealed) implies a manipulatory purpose and an intention to structure a transaction to the advantage of the performer. Sincerity is expected among friends and intimates; manipulation is at least possible in secular and instrumental relationships, as among buyers and sellers (caveat emptor) or between diplomat and diplomat.

This is perhaps the most common form of pretense. The reality of manipulative purpose is masked by the posture of sincerity--which indicates the necessary co-existence of heterodox and orthodox role assumptions if pretense is to exist. There is a mixture of primary and secondary group expectations in pretense and the result yields opportunities for manipulating transactions.

One further example of the fully heterodox role performance is helpful, for it shows the difficulty of dealing with or measuring the "alienated" characteristic depicted in the Venn diagram. The illustration is the con game--particularly "cooling the mark out."²⁴ The con man is engaged in a performance that is alien to the self-image of loyalty and reliability he maintains among his friends and associates in the criminal subculture. The game may be the selling of worthless stock or stones. The "mark" (the object of con game) is tricked by using his own greed for easy, not fully honest, gains. As the amounts of money are often large and the marks wary, it takes a constantly calculated performance on the part of the con man to gain and hold his confidence while concealing the spurious nature of the supposedly profitable undertaking.

This example is a good one as long as the con man finds his deception of the mark alien to his self-concept. Part of the ideology of the criminal subculture, however, is an antidote to such feelings--a rationale indicating why the victim deserves what he gets. Where the con man has completely rationalized his trade to himself, he would more appropriately be placed in category concealed-calculated. Behavior in other roles would be subject to the same qualification. Only the individual himself can be sure he is a hypocrite. The kind of role behavior which is alien to the self depends on the definition of behavior in relation to the internalized values of the self.

²⁴David W. Maurer, The Big Con (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1940). Also Erving Goffman, "On Cooling the Mark Out," Psychiatry, 15:451-463, November, 1952.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The general proposition which develops from this analysis, then, is that pretense is a role performance which violates more than one of the orthodox assumptions of spontaneity, genuineness, and openness. This analysis has, however, pointed to two combinations in relation to which qualifications should be made: (1) Alienated-Concealed (but spontaneous) performances are likely to be exhibited in psychotic individuals. In order to avoid the complexities posed by dealing with such individuals, this research will be limited to presumably normal people. This combination, then, will be eliminated from further consideration. (2) Alienated-Calculated (but open) performances (Goffman's "role distance," adults riding a merry-go-round) does not constitute what is generally considered to be pretense, although it is closely related to pretense. Even though the individual is putting on an "act," it is not an act which is deceiving any audience. The "act" is consistent with the individual's self-concept; in fact, the behavior uses exaggeration as a means of affirming one's self-concept and denying the alien role.

The general proposition eliminated any definition of pretense in terms of any one of the characteristics (circles) taken independently. The qualifications have eliminated two of the intersections: #5 (alienated-calculated) and #6 (alienated-concealed). Thus, pretense, for the purposes of this paper, will be defined as role behavior that is represented by intersections #4 (calculated-concealed) and #7 (calculated-concealed-alienated) in the Venn diagram. Since calculation-concealment is the combination which is common to both intersections, it appears that this combination

provides the essential definition of pretense and that alienation can either be present or absent. Thus, pretense is role behavior that incorporates calculation and concealment whether or not it is alien to the self.

In short, concealment-calculation can serve as a defining attribute for the behavior which has thus far been called pretense. Concealment-calculation has as its aim deception, whether by taking a role to which one is not really committed or by exhibiting activities which are intended to convey to the audience something which is not the case.

This organization of role theory terminology and concepts provides a framework from which to examine the factors involved in pretense and its relationship to rewards in our society. Pretense is an attribute of role, not position ("status" to Linton); but the relationships between role and position provide clues as to places in social structure where pretense may be expected. For example, since many bureaucratic structures place control of the future advancement of an employee in the hands of his immediate supervisor, the employee may ordinarily be expected to behave in ways that are pleasing to his supervisor and to avoid behavior which is distasteful to the supervisor. Since the freedom of the prison inmate is conditional upon behavior which satisfies the prison officials' definition of a reformed man, it is to be expected that inmates who are interested in early parole will seek to behave in ways consistent with that definition.

Exchange theory directs attention to roles such as these where the opportunity of reward is maximized by engaging in pretense and the costs of pretense are minimal. The personal costs related to pretending to be "reformed" are negligible in relation to the reward of being outside the

prison walls--and some of the potential costs, such as rejection by peers, can be turned into rewards by interpreting successful conning as an achievement rather than as a "sell out." Pretense could be anticipated, then, in situations of significant reward, especially if reward is controlled by a "superior" over whom the "inferior" has little or no control.

Reward and punishment are linked, of course, in that reward is often no more than escape from punishment. Therefore, pretense can be expected in situations where the pretender has much to lose by not pretending as well as in situations where he has much to gain by pretending. Negroes in the old South, who did not appear properly subservient--and "happy" in their subservience--were often subjected to physical violence and/or other forms of intimidation or retribution. The swindler ignores the real risks in his role because of the high rewards it may bring. Fundamental to this whole discussion of cause is the idea that the individual is aware of the alternatives. In orthodox role-playing, he probably is not--which is to say, again, that pretense is calculated rather than spontaneous.

As discussed in the introductory chapter in reference to the effects of urbanization on pretense, social structure consideration would further lead one to expect pretense in situations of relative anonymity. Since the costs related to pretense depend largely on recognition that deception is being attempted, pretense is more likely in structural situations where contacts are functional in nature and limited to contacts within a single role.

Thus, some combinations of: (a) significant reward for pretense; and/or (b) powerlessness to avoid punishment; along with (c) opportunity

for concealment (more frequent in situations providing anonymity outside of a specified role) will characterize social positions where behavior appropriate for this study may be expected. It is suggested that this combination of factors is found frequently enough among University students in their relationships to grade-giving teachers to make them a suitable population for this research.²⁵

While concealment and calculation were both found (and only found together) in the segments of the Venn diagram that have been taken as definitive for pretense, alienation was found in one segment and not the other (and, of course, outside as well). The theoretical problem that was discussed with the calculated-concealment-alienated segment has, in connection with it, a research problem. All concealment and calculation (in combination) will be found in pretense performances but alienation may be present in some, not in others, and present in some non-pretenders and not in others, as can be seen by reference to the diagram.

On one hand there are students who perceive pretense--conning the prof--as an aspect of their role (as acceptable normal behavior) and engage in it regularly. Pretense is alien to the self-image of others. They may reject it as an "illegitimate" mode of behavior (and resent those who employ it), though rewards and opportunity are available. Or such students may engage in pretense and disassociate themselves from these acts. For example, if acts alien to the self are in fact done, they may be excused as not a part of the self--"you've got to do it," "I look at it as a game."

²⁵Howard S. Becker, Blanche Greer, Everett C. Hughes, Making the Grade: The Academic Side of College Life (New York: Johh. Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

As previously noted, it would be extremely difficult to identify and control for the relevant internalized values in the selves of students and thus to deal with concealment and calculation in role apart from alienation. Therefore, investigative techniques are needed that permit confirmation by general trends despite individual variation--that is, by statistical tests leading to generalizations. If the research is fruitful in revealing relationships between academic success and concealment-calculation in role playing in unselected student populations, further research may be justified. In such research, control of the influence of internalized values concerning concealment-calculation in the selves of subjects would be an objective of high priority.

The introduction to this theoretical discussion began with the common-sense definitions of some familiar aspects of social life. Although most common-sense approaches to pretense ("hypocrisy," "phoniness") proceed from the individualistic and moralistic premises that permeate spoken English and stress alienation from the self, this analysis has indicated that alienation is in fact an ambiguous element. Consequently, at the present level of measurement, pretense can more usefully be defined in terms of concealment-calculation. The questions of the development of self, the internalization of norms and alienation are ones of very great importance. They are, however, tangential to this research, which concentrates on the more limited "middle-range" concept of pretense.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES AND DEFINITIONS

HYPOTHESES

The focus of this study is the question, "Is pretense rewarded?" In reference to the conceptual framework set forth above, the hypothesis to be tested is:

H₁: The greater a student's inclination to engage in pretense in his role in relationship to his teachers,¹ the greater the reward he will receive from the teachers.

Of secondary concern is what factors influence or are related to pretense. The theoretical discussion has suggested several types of factors which may be related to the inclination to engage in pretense:

- (a) amount and nature of self-role incongruence (alienation in the special sense we have defined it) in the student role;
- (b) degree of powerlessness of the role as felt by the subjects;
- (c) ability to "rationalize" or legitimize behavior;
- (d) relative value of costs and rewards related to pretense;
- (e) perceived opportunity to engage in pretense;

¹The phrasing "students . . . in relationship to teachers . . ." is chosen to call attention to the fact that in the student role set there are a variety of possible reference groups and the hypothesis to be tested does not refer to pretense in the student-fellow student relationship or any of the others except the one specified. This is what Goffman discusses when he says that all we can really study is "one regular activity" in a "situationed activity system . . . We deal, then, with 'small group' phenomena in natural setting." Erving Goffman, Encounter (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1961), pp. 95-96.

- (f) perceived chances of success of pretense;
- (g) personality factors, such as authoritarianism;
- (h) reference groups of pretending versus non-pretending parents and fellow-students.

While these factors are not systematically defined and delineated in this paper, an attempt is made to begin to explore relationships which might exist. This exploration involves eight sub-hypotheses, each stating a correlation between a factor and inclination to engage in pretense:

- H_a: The greater the self-role congruence, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_b: The greater the sense of powerlessness (Mitchell's anomie²), the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_c: The greater the ability to legitimize one's behavior, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_d: The greater the value of the rewards involved in success in college, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_e: The greater the perceived opportunities to engage in pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_f: The greater the perceived chances of success possible through pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_g: The greater the authoritarianism, the less the inclination to engage in pretense.
- H_h: The more the reference groups approve of pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense.

²John Mitchell, "Cons, Square-Johns, and Rehabilitation," in Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 210.

THEORETICAL DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

IN THE MAJOR HYPOTHESIS

1. Pretense: Role performance characterized by concealment-calculation.
 - a. Calculation: Conscious planning by an individual in a role.
 - b. Concealment: Hiding or disguising from the audience.

Thus when concealment and calculation occur together in a role performance, it is expected that the individual in the role will consciously plan to present to an audience an impression of reality which differs from the impression it would obtain if he played his role with spontaneity and openness.
 - c. Alienation: Involvement in a role which is inconsistent with one's self-concept.
2. Students: Persons enrolled in an educational institution.
3. Role: Behavior specified by formal prescription and/or informal expectations and required of individuals occupying a given position.³ The specified behavior may require orthodox role performance, heterodox performance, or some combination of the two.
4. Teachers: Persons who instruct students and have authority to evaluate their work and to give grades indicating evaluation of the work.
5. Reward: A positive value; a benefit; in the case of students, high grades.

³Goffman's definition is similar: "Role consists of the activity the incumbent would engage in were he to act solely in terms of the normative demands upon someone in his position." Goffman, op. cit., p. 85.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

IN THE MAJOR HYPOTHESIS

1. Pretense: Pretense is operationally defined by means of a scale which will be discussed in the next chapter. The theoretical analysis suggests three dimensions of pretense for which information of a quantifiable kind would be useful.
 - a. Calculation: In contrast to the spontaneity of an orthodox role performance, pretense is calculated--done intentionally. The performer must then be aware of the alternatives open to him. This is simple but basic, for a student who wins faculty approval by doing what, for him, is spontaneous and genuine, might be behaving indistinguishably from another student who is engaging in pretense.
 - b. Concealment: It is important that the performance not be revealed to the teacher as anything other than genuine. Nevertheless it must be of a kind to single out the student for favorable attention. To accomplish this requires a knowledge of techniques--the effective things to say and do which will elicit positive response by the teacher without giving the game away by showing that he is being manipulated.
 - c. Alienation: This factor, as an earlier discussion points out, is problematical. It can either be present or absent when pretense is manifest. However, alienation is important because it represents a limiting factor or boundary outside of which effective pretense is not possible. That is, the individual can tolerate only a certain degree of alienation or self-role incongruence before the

strain becomes unbearable. Where this boundary lies varies among individuals depending on three factors: (1) the self-concept of the individual; (2) the amount of alienation or incongruence which the individual is able to tolerate; (3) the ability of the individual to rationalize the situation so that, from a subjective point of view, the amount of alienation is reduced.

Simplest is the case of the student who finds putting on an act to the teacher not alien to his view of himself ("Nothing wrong in being friendly and tactful"). If he knows of a possibility and how to use it, he will. For the student who disapproves of such behavior in himself and in others (one who regards it as dishonest and himself as honest, or as demeaning and himself as equal to the teacher) there are two obvious outcomes--he may put on an act or refuse to do so. If he will not, perhaps he will reveal circumstances under which he would. If he engages in pretense, he can be expected to find some way of explaining the paradox of committing acts that are alien to his view of himself. For example, he might say that he is powerless to do otherwise, or that it is part of the system that he must fit into or revolt against (either reason will suffice in this case) or give some other justification. In short, willingness does not only raise the question, "Is pretense right or wrong?" but must (at least for some respondents) add "under what circumstances?"

Based upon the discussion of these three characteristics (calculation, concealment, and alienation) it would seem that different persons,

in given situations and striving for given goals, will vary in degree of inclination to engage in pretense. G. W. Allport defines attitude as "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."⁴ Thus, inclination to engage in pretense can and will be measured by means of an attitude scale.

The scale provides an indication of the general awareness that aspects of the teacher-student relationship can be manipulated by the student, in addition to measuring the inclination (low to high willingness) to employ pretense techniques. In addition to the attitude scale, the questionnaire allows the student to indicate the extent of his knowledge of the techniques of pretense.

2. Students: Persons enrolled in several courses at the University of Nebraska at Omaha (UN-O) during the summer of 1969.
3. Role: Behavior that the UN-O students are expected, formally or informally to exhibit toward their courses and their teachers, as delineated in formal University rules, as stated or implied by the words and actions of University teachers, and as conveyed between students in formal and informal ways. The expected behavior may involve orthodox role performance, heterodox performance, or some combination of the two.
4. Teachers: Persons who instruct students in several courses at the UN-O during the summer of 1969 and who have the authority to give grades to the students.

⁴G. W. Allport, "Attitudes," in C. Murchison, ed., Handbook of Social Psychology (Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University Press, 1935), p. 810.

5. Reward: Grades received, taking academic ability into account. College entrance examination scores for each student in the sample is the predicted score. The grade point average of the student is taken as his performance score. The differential between predicted score and performance score is called reward and it can have magnitude and direction (+ or -).

DISCUSSION OF SUB-HYPOTHESES

It may be helpful to clarify further some of the reasons for suggesting associations between the phenomena involved in the sub-hypotheses and the inclination toward pretense.

(a) Self-role incongruence: Self-role incongruence is enacting a role which violates or is alien to one's self-concept. Although the difficulty of measuring this phenomenon has been admitted, its importance requires that some attempt be made to find a measure of it in order to provide empirical data about a relationship that seems probable from a theoretical perspective.

(b) Powerlessness or Anomie: Mitchell's concept of role calculation--the conscious and deliberate simulation of conformity to the demands of power defined as real but not as moral to the persons under its control--was discussed earlier. Mitchell associates such role calculation with a social system of powerlessness or anomie.

If we conceive of a system in a high degree of consensus, we may correctly infer that spontaneous, natural role playing will obtain within it. In an anomic system, however, role playing will be replaced by role calculation.⁵

⁵Mitchell, loc. cit.

If Mitchell is correct, then the inclination to engage in pretense should vary directly with the sense of being powerless or of being in an anomic social system.⁶

(c) Ability to rationalize or legitimize: If practicing pretense creates self-role incongruence for a student, one of the factors which seems related to his choice is his ability to legitimize the pretense behavior so that it becomes consistent with his self-concept. Thus, ability to rationalize or legitimize should be directly associated with pretense.

(d) Value of Costs and Rewards: The discussion of exchange theory in Chapter II suggests that reward and cost are elements influencing behavioral choices. If the value of the reward associated with a particular behavior is perceived by an individual as high and/or if the cost of not engaging in the activity is perceived as high, then the individual is likely to engage in the activity (behavior). The fourth sub-hypothesis tests this relationship.

(e) Perceived Opportunity to Engage in Pretense and (f) Perceived Chances of Success: These two factors are fairly clear and self-explanatory.

⁶Mitchell's definition of an anomic social system is important here: "If we may define a community as a legitimate hierarchy of status emanating from a relatively stable matrix of consensus, the prison cannot be termed a community. A prison in its nature exemplifies a social system based on a maximum of compulsion, the corollary of which is a minimum of consensus. Now the compulsory segregation of random and transient individuals under an impersonal authority does not and cannot create consensus. The formal and informal power of the prison can compel conformity to its demands, but it cannot evoke unconscious and voluntary assent to them. By putting a man in such a situation, we are in effect locating him in a social system which is endemically anomic." Mitchell, loc. cit.

The assumption is that one is more likely to do that in which he has high chances of succeeding. The association may not be as likely, however, as it first seems. Here the complexity of the interdependence of the various factors becomes apparent. One may have the continual opportunity and the likelihood of success in obtaining a job which he would find enjoyable and professionally satisfying. Yet, if the salary is inadequate to sustain his family or the prestige is less than he would find acceptable, he may be unwilling to take such a job. Thus, it is questionable whether these factors can stand independently, but it seems valuable to test the association empirically.

(g) Personality factors: There may be several personality factors which are influential in determining whether one is inclined toward pretense. The personality factor chosen for a test of association is authoritarianism. Authoritarianism may, on the one hand, influence one to resist the pressures to engage in behavior which is distasteful but perceived as rewarding. On the other hand, authoritarianism may influence one to set forth his legitimation more firmly and thus permit more freedom to engage in the behavior. Hypothesis H_g states the association as the former--that authoritarian personalities will tend to reject pretense.

(h) Reference Groups: Since persons in a group are likely to share beliefs--whether because the group changes the individual or because of the way that the individual chooses groups (or both)--it is hypothesized that the reference groups' attitudes toward pretense will be directly associated with the individual's attitudes toward pretense. In this research on college students, reference groups are assumed to be parents and close friends.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The aim of this research was to explore the relationship between pretense and rewards. A secondary goal was to study the relationship between pretense and several phenomena which may be associated with this attitude.

OUTLINE OF STUDY DESIGN

The study design for testing the major hypothesis was:

1. Development and administration of a scale to measure pretense
 - a. Development of items and composition of the scale construction pretest questionnaire
 - b. Administration of scale construction pretest
 - c. Analysis of item discrimination and selection of items for the revised questionnaire
 - d. Administration of questionnaire to research population
2. Measurement of reward
 - a. General information sheet
 - b. Cooperative School and College Achievement Test (SCAT) scores for all students in the population
 - c. Grade point averages for all students in the population
 - d. Calculation of "Reward": standardization of both scores, followed by subtraction of the SCAT score from the GPA
3. Tested correlation between pretense and reward by means of Gamma and Gamma significance tests

In addition to these basic procedures, related explorations were made:

1. Tested correlation between pretense scores and demographic factors
2. Tested correlation between the pretense scores and the phenomena involved in the eight sub-hypotheses.

POPULATION

The universe for this study was college students enrolled in seven sociology courses at the University of Nebraska at Omaha during the first summer session of 1969. The total enrollment in the seven courses at the beginning of the session was 434. However, since the operational definition of one of the variables required that scores on the UN-0 placement examination be obtained for every person included in the population, only 143 of the students were eligible to be included in the population. The universe was further reduced to 122 when 18 of the students did not take the questionnaire and 3 of those who did take it failed to answer one full page.

The fact that only 143 of the 434 students had taken the UN-0 placement examination is an indication of the special composition of the UN-0 Summer School student population. Data gathered on the total enrollment of the seven classes revealed that nearly half of the 434 students were seniors and another 20 per cent were unclassified--the University had no record of them other than summer school records. Many of these were Omaha natives who were matriculated in other colleges and universities and were simply picking up some credits while at home during the summer. These factors

were not crucial to the research, however, since this was conceived of as an exploratory study on a non-representative population.

The study was descriptive and it involved a complete enumeration of the population. No claim of the representativeness of the universe as a sample of a larger one--e. g., all students--has been made.

College students were chosen as subjects both because of their availability and because several of the factors mentioned in the theoretical discussion are present in the student role. Again, these factors include powerlessness, high cost and reward potential, much opportunity for socialization into techniques of pretense, and sufficient anonymity to provide opportunity to engage in pretense in role performance.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONSTRUCTION AND ADMINISTRATION

The main data gathering technique was a questionnaire. The questionnaire consisted of two sections. Section I was designed to measure the eight factors related to the eight sub-hypotheses. Section II of the questionnaire was designed to measure the phenomenon of central concern to this research--pretense. Because the major hypothesis was tested by Section II, that section will be discussed first.

1. Development of Items and Composition of the Scale Construction Pretest Questionnaire

The basic element of Section II was a Likert-type attitude scale.¹ In the early stages of the study, consideration was given to use of a

¹Use of such a scale assumes that pretense is a continuous rather than a discrete phenomenon. That is, it assumes that pretense can be exhibited in varying degrees which can be plotted on a continuum with minimum concealment-calculation at one extreme and maximum at the other.

Thurstone-type scale. However, it was quickly discovered that the relative value of each of the various items in relation to the phenomenon of pretense was not readily apparent. Consequently almost no "trends" could be discerned relative to the values given by the judges. Therefore, the decision was made to shift to the Likert-type scale, which allows greater flexibility in this regard.²

In order to gather information and ideas for a maximum range of items for the first draft of the questionnaire, which would be used in the scale construction pretest, interviews were held with three groups of students. There were fifteen to thirty students in each group and each of the sessions lasted fifty minutes. All of the sessions were tape recorded and later transcribed. The sessions were held at colleges other than UN-O in order to minimize the possibility of contaminating the research population.

The students were asked to discuss the various techniques that they had heard of or had used to "con" professors. The students exhibited willingness, beyond the expectation of the researcher, to discuss freely the pretense mechanisms employed personally and by acquaintances. The discussion sessions provided not only a rich reservoir of ideas for items, but also kinds of terminology and phraseology which was helpful in writing

²Claire Selltitz, *et. al.*, Research Methods in Social Relations, Revised One-Volume Edition, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951, 1959, 1967), p. 368, states: "The Likert-type scale . . . permits the use of items that are not manifestly related to the attitude being studied. . . . In the Thurstone method, the necessity of agreement among judges tends to limit items to content that is obviously related to the attitude in question; in the Likert method, any item that is found empirically to be consistent with the total score can be included."

the items in "student language." A total of seventy-two items were assembled from this source and other more informal sources.³

The prologue to the questionnaire was written in a form that allowed the student to define the pretense situation in such a way that he could justify engaging in pretense and would feel a minimum of moral evaluation for his deception. This was accomplished by referring to the "large, impersonal University" and the consequent necessity to find ways to make oneself known to professors, both personally and in terms of abilities. It was felt that this form of "bias" in the prologue was important to assure candor on the part of the respondent.

The student was then asked to assume that he was preparing to register for his next semester classes. He and his friends were discussing the techniques they would use to get good grades in the courses. The scale, then, was a list of items stated in the future tense which represented deceptive activities suggested by the group. The respondent was asked to rate, in terms of a five choice agree-disagree Likert series, what his attitude was toward each of the techniques.

One disadvantage of the form of the items measuring inclination to engage in pretense should be noted. Because of the decision to use a list of pretense techniques to form the scale, all of the items were stated in one direction; that is, a "strongly agree" response had a weight of five for all items rather than having a weight of five for part of the items and a weight of one for others. While this was recognized as a weakness, the alternatives seemed less desirable.

³See Appendix for "Scale Construction Pretest Questionnaire".

The aim of this Likert scale was to measure the inclination to use pretense mechanisms. Although this was considered the most crucial measurement to make, the theoretical discussion and operational definition of pretense suggested that there were two aspects in addition to inclination (willingness) which might be important to have in any instrument measuring pretense. The first was "knowledge of the techniques" of pretense. This posed a problem since the seventy-two deception techniques provided an education in itself. Thus, two separate operations were built into Section II of the questionnaire. In addition to the five-choice Likert series in the right margin after each item, each item was preceded in the left margin by a "yes-no" choice. The respondents were asked to read through the list of items twice. The first time they were simply to circle "yes" or "no" to indicate whether they had ever heard of students using the technique. Only after this were the respondents to circle a Likert choice which reflected their attitudes toward the techniques.

The final aspect suggested in the operational definition of pretense was "awareness" of pretense as an alternative form of role behavior. It seemed unnecessary to develop any specific measure of awareness since it could be assumed that anyone who scored even moderately on the knowledge and attitude aspects would surely be aware of pretense as a behavioral alternative.

Section I of the questionnaire consisted of a set of Likert-type items to measure each of the eight phenomena involved in the eight sub-hypotheses. The aim was to create sub-scales to measure each of the eight phenomena. It will be noted that the number of items pertaining to each

phenomenon varied from eight to twenty-two with the exception of the factor related to personality (authoritarianism) for which a standardized F scale was used as the measuring instrument.⁴ For the purpose of clarity, the questionnaire in the appendix has the items separated and placed under the headings of the eight phenomena. On the actual questionnaire which was administered in the scale construction pretest, the headings were, of course, removed and the items were randomly placed to constitute a total of eighty-two items in Section I. Also the items for all but one (the standardized F scale) of the eight phenomena being measured were stated in both positive and negative forms to avoid the weakness previously mentioned.

2. Administration of the Scale Construction Pretest Questionnaire

Once the scale construction pretest questionnaire was completed, it was administered to a population of 140 college students attending summer school classes at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln (UN-L). As with the group interviews for gathering information for items, the pretest was conducted on a campus other than UN-O as a precaution against possible contamination of the research population. The students at UN-L who took the questionnaire were students enrolled in chemistry, religion, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and speech courses. The basis for selection was simply those professors who would agree to cooperate with the pretest. In

⁴Referred to in Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study," American Sociological Review, 21:713, December, 1956. It should also be noted here that the items in the Srole "anomie scale" and the theoretical background for each of the five components of the scale (as presented in this same article, pp. 712-713) served as the basis for the development of the thirteen items of the "powerlessness" (anomie) sub-scale.

some cases the entire class took the questionnaire during their regular class hour. In other cases sign-up sheets were provided to the instructor who either (1) asked that those who were willing to help should sign up to take the questionnaire during one of three scheduled hours or (2) agreed to give some grade credit to those who would cooperate with the research. During the three scheduled questionnaire administration sessions, sign-in sheets were provided and then lists were sent to each instructor indicating those students who had taken the questionnaire.

3. Analysis of Item Discrimination and Selection of Items for Revised Questionnaire

The next step in the development of the instrument was an analysis of the discrimination level of the items in order to choose the best items for creation of the main pretense scale and the eight sub-scales. Since the UN-O Computer Center could not provide an item analysis of the discrimination value of weighted items (as a Likert Scale involves), a less satisfactory and more time-consuming manual method had to be used.

The process⁵ for determining the discrimination value of each item can be illustrated by showing how one of the scales was constructed. For example, the major scale was designed to measure inclination to engage in pretense.

First a score was computed for each respondent by summing the values of his responses on all of the items on Section II of the questionnaire. Then the respondents were rank-ordered on the basis of high-to-low total

⁵This process is basically that described by Selltitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

score on the pretense items. The scores ranged from a high of 319 to a low of 122.

The Data Processing Center had previously made cards containing the responses of each respondent on all items. The cards of the respondents in the upper and lower quartiles were then selected and treated as separate populations. The computer then compiled a list of the total number of respondents in each quartile population who marked each response on the individual items of the questionnaire.

For example, because of tie scores, there were thirty-three respondents in the upper "quartile" for the pretense scale and thirty-five in the lower "quartile." A tabulation on some sample items were:

	<u>Item #</u>	<u>Response Value:</u>	<u>SD</u> <u>1</u>	<u>D</u> <u>2</u>	<u>DK</u> <u>3</u>	<u>A</u> <u>4</u>	<u>SA</u> <u>5</u>
Upper Quartile	1		0	1	0	24	8
	31		2	5	1	15	10
	65		0	2	2	21	8
Lower Quartile	1		3	11	4	17	0
	31		10	10	8	6	1
	65		4	23	2	6	0

The general pattern of responses was determined by combining the numbers under responses values 1 and 2 (representing "strongly disagree" and disagree" responses) and those under 4 and 5 (representing "agree" and "strongly agree" responses).

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Upper Quartile</u>		<u>Lower Quartile</u>	
	<u>SD & D</u>	<u>SA & A</u>	<u>SD & D</u>	<u>SA & A</u>
1	1	32	14	17
31	7	25	20	7
65	2	29	27	6

This allowed for immediate discard of the items with the weakest discrimination, i. e., items (such as #1) where the relationship between agree and disagree responses was in the same direction for both the upper and lower quartiles.

The next step was to do a more detailed analysis of the remaining items. This was done by computing a total score on the item for each quartile, subtracting the score of the lower quartile from that of the upper, and then rank-ordering the resulting discrimination score.

	<u>Item #31</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>		
Upper Quartile:	(Responses)	2	5	1	15	10	=	125
	(Weighted)	2	10	3	60	50		
Lower Quartile:	(Responses)	10	10	8	6	1	=	<u>83</u>
	(Weighted)	10	20	24	24	5		
Discrimination Score								42
	<u>Item #65</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>		
Upper Quartile:	(Responses)	0	2	2	21	8	=	134
	(Weighted)	0	4	6	84	40		
Lower Quartile:	(Responses)	4	23	2	6	0	=	<u>80</u>
	(Weighted)	4	46	6	24	0		
Discrimination Score								54

Once the rank-ordering had been made, the actual content of the questions was reviewed. Two items in the top twenty were discarded because their content was repetitious of other items with higher discrimination scores. After these two exclusions, the twenty items with the highest discrimination scores were chosen.⁶

⁶A more sophisticated process for establishing discrimination values exists and it even provides a "rule of thumb" for the value which should be

This same basic process was repeated to construct the sub-scales in Section I, except, of course, for the authoritarian scale which was a standardized scale. In those cases the number of items accepted to constitute the final scales varied from three to five items, depending on several factors, including (1) where there seemed to be a relatively large gap in the rank-ordered discrimination scores, and (2) at what point the greatest diversity of content of items could be retained.

4. Administration of Questionnaire to Research Population

The planned procedure, of course, was that the analysis of item discrimination and construction of the revised questionnaire would occur, followed by the administration of this revised questionnaire to the research population. However, because of unanticipated problems in obtaining the analysis of item discrimination, there was a major delay in the completion of this process. Pressures of time and the desire not to lose the opportunity to administer the questionnaire to the planned population necessitated a compromise.

The compromise was that the entire 159-item scale construction pre-test questionnaire was administered to the research population. The scoring of these questionnaires was delayed, however, until after the item analysis was completed, so that only the items selected for the revised questionnaire were computed in calculating the scores of the respondents in the research population.

used as a cut-off point for minimum acceptable discrimination value. However, the process is too complex for manual calculation and since computer assistance was not readily available, this possibility was discarded. For details on the formula, see Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957), pp. 152-155.

Prior to administration of the questionnaire to the seven UN-0 sociology classes, determination had been made (a delayed discussion will appear later in this chapter) of which students enrolled in the seven classes had taken the UN-0 placement examinations and were thus eligible to be part of the research population. In two of the classes the number of persons who could be included in the population was so small that it did not warrant taking class time to give the questionnaire. In those cases a letter was given to the thirteen persons who fell in this category asking that they come to the Sociology Department to take the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was given to the total enrollment of the other five classes.⁷ The fifteen students in the population, who were absent from class the day of the administration, were sent letters asking them to come to the Sociology Department to take the questionnaire. Thus, of the potential universe of 143, 28 persons were asked to take the questionnaire on their own time. Only ten of the twenty-eight responded by completing the questionnaire,⁸ so a total of 125 students completed the questionnaire.

⁷In the administration to the research population (as well as to the pretest population), the reactions of some of the respondents were of interest. Older females seemed dismayed and simply felt that the questionnaire did not apply to them. Some older males, particularly men in the "Bootstrap" program, were offended by the questionnaire and expressed hostility toward the administrator; their comments indicated that they felt that the items questioned their honesty, maturity and integrity. A few young females seemed shocked that one would even suggest deception and one wrote on the end of the questionnaire, "Do you hate students or do you hate professors?"

⁸It should be noted that although most of these ten filled out the questionnaire while sitting at a desk under the supervision of the departmental secretary, a few respondents took the questionnaires home and returned them the following day. These students were given special instructions not to discuss the questionnaire with anyone while completing it.

As previously noted, three of the questionnaires had one entire page unanswered, so these were eliminated, making the final universe 122.

MEASUREMENT OF REWARD

1. The "General Information" Sheet (See Appendix)

The face sheet (General Information Sheet) for the questionnaire had two basic functions: (a) to provide certain demographic data which might be used as controls if it was determined that there was any pattern of greater or lesser inclination toward pretense on the basis of sex, age, racial or ethnic group, college class, major, college of enrollment or membership in fraternal organizations, and (b) to obtain information which would help to determine whether the student had taken the UN-O placement examination. (Questions 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16 all helped in this determination.) The name and social security number were obtainable from class enrollment lists but were included on the face sheet as well.

The face sheet also served a strategic use. When the questionnaire was given to the research population, it was necessary to have names on the questionnaires so that the questionnaire scores could be matched with the SCAT and GPA scores for each respondent. However, it was also crucial that anonymity be assured in order to increase the likelihood of candor in the responses. Thus, the face sheet was given to all seven classes about two weeks in advance of the administration of the questionnaire. The SCAT scores and the GPA's were obtained on all students who had taken it and this information was added to the face sheets. Then when the questionnaire was administered, the line for the respondent's name was drawn diagonally across the upper right hand corner of the first page, and a parallel dotted line was

drawn directly below it. This created a visual means of affirming to the respondent the truth of the statement in the introduction to the questionnaire:

Names are requested only so that the researcher can match this questionnaire with the "general information" sheet which you previously filled out. As soon as the matching is done, all names will be eliminated from all sources so that anonymity will be guaranteed, even from the researcher.

2. The Cooperative School and College Achievement Test (SCAT) Scores

It was fairly simple to eliminate quickly (on the basis of general information sheet data) a large number of the students who would never have had the occasion to take the UN-O placement examinations. UN-O placement examinations are taken only by students who are or anticipate being full-time students at UN-O during the Fall or Spring semester. (Students who carry a full academic load during summer sessions are not considered full-time students.) If a student transfers to UN-O with 58 or more hours credit, he is exempt from the placement exam. Thus, all military men in the "Bootstrap" program, as well as many other students, were excluded from the research population.

All students who had definitely taken the examinations or who might have taken it (even if they said they did not in response to question #14 on the "general information" sheet) were included on the list for which SCAT scores were sought. These scores were obtained from the files of the Guidance and Counseling Department after proper approval and clearance.

The UN-O placement examination consists of several tests, major among which are the SCAT, which is published by the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, and the Ohio Test (Ohio State University Psychology

Test). According to information on the two tests⁹ both are group intelligence tests and measure the same basic abilities.¹⁰ Much less printed material was available, however, to explain the Ohio Test. Other factors seeming essentially equal, the SCAT score was chosen for use as the "prediction score." The mean for the national percentile scores¹¹ was 58.9 per cent for the research population, almost nine percentage points above what the mean should be for a normal distribution. Nevertheless, since only rank was important for the evaluation statistics, the national percentile score was used rather than the raw scores.¹²

⁹Oscar Krisen Buros (ed.), The Fifth Mental Measurements Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1959); Oscar Buros (ed.), The Sixth Mental Measurements Yearbook (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1965); Oscar Buros (ed.), Tests in Print (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Gryphon Press, 1961); Herbert Troops (ed.), Ohio College Association Bulletins (mimeographed manual information from Ohio State University); SCAT Manual for Interpreting Scores (1957), SCAT Technical Report (1957), and 1962 SCAT-STEP Supplement (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1962).

¹⁰The SCAT test measures four skills: (1) sentence understanding; (2) word meanings; (3) numerical computation; and (4) numerical problem solving. The first two combine to constitute a Verbal score and the latter two combine for a Quantitative score. Also, there is a Total Score based on all four parts. The Ohio Test has three parts: (1) same-opposites; (2) word analogies; and (3) reading comprehension. The three scores are combined for a Total Score.

¹¹Some consideration was given to use of the UN-0 percentile score as the "prediction score." However, this alternative was discarded when it was discovered that the UN-0 percentile rankings for the same raw score varied considerably over a several year period.

¹²Although the percentile rank represents a "range" prediction rather than a point prediction, the variation within the ranges should cancel one another in a randomly selected population of sufficient size. This research population was not randomly selected, but is of sufficient size to assume that such a cancellation might occur and thus greatly simplify the statistical calculations.

3. Grade Point Averages (GPA)

The cumulative grade point averages were acquired for all students in the population. The GPA included the grades from the first summer session. Consideration was given to using only the grades for the summer session courses, but that seemed too limited an indicator of college performance. Consideration was also given to using only the grades for the last year of college, which might have been a more accurate indicator of present college performance. The difficulty of obtaining such information made this alternative impracticable, however. Therefore, the GPA obtained was that for each student's entire career at UN-O.

4. Calculation of Reward

Reward was operationally defined as performance score (GPA) minus predicted score (SCAT). In order to make such a calculation, both scores had to be converted into standard scores. For the GPA, this was done by assuming a normal distribution and determining the standard deviant score (z score). Since the national percentile rankings for the SCAT is a normal curve, the z scores were determined simply by using a conversion table. For each student, then, the z score for the SCAT was subtracted from the z score for the GPA.

TEST OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INCLINATION TO

ENGAGE IN PRETENSE AND REWARD

The scores for the independent variable (inclination to engage in pretense) were then rank-ordered from high to low score. Each respondent's

rank (from high to low) for the dependent variable (reward) was then paired with (place beside) his pretense rank.

Since a Likert scale was used to measure the independent variable, the data had to be treated as ordinal. Thus, the Goodman-Kruskal Coefficient of Ordinal Association (Gamma) test was used to test the degree of association between the two variables. The test was calculated with the data grouped in tables. Finally, the Gamma Significance Test was calculated using the method required when ties are present.

TESTS OF ASSOCIATION FOR SUB-HYPOTHESES

AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Gamma and Gamma Significance tests¹³ were calculated to analyze the association between the inclination to engage in pretense and each of the phenomena involved in the eight sub-hypotheses. Tables were made to chart the association between pretense and the demographic data. Sex was the only demographic item which showed any major association, so a chi square test was calculated.

¹³Linton Freeman, Elementary Applied Statistics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 79-87, 162-175.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The research population was 122 students at the University of Nebraska at Omaha during the first summer session of 1969. Pretense was measured by means of the scales described in the previous chapter. The highest possible score on the pretense scale was 100; the actual scores ranged from a high of 85 to a low of 33. Reward was calculated by subtracting the predicted score (z score calculated on SCAT scores for the population) from the performance score (z score calculated on the Grade Point Averages of the population). Reward scores ranged from a high z score of +2.2007 to low z score of -2.9854.

The pretense scores were rank ordered from high to low and the same was done with the reward scores. Then, for clarity of presentation and ease in calculation, scores were grouped into high, medium, and low (nearly equal groups). The rank of each subject on the two measures was then plotted on the chart and the result is shown in Table I.

The Gamma for the table was 0.1710. This produced a z score of 1.5756 when the Gamma Significance test was calculated. Thus, the correlation was in the expected direction but was not significant at the .05 level. The level of significance was .12.

However, since the data did indicate a correlation in the expected direction, the demographic information was studied to see whether control of any factor might help to account for the lack of correlation. Tables were made relating each of the demographic factors to the pretense scores

and chi-square tests were calculated on each table.¹ Table II illustrates how the charts were made. It was determined that sex was the only demographic factor which showed any major deviation from the expected pattern of distribution between high, medium, and low pretense scores.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE SCORES
WITH THE RANKS OF THEIR REWARD SCORES

		<u>Reward</u>			
		High	Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	16	15	10	G = 0.1710 Z = 1.5756 .05 < P < .12
	Medium	14	13	13	
	Low	11	13	17	

Some of the demographic factors seemed to indicate a deviation from the expected pattern but each deviation was ultimately traced to sex. For example, when the factor of various colleges within the University was studied, it appeared that the students in the population who were enrolled in the College of Education had an abnormally high rate of pretense. Further analysis showed that 88.9 per cent of the students in that sub-group were female, which accounted for the deviation.

¹This study of association was done only if the number in the various categories would make such analysis appropriate. For example, since the total non-caucasian and no response for "racial and ethnic group" was only six, it would be inappropriate to analyze that factor.

The chi-square test calculated on the data in Table II indicated that the deviation was not significant at the .05 level, but it was significant at the .075 level. The level of significance was high enough to warrant a calculation of the pretense-reward correlation, controlling for sex. Tables III and IV present the resulting data.

TABLE II
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRETENSE RANKS AND SEX

		Sex	
		Male	Female
Pretense	High	16	25
	Medium	24	16
	Low	25	16

$\chi^2 = 5.3032$
.05 < P < .075

For males, the Gamma equaled -0.0411 . The correlation was very low and in the direction opposite of that expected. The Gamma value was not high enough to warrant calculating significance. On the other hand, the Gamma value for the female group was 0.3832 , and the correlation was significant at the .04 level.

These findings related to the major hypothesis of this research, that "the greater a student's inclination to engage in pretense in his role in relation to his teachers, the greater the reward he will receive from his teachers." The hypothesis was not supported by the data (Table I) for the total population of 122. Demographic factors were considered, however, and strong indications seen (Table II) that sex was an important variable

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF MALE SUBJECTS'
PRETENSE AND REWARD SCORES

		<u>Reward</u>			
		High	Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	5	10	7	G = -0.0411
	Medium	8	7	6	
	Low	9	4	9	

TABLE IV
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF FEMALE SUBJECTS'
PRETENSE AND REWARD SCORES

		<u>Reward</u>			
		High	Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	9	5	3	G = 0.3832 Z = 2.15 P < .04
	Medium	6	7	7	
	Low	4	7	9	

in relation to pretense scores. When sex was controlled, the hypothesis was supported ($P < .04$) by the data on the female sub-population but was not supported by data on the male sub-population.

The theoretical framework of Chapter II viewed "knowledge of the necessary skills or techniques" as one aspect of the pretense scale. The calculation of the correlation between pretense scores and knowledge of skills is shown in Table V. The Gamma value was in the expected direction but not significant at the .05 level.

TABLE V
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
AND KNOWLEDGE OF SKILLS SCORES

		<u>Knowledge of Pretense Skills</u>			
		High	Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	19	15	7	$G = 0.1746$
	Medium	11	10	19	$Z = 1.4157$
	Low	14	13	13	$P > .05$

The next set of findings and analyses were those testing the correlations between the pretense scores and the phenomena involved in the eight sub-hypotheses. Tables VI through XIII present this data. The sub-hypotheses explored the relationships between eight factors which were thought to influence one's attitude toward pretense. The format for the tables presenting the data for the sub-hypotheses was the same as for the major hypotheses, i. e., a comparison of the ranks of subjects on two measures.

The first sub-hypothesis, H_a , stated that "the greater the self-role congruence, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." Self-role congruence (the affinity between one's self-concept and the role he enacts) was measured by three items (see "Final Questionnaire" in Appendix). The resulting data is shown in Table VI.²

TABLE VI (H_a)
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
AND SELF-ROLE CONGRUENCE SCORES

		<u>A. Self-Role Congruence</u>					
		High	Above Medium	Medium	Below Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	9	13	6	8	4	$G = 0.2526$
	Medium	8	6	10	6	10	$Z = 2.38$
	Low	4	6	4	11	15	$P < .02$

Sub-hypothesis H_b stated: "The greater the sense of powerlessness, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." Powerlessness refers to a situation in which conformity is compulsory and one has minimum opportunity to share in goal-setting and decision-making. It was measured by four items in the Final Questionnaire. Table VII presents the data comparison with pretense ranks.

²Whenever possible, the scores were grouped into three nearly equal groups for ease in calculation. If three fairly equal groups were not possible, groupings into four or five groups were made, depending upon which provided the most nearly equal groups.

Sub-hypothesis H_c stated the expectation the "ability to legitimize (or rationalize)" one's behavior was a factor which would influence one's attitude toward pretense and thus be directly correlated with it: "The greater the ability to legitimize one's behavior, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." Legitimation refers to the process of producing a rational structure to eliminate what might otherwise be seen by the self as self-role incongruence. It is measured by the four items which were determined most discerning and placed in the Final Questionnaire. Table VIII shows the resulting comparison.

TABLE VII (H_b)

COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
AND POWERLESSNESS SCORES

B. Powerlessness (Anomie)

		High	Above Medium	Medium	Below Medium	Low
Pretense	High	7	10	10	6	7
	Medium	8	6	6	12	8
	Low	8	8	10	7	7

$G = 0.0091$

$P > .05$

Sub-hypothesis H_d stated that "the greater the value of the rewards involved in success in college, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." The expectation of this positive relationship grows out of exchange theory, which is closely associated with behavioral psychology. The value of the rewards obtainable from college and the value of the cost of not being in college is measured by four items on the Final Questionnaire.

TABLE VIII (H_c)

COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
AND ABILITY TO LEGITIMIZE SCORES

C. Ability to Legitimize

		High	Medium- High	Medium- Low	Low	
Pretense	High	14	14	6	5	G = 0.5008
	Medium	11	9	12	7	Z = 4.58
	Low	3	5	13	19	P < .0001

TABLE IX (H_d)

COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE AND
"VALUE OF COSTS AND REWARDS" SCORES

D. Value of Costs and Rewards

		High	Above Medium	Medium	Below Medium	Low	
Pretense	High	9	9	8	8	5	G = 0.2748
	Medium	9	7	9	7	7	Z = 2.5089
	Low	2	11	3	9	15	P < .02

After the scores were rank-ordered, the comparison with pretense ranks produced Table IX.

The fifth factor with an anticipated correlation with pretense was "perceived opportunity" to engage in pretense. That is, if one perceives the college setting as one in which there are many opportunities to engage in pretense, he is more likely to be inclined to engage in it than if he perceives opportunities as minimal. Thus H_0 : "The greater the perceived opportunities to engage in pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." The data from the measurement of this phenomena resulted in the following table.

TABLE X (H_0)
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
AND PERCEIVED OPPORTUNITY SCORES

		<u>E. Perceived Opportunity</u>		
		High	Medium	Low
Pretense	High	15	9	16
	Medium	14	14	10
	Low	12	15	13

G = 0.0029
P > .05

Closely associated with perceived opportunity is the perceived chances of success. That is, if one believes that an activity will be effective, he is more likely to engage in that activity than if he believes it will be futile. Thus H_f : "The greater the perceived chances of success possible through pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense."

Perceived chances of success was measured by five items on the Final Questionnaire, and Table XI presents the resulting data.

TABLE XI (H_f)
COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE AND
"PERCEIVED CHANCES OF SUCCESS" SCORES

		<u>F. Perceived Chances of Success</u>				
		High	Medium-High	Medium-Low	Low	
Pretense	High	11	9	10	9	G = 0.1622
	Medium	9	10	13	8	Z = 1.4207
	Low	7	8	10	14	P > .05

The personality factor chosen for testing was authoritarianism, which was measured with the five-item Revised Standard F Scale. The sub-hypothesis, H_g , stated that "the greater the authoritarianism, the less the inclination to engage in pretense." Thus, an inverse relationship was expected, which would be indicated by a negative Gamma score and significance in a negative direction. Table XII gives the findings.

Table XIII shows the findings of the final factor comparison. Hypotheses H_h states: "The more the reference groups approve of pretense, the greater the inclination to engage in pretense." The items in the Final Questionnaire refer to parent and student peer groups as reference groups by which to measure this factor.

TABLE XII (H_g)
 COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
 AND AUTHORITARIANISM SCORES

G. Personality (Authoritarianism)

	High	Medium	Low		
Pretense	High	17	9	13	$G = 0.1651$ $Z = 1.3575$ $P > .05$
	Medium	11	15	15	
	Low	7	18	15	

TABLE XIII (H_h)
 COMPARISON OF THE RANKS OF SUBJECTS' PRETENSE
 AND REFERENCE GROUP SCORES

H. Reference Group (Pretense Orientation)

	High	Medium	Low		
Pretense	High	20	9	10	$G = 0.2078$ $Z = 1.7806$ $.05 < P < .065$
	Medium	16	10	13	
	Low	8	17	15	

The calculated Gamma scores have been indicated beside each table.

They are summarized in the following listing:

	<u>Gamma Value</u>
*A. Self-Role Incongruence	0.2526
B. Powerlessness (Anomie)	0.0091
*C. Ability to Rationalize	0.5008
*D. Value of Costs and Rewards	0.2748
E. Perceived Opportunity	0.0029
F. Perceived Chances of Success	0.1622
G. Personality (Authoritarianism)	0.1651
*H. Reference Groups	0.2078

Any Gamma value less than 0.2000 would clearly not be significant at the .05 level, so the Gamma Significance test did not need to be calculated.

This immediately eliminated four of the eight factors: powerlessness, perceived opportunity, perceived chances of success, and authoritarianism.

Thus, H_b , H_e , H_f , and H_g were clearly not supported by this research.

Of the four remaining factors (asterisks), one (H_h . Reference Groups with Pretense Orientation) was not significant at the .05 level, but was only slightly above that significance level. It showed significance at the .065 level. Thus, H_h was not supported at the established level of significance, but a strong relationship was indicated.

The three remaining factors all showed significance at the .02 level or below. The three factors were:

- A. Self-Role Congruence
- B. Ability to Legitimize
- C. Value of Costs and Rewards

Thus, H_a , H_c , and H_d were all supported by this research.

Finally, while there was no important factors other than sex among the demographic factors, it is useful to present a summary of the data in order to provide a picture of the research population:

1. Sex: Male 65
Female 57
2. Ages: 16-25 = 110
26-35 = 10
36 & over = 2
3. Racial or Ethnic Group: Caucasian = 116
Afro-American = 4
No response = 2
4. Classes: Senior 50
Junior 34
Sophomore 19
Freshman 19
5. Colleges: Arts and Sciences: 28
Business 17
Continuing Studies 19
Education 36
Engineering 1
University Division 21
6. Membership in Fraternal Organizations:

Members	24
Non-members	98

While the number is too small to make calculations appropriately, the data on the members of fraternal organizations is at least of interest.

TABLE XIV

MEMBERS OF SORORITIES OR FRATERNITIES

	Male	Female	Total
High	4	6	10
Pretense Medium	5	2	7
Low	7	0	7

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

First of all, it must be emphasized that the findings of this research cannot be generalized beyond the 122 students who constituted the population studied. A further qualification is that the students were drawn from a summer school session, and student enrollment in summer school is abnormal in its composition, as noted in Chapter IV. Any conclusions drawn from the research are thus extremely limited in scope. However, the primary goal of the study was to develop a new theoretical framework and then to begin the exploration of a hypothesis growing out of that framework, realizing the limitations of the empirical aspects of the study. It was hoped that such research might point to relationships which would warrant more careful and extended study. With these qualifications in mind some will be taken in interpreting the data and findings in order to suggest directions for further study and research.

The major hypothesis--the greater a student's inclination to engage in pretense in his role in relationship to his teachers, the greater the reward he will receive from the teachers--was not supported by the data. Further analysis of the data produced a serendipitous finding. When sex was controlled, the data on the female sub-set supported the hypothesis. If this finding is sustained by further research (in which the control for sex is made an integral part of the research design), it would seem to indicate that the University is serving a latent function of teaching (to females, at least) that success is achieved by engaging in pretense. If the same correlation between pretense and reward could be verified in the

work and social relationships of adults--and it seems plausible that this is the case--then it could also be said that learning the benefits of pretense in academic life is actually preparation for life in the adult world.

Several latent functions of educational institutions have previously been recognized and several have been accepted as important. For example, Wilson notes one latent function of education: "The withholding from the labor market of a large segment of our population--more than one fourth of it--that could not possibly be absorbed into our highly mechanized, automated economy."¹ Burton Clark shows in "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education,"² that by means of gradual disengagement and reorientation in educational institutions, the myth of universal social mobility potential is maintained, together with the related social value of achievement motivation. Other frequently noted latent functions include finding a spouse, sowing wild oats, developing social graces, and making contacts which will be useful in later life. Some values are consciously taught in the educational processes and others are transmitted unintentionally. Since employers desire college trained employees, it should not be surprising if one of the elements of the educational process which they find helpful to successful employees is that they have learned "how to act"--which may include learning to employ pretense. This, of course, would have to be given attention in future research, but it seems worthy of consideration and exploration.

¹Everett K. Wilson, Sociology: Rules, Roles, and Relationships (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1966), p. 441.

²Burton R. Clark, "The 'Cooling-Out' Function in Higher Education," American Journal of Sociology, 65:569-576, May, 1960.

The statements of several college students indicate that they would not be surprised by the confirmation of the central hypothesis. College students were interviewed in groups as part of the process of developing items for the questionnaire. Their comments reveal their conviction that their pretense activities are successful in obtaining reward. The following are some selected quotes from those interviews:³

- A: . . . the first thing a student does is to try to judge what type of teacher he has to see how he's able to con him . . . you almost categorize them into areas of whether you con them best by coming to class and taking notes or if you con them best by contributing or if he really doesn't care whether you come to class and the only thing you have to do is show up for test time. And then after he categorizes, which means every teacher is different, then he treats that teacher in that way.
- B: It may sound stupid, but you can sit in front of the class. A lot of the classrooms are quite large and they've got a large number of students and everybody lines up across the back row, but you sit there in the front. I think this is very good because a professor usually talks to the kids in front of him. I notice that, that he does talk to the kids in front rather than those in the back, and I can sit there and just follow with his eyes and nod and smile when he smiles. . . .
- C: One of the instructors here told me that if you do real good your first semester you can go through the rest of your college and get fairly good grades with about half the work, if you establish a reputation as a good student. . . .
- D: That's true, because if you're known to be a good student and you slump off, you don't study, they'll say "What's wrong? Were you tired?" They think of a hundred different excuses for you, better ones than you would think of yourself. . . . There's one instructor--I did real well the first

³These quotations are reproduced from tape recordings made in discussions with three groups of students (fifteen to thirty students in each group). These sessions were held as part of the process of developing the questionnaire (see Chapter IV). Underlining of key phrases was added by the researcher.

semester and second semester he gave a test and I just didn't study for it and I skipped half of the questions on the third and fourth pages . . . because I didn't know them, and I didn't finish the test and I got an "A" on the test. He didn't even read it. He didn't even get to the third page. I went up and mentioned it to him because I thought, "Well, gee whiz, what went on?" and I was insulted because he didn't even read it. He said, "I know you know your material." I didn't.

- E: One history teacher--I hadn't chosen my major yet and I told him I was going to make history my major. I got an "A"--never studied, not a shred--instant "A".
- F: I'm a junior and my technique was to tell each of my teachers I was majoring in their subject. That usually worked pretty well. . . . The other technique is to at least let them know you're alive. If you couldn't say anything relevant or on an intellectual level, I always try to say something funny--you know, to at least let them know you're alive.

These comments represent common views which are part of the college student sub-culture. Such sub-cultural elements cannot be taken as objective truth, however. This study attempted to develop methods measuring this relationship between pretense and reward scientifically. The study brought to light male-female differences in regard to the test variable, which the students had not recognized clearly, although some comments even indicated that there may have been an awareness of this; for example, one student said:

I would say that one of the reasons a teacher notices you is your appearance in class. Like you take our philosophy class; all the girls always sit up front all the time and every time just before they go in the class, they'll be combing their hair. I don't know, a guy notices the girls, even the philosophy guys. He is a guy and he notices girls . . .

Without a doubt, the measurements in this study were "unpolished" and much refinement and further exploration is needed. It is as if one had

walked into a house and visited the first room; interest is stimulated and there is an entire house yet to be explored.

The data from this research produced an unexpected finding, however, which deserves special attention in future research. The major hypothesis was not supported for the total population; when sex was controlled as a variable, the hypothesis was supported for the female sub-population but not for the male sub-population. This serendipitous finding could be interpreted in various ways and it suggests both new questions and new procedures for research on a representative sample of some larger population. There are at least five possible ways to account for the different findings for males and females in the population.

(1) The most common female roles may involve a greater amount of pretense than common male roles. Thus, for females to engage in pretense in the student-teacher relationship may be more consistent with female roles than with male roles and may, therefore, cause less role conflict for females than for males. In other words, female roles may require more pretense and so female self-concepts include (and already have legitimations for) pretense in interpersonal relations. This may enable females to practice pretense with less strain. Such an interpretation suggests study of male and female roles with special attention to the amount of pretense involved in them, and study of self-concepts of males and females to determine the extent to which legitimation of pretense activities are already structured.

(2) The female roles may involve a greater amount of the form of pretense which is required of the student in the student-teacher relationship. As pointed out in Komarovsky's study of cultural contradictions in

female roles, the female in a courtship is expected to exhibit weakness, naiveté, ignorance, and dependency.⁴ Although the male role may also require pretense, it is more likely to be in the opposite direction--the image of strength, savvy, intelligence, and protectiveness. Since the student role in relation to faculty usually takes the form of dependency and the attribution of wisdom and power to the faculty, the forms of pretense required to fulfill this role effectively would be more familiar to and consonant with the common female roles and quite alien to the common male roles. If this interpretation has any validity, it would be helpful to make a comparative study of the kind of pretense practiced in the student role and the content of pretense prevalent in common male and female roles in the society.

(3) If either of the above interpretations had validity, then it would follow that females would not only find it easier to engage in the pretense behavior related to the student role, but would also find it easier and less threatening to admit their involvement in the activities. Thus, females would be more likely to be able to answer a questionnaire honestly and to admit to themselves and others (including the researcher) what would be necessary to provide accurate responses. Since willingness and ability to respond to a questionnaire may be a variable, it would be advisable for future research to include an interview which would provide for more probing or other measurement techniques which might be used in conjunction with the questionnaire.

⁴Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," American Journal of Sociology, 52:185-189, November, 1946.

(4) A closely related factor which may have influenced the results of this population is that the majority of persons in authority (teachers, who hold the power to give grades) were males. Because of the male-female role in the general culture, it is conceivable that pretense which seeks to inflate the ego of the teacher by exhibiting awe at his abilities and knowledge and by exhibiting the proper dependency and inferiority before him might be received positively from a female (and thus rewarded) but might be received negatively (and not rewarded) from a male, for whom it appears to be alien activity as well as less ego supportive for the male teacher. In short, a male and a female student might exhibit the same pretense activity toward a male teacher and find that the male teacher was "turned on" by the pretense when exhibited by the female but was "turned off" by the same pretense activity when exhibited by a male. Since the sex of the teacher may be a significant variable, it would be helpful to develop a future experiment in such a way as to control for the sex of the instructors and to calculate the reward factors separately for different combinations of sexes in the student-teacher relationships.

(5) Finally, the sexual differences seen in the findings may be due to the instrument. The pretense activities engaged in by males may differ from those engaged in by females, or at least the emphasis may differ. That is, the activities which most accurately indicate a high level of pretense for males may not be the same as for females. Since this male-female difference was an unexpected finding, controls for sex were not included in the scale construction pretest. It is conceivable, then, that a larger number of females in the pretest population could have led to the development

of a final questionnaire which accurately measures degree of inclination to engage in pretense for females but is not an accurate measuring instrument for males. It would be advisable, in future research, to repeat the scale construction pretest with special attention to sexual differences to determine whether separate scales may be required in order to measure inclination to engage in pretense for males and females. Such a finding might account for the fact that in this study the hypothesis was not confirmed for males.

Table V in Chapter V tested the relationship between pretense and knowledge of techniques and should have, on the basis of the theoretical framework developed in this study, produced a high correlation. The correlation was in the expected direction but was not significant. The study design did not call for a detailed analysis of this relationship or of the factors related to the sub-hypotheses to determine, for example, whether control by sex or whether correlation between reward and knowledge of techniques would have produced significant findings. Also, since the development of controls and other study refinements have just been suggested, it would seem most appropriate to delay detailed analyses of these factors until the experiment is repeated with the recommended refinements. Suffice it to note, then, that the same factors which may have effected the findings for the major hypothesis, may also have effected the finding in Tables V through XIII.

Some attention should now be given to the eight sub-hypotheses. This aspect of the research was secondary to the central hypothesis of the study, but proved perhaps more difficult. Since the study design did not call for

a detailed study of these factors, it is difficult to interpret them, because without the manipulation of control variables, even the central hypothesis did not show significant results. In other words, some of these sub-hypotheses may have been supported if similar controls had been implemented.

However, regardless of the element of controlling variables, several problems became apparent. The most obvious was the need to make major revision in some parts of the instrument. For example, H_a and H_c were both supported at a high level of significance. One was supported at such a high level of significance, in fact, as to lead one to question the instrument. On closer examination from this critical perspective it became apparent that the questionnaire items measuring these two phenomena were not sufficiently independent of the measures of pretense. It is probably the case that the items used to measure "self-role congruence" and "ability to rationalize" are actually measuring the same phenomena as the items designed to measure inclination to engage in pretense. Thus, major revision in the instrument at these two points would be necessary in future research. Efforts should be made to develop items to measure these phenomena which are completely independent--or as nearly so as possible--from the central phenomena (pretense) being studied. Also, it may be that self-role congruence is not measurable by means of items, except as the items provide a determination of the self-concept, which could then be compared with behavior or attitude measurements to produce an index of congruence or incongruence.

Future research should give attention to the means of measuring reward. The operational definition in this study was the performance score minus the

predicted score (grade point average minus SCAT score). One problem with this procedure is that the process for measuring reward is, in fact, the same process by which the SCAT is validated; that is, the validity of a group intelligence test such as the SCAT is determined by how well it predicts achievement. The SCAT, for example, has been tested as 68 per cent accurate within its "range" of prediction. The possibility of the influence of pretense (and perhaps other unidentified factors) on achievement scores raises serious questions in regard to how achievement scores can legitimately be used as a source of validation for intelligence tests--or for that matter what source of validation would be legitimate. This, in turn, raises the problem of how a researcher can be assured of the validity of his control of ability.

Perhaps the most crucial point for improvement in future research is that some technique needs to be devised to measure what students do rather than what they say they would do. That is, there needs to be a study design which utilizes behavioral indicators of pretense rather than depending on attitude scales which have no behavioral validation. It may be possible to do this by means of small group research. For example, a pseudo-class situation might be created and observers categorize and quantify the pretense which they perceive occurring.

Future research should also test the correlation between pretense and reward in other social relationships and institutions, for example, between parishioner and priest, between client and caseworker, between employee and supervisor, between buyer and seller. This would require the development of definitions and instruments to describe and measure pretense and reward in these various relationships.

In concluding it is helpful to return to some of the ideas from which this study began. Society today is characterized by mobility and a predominance of secondary relationships. Pretense seems to be both feasible and pervasive. This pretense has both functional and dysfunctional implications which make it worthy of study and research.

To begin to study this phenomena from the perspective of role theory makes one aware of the gap which exists between the standard textbook approaches to role and the approach of Erving Goffman. This paper has tried to bridge this gap--a gap which seems almost to represent a "generation gap" between those who view role relationships from presumptions of trust (what has been called herein "orthodox role performance") and those who view role relationships from presumptions of distrust (what has been called herein "heterodox role performance"). This paper has attempted to bring together these two conceptualizations which are usually treated independently in order to utilize what each has to offer to develop a more inclusive understanding of role. The study focused especially on the phenomenon called pretense and sought not only to sharpen the theoretical definition, but to operationalize the concept and to make an empirical test of its correlation with reward.

If more precision in definitions and theoretical frameworks can be developed, the discipline of sociology will advance. If pretense is rewarded, this fact may have important implications for our social structure. Hopefully, this study has made some contribution to theory and definitions. While the study has not established the correlation between pretense and reward, it has at least produced limited empirical support which may stimulate

further investigation of this potentially significant factor in social structure.

One does not, however, need to be cynical nor a prophet of doom to study the phenomenon of pretense. As Goffman says:

Whether an honest performer wishes to convey the truth or whether a dishonest performer wishes to convey a falsehood, both must take care to enliven their performances with appropriate expressions, exclude from their performances expressions that might discredit the impression being fostered, and take care lest the audience impute unintended meanings. Because of these shared dramatic contingencies, we can profitably study performances that are quite false in order to learn about ones that are quite honest.⁵

⁵Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1959), p. 66.

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APPENDIX A

SCALE CONSTRUCTION
PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: There are two sections to this questionnaire. Please read the directions carefully. Responses to the questionnaire will be confidential; they will not be seen by the instructor in this course nor anyone else in the University other than the researcher. Since there is complete anonymity, you are free to be completely candid. Your cooperation-- by giving serious consideration to the items and by responding accurately-- is essential to the success of this research. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

SECTION I

The statements that follow are opinions or ideas, most of which are related to college life. The statements reflect a wide variety of opinions. We would like to know what you think about these statements. Each statement is followed by five choices:

SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
DK = Don't Know
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

Please circle the choice which comes closest to saying how you feel about each statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested only in your opinion. It is important that you answer every item.

A. Self-Role Congruence:

1. I believe that it is wrong to try to "butter-up" the professor and I refuse to engage in it. SA A DK D SD
2. I believe that "brown-nosing" is wrong, but it is a necessary aspect of the educational system. SA A DK D SD
3. I believe that there's nothing wrong with a little "apple polishing." SA A DK D SD
4. I think that "brown-nosing" is personally debasing. SA A DK D SD
5. I think that "brown-nosing" is dishonest. SA A DK D SD
6. What some people call "brown-nosing" I think is just playing the game of life. SA A DK D SD

A. Self-Role Congruence: (Cont.)

7. Even though I know that I might benefit from "buttering-up" the professor, I refuse to compromise my principles. SA A DK D SD
8. Sometimes I don't even know whether I'm talking with the professor because I'm interested in the course or because I have become accustomed to trying to impress the professor. SA A DK D SD
9. "Buttering-up" the professor is not dishonest. SA A DK D SD
10. I think that learning techniques of impressing an instructor is an important aspect of one's education. SA A DK D SD

B. Powerlessness (Anomie):

1. University administrators are very interested in the problems of the average student and are responsive to student requests and suggestions for change. SA A DK D SD
2. Every professor puts emphasis on learning different things and insists that the students do their work in the form that he wants it done. SA A DK D SD
3. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average student is getting worse instead of better. SA A DK D SD
4. It seems like college is just a rat race--a series of hurdles that don't really have much meaning. SA A DK D SD
5. If a professor tells the students that he doesn't take attendance (allows unlimited cuts) or that he wants the students to disagree with him, a student would be correct in assuming that his grade will not be affected if he cuts class and/or disagrees with his professor's position. SA A DK D SD
6. There is little use talking to University administrators because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average student. SA A DK D SD

B. Powerlessness (Anomie) (Cont.)

7. There's little use writing to University officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average student. SA A DK D SD
8. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself. SA A DK D SD
9. College grades accurately reflect what the student has learned. SA A DK D SD
10. Colleges are actually teaching more material with better methods than they used to. SA A DK D SD
11. College educational processes are getting worse instead of better. SA A DK D SD
12. The educational experience of college is very relevant to life. SA A DK D SD
13. These days you don't know what fellow students you can count on. SA A DK D SD

C. Ability to Rationalize

1. You almost have to "brown-nose" in order to get good grades. SA A DK D SD
2. Other kids play up to the professor, so you have to do it to stay in the competition. SA A DK D SD
3. "Brown-nosing" is just part of the game you have to play in college. SA A DK D SD
4. I don't really like to "polish the apple" but I find it necessary. SA A DK D SD
5. "Buttering-up" the professor is justified if that's what it takes to get through college or to get good grades. SA A DK D SD
6. "Brown-nosing" is no worse than a lot of other things that go on. SA A DK D SD
7. "Brown-nosing" is better than cheating. SA A DK D SD
8. "Brown-nosing" in college is good preparation for the way one has to operate to be successful in the business world. SA A DK D SD

C. Ability to Rationalize (Cont.)

9. I just can't convince myself that trying to become a teacher's pet is proper. SA A DK D SD
10. "Brown-nosing" can only lead to further compromises of one's principles. SA A DK D SD
11. Even though "apple-polishing" may be crucial to success in college, I cannot feel that it is justified. SA A DK D SD

D. Value of Costs and Rewards

1. It is very important to my parents that I get a college degree. SA A DK D SD
2. My parents don't care whether I finish college. SA A DK D SD
3. I just want to keep a "C" average so that I can graduate and get the degree. SA A DK D SD
4. It is important to me to get high grades. SA A DK D SD
5. I don't care about belonging to honor societies or making the Dean's list. SA A DK D SD
6. I'm just in school to keep my II-S draft status. SA A DK D SD
7. I'd rather be in college than in Vietnam. SA A DK D SD
8. I have to get a good grade average to stay in the sorority or fraternity. SA A DK D SD
9. All my friends are in college. SA A DK D SD
10. All the good jobs today require a college degree. SA A DK D SD
11. I want to go on to graduate school, so I must make good grades. SA A DK D SD
12. To flunk out of college would be the worst thing that could happen to me. SA A DK D SD
13. Everything I do I want to do well. SA A DK D SD
14. Everything I start I want to finish. SA A DK D SD
15. Anything worth doing is worth doing well. SA A DK D SD

D. Value of Costs and Rewards (Cont.)

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 16. A college degree is important to attaining the kind of friends and material things I want in life. | SA A DK D SD |
| 17. I want to be an educated and cultured person. | SA A DK D SD |
| 18. I want to find an educated and cultured spouse. | SA A DK D SD |
| 19. I want to marry a person who has good earning potential. | SA A DK D SD |
| 20. In a few years it will be as important to have a college degree as it presently is to have a high school diploma. | SA A DK D SD |
| 21. I want to be able to have a job where I can make a lot of money. | SA A DK D SD |
| 22. College students have better opportunities for social life than working persons. | SA A DK D SD |

E. Perceived Opportunity:

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| 1. In most classes, there are many chances to make the professor think you're interested in the course. | SA A DK D SD |
| 2. There are many opportunities to get to know the professor personally. | SA A DK D SD |
| 3. There are many ways to find out what pleases the professor. | SA A DK D SD |
| 4. There are many possibilities to do things that distinguish you from other students in the eyes of the professor. | SA A DK D SD |
| 5. Even in large lecture classes there are ways to distinguish yourself from other students in the eyes of the professor. | SA A DK D SD |
| 6. No matter what one does in the large classes, he probably won't be noticed. | SA A DK D SD |
| 7. Professors make it a policy not to get to know students personally. | SA A DK D SD |
| 8. Professors don't know one student from another. | SA A DK D SD |

E. Perceived Opportunity (Cont.)

9. Professors don't care to know one student from another. SA A DK D SD
10. Professors are careful not to let students know their special likes and dislikes in order to limit the opportunities for "buttering them up." SA A DK D SD

F. Perceived Chances of Success

1. "Brown-nosing" usually helps one's grades. SA A DK D SD
2. You can usually "pull the wool over the eyes" of the professor. SA A DK D SD
3. It's easy to fool a professor into thinking you're interested in a course when you're really not. SA A DK D SD
4. It's easy to make a professor think you're a better student than you really are. SA A DK D SD
5. Professors aren't swayed by attempts to impress them. SA A DK D SD
6. Having the professor know you personally won't help your grade. SA A DK D SD
7. Even if the professor likes you, it won't affect your grade. SA A DK D SD
8. Professors are turned off by students who try to "butter them up." SA A DK D SD

G. Personality Factors (Standard Revised F Scale--Authoritarianism)

1. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents. SA A DK D SD
2. Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect. SA A DK D SD
3. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong. SA A DK D SD
4. Prison is too good for sex criminals. They should be publicly whipped or worse. SA A DK D SD
5. No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage. SA A DK D SD

H. Reference Group

1. My friends disapproved of "brown-nosing." SA A DK D SD
2. It's a game among my friends to see how much one can put over on a professor. SA A DK D SD
3. If I am successful in "pulling the wool over the eyes" of a professor, I go tell my friends of my conquest. SA A DK D SD
4. My parents are constantly "buttering-up" their employers, their minister, or someone else. SA A DK D SD
5. My parents wouldn't approve of my "brown-nosing" a professor. SA A DK D SD
6. My parents tell me that I ought to "butter-up" my teachers a bit. SA A DK D SD
7. My family and friends are very concerned that principles not be compromised. SA A DK D SD
8. If I tried to "play up to" a professor I would be ashamed to tell my friends. SA A DK D SD

SECTION II

Some people say that the large University creates many problems for students. They say that the University is a massive, impersonal "machine" which hands out grades without regard to ability and thus affects the futures of thousands of students without adequate ways to measure individual achievement. Many students feel that this situation makes it necessary to find methods of getting their professors to know who they are, what their goals are, and what their abilities are. Large classes and standardized tests provide little opportunity for faculty to know students or for students to demonstrate their abilities.

Assume that you are preparing to register for your classes for next semester. You and your friends are discussing how you can make your professors aware of you personally--your goals and abilities--and how you can get good grades. The group mentions a number of techniques that they plan to use.

Some of the techniques students say they would use to cope with the situation just described are listed below. Please read through the list twice: (1) The first time simply circle "yes" or "no" in the left margin to indicate whether you have heard of students having used this technique. (2) The second time through indicate how you feel about the use of the

techniques by circling the choice in the right margin which most accurately reflects your attitude toward the technique.

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- | | | | |
|--------|-----|---|--------------|
| yes no | 1. | I will try to perceive what is most important to the instructor and act in ways that will please him. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 2. | I will be careful to talk with the professor only during his office hours or by appointment so that he won't get angry with me for disturbing his other time. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 3. | I will find out what kind of tests the instructor gives. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 4. | When I talk with the professor, I will try to learn what parts of the material he considers most important and what he is likely to emphasize on the tests. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 5. | I will talk with the instructor after an exam to try to impress him that I know the answers to the questions but just flubbed up. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 6. | I will find out which instructors are high graders and take the courses they teach. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 7. | I will ask the instructor's help (rather than asking another student) in working out a problem so the instructor will know that I've been working and how much effort I've put forth. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 8. | I will discuss with other students what the best techniques are for getting good grades from the instructor. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 9. | If I'm not prepared to take a test, I will skip the test and tell the professor that I was sick or a relative died. | SA A DK D SD |
| yes no | 10. | I will frequently go to the instructor's office to talk with him. | SA A DK D SD |

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 11. If I discover something about the professor that he has in common with my family or friends, I will point out the similarity. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 12. I will use facial expressions to convey to the instructor that I feel he is saying something profound. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 13. If I am going to cut a class or be late with an assignment, I will talk with the professor ahead of time to give him the impression that I am a conscientious student. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 14. If I am in a large class where it's difficult to get to know the teacher, I will try to get to know the quiz instructor (or graduate assistant) on a personal basis. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 15. I will let the instructor know what my grade average is or what grade I have received in other similar courses. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 16. I will be careful to get my work in on time so as to make a good impression on the instructor. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 17. I will defend the instructor's point of view when another student disagrees in class or discussion in the presence of the instructor. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 18. If the professor doesn't like certain things (like chewing gum, short skirts, long sideburns, or shirt tails hanging out) I will be careful to avoid those things in his classroom. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 19. I will ask the instructor questions which will give him the chance to expound on something he's interested in (even though I may not be particularly interested). SA A DK D SD
- yes no 20. I will make a point of nodding when he seems to want agreement. SA A DK D SD

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 21. I will be careful to learn about and to avoid any pet peeves of the professors. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 22. I will discuss topics that the professor is interested in but about which I could care less--but I will pretend to be interested. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 23. I will make special effort to make a positive impression on the professor early in the semester so that he will always view me as a good student. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 24. If the instructor wants students to disagree with him, I will make a point of taking the opposite side on an issue and debate with him. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 25. I will make a point of sitting in the front of the classroom so the instructor will notice me. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 26. I will attend class regularly so the instructor will feel I'm interested in the course, and what he says (even if the professor allows unlimited cuts). SA A DK D SD
- yes no 27. If a professor assigns a book on reserve, I will make a point of checking it out so that my name is on the card (in case he checks) even if I don't have time to read the material. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 28. I will make a point of establishing eye contact with the instructor as frequently as possible. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 29. I will act relatively dense in the early part of the semester so that the professor will take special note of the amount of progress I have made by the end of the semester. SA A DK D SD

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 30. I will take notes (or appear to take notes) diligently to appear interested in the course. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 31. On essay tests I will write what I think the professor wants as an answer and not my own thinking or position. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 32. I will find out which instructors give hard tests and avoid those instructors. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 33. I will ask other students how much work is required in various courses and avoid those that require hard work. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 34. If the professor doesn't like to be interrupted during lecture, I will be careful not to raise questions. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 35. I will be neat and attractively dressed so that my outward appearance will make a good impression on the instructor. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 36. Since I want the professor to be impressed with my intelligence, I will be careful not to ask a question which might make me look bad. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 37. I will nod in agreement with the professor's lecture to indicate that I think that he's right. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 38. In answering essay questions on tests, I will quote unassigned material. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 39. If I had a relative who had attended the school before me and had an outstanding record, I would ask the professors whether they knew my relative. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 40. I will avoid such things as reading a book during class or gazing out the window-- anything that might indicate lack of interest or attention. SA A DK D SD

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 41. I will tell each of my professors that I am majoring in (or considering changing my major to) his subject area. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 42. If I don't understand something the professor is discussing, I will ask a question so that he will feel that I'm interested enough to want to understand. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 43. I will smile when he smiles and laugh when he tells a joke. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 44. I will let the professor know that I'm a member of an honorary society or have a high grade point average. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 45. I will tell the professor my personal problems and frustrations in hopes that he will feel sorry for me and treat me more leniently. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 46. If I'm not particularly interested in a course, I may explain to the instructor that although I'm not really interested in what this course covers, I am interested in the general subject area. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 47. I will make special effort to make a good impression the first semester of college in hope that word will spread among the faculty of my reputation as an outstanding student. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 48. I will ask questions frequently during class so that the instructor will get to know who I am. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 49. I will try to inject some humor into the class so as to call attention to myself. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 50. I will make a point of being seen by my instructors at different types of meetings and participating in a variety of organizations (some of which they may sponsor). SA A DK D SD

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 51. I will try to impress the professor with my interest in the subject matter of his course. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 52. I will make some excuse not to take a test so I can find out from other students what was on the exam before I take it as a make up. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 53. I will be careful to have good posture in class so as to impress the teacher. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 54. I will comment favorably on the instructor's lectures during class and compliment him on points of insight in his lectures. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 55. In class, I will quote non-assigned material in order to give the impression that I am very interested in the subject matter of the course. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 56. I will ask questions which may help the professor to make his point more clearly. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 57. I will be careful to be in class on time. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 58. I will try to perceive what the instructor's position is on key issues and say things which will make it seem that I share the position. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 59. When the professor asks a rhetorical question or a question to which the answer is obvious, I will give the answer. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 60. If an instructor from whom I am willing to take a course is at the registration desk, I will let him know that, even though I could take other sections, I am choosing his section. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 61. I will make a point of talking with the instructor frequently after class. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 62. I will try to find out whether the professor likes long answers or short, concise answers on his tests and write the test that way. SA A DK D SD

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- yes no 63. I will find out how the professor likes to have term papers written and will write mine in that form (footnotes, spelling, quotations, original ideas, analysis of ideas of others, etc.). SA A DK D SD
- yes no 64. I will ask the professor a question such as "What will I have to do to get an 'A' in this course?" SA A DK D SD
- yes no 65. I will act (pretend to be) alert and interested during class. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 66. I will make a point of greeting my teacher when I see him on campus so that he will get to know who I am and recognize me in class. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 67. I will ask the instructor for suggestions for additional reading in the subject area in order to impress him with my interest. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 68. I will let the instructor know what grade I hope to get in the course. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 69. I will be careful not to gather my books or look anxious to leave the classroom before the professor has finished his lecture and dismissed us. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 70. I will emphasize to the professor that I need a particular grade in the course. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 71. If the professor asks the students to hand in weekly reports of the number of pages we have read from the reading list, I will overstate the number of pages in order to impress him. SA A DK D SD
- yes no 72. If an instructor from whom I am unwilling to take a course is at the registration table, I will make sure I have classes scheduled to conflict with the hours he teachers before I talk with him. SA A DK D SD

APPENDIX B

Name

FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: All responses to this questionnaire will be confidential. Responses will not be seen by the instructor of this course nor by any other person in the University other than the researcher. Names are requested only so that the researcher can match this questionnaire with the "general information" sheet which you previously filled out. As soon as that matching is done, all names will be eliminated from all sources so that anonymity will be guaranteed, even from the researcher. Thus, you are free to be completely candid.

There are two sections to this questionnaire. Please read the directions carefully and be sure to respond to every item. Your cooperation--by giving serious consideration to the items and by responding as accurately as possible--is essential to the success of this research. Your cooperation and assistance is greatly appreciated.

SECTION I

The statements that follow are opinions or ideas, most of which are related to college life. The statements reflect a wide variety of opinions. We would like to know what you think about these statements. Each statement is followed by five choices:

SA = Strongly Agree

D = Disagree

A = Agree

SD = Strongly Disagree

DK = Don't Know

Please circle the choice which comes closest to saying how you feel about each statement. There are no right or wrong answers. We are interested only in your opinion. It is important that you answer every item.

A. Self-Role Congruence:

1. I believe that it is wrong to try to "butter-up" the professor and I refuse to engage in it. SA A DK D SD
2. I think that "brown-nosing" is dishonest. SA A DK D SD
3. I believe that there's nothing wrong with a little "apple-polishing." SA A DK D SD

B. Powerlessness (Anomie):

1. It seems like college is just a rat race--a series of hurdles that don't really have much meaning. SA A DK D SD
2. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average student is getting worse instead of better. SA A DK D SD
3. These days you don't know what fellow students you can count on. SA A DK D SD
4. There is little use talking to University administrators because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average student. SA A DK D SD

C. Ability to Rationalize

1. "Buttering-up" the professor is justified if that's what it takes to get through college or to get good grades. SA A DK D SD
2. "Brown-nosing" is just part of the game you have to play in college. SA A DK D SD
3. Other kids play up to the professor, so you have to do it to stay in the competition. SA A DK D SD
4. I don't really like to "polish the apple" but I find it necessary. SA A DK D SD

D. Value of Costs and Rewards

1. To flunk out of college would be the worst thing that could happen to me. SA A DK D SD
2. All my friends are in college. SA A DK D SD
3. I don't care about belonging to honor societies or making the Dean's list. SA A DK D SD
4. All the good jobs today require a college degree. SA A DK D SD

E. Perceived Opportunity

1. Professors don't care to know one student from another. SA A DK D SD

E. Perceived Opportunity (Cont.)

2. Professors make it a policy not to get to know students personally. SA A DK D SD
3. No matter what one does in the large classes, he probably won't be noticed. SA A DK D SD
4. Professors don't know one student from another. SA A DK D SD

F. Perceived Chances of Success

1. Having the professor know you personally won't help your grade. SA A DK D SD
2. Even if the professor likes you, it won't affect your grade. SA A DK D SD
3. It's easy to make a professor think you're a better student than you really are. SA A DK D SD

G. Personality Factors (Standard Revised F Scale--Authoritarianism)

1. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong. SA A DK D SD
2. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents. SA A DK D SD
3. Prison is too good for sex criminals. They should be publicly whipped or worse. SA A DK D SD
4. Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect. SA A DK D SD
5. No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage. SA A DK D SD

H. Reference Group (Fraternity-Sorority Item on Face Sheet)

1. If I tried to "play up to" a professor I would be ashamed to tell my friends. SA A DK D SD
2. My parents tell me that I ought to "butter-up" my teachers a bit. SA A DK D SD
3. My parents wouldn't approve of my "brown-nosing" a professor. SA A DK D SD
4. My parents are constantly "buttering-up" their employers, their minister, or someone else. SA A DK D SD

SECTION II

Some people say that the large University creates many problems for students. They say that the University is a massive, impersonal "machine" which hands out grades without regard to ability and this affects the futures of thousands of students without adequate ways to measure individual achievement. Many students feel that this situation makes it necessary to find methods of getting their professors to know who they are, what their goals are, and what their abilities are. Large classes and standardized tests provide little opportunity for faculty to know students or for students to demonstrate their abilities.

Assume that you are preparing to register for your classes for next semester. You and your friends are discussing how you can make your professors aware of you personally--your goals and abilities--and how you can get good grades. The group mentions a number of techniques that they plan to use.

Some of the techniques students say they would use to cope with the situation just described are listed below. Please read through the list twice: (1) The first time simply circle "yes" or "no" in the left margin to indicate whether you have heard of students having used this technique. (2) The second time through indicate how you feel about the use of the techniques by circling the choice in the right margin which most accurately reflects your attitude toward the technique.

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 DK = Don't Know
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- | | | | |
|--------|-----|---|--------------|
| Yes No | 6. | I will find out which instructors are high graders and take courses they teach. | SA A DK D SD |
| Yes No | 7. | I will ask the instructor's help (rather than asking another student) in working out a problem so the instructor will know that I've been working and how much effort I've put forth. | SA A DK D SD |
| Yes No | 12. | I will use facial expressions to convey to the instructor that I feel he is saying something profound. | SA A DK D SD |
| Yes No | 13. | If I am going to cut a class or be late with an assignment, I will talk with the professor ahead of time to give him the impression that I am a conscientious student. | SA A DK D SD |

- Yes No 14. If I am in a large class where it's difficult to get to know the teacher, I will try to get to know the quiz instructor (or graduate assistant) on a personal basis. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 21. I will be careful to learn about and to avoid any pet peeves of the professors. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 23. I will make special effort to make a positive impression on the professor early in the semester so that he will always view me as a good student. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 26. I will attend class regularly so the instructor will feel I'm interested in the course, and what he says (even if the professor allows unlimited cuts). SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 28. I will make a point of establishing eye contact with the instructor as frequently as possible. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 30. I will take notes (or appear to take notes) diligently to appear interested in the course. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 31. On essay tests I will write what I think the professor wants as an answer and not my own thinking or position. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 32. I will find out which instructors give hard tests and avoid those instructors. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 36. Since I want the professor to be impressed with my intelligence, I will be careful not to ask a question which might make me look bad. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 37. I will nod in agreement with the professor's lecture to indicate that I think that he's right. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 40. I will avoid such things as reading a book during class or gazing out the window-- anything that might indicate lack of interest or attention. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 43. I will smile when he smiles and laugh when he tells a joke. SA A DK D SD

- Yes No 48. I will ask questions frequently during class so that the instructor will get to know who I am. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 51. I will try to impress the professor with my interest in the subject matter of his course. SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 64. I will ask the professor a question such as "What will I have to do to get an 'A' in this course?" SA A DK D SD
- Yes No 65. I will act (pretend to be) alert and interested during class. SA A DK D SD

GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

1. Name _____
2. Social Security Number _____
3. Sex: M___ F___
4. Age: (Circle one) 15-25 26-35 36 or over
5. Racial or Ethnic Group: ___ Afro-American
 ___ American Indian
 ___ Caucasian
 ___ Mexican-American
 ___ Other (specify) _____
6. College Status: ___ Freshman
 ___ Sophomore
 ___ Junior
 ___ Senior
 ___ Graduate Student
7. Major: _____ (If no major chosen, write "undecided")
8. College: ___ Arts & Sciences
 ___ Business
 ___ Continuing Studies
 ___ Education
 ___ Engineering
 ___ University Division
 ___ Graduate
9. Were you a full-time student at UN-O during the 1968-69 school year? ___ Yes ___ No
10. Were you a full-time student at another college during the 1968-69 school year? ___ Yes ___ No
 If "yes", name of college or university: _____

11. Do you plan to be a full-time student at UN-O during the 1969-70 school year? ___ Yes ___ No
12. Do you plan to be a full-time student at another college during the 1969-70 school year? ___ Yes ___ No
 If "yes", name of college or university: _____

13. When did you first attend UN-O (or the Municipal University of Omaha) as a full-time student? _____

GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET (Cont.)

14. Did you take the UN-) Guidance and Placement examination (for new students or students transferring with less than 58 hours)? Yes No
If "yes", When? _____
15. Are you a member of a fraternity or sorority? Yes No
16. Did you transfer to UN-O with 58 or more hours credit? Yes No