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# A TST-Based Study of Self Disclosure in Voluntary Primary Relationships Among Middle Class Young Adults

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A TST-BASED STUDY OF SELF DISCLOSURE IN VOLUNTARY PRIMARY  
RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MIDDLE CLASS YOUNG ADULTS

by

Clarence L. Fewer

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
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## VITA

The author, Clarence Leslie Fewer, is the son of Clarence Leslie Fewer, Sr. and Euphrosyne (Wloch) Fewer. He was born November 17, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois.

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## INTRODUCTION

Self-disclosure is a concept of great importance in each of two inter-related fields of study: the study of social structure and the study of personality.

The classical sociologist Simmel stated that the super-individual organizations which come to mind when we think of society --that is, organizations such as the family, the interest organization, the state-- are not really the stuff of which society is made. Society, according to Simmel, consists of those processes of sociation which crystallize to form more or less permanent fields called social organizations, but which remain ongoing. (Wolff, 1950:8-11) Hence, the science of society is, more than anything else, the study of the processes or forms of sociation. (Wolff, 1950:21-25)

During the course of the development of his discussion of the roles of secrecy and disclosure in creating solidarity and exclusiveness toward the outside for individuals interacting with each other, Simmel identified several relationships in terms of the amount of self-disclosure which took place in these relationships (Wolff, 1950:317-29). The relationships which he discussed were those of economic or political interest, acquaintance, friendship, love, and marriage. These are relationships of progressively increasing commitment which incorporate progressively increasing amounts of self-disclosure. They are relationships which have become cultural institutions either informally (as in the case of friendship) or formally (as in the case of marriage).

Simmel's discussion focuses our attention on precisely that point at which a form of sociation becomes an aspect of social structure, and indeed self-disclosure has consistently emerged empirically

as an important component of the relationships which he considered. Weinberg (1970) found disclosure to be characteristic of closest friendships among middle class members of the same sex, and Baute (1967) found it to be characteristic of the middle class mate relationship. Komarovsky (1962) noted that the confiding or self-disclosure which is so important in the middle class mate relationship is often absent from the interaction of lower class couples: this serves to point up the utility of the concept of self-disclosure in the study of the social structure.

Simmel's discussion, however, also focuses our attention on the fact that a particular form of sociation can have consequences for the personalities of those individuals who are involved in it. The importance of self-disclosure (and the validation of the self which is disclosed) has been emphasized either implicitly or explicitly in numerous psychological and sociological theories of personality development and the maintenance of personality stability. (James, 1890; Cooley, 1902; Adler, 1927; Mead, 1934; Horney, 1945, 1950; Goffman, 1959; Stone, 1962). On the empirical level, there seems to be some relationship between self-disclosure and mental health. Jourard (1959) pointed out apparent relationships between suicide rates and being unmarried and morbidity rates for most illnesses and being unmarried, noting that the mate relationship is that relationship in which more self-disclosure transpires on an every day basis than in any other. Lowenthal and Haven (1968) showed that the presence of a confidant --one to whom intimate self-disclosure is directed-- serves as a buffer against gradual social losses in role and interaction and also against the more traumatic losses accompanying widowhood and retirement.

In spite of all the material which points to the importance

of self-disclosure, there are few studies within the massive body of social science literature which deal directly with the quantification and characterization of self-disclosure as a phenomenon. Presumably this is because of the fact that it is a difficult concept to delimit methodologically: for instance, there is the problem of non-verbal communication which was so specifically focused upon by Goffman and by Stone. Within the realm of verbal communication, there is the problem of the valid quantification of self-disclosure and the problem of the measurement of the amount and content of disclosure without contamination of the amount or content by the researcher's preconception of what should be disclosed in disclosure.

It was these problems which were the focus of this thesis. It was hoped that the present paper would provide a means to an end: a basis for the formulation of a valid and reliable tool for the systematic analysis of verbal self-disclosure, and a context within which to view the measurement of such disclosure.

## REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### Self-Disclosure Theory and Research

#### Simmel's Theory

It was noted in the Introduction that Georg Simmel identified types of voluntary primary relationships in terms of the extent to which the individual participants in these relationships knew the personalities of their fellow participants. Granted that his objective in doing so was the development of his discussion of the secret and the secret society, his conceptualizations are extremely relevant to the present study. The relationships which he identified were those of common political or economic interest, those of acquaintance, those of limited knowledge of competence, and those of friendship, love, and marriage. A review of his characterizations of all of these relationships will serve to put those which are of greatest interest here --the institutionally intimate relationships friendship and marriage-- in perspective.

In the interest group relationship Simmel viewed the member contributions as being completely objective, as being merely a part of the interested whole, and as having nothing whatsoever to do with knowledge of the individual personalities of other members. Members of an interest group are psychologically anonymous, and perhaps even physically anonymous. Recognition of shared interest might be based upon something so impersonal as residence within geographic boundaries or membership in a church. Interaction between a member and the other members who comprise the whole might be limited to something as impersonal as the taking of a vote or the asking of a monetary contribution.

In acquaintance, on the other hand, Simmel viewed this psychological anonymity as being less completely absent. In acquaintance one is

aware not only of the existence of another as a physical entity, but also as a personality. However, this awareness of a personality is limited to those aspects of the personality which the other chooses to present to the world (such presentation being in the sense which would be examined by Goffman, 1959). In acquaintance, where one cannot be certain of the true personality of the other, prudence dictates the maintenance of ignorance.

Having confidence in the competence of an individual in a specific area --however limited is the knowledge upon which this confidence is based-- constitutes a break in this ignorance. But, at some point, having confidence in the competence of another to make good on a bargain, render a political favor, or perform a function in an organization is not enough. The more closely one associates his actions with those of another, the more closely one's interests become bound up in those of another, the more thorough one's insight into the personality of that other person must be. Such insight is not merely passive knowledge, its possession implies support in a crisis situation. Engaging in a commonality of action and its outcome, then, is a step toward the termination of the autonomy of a personality, or at least a portion of it.

In friendship and in love Simmel found the romantic notion of the entering of the whole undivided ego into the relationship. The aim in both of these types of relationship is absolute psychological intimacy. However, Simmel regarded this complete intimacy as being more plausible in friendship than in love for the simple reason that in what he termed "love" sensuousness was the dominant factor. In Marriage, which Simmel seems to have regarded as being something apart from love, Simmel saw the opportunity for one to lose oneself completely in the personality of the other.

There is good reason for this point of view with respect to

marriage. Simmel's thinking is quite consistent: intimacy is at its peak when the individuals involved in a relationship are completely interdependent upon each other for their existence, and only in marriage does this complete interdependence (along with a cultural ideal of intimacy) materialize in modern life. Modern man, according to Simmel, was too multi-faceted a being to be able to fellow-travel through life with any other single individual who was autonomous (i.e., with a "friend"). Only in marriage, from Simmel's turn-of-the-century point of view, did economic pressure combine with cultural ideal to meld two people into a relationship of complete mutuality of interest, a relationship of complete self-disclosure.

Neither Simmel's cavalier pronouncement on the domination of "love" by sensuousness nor his idealization of the intimacy of conjugality is accepted without reservation. Simmel's definition of love outside of marriage as mere sensuousness could not have been completely true during his time, and it is no doubt less true now than it was then. Furthermore, the Komarovsky finding that self-disclosure in marriage is very much a class phenomenon has been noted. Nevertheless, Simmel has provided a conceptual framework for the present study.

#### Self-Disclosure: Its Function in Intimate Relationships

Self-disclosure has consistently emerged empirically as a characteristic of middle-class voluntary primary relationships. What is particularly interesting about the Weinberg and Baute studies mentioned earlier in this context is that in these studies the mode in which disclosure was made or the function which it served for the individuals involved in disclosure was pointed out.

Weinberg attempted to characterize the closest friendships of college students with members of their own sex. One phase of his study

included the interviewing of selected male and female college students and the composition of personal documents by these subjects on their closest friendships with members of their own sex. From these interviews and documents, the components of social intimacy were discerned, and, in turn, the closest friendships with members of the same sex of 140 male and female college students were analyzed in terms of these components.

Weinberg found that over 60 per cent of his subjects had single closest friends of their own sex and that an additional 36 per cent were able to select a closest friendship for study from among their friendships with members of their own sex. Self-disclosure surfaced as one of the components of these relationships. Subsequent analyses revealed that 83.5 per cent of the subjects made disclosures to their friends, particularly when discouraged or confronted by a personal crisis, and that 78.5 per cent were reassured by their friends.

Baute was concerned with characterizing the "normal" middle-class conjugal relationship. He obtained written protocols from one hundred subjects, fifty non-clinical married couples in two groups, Group I and Group II. The male in each of these couples had been college-educated. Statements on the conjugal relationship were abstracted and analyzed according to specific rules developed for this purpose. A number of categories of felt experience were derived from these protocols, and an extended analysis of the statements which remained was carried out. From the material furnished by Group I a Q-set was constructed, and this Q-set was administered to Group II in order to study the conjugal relationship still further.

Among the many categories of felt experience which were derived were: (1) a sense of understanding --52 per cent of the husbands and 32 per cent of the wives understood their spouses and felt understood



themselves; (2) a sense of ease in communication --23 per cent of the husbands and 32 per cent of the wives regarded their relationship as being frank and respected each other's differences of opinion; (3) a sense of sharing --48 per cent of the husbands and 44 per cent of the wives felt that they shared thoughts, joys, interests, and concerns with their spouses; (4) a sense of interdependence --48 per cent of the husbands and 56 per cent of the wives expressed such a feeling of mutual help, advice, support, encouragement, and understanding; and (5) a sense of trusting and confidence in the other --feelings of faith, safeness, and well-being were expressed by 24 per cent of the husbands and 44 per cent of the wives. Any and all of these categories of felt experience may be considered to be important aspects or products of confiding or self-disclosure.

#### Self-Disclosure: Self-Aspects and Target Persons

In several studies data have been produced and interpreted in ways which have made possible both the testing of Simmel's conceptualizations of specific voluntary primary relationships and the elaboration of these conceptualizations.

Jourard and Lasakow (1958) reported differences in disclosure associated with the content of self-disclosure, with the sex, race, and marital status of the subjects, and with the subjects' feelings toward specific target persons or confidant(e)s. In this study a questionnaire consisting of sixty items (such as feelings about religion, liking for foods, amount of income) was administered. These items were grouped into the categories Attitudes and Opinions, Tastes and Interests, Work or School, Money, Personality and Body. The questionnaire was administered to groups of both sexes, white and black, married and unmarried. This instrument was intended to measure, in terms of weights assigned

to how the confiding was done (lied about it, spoke about it vaguely, told all), the extent of disclosure of the different self-aspect categories to various target persons --Mother, Father, Male Friend, Female Friend and/or Spouse.

It was found that there was a significant correlation between parent-cathexis and self-disclosure: the more a parent was liked, the more disclosures were made to that parent. It was also found that young unmarried subjects, both white and black, showed the highest extent of self-disclosure to be to the Mother, with lesser amounts to the Father, Male Friend and Female Friend.

Even more interesting are some of the other findings. It was found that white subjects disclosed more than blacks and that females disclosed more than males. Married subjects disclosed less to Mother, Father, and Same-sex Friend than comparable unmarried subjects: the married subjects disclosed more to their spouses than to any other target persons, and there was more disclosure to spouses by the married than there was to any other target person on the part of either the married or the unmarried. Subjects tended to vary the amount of self-disclosure with respect to the self-aspect category to which an item about the self belonged: two clusters of aspects emerged, a high disclosure cluster containing the categories Attitudes and Opinions, Tastes and Interests, and Work or School, and a low disclosure cluster comprised of the categories Money, Personality and Body. There was a significant relationship between target persons and the aspects disclosed to those persons.

Jourard (1959), in a study focused specifically on self-disclosure and other-cathexis, administered a 15-item questionnaire to 9 female nursing college faculty members. The subjects were asked to indicate which of the items on the instrument (which consisted of items such

as "which of your characteristics bother you most?" and "What is or was your father's chief occupation?") they had disclosed to whom. They were also asked which items they knew about which of their fellow subjects. They were also asked to rank their fellow subjects in the order in which they liked them. He found that subjects tended to disclose more to persons toward whom they had positive feelings and less to persons whom they liked less well. Evidence was found for the structured dyadic relationship in which if a subject had disclosed much to and knew much about a colleague, that colleague knew much about and had disclosed much to her.

Jourard and Landsman (1960) administered the same 15 item questionnaire in the same way to 9 male graduate students. They found that the amount of information disclosed by subjects was highly correlated with the extent to which these subjects knew those to whom they disclosed. They found that cathexis was only slightly correlated with disclosure. They also found a pronounced dyadic effect. And they found these males disclosed significantly less than the nursing college females interviewed identically in the earlier study mentioned above.

In yet another effort, Jourard (1961) administered a revised 40-item version of the instrument he had used with Lasakow to male and female, married and unmarried college students ranging in age from 17 to 55 years. His hypothesis was that as late adolescents grow into maturity, they reduce their confiding to parents and same sex friends and concomitantly increase their confiding (and self-disclosure) to the opposite sex friend who is closest to them. Moreover, he further hypothesized that disclosure to this opposite-sex friend or spouse in the mature years would exceed the average amount disclosed to either parent or to the same-sex friend at any earlier stage. That is, that the relationship between a person and his spouse is "closer" insofar as

self-disclosure is concerned, than any other relationship which that person has been a party to.

The findings showed that there was a gradual decrease in disclosure on the part of males and females to both parents and to the same-sex friend, and that there was a gradual increase in disclosure to the opposite-sex friend. The findings also showed, however, a drop-off in confiding to the opposite-sex friend for both the males and females in the 40 to 55 year old category. While among the females in this age category the lonely spinsterhood of 35 per cent of the group accounted for the low level of disclosure for the group as a whole, among the males 95 per cent were married; this would indicate a reduction in the amount of self-disclosure made by these men to their wives. Perhaps in these findings one might find support for the contention of Cuber and Harroff (1963) that marital relationships between men and women of middle age by no means comprise the preponderant part of meaningful man-woman interaction for that age group.

## Self-Disclosure Research and the Unstructured Instrument

A serious problem in the series of studies conducted by Jourard and his associates was the fact that in these studies instruments were used in which a respondent was asked to indicate whether or not he had disclosed specific categories of information about himself. In other words, in these studies it was assumed that the total range of possible topics of confiding (i.e., every phase of the meaningful existence of the respondents) had been included in the instrument used and, more importantly, that all of these topics and sub-topics were of equal salience to each respondent.

Apparently in consideration of the possibility that these assumptions might be faulty, Lewis (1970) utilized as a basis for testing an aspect of the findings of this previous research an unstructured device for the measurement of the salient "self." This device, used in modified form, was the Twenty Statements Test or "TST."

The TST, of course, was initially used by Kuhn and McPartland (1954) to elicit a spontaneous definition of the self as an organization of qualities which one attributes to himself. It was used to measure the self as a general, useable construct in social psychology. The format, by now familiar to sociologists and psychologists, consists of a heading instructing the respondent to answer the question of who he is in the twenty numbered blank spaces which are provided. The respondent, normally an anonymous member of a reasonably large test group, is given several minutes to fill in as many spaces as he is able.

### Validity of the TST as a Measure of the Salient Self

It is evident in his use of the TST for the purpose of studying

confiding that Lewis assumed that what an individual discloses in a relationship of any intimacy impinges on that person's "self" in some way. Still more basic is the assumption that the TST actually does reveal the self.

Apart from its use in the Lewis study, the TST has been employed to get at the self as a general phenomenon. Implicit in using the TST to get at the self as a phenomenon is the basic assumption mentioned above. Tucker (1966:352) stated the specific assumptions involved in the use of the TST as follows:

1. The person will refer the question "Who Am I?" to himself and not to anyone else.
2. The person is aware ("known") of himself and he puts the "knowledge" into words.
3. The person's awareness of himself is dependent upon the behaviors of others in a situation and not a matter of "traits" or "instincts."
4. The person's awareness of himself precludes the use of any fixed responses; the responses must be the person's own plans of action.
5. The responses to the question are not limited to the testing situation, but have applicability in a variety of situations.

All of these assumptions, of course, are quite subject to challenge.

The respondent-reported validity of the TST, for instance, challenges two of these assumptions (numbers 2 and 4) outright. Spitzer, Stratton, Fitzgerald and Mach (1966:278) found that the TST was rated by respondents as least accurate of four instruments for the description of self. Subjects who took the test reportedly complained about lack of structure and the indefiniteness of the task; some complained that it strained their powers of introspection. The other three instruments with which the TST was compared were the fixed-response type.

Respondent-reported validity may be considered to be of crucial importance in assessing the worth of a self-concept measuring device. Any criticism based upon respondent-reported validity, however, may or may not be criticism worthy of a great deal of consideration. Further-

more, it would occur to this investigator that the assumptions which Tucker delimits should be called into question before such a criticism is taken seriously. After all, isn't the spontaneity of the elicited responses an important factor in their validity? The "presentation of self" (Goffman, 1969) is a matter of common experience. It is important that the self is presented spontaneously on the TST as it is in one's every day life. And it is an open question as to whether or not there is ever the possibility of presenting one's self --even to one's self-- in a fashion divorced from the impression we wish others (or ourselves) to have of us. Is there really a deeper self underlying the one presented? And if there is, is it more real than the one presented? Would a more structured instrument permit the respondent any freedom to express his "self?" Certainly the post facto mullings of respondents should be at least as subject to criticism as the test itself.

Criticism of the other assumptions involved in the use of the TST as a device for measuring the "self" as such can readily be countered by reminding the critic that there is opportunity for misunderstanding in virtually any testing situation and by reminding him of the specific use to which the instrument is being put in the present study. It should be noted that self-awareness is what we are really concerned with in the present study, not its source; and it should be noted that all of the respondents are involved in the same testing situation, a factor which is itself a control. In any case, the assumptions involved in using the TST for the present study are by no means as limiting as those involved in its use solely as a device for the measurement of the "self."

Apart from all of this, however, the TST has been validated in a very objective fashion which is completely rooted in reality. McPartland, Cumming, and Garretson (1961) administered the TST to patients in

a state mental hospital rather than to a group who might be described as "normal." Not only did the persons in this group engage in extremes of behavior which would furnish the investigators with a basis for comparison, but they were also involved in a controlled situation in which they could be observed.

McPartland, Cumming, and Garretson divided the statements made by respondents into four categories, each of which reflected a different level of abstraction. The categories ranged from most concrete to least concrete. The investigators found modal responses in the most concrete category to be associated with withdrawn ward behavior and modal responses in the least concrete category to be associated with extravagant behavior. Another way of looking at it would be to regard those whose modal responses fell in the most concrete category as exhibiting too little behavior while those whose responses fell in the most abstract category exhibited too much behavior.

It was precisely this predictive validity which Spitzer, et al. regarded as being inadequate. It was because they regarded associating a given device with specific external criteria (such as indices of adjustment) as being predisposed toward producing inconsistent results that they chose to ask the question "to what degree do subjects feel that various self-concept instruments allow for the accurate expression of self-attitudes?" (1966:267)

But, as we have seen, respondent reports are themselves doubtful measures of validity, probably a great deal more doubtful than other measures. In any case, the fact remains that McPartland, Cumming, and Garretson gave the TST a behavior-based foothold which serves to validate it as an instrument for revealing the self construct.



### Lewis's Study and Findings

Lewis accepted the validity of the TST as a device for the measurement of self. Furthermore, he felt that the salient self is actually portrayed in the TST responses, the more TST responses which are the subject of confiding with a given target person, the more self-disclosure is directed toward the target person. He used a version of the instrument with only ten spaces, asking his subjects to indicate which of their responses they disclosed to various target persons, to test the general hypothesis that the sexes of the subjects and their confidant(e)s were a factor in the extent of disclosure in various relationships. He discovered, in line with previous findings, that females have higher disclosure rates than males, that females disclose more to their Mothers than to their Fathers, that males disclose equally to their Mothers and Fathers, and that males and females disclose more to their Same-sex Friends than to their Opposite-sex Friends. It should be noted, however, that few of his findings were statistically significant: they were instead in the form of general trends.

### Study Questions and Hypotheses for the Present Study

On the basis of the foregoing review, three study questions, all of which generated specific hypotheses to be tested, presented themselves.

The first of these hypothesis-generating questions was that of the reliability of the TST as an instrument for the study of self-disclosure. In line with this first question, the following substantive hypotheses permitted partial replication of the Lewis research:

Hypothesis 1 -- Females have higher disclosure than males in terms of total TST responses regardless of the voluntary primary relationship under consideration: i.e., regardless of target person.

Hypothesis 2 -- Both males and females disclose more of their total TST responses to their closest friends of their own sex than to their closest friends of the opposite sex.

In the Lewis study as in the Jourard and Lasakow (1958) and Jourard (1961) studies, self-disclosure in friendships with members of the opposite sex was confounded with self-disclosure in the mate relationship. Jourard and Lasakow, apparently utilizing Simmel's theory strictly, made provision for marriage but not for intimate male-female involvement without marriage. In his 1961 study, Jourard recognized mating as the probable explanation for the increase in disclosure to opposite sex friends which he observed as being concomitant with the increase in age up to about the age of 30, but he had incorporated no control for it in his experimental design. In the present study the following hypothesis,

which takes into consideration intimate involvement apart from marriage as well as in marriage, will be tested:

Hypothesis 3 -- Both males and females disclose more of their total TST responses to their mates than they do in either of the other voluntary primary relationships under consideration.

The second of the questions which generated hypotheses was that of the usefulness of TST data in studying the content of self-disclosure and the influence of this content on disclosure patterns. Jourard and Lasakow noted that their "self-aspects" fell into high-disclosure and low-disclosure categories, and that there was an interaction between target persons and self-aspects which produced an effect on the extent of disclosure in various relationships. However, they did not explore the interaction indicated in their multi-factor analysis.

Hypothesis 4 -- There are high-disclosure and low-disclosure categories of TST responses: that is, some categories of responses are disclosed proportionately more than others regardless of target person or sex of respondent.

Hypothesis 5 -- Females are consistently higher than males in the extent of their disclosure of specific categories of TST responses, regardless of target persons.

Hypothesis 6 -- For both males and females, there is a consistently greater extent of disclosure of specific categories of TST responses to same sex friends than there is to opposite sex friends.

Hypothesis 7 -- For both males and females, there is a consistently greater extent of disclosure of specific categories of TST responses to mates than there is in either of the other voluntary primary relationships under consideration.

Finally, there was a question which was raised by the Weinberg and Baute studies, studies which characterized the function of self-disclosure in confiding as being one of emotional reinforcement for the discloser. Lewis, as did researchers before him, seemed to attribute equal importance to all of the aspects of self which were disclosed in his study. Is it not conceivable that a person who discloses only one aspect of his being is confiding about something infinitely more important than another person who discloses five aspects of himself, none of which are of any great meaning to him? It is extremely important that the number of aspects of one's self which are disclosed is not confused with the amount of confiding. It is, rather than being the amount of confiding (in which there is an implied emotional content), actually the extent of self-disclosure, and it is this only in terms of the aspects of self mentioned on the TST. Lewis and the researchers before him failed to make this distinction, and consequently a question of interest here is whether or not there is an association between the extent of disclosure to an individual and the ranking of that individual as a confidant(e) by a respondent. The final major hypothesis of the present study, then, is

Hypothesis 8 -- For both males and females, regardless of the voluntary primary relationships in which they are involved, there is a strong positive association between the extent of

gross or categorical subject self-disclosure to a target person and the ranking of that target person as a confidant(e).

This last hypothesis was perhaps the most important hypothesis advanced for the present study.

## METHOD

### Instrument

For the present study the Twenty Statements test took its standard form, the heading

There are twenty numbered spaces on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who am I?" in the spaces. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or importance. It is not necessary that you include your name. Go along fairly fast, for time is limited.

followed by 20 numbered spaces. Respondents were allowed about 12 minutes to fill in as many numbered spaces as they could.

The subjects were given, following the TST, a set of questions on which of their responses to the "Who am I?" question were topics of disclosure to others in selected voluntary primary relationships. The subjects were asked to indicate which specific TST responses were topics of disclosure to their closest friend (or to a representative closest friend, if there were many) of the same sex, which were topics of disclosure to their closest (or representative closest) friend of the opposite sex, and which were topics of disclosure to their spouses or "lovers." They were also asked to indicate whether or not there were topics of disclosure in these relationships which were not included in the TST responses.

Apart from these questions which related directly to the TST, several control questions were included in the instrument. The respondents were asked outright to rank those in whom they confided from most to least. It was felt that this would furnish a basis for the determination of whether or not measured self-disclosure, whatever measure is used, is an adequate indicator of a target person's status as a confidant(e).

There were a number of questions designed to determine the quality of the subject's relationships with friends and/or mates. Also asked were questions designed to determine how friend relationships had changed when the mate relationship was entered into if, in fact, the relationships had changed.

More basic control questions included background data of various types. It should be noted that no questions were asked to determine whether or not specific subjects were members of religious orders the vows of which would preclude the "mate" relationship; it was not felt that this factor would influence the findings of the study to any great extent since the type of relationship in which respondents were involved was controlled.

A copy of the entire instrument is attached as Appendix A.

## Subjects

The instrument was administered to undergraduate students during the regular class meetings of sociology courses at Loyola University of Chicago during the academic year 1972-1973. It was felt that these students would furnish the present study with a sample of middle-class or aspiring middle-class subjects who were similar in their patterns of self-disclosure to the subjects of those studies from which hypotheses were derived.

Completed questionnaires were received from 108 students, 45 males and 63 females. The range of ages among the females was from 17 to 25. For males it was from 18 to 29. In both instances, the older persons in the sample (aged 23, 24, 25, 26, and 29) represented extremes and included only 7 individuals. Only 5 of the subjects, 2 of the males and 3 of the females, were black.

Of the male subjects, 20 were intimately involved with members of the opposite sex. Of the females, 31 were intimately involved. Only 3 of the subjects, all of them female, were married, and these individuals were included for analytic purposes among those intimately involved.



## Procedures for Hypothesis Testing

Control variables to be used in the analysis of data were dictated by the hypotheses to be tested: they were sex of subject, intimate involvement with a member of the opposite sex, the target persons for disclosure (or the relationships in which disclosure takes place), and, of course, categories of TST responses disclosed.

For the present study the relationships under scrutiny are the "closest friend" (of both the same and opposite sex) and the "mate" relationships. The "closest friend" may be either the closest friend as such or, after the fashion of the Weinberg study, a representative closest friend. The "mate" is that member of the opposite sex with whom one is intimately involved. While this last definition, that of mate, represents a departure from the Simmelian conceptualization presented at the beginning of this paper, it is felt that such a departure is justified in the study of self-disclosure, especially for the age group under consideration. Furthermore, the resultant conceptualization has produced data sufficiently comparable to that produced for the other research cited.

A variable which is notable for its non-use is that of race. While this variable can be important (as was the case, for instance, in the Jourard and Lasakow study), the non-whites in our sample for the present study were few in number, and the data which they provided was very similar to that which was provided by the whites in the sample. Furthermore, race was not controlled in the Lewis study, the only other study for which TST-based data (that is, truly comparable data) was produced.

Given the several variables which were controlled and considering their inter-relatedness, it was hoped that it would be possible to carry out a multi-factor analysis (Walker and Lev, 1953; Lindquist, 1958) in which all of the variables and their inter-relationships could be manipulated at once. This would have made possible the simultaneous testing of all of the hypotheses on differential extents of TST-based disclosure: i.e., disclosure by sex of respondent, disclosure to particular target person, and disclosure by category of response. Such multi-factor analysis was precluded, however, by eccentricities of the categorized data which will become evident later in this section. Furthermore, the number of categories produced to make the data meaningful would have rendered a multi-factor analysis uninterpretable without extensive post-hoc comparisons. Consequently, as had been anticipated would be the case, the idea of multi-factor analysis was abandoned in favor of a less elegant but more appropriate approach to the first 7 of our 8 hypotheses.

#### Hypotheses Based upon Gross Self-Disclosure

The first three hypotheses of the present study were not tested in the way in which Lewis tested his hypotheses in spite of the fact that they, like Lewis's hypotheses, deal with gross (or total uncategorical) self-disclosure. Lewis used averaged raw frequencies of self-aspects (or TST statements) disclosed to various target persons to test his hypotheses. His use of these averages was valid: he used only those of the ten-space TST's which he administered which had been completely filled out. But the use of similar averages could not be valid in the present study, for in many cases our twenty-space TST's were not completely filled out. Consequently, since gross self-disclosure can only be measured in terms of the total number of responses which appear

on a given TST, our first three hypotheses were tested in terms of averaged percentages of total TST responses disclosed by male and female subjects to various target persons.

The test of statistical significance applied to these hypotheses was the fixed effects analysis of variance (or F-test), a difference of means test. The implicit null hypothesis in any difference of means test is that there is no difference between sampled population means, and the level of significance indicated by the test value reflects the probability of erroneously rejecting this null hypothesis. Furthermore, uncertainty about the directionality of the relationships to be evidenced by the data dictated the formulation of alternative hypotheses as well as null hypotheses. In operational terms the first three major hypotheses of the present study, with their null and alternative hypotheses, were:

$$H_1 \quad : \quad SD_f > SD_m$$

$$H_1 \text{ null: } SD_f = SD_m$$

$$H_1 \text{ alt.: } SD_f < SD_m$$

$$H_2 \quad : \quad DT_{ssf} > DT_{osf}$$

$$H_2 \text{ null: } DT_{ssf} = DT_{osf}$$

$$H_2 \text{ alt.: } DT_{ssf} < DT_{osf}$$

$$H_3 \quad : \quad DT_{mate} > DT_{ssf} \text{ or } DT_{osf}$$

$$H_3 \text{ null: } DT_{mate} = DT_{ssf} = DT_{osf}$$

$$H_3 \text{ alt.: } DT_{mate} < DT_{ssf} \text{ or } DT_{osf}$$

The analysis of variance which was applied was not straightforward. The possibility of the interaction of the variables involved had to be controlled, and therefore a two-way analysis was necessary. But

the subclasses involved in two-way analysis (for instance, uninvolved females vs. uninvolved males) were unequal. The analysis of variance procedure settled upon was the approximation described by Walker and Lev (1953: 381-2) and recommended by Blalock (1960: 264). This procedure permits one to carry out a two-way analysis with unequal subclasses fairly easily: the arithmetic means of the subclasses created by the two controlled factors are treated as single cases, except in the computation of the error term in which all of the cases are considered.

### Categorization of TST Responses

If the content of disclosure and its influence on differences in disclosure are really to be gotten at, the topics of confiding must be arranged so that they can be discussed content-wise and so that hypotheses can be tested meaningfully. There are several studies which provide us with an introduction into schemes of organizing TST responses.

In their original study Kuhn and McPartland divided the statements made by student subjects into consensual, those referring to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are matters of common knowledge, and subconsensual, those referring to groups, classes, attributes, traits, etc., which require interpretation by the respondent to be precise or to place him relative to other people. Examples given by Kuhn and McPartland of the consensual type of response were "student," "girl," "from Chicago," "pre-med," "daughter," "oldest child," "studying engineering," that is, statements referring to consensually defined statuses and classes. Examples of the subconsensual type of response were "happy," "bored," "pretty good student," "too heavy," "good wife," "interesting," that is, statements without positional references, or with references to consensual classes obscured by

ambiguous modifiers. Interestingly enough, Kuhn and McPartland found that "respondents tended to exhaust all consensual references they would make before they made (if at all) any subconsensual ones.

In an effort to validate their instrument as a measure of the self-construct, they compared the consensual response scores of different religious groups. They found there to be significant differences between the higher-scoring Catholics, "small sects," "Protestants," Congregationalists, Lutherans, "Christians," and Jews on the one hand, and lower-scoring Methodists, Presbyterians, and "Nones" on the other. However, their validation process is quite open to criticism since they failed to correlate the scores which they computed with a behavioral reality.

This validation problem was left to McPartland, Cumming and Garretson whose behavioral validation process we have already discussed. We have not discussed in detail, however, their categorizations.

Their categories ranged from most to least concrete. Examples of responses which they put into the most concrete category are "six feet tall," "28 years old." Examples of the next most concrete category would be "student," "Catholic," etc. The third category contained responses like "moody, sometimes," "enjoy being with people." Finally, the fourth category of self-identifying statements contained responses which were experiences with no particular context such as "I hope for the best for all," --which transcended social interaction, such as "I am an intelligence," --and which negated personal commitment, as does "I am nobody." It was these kinds of responses which were associated with different types of ward behavior.

A scheme of categorizing TST responses for the purpose of the present study was not an easy task. While the statements contained in completed TST's are fairly easy to arrange in categories as was done

in the two studies just discussed, how meaningful are these categories with regard to discussing the content of self-disclosure? Responses categorized along a continuum of consensuality or abstraction defy interpretation as topics of self-disclosure and certainly would not be comparable to other data on the content of self-disclosure. Responses must be organized in a fashion relevant to the problem at hand.

More than one scheme of categorization was considered for the present study. The scheme of categorization which was eventually settled upon is that which is explained below.

Aspects of self indicated on TST's were placed by a panel of three judges into thirteen categories:

- I- Intimate feelings
- II- Feelings generally
- III- Opinions, beliefs
- IV- Tastes and interests
- V- Ambitions, aspirations, desires
- VI- Attitudes and other personality traits or qualities
- VII- Physical characteristics
- VIII- School roles
- IX- Work roles
- X- Intimate interpersonal blood relationships
- XI- Other intimate interpersonal relationships
- XII- Other interpersonal relationships
- XIII- Other roles, roles not implying specific interpersonal relationships or tastes or interests.

It is evident that these categories are not mutually exclusive, but with clear instructions and an intensive review, in only 3% of the categorization was there no agreement whatsoever, and in only 20% was there disagreement between one judge and the other two judges. In

those cases where there was disagreement between one judge and the other two, the majority ruled. In those cases where there was no agreement, arbitrary categorizations were made. The results of these categorizations are presented in Table 1.

Examples of responses which were to be placed in the first category, intimate feelings, are "very much in love," "concerned about my mother's health," and "worried that I will not find true love." The second category, feelings generally, included responses such as "dislike going to the dentist," and "sometimes I hate school." The third, opinions and beliefs, included "strong belief in God," "believer in tradition," etc. Tastes and interests included such responses as "likes gentlemanliness in men," and "reader." Expressions such as "I want to be something," and "someone who wants very badly to be a dentist" belonged in category five, ambitions, aspirations and desires. Category six, attitudes and other personality traits or qualities, included responses like "hopeful about the future," "goofy," and "friendly." Physical characteristics were to include just that, along with sex as sex ("female") not as a role ("man"), and age as age ("20 years old") not as role ("child"). The eighth category was composed of school roles such as "student," "freshman," "undeclared major." The ninth was composed of work roles -- "Dominick's booth girl," "cab driver." The tenth category was to be blood relationships (assumed intimate if mentioned), the eleventh was to be other intimate interpersonal relationships such as "fiancee," or "friend," and the twelfth was to be other interpersonal relationships such as "roommate, one of four." Finally, the thirteenth category included other roles, roles not implying specific interpersonal relationships or tastes or interests. Examples of responses which were to be placed in this last category are "tenant" and "employee."

Table 1

Absolute and Relative Frequencies of TST Responses  
by Category of Response and by Sex and Involvement  
of Respondent

	Uninvolved		Involved		Total (N=108)
	Males (N=25)	Females (N=32)	Males (N=20)	Females (N=51)	
	# %	# %	# %	# %	# %
I Int. Feelings	3 (0.6)	4 (0.6)	10 (2.5)	3 (0.5)	20 (1.0)
II Gen. Feelings	13 (2.6)	36 (5.7)	- (-)	- (-)	49 (2.3)
III Opinions	15 (3.0)	4 (0.6)	5 (1.3)	3 (0.5)	27 (1.3)
IV Tastes	68 (13.6)	86 (13.7)	70 (17.5)	59 (10.2)	283 (13.4)
V Aspirations	18 (3.6)	20 (3.2)	- (-)	14 (2.4)	52 (2.4)
VI Attitudes	195 (39.0)	266 (42.4)	145 (36.3)	196 (33.9)	802 (38.1)
VII Physical Char.	38 (7.6)	38 (6.1)	35 (8.8)	69 (11.9)	180 (8.6)
VIII School Roles	35 (7.0)	38 (6.1)	30 (7.5)	65 (11.2)	168 (8.0)
IX Work Roles	8 (1.6)	8 (1.3)	20 (5.0)	21 (3.6)	57 (2.7)
X Int. Blood Rel.	30 (6.0)	50 (8.0)	35 (8.8)	62 (10.7)	177 (8.4)
XI Other Int. Rel.	18 (3.6)	26 (4.1)	20 (5.0)	38 (6.6)	102 (4.8)
XII Other Rel.	5 (1.0)	12 (1.9)	- (-)	7 (1.2)	24 (1.1)
XIII Other Roles	53 (10.6)	40 (6.4)	30 (7.5)	41 (7.1)	164 (7.8)
Total	449 (100.0)	628 (100.0)	400 (100.0)	578 (100.0)	2105 (100.0)



### Hypotheses Based upon Categorical Self-Disclosure

Categorized TST statements represent a special problem with regard to self-disclosure: not every one in a given group will have made equal numbers of statements, if indeed they have made any at all, in a given category. Hence our procedure in the present study. Once again disclosure was viewed as being relative to the number of self-aspects expressed on a particular respondent's completed TST. Mean disclosure rates were calculated on the basis of self-aspects disclosed by those subjects who had made TST statements which fell into specific categories, and those individuals alone. Individuals who had made no responses which fell into the specific category under consideration were ignored.

There are, of course, serious problems in generalization which arise out of this procedure, especially since with so many categories  $N$ 's for a given weight range all the way from 0 or 1 or 2 to the total number of subjects in a specific group under consideration (for instance, for females not involved with members of the opposite sex,  $N = 32$ ). However, there is no alternative to handling the data in this fashion. Operationalized hypotheses were:

$$H_4 : \text{Cat SD}_I \neq \text{Cat SD}_{II} \dots \text{Cat SD}_{XIII}$$

$$H_4 \text{ null: } \text{Cat SD}_I = \text{Cat SD}_{II} \dots \text{Cat SD}_{XIII}$$

$$H_5 : \text{Cat SD}_f > \text{Cat SD}_m$$

$$H_5 \text{ null: } \text{Cat SD}_f = \text{Cat SD}_m$$

$$H_5 \text{ alt.: } \text{Cat SD}_f < \text{Cat SD}_m$$

$$H_6 : \text{Cat DT}_{ssf} > \text{Cat DT}_{osf}$$

$$H_6 \text{ null: } \text{Cat DT}_{ssf} = \text{Cat DT}_{osf}$$

$$H_6 \text{ alt.: } \text{Cat DT}_{ssf} < \text{Cat DT}_{osf}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 H_7 & : \text{Cat } DT_{\text{mate}} > \text{Cat } DT_{\text{ssf}} \text{ or Cat } DT_{\text{osf}} \\
 H_7 \text{ null:} & \text{Cat } DT_{\text{mate}} = \text{Cat } DT_{\text{ssf}} \text{ and Cat } DT_{\text{osf}} \\
 H_7 \text{ alt.:} & \text{Cat } DT_{\text{mate}} < \text{Cat } DT_{\text{ssf}} \text{ or Cat } DT_{\text{osf}}
 \end{aligned}$$

The tests of statistical significance applied to the major hypotheses dealing with categorized TST data were the one-way analysis of variance and the related statistic for two-group mean comparisons, the t-test.

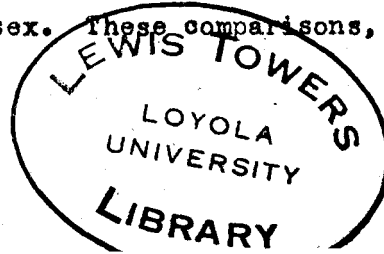
### The Association of Self-Disclosure with Confiding

An additional relationship to be examined was that between disclosure to a specific target person (same sex friend, opposite sex friend, or mate) and the rank of that target person as a confidant(e).

Incidental to the examination of this relationship, a series of hypotheses apart from the main hypotheses of the study were tested to determine whether or not patterns of "confiding" with all the emotional implications which the activity has, are similar to those of self-disclosure, an intimately intertwined and almost imperceptibly different concept.

These secondary hypotheses were tested with data derived from the rank order questions in the instrument (Questions 13 and 14, Section IV, Appendix A). In these questions the respondents were asked to note those individuals in whom they confided in order from most to least, and to do this, when applicable, for the periods both before and after intimate involvement with a member of the opposite sex. The respondents were asked to indicate relationships, not names.

On the basis of this data comparisons were made of the sexes of the chief confidant(e)s of respondents before and after the involvement of these respondents with members of the opposite sex. These comparisons,



of course, were made on the basis of post facto self-reports. Also made, however, were comparisons of involved respondents with those who were not involved. The chi-square ( $x^2$ ) statistic, a statistic which determines to what extent observed data deviate from chance or random occurrences of data, was applied.

With these preliminary analyses completed, a direct analysis was made of the association between the disclosure to a target person and the rank of that person as a confidant(e). Disclosure was measured in terms of the percentage of gross or selected categorical TST responses disclosed to a specific target person, and rank was determined by the position of that person in the response to the first of the rank order questions, that is, the question which elicited a current ranking of confidant(e)s.

For those intimately involved, the person to whom the greatest amount of disclosure was made was ranked "high," the next "medium," and the person to whom the least amount of disclosure was made was ranked "low." Two disclosure rates rated identically were placed in the appropriate category, either "high" or "low." When all three disclosure rates were rated identically they were put in the "high" category. For those not involved, disclosure rates were either "high" or "low," identical ratings falling into the "high" category. The same procedure was applied to the confidant(e) rankings elicited by the rank order question.

The resulting data was placed in 3x3 or 2x2 tables, as appropriate, and the  $T'$  (Kendall's Tau B) measure of association between ordinal variables was applied. This measure indicates the proportional reduction of error in guessing the value of a dependent variable which is attributed to knowledge of a given independent variable. It is superior to other measures such as  $\gamma$  and  $\lambda$  because it is corrected for cellular ties.

The operational hypotheses to be tested in terms of specific target persons were

$$H_8 : DT_{Hi} = Rank_{Hi},$$

$$DT_{Md} = Rank_{Md}, \text{ and}$$

$$DT_{Lo} = Rank_{Lo}$$

when = signified an identical rating in terms of both extent of self-disclosure to the target person and the rank of that person as a confidant(e). Similar operationalizations were produced for categorical self-disclosure.

## RESULTS

### Hypotheses Based upon Gross Self-Disclosure

For those males not intimately involved with members of the opposite sex the mean disclosure rate to closest friends of the same sex was 52.1 per cent, and the mean disclosure rate to closest friends of the opposite sex was 53.1 per cent. For females not involved the same sex friend rate was 66.1 per cent and the opposite sex friend rate was 61.1 per cent. Despite apparently clear-cut differences with respect to sex of subject, the approximate two-way analysis of variance which was applied indicated no statistically significant differences between self-disclosure by males and females: the  $F$  of 2.43 comes nowhere near the required  $F$  of 3.92 for  $p < .05$  in a two-tailed test, and it only approaches the required  $F$  of 2.78 for  $p < .10$ . There were no significant differences with respect to sex of target person, and there was no significant interaction between the sex of the subject and that of the target person. (See Table 2.)

For those subjects who were intimately involved with members of the opposite sex, the results of the analysis of variance were not as completely insignificant statistically. For males the mean disclosure rates to same sex friends, opposite sex friends, and mates were 57.5 per cent, 57.5 per cent, and 78.8 per cent respectively. For females these rates were 67.8 per cent, 64.2 per cent, and 82.2 per cent respectively. While the  $F$  tests were once again largely insignificant, there was statistical significance in gross self-disclosure between the male and female subjects: an  $F$  of 4.43 indicated that  $p < .05$  for a two-tailed test. (See Table 3.)

Table 2

Target Person and Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of Gross TST Aspects of Self Disclosed by Respondents Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Target Person	Mean % Disclosure by Sex	
	Male	Female
To Same Sex Friend	52.1	69.7
To Opposite Sex Friend	53.1	61.1

Two-Way Analysis of Variance Summary

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Target Persons (Rows)	4.0	1	4.0	.08
Respondent Sex (Columns)	122.9	1	122.9	2.43
Target X Sex	8.9	1	8.9	.18
Error		110	50.5	

differences not statistically significant

Table 3

Target Person and Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of Gross TST Self Aspects Disclosed by Respondents Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Target Person	Mean % Disclosure by Sex	
	Male	Female
To Same Sex Friend	57.5	67.7
To Opposite Sex Friend	57.5	64.2
To Mate	78.8	82.2

Two-Way Analysis of Variance Summary

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Target Persons (Rows)	69.3	1	69.3	1.30
Respondent Sex (Columns)	472.0	2	236.0	4.43 <sup>A</sup>
Target X Sex	12.3	2	6.1	.12
Error		147	53.3	

A --difference statistically significant:  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)

Considering that 6 F-tests were performed and only one was statistically significant, one could view this single instance of significance as being attributable to chance occurrence. Given the interdependence of the 3 tests carried out for each of the two groups, it would be difficult to calculate the exact probability of the accidental occurrence of significance, and this has not been done. But taking into consideration and bearing in mind the caveat that the general trend of the data, not an isolated instance of significance, is the most reasonable basis for interpretation (Hays, 1963:410), one must say that for both involved and uninvolved subjects females exhibit a greater extent of self-disclosure. There is also a clear-cut trend for both males and females for mates to be the recipients of the greatest extents of self-disclosure. That is:

$$SD_c > SD_{\bar{c}}$$

$$DT_{ssf} = DT_{osf}$$

$$DT_{mate} > DT_{ssf} \text{ or } DT_{osf}$$

Hypotheses 1 and 3 were accepted as was the null form of Hypothesis 2.



### Hypotheses Based upon Categorical Self-Disclosure

The first hypothesis based upon categorical self-disclosure, Hypothesis 4, was that the extent of respondent self-disclosure was different among the various categories of TST-responses regardless of the target person or sex of respondent. An analysis of variance over all categories of TST responses, for both sexes combined, across all of the voluntary primary relationships under consideration, revealed that with an  $F$  of 2.35 (significant at .01 with 12/750 df) there was indeed significant variation in the extent of disclosure among the categories. (See Table 4.) Therefore,  $H_4$  null that

$$\text{Cat SD}_I = \text{Cat SD}_{II} \dots \text{Cat SD}_{XIII}$$

had to be rejected. However, further analysis (Table 5) revealed that this significant variation was entirely accounted for by the variance between Categories I and III, that is, the variance in disclosure between "Intimate Feelings" and "Opinions and Beliefs."

Surprisingly, Intimate Feelings was the category disclosed to the greatest extent with a mean disclosure rate of 99.5 per cent while Opinions and Beliefs were disclosed least at 58 per cent. This finding represents a total reversal of the relationship between the categories which one might expect: it must be interpreted cautiously and in the light of findings regarding the other hypotheses based upon categorical self-disclosure which will be reported below. Also, the characteristics of the data must be considered: referring back to Table 1 it is notable that Categories I and III contain some of the smallest frequencies of TST responses, a factor which raises the possibility that disclosure based upon this small number of responses is not an adequate basis for generalization.

Table 4

Total Mean Disclosure of TST Aspects of Self, by Category, over All Target Persons (N = 763, i.e., Disclosure Rates of Respondents Who Made Potentially Disclosable Responses in the 13 Categories, Added over All Target Persons and All Categories)

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
99.5	84.2	58.0	77.6	76.1	74.4	71.8	82.8	72.4	72.5	70.4	81.7	73.0

Analysis of Variance Summary

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Categories	-16,213.3	12	-1,351.1	2.35
Error	430, 913.0	750	574.5	

differences statistically significant:  $p < .01$  (two-tailed test)

Table 5

Post Hoc Comparisons of Categorical Mean Disclosure Rates Analyzed in Table 4

Category	Category												
	Mean	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
I	99.5	15.3	41.5*	21.9	23.4	25.1	27.7	16.7	27.1	27.0	29.1	17.8	26.5
II	84.2		26.2	6.6	8.1	9.8	12.4	1.4	11.8	11.7	13.8	2.5	11.2
III	58.0			-19.6	-18.1	-16.4	-13.8	-24.8	-14.4	-14.5	-12.4	-23.7	-15.0
IV	77.6				1.5	3.2	5.8	-5.2	5.2	5.1	7.2	-4.1	4.6
V	76.1					1.7	4.3	-6.7	3.7	3.6	5.7	-5.6	3.1
VI	74.4						2.6	-8.4	2.0	1.9	4.0	-7.3	1.4
VII	71.8							-11.0	-0.6	-0.7	1.4	-9.9	-1.2
VIII	82.8								10.4	10.3	12.4	1.1	9.8
IX	72.4									-0.1	2.0	-9.3	-0.6
X	72.5										2.1	-9.2	-0.5
XI	70.4											-11.3	-2.6
XII	81.7												8.7

\*difference statistically significant at  $p < .05$  or less (for a two-tailed test)

Table 5 (cont'd)

Critical Differences between Categories at  $p < .05$  (for a two-tailed t-test)

Category	Category											
	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
I	34.8	37.6	32.5	36.2	32.1	32.5	32.5	34.3	33.0	33.4	39.8	32.5
II		27.9	21.1	21.9	20.2	20.2	21.1	23.4	21.5	22.0	31.1	21.1
III			25.2	30.0	24.3	24.7	25.2	27.0	25.6	26.1	33.9	25.2
IV				23.4	16.0	16.5	16.5	20.2	17.9	17.9	28.8	16.9
V					22.4	23.4	23.4	25.6	23.8	24.3	32.5	23.4
VI						16.0	16.0	18.8	16.5	16.9	27.9	16.5
VII							16.5	19.2	17.9	17.9	28.4	16.9
VIII								20.2	17.9	17.9	28.4	16.9
IX									20.6	21.1	30.2	20.2
X										18.8	28.9	17.9
XI											29.3	18.3
XII												28.8

Hypothesis 5, to be tested in terms of each category of response, was that females disclose themselves to a greater extent than males. The object, of course, was to discover consistent categorical differences.

Certain categories of responses produced statistically significant results when male/female disclosure was compared. For those not involved with members of the opposite sex, Categories VIII, IX, and XI consistently produced significantly directional results, all of which indicated a greater extent of disclosure for females than for males. For those intimately involved with members of the opposite sex, Categories III, IX, and XI produced somewhat consistent significant results: Category III showed a consistently and significantly higher extent of disclosure for males, Categories IX and XI showed a consistently higher extent of disclosure for females. (See Tables 6 through 10.)

In more meaningful terms, it was found that uninvolved females tend to disclose their "role" selves to a significantly greater extent, regardless of target person, than males. It was also found that males, especially those engaged in the mate relationship, tend to reveal their "opinion" selves to a greater extent than females. And it was found that involved females disclosed their work roles and intimate relationships to a greater extent than males, disclosure of intimate relationships seemingly being concentrated in the mate relationship.

It once again was thought advisable to closely examine trend data. Of 65 comparisons of extent of self-disclosure by sex, 56 contained sufficient data (i.e., no empty categories or--in the tables--"NR's" for a group) for comparisons to be made. Of the 53 instances in which extents of disclosure for males and females were different and were therefore subjected to statistical testing, 18 proved significant at from .001 to .10 for two-tailed tests. This is not an over-

Table 6

Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized Self Aspects Disclosed to Same Sex Friends by Respondents Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_m$	$n_f$	$s_m$	$s_f$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{X}_m$	$\bar{X}_f$							
I	0.0	100.0	3	2	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
II	100.0	87.5	13	16	0.00	33.00	8.54	1.46	15
III	38.5	50.0	13	4	48.05	50.00	32.00	.36	-
IV	61.5	55.3	20	24	24.49	25.50	7.07	.88	-
V	58.3	70.0	10	10	58.32	17.60	20.30	.58	-
VI	45.1	57.4	25	32	44.22	38.10	11.30	1.09	-
VII	36.9	44.4	18	24	37.76	47.80	13.50	.56	-
VIII	50.0	88.4	18	26	46.29	28.78	12.60	3.05 <sup>B</sup>	29
IX	33.3	75.0	8	8	19.24	43.30	17.90	2.32 <sup>C</sup>	10
X	37.5	68.2	10	22	41.45	44.07	16.80	.71	-
XI	20.0	77.8	13	18	40.00	41.57	15.30	3.78 <sup>D</sup>	30
XII	100.0	66.7	3	6	0.00	47.14	21.10	1.58	5
XIII	48.1	58.3	23	18	41.16	34.35	12.10	.84	-

A --difference significant by inspection

B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .01$  (two-tailed test)

C --difference statistically significant:  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)

D --difference statistically significant:  $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

Table 7

Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of  
Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to  
Opposite Sex Friends by Respondents Not Intimately  
Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_m$	$n_f$	$s_m$	$s_f$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{x}_m$	$\bar{x}_f$							
I	100.0	100.0	3	2	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	-
II	57.7	43.8	13	16	48.08	46.00	18.25	.76	-
III	57.7	50.0	13	4	47.98	50.00	32.00	.24	-
IV	50.3	69.4	20	24	41.90	17.50	10.20	1.87 <sup>A</sup>	25
V	70.8	93.3	10	10	29.77	29.78	14.04	1.60	20
VI	50.8	54.0	25	32	39.12	39.50	10.50	.30	-
VII	35.5	34.7	18	24	39.85	43.28	13.23	.10	-
VIII	42.8	84.6	18	26	42.26	30.28	11.90	3.51 <sup>B</sup>	30
IX	33.3	75.0	8	8	19.24	43.30	17.90	2.34 <sup>C</sup>	10
X	37.5	49.1	10	22	41.45	47.76	17.30	.67	-
XI	20.0	52.6	13	18	40.00	49.77	16.70	1.95 <sup>D</sup>	36
XII	100.0	66.7	3	6	0.00	47.14	21.10	1.58	5
XIII	44.4	75.0	23	18	42.31	37.25	12.77	2.40 <sup>E</sup>	40

A --difference statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)  
 B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .01$  (two-tailed test)  
 C --difference statistically significant:  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)  
 D --difference statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)  
 E --difference statistically significant:  $p < .05$  (two-tailed test)

Table 8

Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Same Sex Friends by Respondents Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_m$	$n_f$	$s_m$	$s_f$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{X}_m$	$\bar{X}_f$							
I	100.0	100.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	-
II	NR*	NR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	100.0	0.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
IV	59.2	61.1	20	21	28.90	40.49	11.22	.17	-
V	NR	83.3	-	7	-	16.64	-	-	-
VI	56.1	61.4	20	31	44.00	31.18	11.58	.46	-
VII	50.0	82.4	20	28	42.14	23.49	7.28	4.45 <sup>B</sup>	42
VIII	83.3	77.1	15	28	23.60	32.20	8.18	.76	-
IX	50.0	80.0	15	17	33.29	40.00	14.80	2.03 <sup>C</sup>	33
X	66.7	56.2	15	24	47.14	42.44	15.39	.68	47
XI	66.7	87.5	15	21	47.14	15.06	13.04	1.59	47
XII	NR	100.0	-	7	-	0.00	-	-	-
XIII	83.3	85.7	15	24	23.60	22.58	7.87	.30	24

\* Indicates that no responses falling into a specific category were made by the members of a group.

A --difference significant by inspection

B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

C --difference statistically significant:  $p \leq .05$  (two-tailed test)



Table 9

Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Opposite Sex Friends by Respondents Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_m$	$n_f$	$s_m$	$s_f$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{X}_m$	$\bar{X}_f$							
I	100.0	0.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
II	NR*	NR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	100.0	0.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>B</sup>	-
IV	80.0	72.2	20	21	34.64	40.45	12.04	.65	-
V	NR	16.7	-	7	-	14.12	-	-	-
VI	54.2	57.8	20	31	46.20	25.63	11.59	.31	-
VII	75.0	79.7	20	28	43.40	19.98	10.63	.44	-
VIII	83.3	81.3	15	28	23.60	34.79	9.22	.22	-
IX	33.3	80.0	15	17	47.14	40.00	16.09	2.90 <sup>C</sup>	29
X	66.7	71.4	15	24	47.14	45.17	15.72	.30	-
XI	66.7	91.6	15	21	47.14	18.63	13.27	1.87 <sup>D</sup>	18
XII	NR	50.0	-	7	-	45.00	-	-	-
XIII	66.7	57.1	15	24	47.14	49.48	16.28	.59	-

\* Indicates that no responses falling into a specific category were made by the members of a group.

A, B --differences significant by inspection

C --difference statistically significant:  $p < .01$  (two-tailed test)

D --difference statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)

Table 10

Male/Female Differences in Mean Percentages of  
Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Mates

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_m$	$n_f$	$s_m$	$s_f$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{X}_m$	$\bar{X}_f$							
I	100.0	100.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	-
II	NR*	NR	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	100.0	0.0	5	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
IV	75.0	83.3	20	21	43.30	25.47	11.45	.72	-
V	NR	83.3	-	7	-	16.64	-	-	-
VI	79.2	83.7	20	31	36.07	18.70	8.90	.51	-
VII	100.0	90.2	20	28	0.00	17.83	3.46	2.83 <sup>B</sup>	27
VIII	83.3	85.4	15	28	23.60	25.61	6.00	.26	-
IX	66.7	80.0	15	17	47.14	40.00	16.09	.83	-
X	66.7	85.7	15	24	47.14	34.99	14.56	1.30	27
XI	66.7	100.0	15	21	47.14	0.00	12.61	2.64 <sup>C</sup>	16
XII	NR	100.0	-	7	-	0.00	-	-	-
XIII	66.7	71.4	15	24	47.14	45.17	15.72	.30	-

\* Indicates that no responses falling into a specific category were made by the members of a group.

A --difference significant by inspection

B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .02$  (two-tailed test)

C --difference statistically significant:  $p < .02$  (two-tailed test)

whelming number of significant t-tests: at  $p < .10$ , one would expect a goodly number of these independent significance tests to prove significant purely by chance, and one would further expect a good portion of those tests which proved significant to show spurious significance (Hays, 1963:410).

When viewed in terms of general directionality, however, 37 of the 53 directional relationships (66 per cent) were in the hypothesized direction. Adding to this the fact that 15 of 18 significant tests (83.3 per cent) were in the hypothesized direction, both the original hypothesis on the extent of total female disclosure and the categorical eccentricities which have been discovered thus far are lent meaning.

The general pattern of females exhibiting a greater extent of self-disclosure than males is evident in Figures 1 through 5. Also evident in Figures 1 through 5, however, are several interesting categorical and target person relationships. Females who are not intimately involved seem to disclose Category III, Opinions and Beliefs, to almost as great (to opposite sex friends) or to a greater extent (to same sex friends) than males, while females who are intimately involved seem to have stopped disclosing this category of TST response completely. There seems to be a reversal with involvement of the disclosure of Category IV, Tastes and Interests: before involvement females disclose this category to opposite sex friends more than males and to same sex friends less than males while after involvement the reverse is true (special consideration, however, being given to disclosure to the mate). For Category VIII, School Roles, uninvolved females disclose more than uninvolved males, but with involvement the differences between the sexes are not clear-cut. Interestingly, the extent of disclosure on the part of the members of both sexes to all target persons and for all categories (with the exception of Category III) seems to be higher for

Figure 1.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed  
to Same Sex Friends by Males and Females Not Intimately  
Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

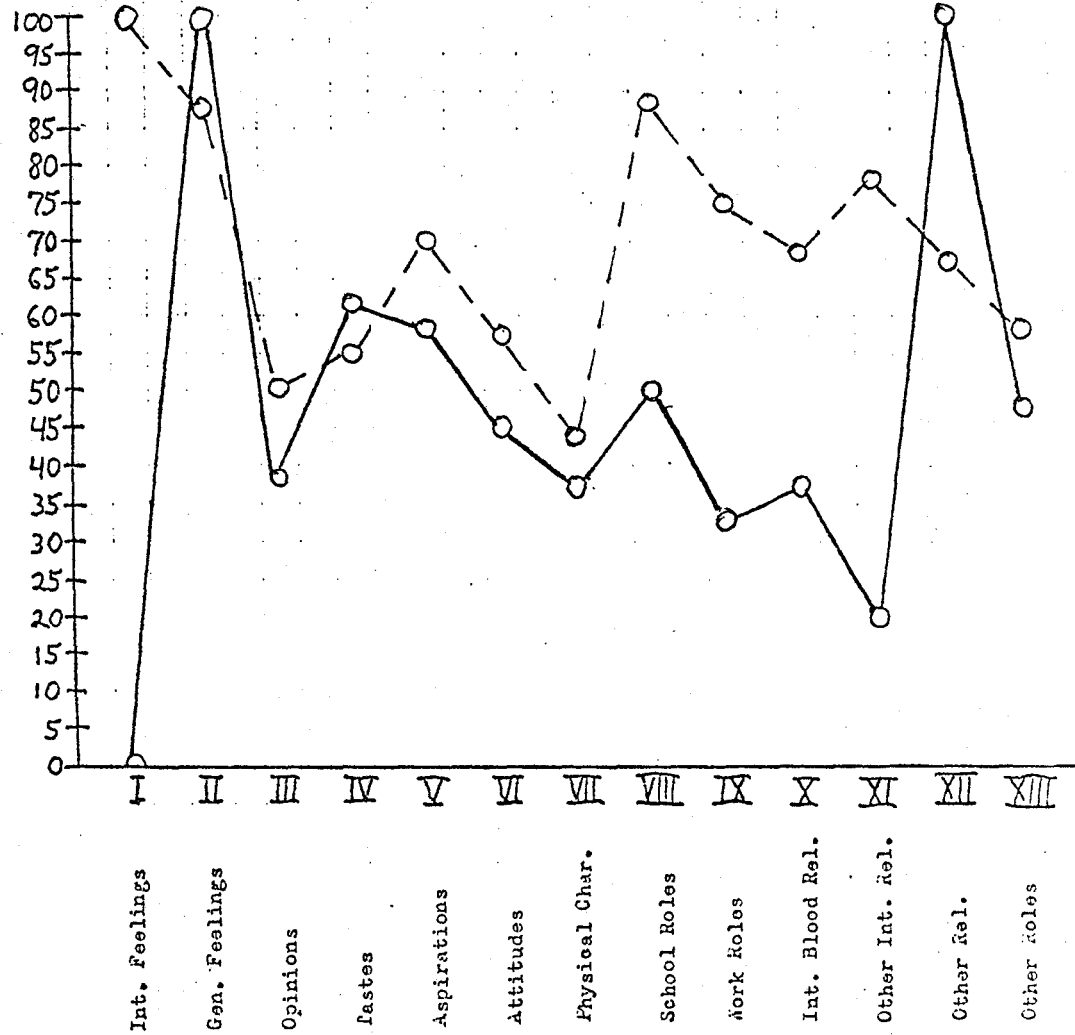


Figure 2.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed  
to Opposite Sex Friends by Males and Females Not Intimately  
Involved with Members of the Opposite sex

Male

Female

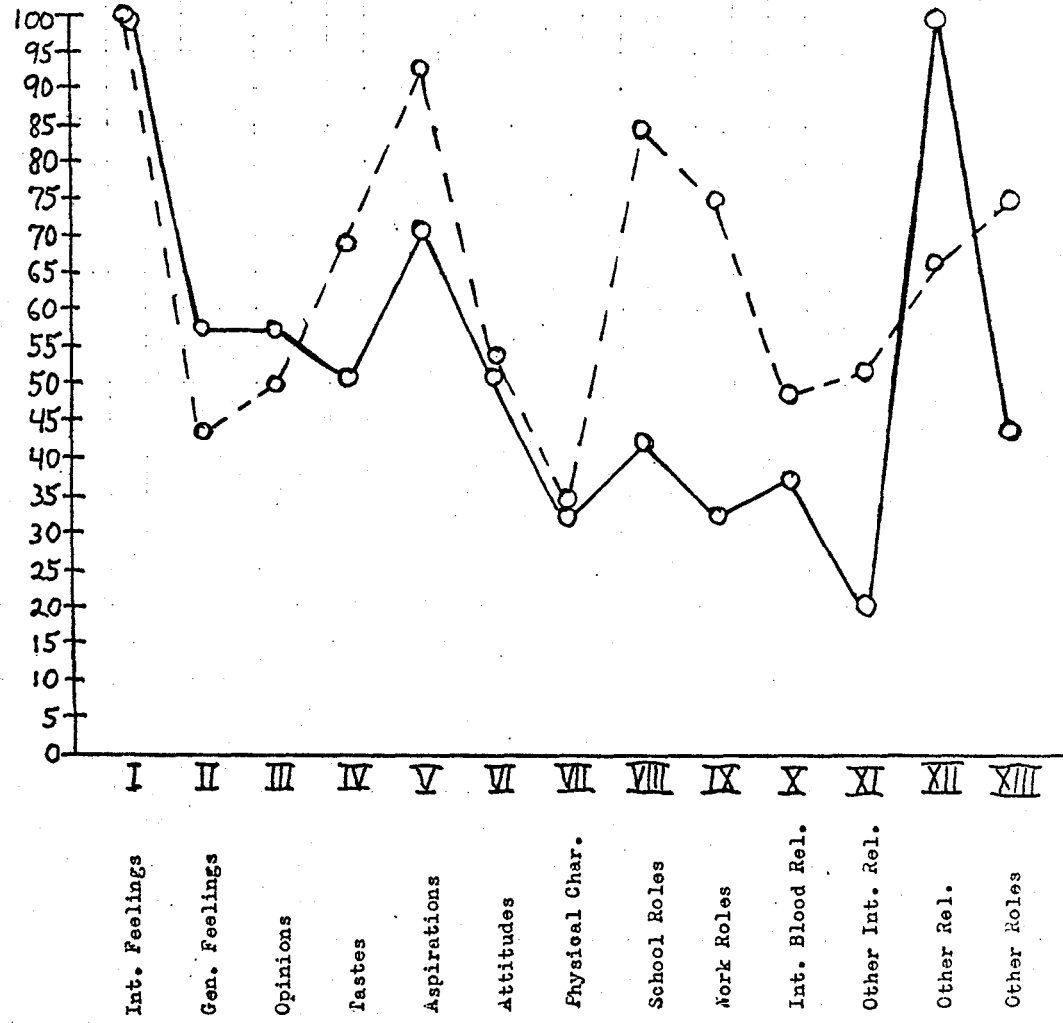


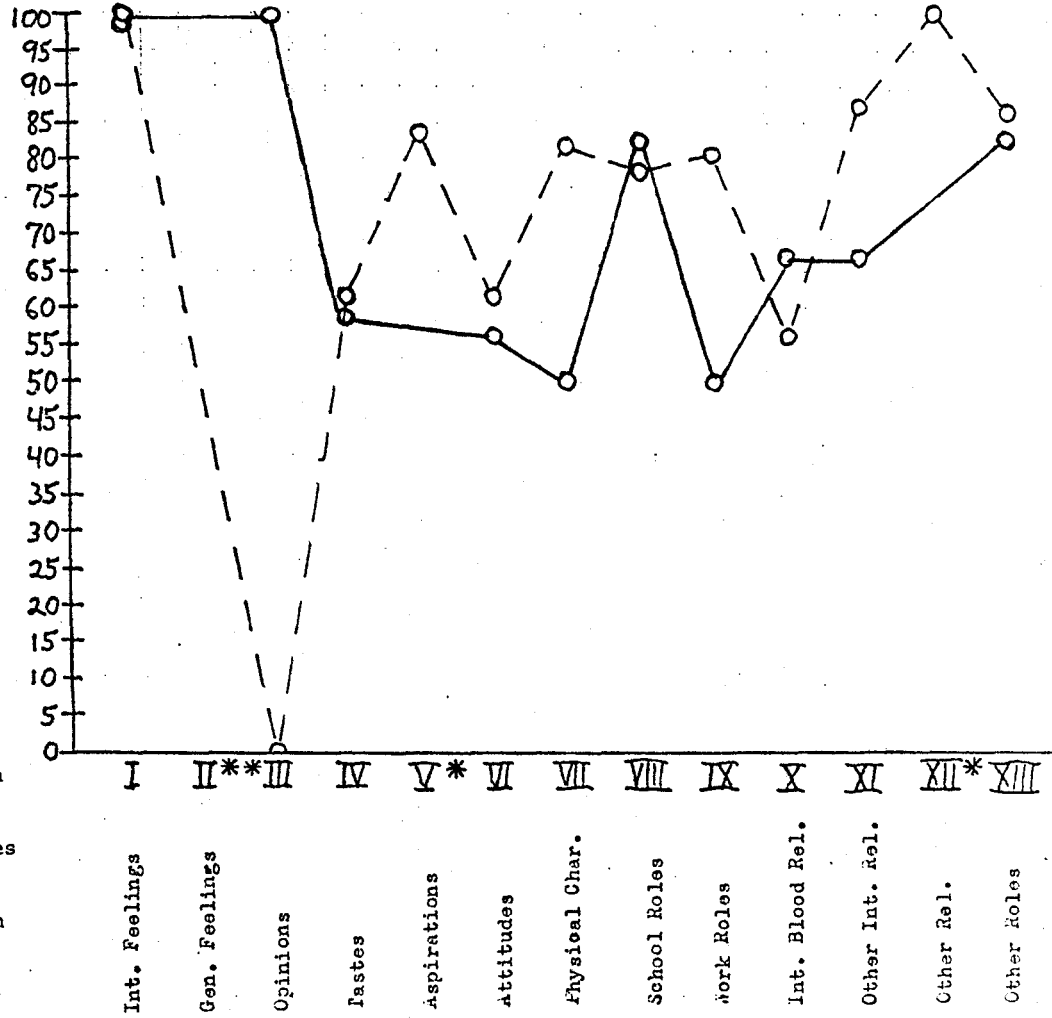
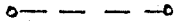
Figure 3.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed  
to Same Sex Friends by Males and Females Intimately Involved  
with Members of the Opposite Sex

Male



Female



\*\* No responses in  
this category  
among either  
males or females

\* No responses in  
this category  
among males

Figure 4.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed  
to Opposite Sex Friends by Males and Females Intimately  
Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Male ————○  
Female - - - - -○

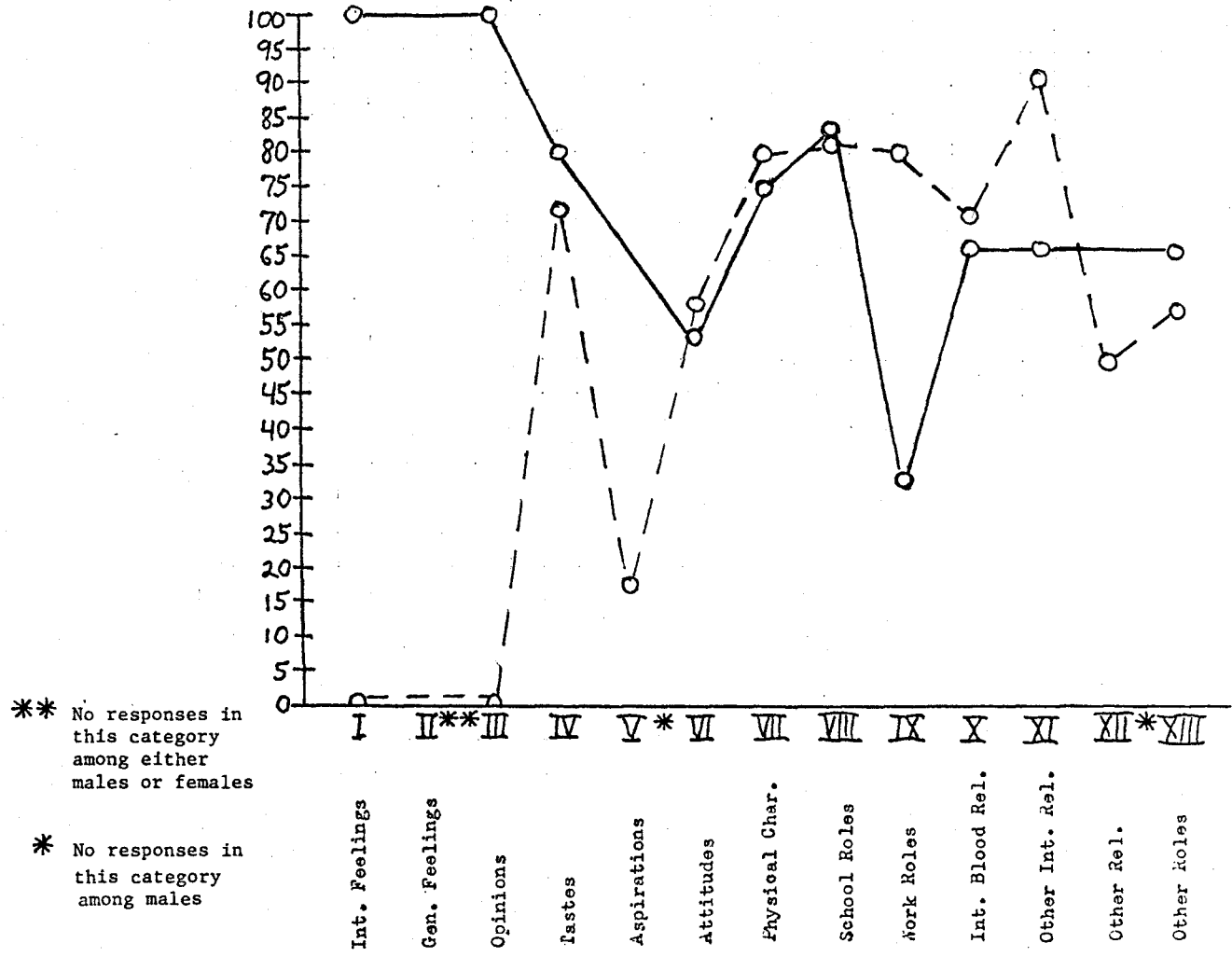
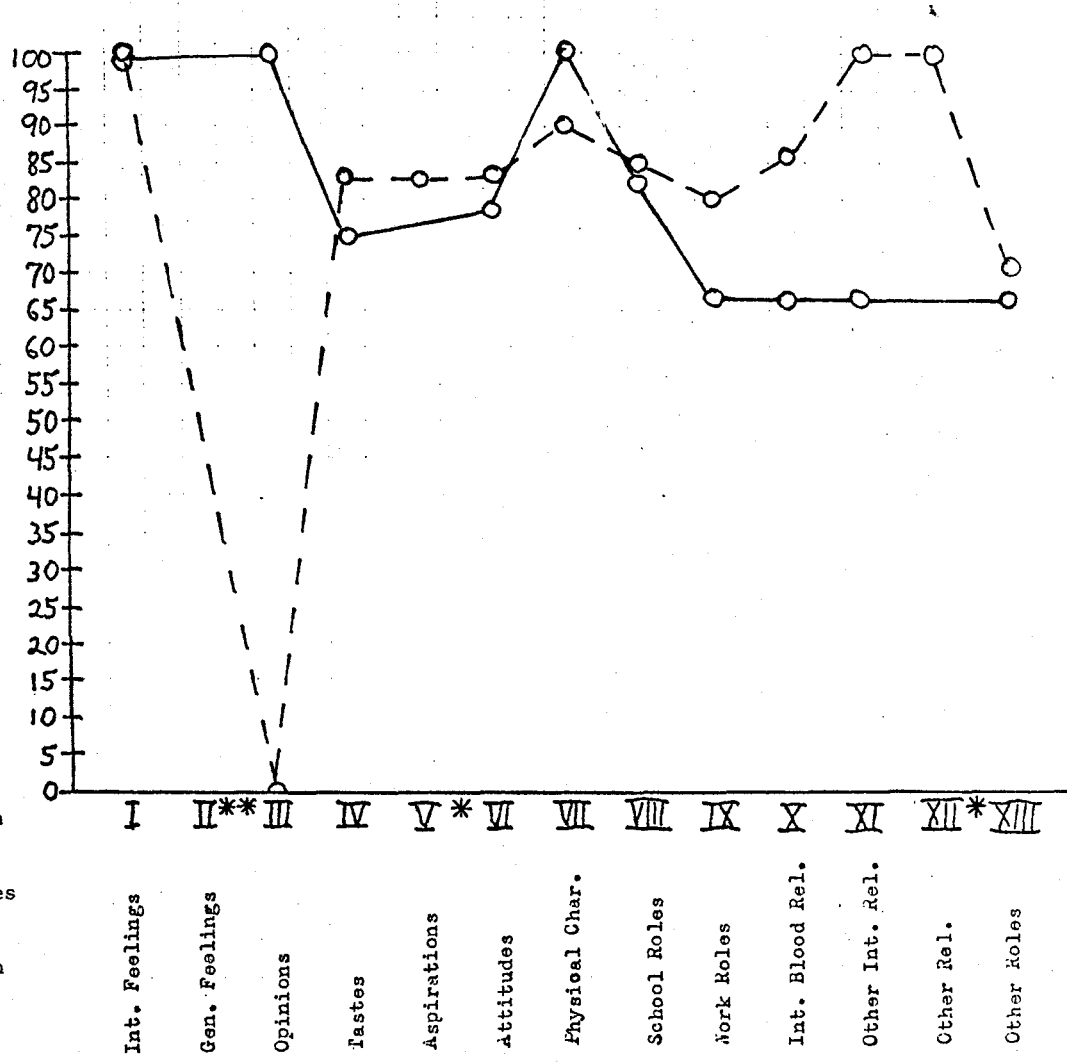


Figure 5.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed to Mates by Males and Females

Male  
 ○—  
 Female  
 ○- - -



\*\* No responses in this category among either males or females

\* No responses in this category among males



those who are intimately involved than for those who are not.

All of this brings us to the consideration of target persons as an influence on self-disclosure.

Hypothesis 6 was borne out neither by statistical significance (Tables 11 through 14), nor by any general trend in the data evidenced in Figures 6 through 9. The null form of the hypothesis, this null form stating that

$$\text{Cat } DT_{\text{ssf}} = \text{Cat } DT_{\text{osf}}$$

was therefore accepted.

There is some evidence for the acceptance of Hypothesis 7 and the rejection of its null form. Though it is far from conclusive it outweighs other evidence. Of the 22 instances in Tables 13 and 14 in which the data enabled comparisons of the extent of disclosure to same sex friends, opposite sex friends, and mates, there were 5 instances of significant difference, statistically (at from .001 to .01) or by inspection. All of these significant differences were in the hypothesized direction, though in 2 instances same sex friends were targets of as much disclosure as mates. In only 12 of the 22 comparisons (including the 5 which were significant) were differences in the hypothesized direction, but these represent 80 percent of those comparisons in which directionality was present. Furthermore, Figures 8 and 9 tend to confirm the hypothesis that there is a greater extent of disclosure to mates than there is in any of the other primary relationships under consideration. Therefore,  $H_7$ , that

$$\text{Cat } DT_{\text{mate}} > \text{Cat } DT_{\text{ssf}} \text{ and } \text{Cat } DT_{\text{osf}}$$

was accepted.

Table 11

Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Same Sex and Opposite Sex Friends by Male Respondents Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %		$n_{ssf}$	$n_{osf}$	$s_{ssf}$	$s_{osf}$	$\sigma_{\bar{x}-\bar{x}}$	t	df
	$\bar{x}_{ssf}$	$\bar{x}_{osf}$							
I	0.0	100.0	3	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
II	100.0	57.7	13	13	0.00	48.08	13.92	3.04 <sup>B</sup>	12
III	38.5	57.7	13	13	48.05	47.98	19.59	.98	-
IV	61.5	50.3	20	20	24.49	41.90	11.20	1.00	-
V	58.3	70.8	10	10	43.30	29.77	17.61	.71	-
VI	45.1	50.8	25	25	44.22	38.12	11.83	.46	-
VII	36.9	33.3	18	18	37.76	39.85	13.33	.27	-
VIII	50.0	42.8	18	18	46.29	42.26	15.32	.47	-
IX	33.3	33.3	8	8	19.24	19.24	-	0.00	-
X	37.5	37.5	10	10	41.45	41.45	-	0.00	-
XI	20.0	20.0	13	13	40.00	40.00	-	0.00	-
XII	100.0	100.0	3	3	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	-
XIII	48.1	44.4	23	23	41.16	42.31	12.76	.29	-

A --difference significant by inspection

B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .02$  (two-tailed test)

Table 12

Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self-Aspects Disclosed to Same Sex and Opposite Sex Friends by Female Respondents Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect	Mean %									
Category	$\bar{X}_{ssf}$	$\bar{X}_{osf}$	$n_{ssf}$	$n_{osf}$	$s_{ssf}$	$s_{osf}$	$\sigma_{\bar{X}-\bar{X}}$	t	df	
I	100.0	100.0	2	2	0.00	0.00	-	0.00	-	
II	87.5	43.8	16	16	33.00	46.00	2.30	19.02 <sup>A</sup>	29	
III	50.0	50.0	4	4	50.00	50.00	-	0.00	-	
IV	55.3	69.4	24	24	20.50	17.50	10.93	1.29	43	
V	70.0	93.3	10	10	17.60	29.78	11.54	2.02 <sup>B</sup>	18	
VI	57.4	54.0	32	32	39.10	39.50	9.71	.55	-	
VII	44.4	34.7	24	24	47.80	43.28	13.47	.72	-	
VIII	88.4	84.6	26	26	28.78	30.28	8.26	.46	-	
IX	75.0	75.0	8	8	43.30	43.30	-	0.00	-	
X	68.2	49.1	22	22	44.07	47.76	14.25	1.34	44	
XI	77.8	52.6	18	18	41.57	49.77	15.75	1.60	35	
XII	66.7	66.7	6	6	47.14	47.14	-	0.00	-	
XIII	58.3	75.0	18	18	34.33	37.26	12.10	1.38	36	

A --difference statistically significant:  $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

B --difference statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)

Table 13

Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Same Sex and Opposite Sex Friends and to Mates by Male Respondents Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %			n <sub>ssf</sub>	n <sub>osf</sub>	n <sub>mate</sub>	F	df
	$\bar{X}_{ssf}$	$\bar{X}_{osf}$	$\bar{X}_{mate}$					
I	100.0	100.0	100.0	5	5	5	0.00	-
II	NR*	NR	NR	-	-	-	-	-
III	100.0	100.0	100.0	5	5	5	0.00	-
IV	59.2	80.0	75.0	20	20	20	1.72	2/57
V	NR	NR	NR	-	-	-	-	-
VI	56.1	54.2	79.2	20	20	20	2.05	2/57
VII	50.0	75.0	100.0	20	20	20	8.14 <sup>A</sup>	2/57
VIII	83.3	83.3	83.3	15	15	15	0.00	-
IX	50.0	33.3	66.7	15	15	15	1.91	2/42
X	66.7	66.7	66.7	15	15	15	0.00	-
XI	66.7	66.7	66.7	15	15	15	0.00	-
XII	NR	NR	NR	-	-	-	-	-
XIII	83.3	66.7	66.7	15	15	15	.78	2/42

\* --Indicates that no responses falling into a specific category were made by the members of a group.

A --differences statistically significant:  $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

Table 13 (cont'd)

## Analysis of Variance Summary

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Target Persons (IV)	4,727.4	2	2,363.7	1.72
Error	78,210.8	57	1,372.1	
Target Persons (VI)	7,741.1	2	3,870.5	2.05
Error	107,463.4	57	1,885.3	
Target Persons (VII)	25,000.0	2	12,500.0	8.14
Error	87,500.0	57	1,535.1	
Target Persons (IX)	8,333.3	2	4,166.7	1.91
Error	91,666.7	42	2,182.5	
Target Persons (XIII)	2,777.8	2	1,388.9	.78
Error	75,000.0	42	1,785.7	

Table 14

Differences in Mean Percentages of Categorized TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Same and Opposite Sex Friends and to Mates by Female Respondents Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Self Aspect Category	Mean %			n <sub>ssf</sub>	n <sub>osf</sub>	n <sub>mate</sub>	F	df
	$\bar{x}_{ssf}$	$\bar{x}_{osf}$	$\bar{x}_{mate}$					
I	100.0	0.0	100.0	3	3	3	0.00 <sup>A</sup>	-
II	NR*	NR	NR	-	-	-	-	-
III	0.0	0.0	0.0	3	3	3	0.00	-
IV	61.1	72.2	83.3	21	21	21	1.74	2/60
V	83.3	16.7	83.3	7	7	7	24.42 <sup>B</sup>	2/18
VI	61.4	57.8	83.7	31	31	31	6.36 <sup>C</sup>	2/60
VII	82.4	79.7	90.2	28	28	28	1.37	2/81
VIII	77.1	81.3	85.4	28	28	28	.42	-
IX	80.0	80.0	80.0	17	17	17	0.00	-
X	56.2	71.4	85.7	24	24	24	2.50 <sup>D</sup>	2/69
XI	87.5	91.6	100.0	21	21	21	1.59	2/60
XII	100.0	50.0	100.0	7	7	7	5.11 <sup>E</sup>	2/18
XIII	85.7	57.1	71.4	24	24	24	2.50 <sup>F</sup>	2/69

\* --Indicates that no responses falling into a specific category were made by the members of a group.

A --differences significant by inspection

B, C --differences statistically significant:  $p < .001$  (two-tailed test)

D -- differences statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)

E --differences statistically significant:  $p < .025$  (two-tailed test)

F -- differences statistically significant:  $p < .10$  (two-tailed test)

Table 14 (cont'd)

## Analysis of Variance Summaries

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Target Persons (IV)	5,014.0	2	2,507.0	1.74
Error	86,557.1	60	1,442.6	
Target Persons (V)	20,056.1	2	19,028.1	24.42
Error	7,392.7	18	410.7	
Target Persons (VI)	16,255.2	2	8,127.6	8.36
Error	87,498.0	90	972.2	
Target Persons (VII)	1,730.0	2	865.0	1.37
Error	51,052.0	81	63.3	
Target Persons (VIII)	937.3	2	468.6	.42
Error	89,273.7	81	1,102.2	
Target Persons (X)	4,326.1	2	2,163.0	2.50
Error	59,688.3	69	865.0	
Target Persons (XI)	1,643.6	2	821.8	1.59
Error	32,512.1	60	516.1	
Target Persons (XII)	11,270.2	2	5,631.1	5.11
Error	19,853.7	18	1,103.1	
Target Persons (XIII)	9,861.3	2	4,930.7	2.50
Error	136,338.7	69	1,975.9	

Figure 6.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self  
Disclosed to Same and Opposite Sex Friends by Males Not Intimately Involved  
with Members of the Opposite Sex

Same Sex Friend

○ ····· ○

Opposite Sex Friend

○ - - - ○

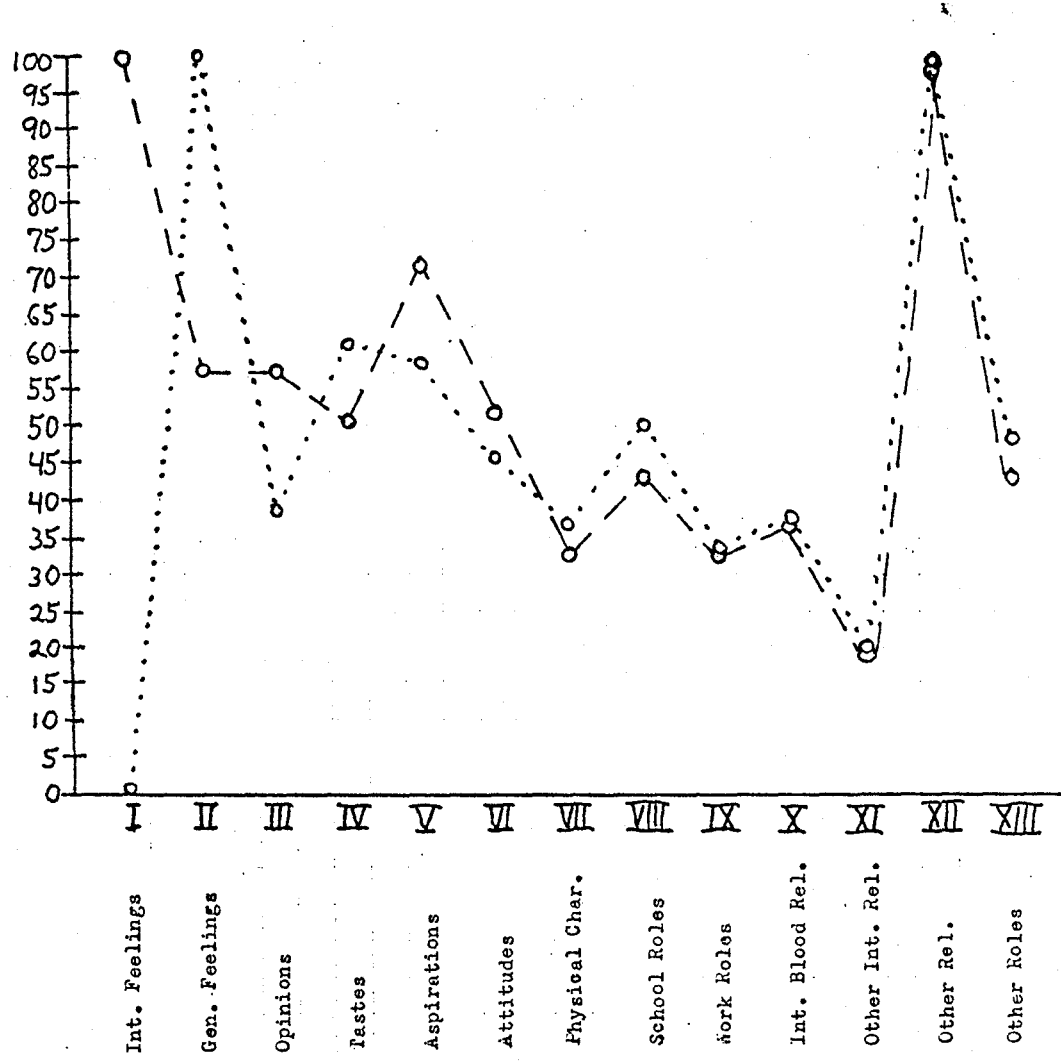




Figure 7.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self Disclosed to Same and Opposite Sex Friends by Females Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Same Sex Friend  
 ○ ····· ○  
 Opposite Sex Friend  
 ○ — — — ○

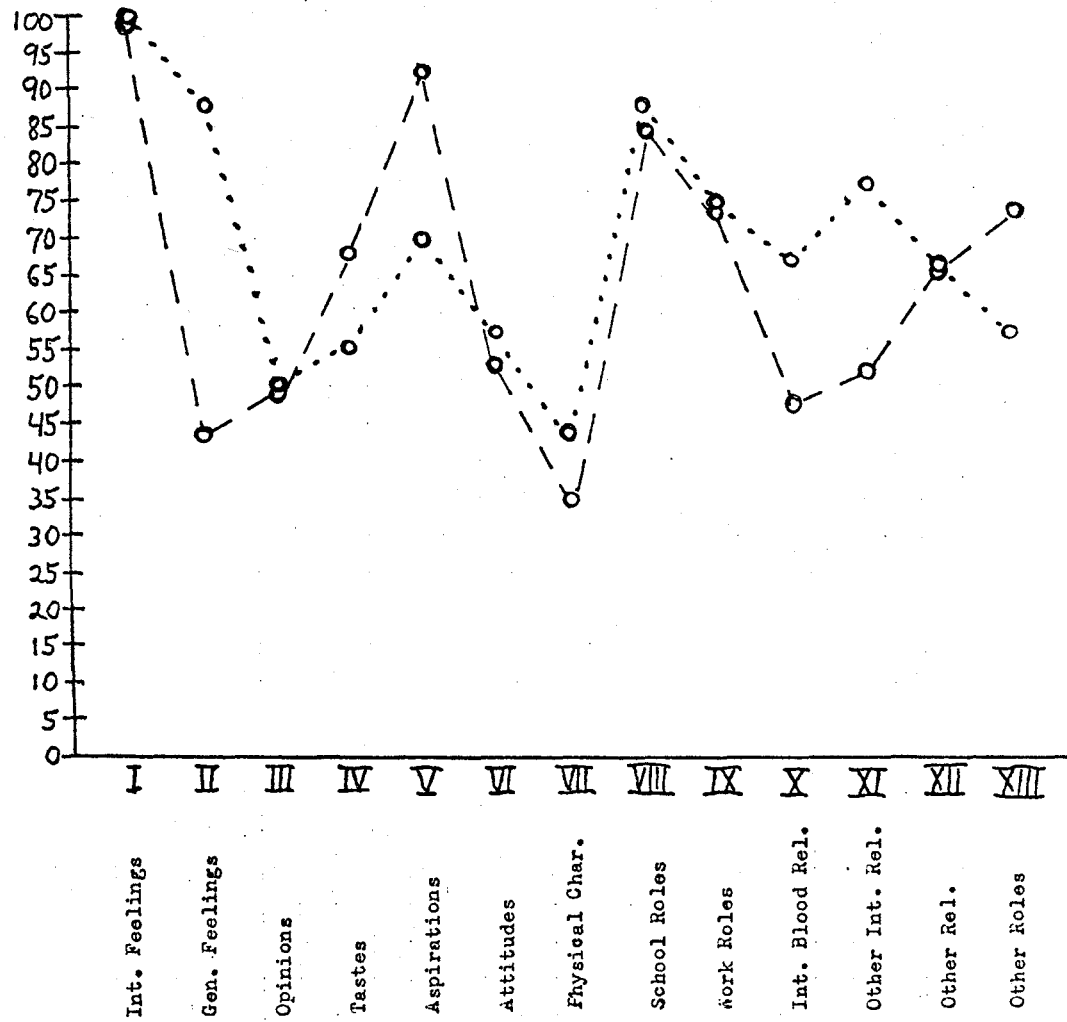
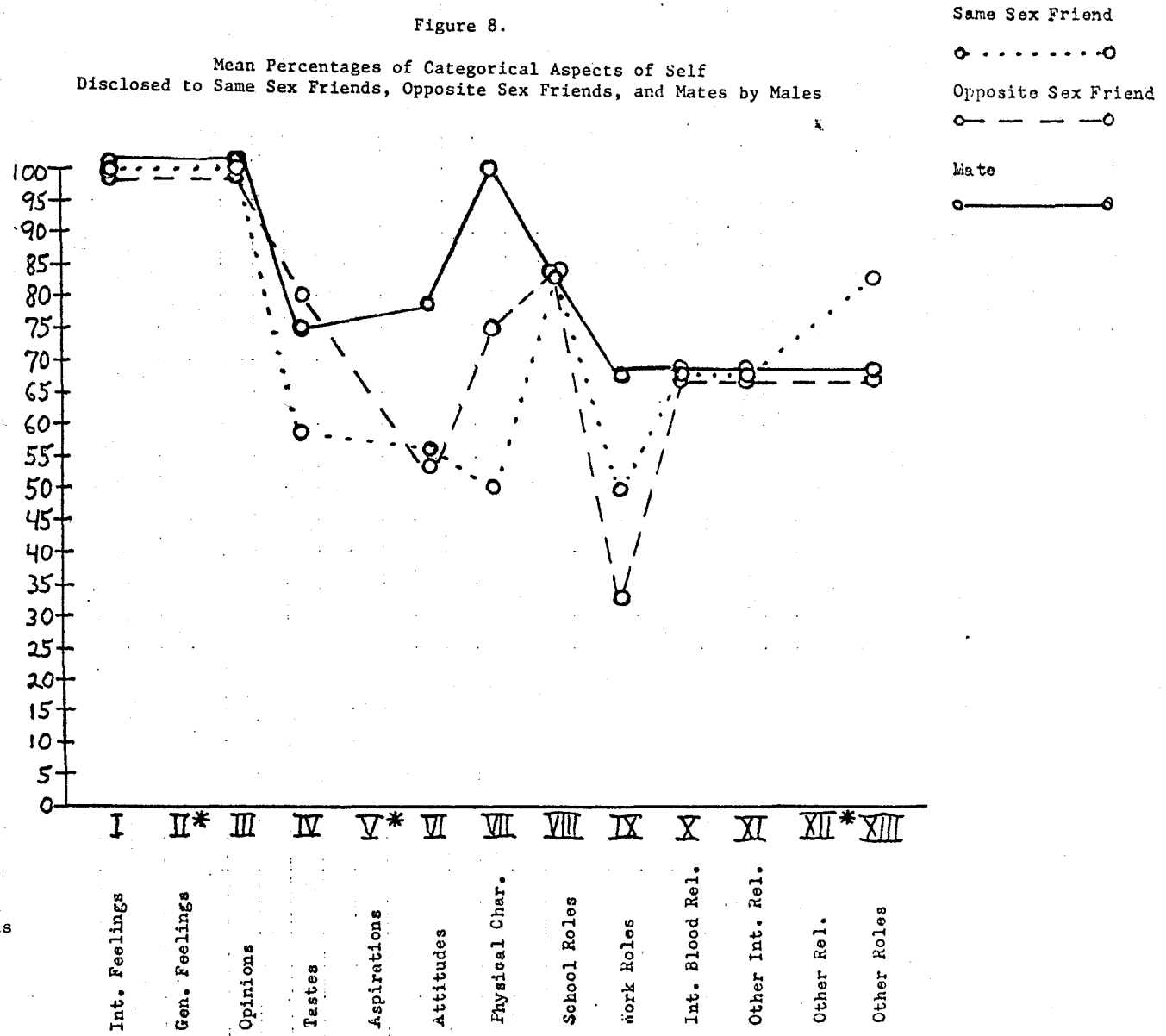


Figure 8.

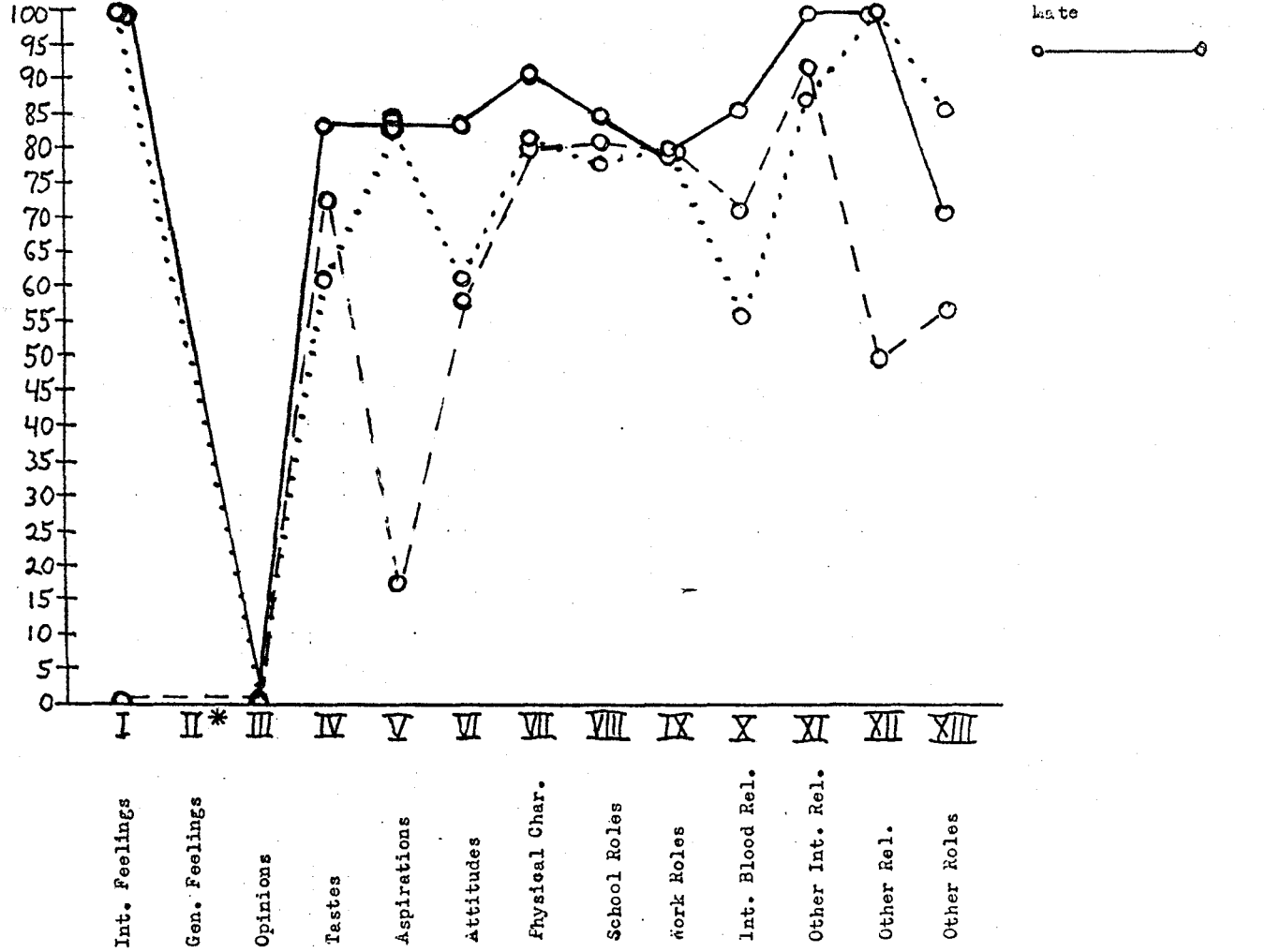
Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self  
Disclosed to Same Sex Friends, Opposite Sex Friends, and Mates by Males



\* No responses in these categories

Figure 9.

Mean Percentages of Categorical Aspects of Self  
Disclosed to Same Sex Friends, Opposite Sex Friends, and Mates by Females



### Hypothesized Association of Disclosure with Confiding

Most of the data produced by the experiment was significant only in its lack of statistical significance: the one clear-cut relationship seemed to be that females disclosed themselves to a greater extent than males. For this reason, the hypothesized association of extent of self-disclosure to a target person with that person's rank as a confidant(e) came to be of increased interest.

### Preliminary Analyses

The preliminary analyses contained in Tables 15 through 19 indicated that there is indeed a major shift in the sex of the individual who is ranked as the respondent's chief confidant(e). For these preliminary analyses involved and uninvolved respondents were asked to note those individuals in whom they confided in order from most to least, tied ranks taken into consideration, and to do this, when applicable, for the periods both before and after intimate involvement with a member of the opposite sex.

From Tables 15 and 16 it is obvious that, as far as can be determined on the basis of post facto self-reports, there is a major shift in the person with whom most confiding takes place when the mate relationship is entered into. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents reported that "most" confiding took place with closest friends of the same sex before mating. Only 25 percent of the respondents reported that after mating most confiding took place with the same sex friend. After mating, the chief confidant(e), when there was one, was the mate or "lover" for 69 percent of the respondents.

This shift is made more meaningful by the statistic applied in

Table 15

Respondents Intimately Involved with a Member  
of the Opposite Sex Crosstabulated by Chief  
Confidant(e) before Involvement and by Own Sex

Chief Confidant(e)	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Same Sex Friend	16 (.80)	19 (.62)	35 (.68)
Same Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	2 (.06)	2 (.04)
Same Sex Parent	0 (.00)	6 (.20)	6 (.12)
Opposite Sex Friend	3 (.15)	2 (.06)	5 (.10)
Opposite Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
Opposite Sex Parent	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
No "Chief" Confidant(e)	1 (.05)	2 (.06)	3 (.06)
Total	20 (1.00)	31 (1.00)	51 (1.00)

Table 16

Respondents Intimately Involved with a Member  
of the Opposite Sex Crosstabulated by Chief  
Confidant(e) after Involvement and by Own Sex

Chief Confidant(e)	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Same Sex Friend	7 (.35)	6 (.20)	13 (.25)
Same Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	1 (.03)	1 (.02)
Same Sex Parent	0 (.00)	1 (.03)	1 (.02)
Opposite Sex Friend	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
Opposite Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
Opposite Sex Parent	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
Mate	12 (.60)	23 (.74)	35 (.69)
No "Chief" Confidant(e)	1 (.00)	0 (.00)	1 (.02)
Total	20 (1.00)	31 (1.00)	51 (1.00)

Table 17

Shift in Role of Chief Confidant(e) with Involvement with a Member of the Opposite Sex (Data Drawn from Tables 15 and 16)

Sex of Chief Confidant(e)	Before Involvement	After Involvement	Total
Same Sex	43	15	58
Opposite Sex (Including Mate)	5	35	40
Total	48	50	98

$\chi^2 = 35.99$  (Significant at .001 level)

Table 18

Respondents Not Intimately Involved with a Member  
of the Opposite Sex Crosstabulated by Chief Con-  
fidant(e) and by Own Sex

Chief Confidant(e)	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Same Sex Friend	17 (.68)	20 (.63)	37 (.64)
Same Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	6 (.19)	6 (.11)
Same Sex Parent	0 (.00)	1 (.03)	1 (.02)
Opposite Sex Friend	5 (.20)	4 (.12)	9 (.16)
Opposite Sex Sibling	0 (.00)	0 (.00)	0 (.00)
Opposite Sex Parent	1 (.04)	0 (.00)	1 (.02)
No "Chief" Confidant(e)	2 (.08)	1 (.00)	3 (.05)
Total	25 (1.00)	32 (1.00)	57 (1.00)



Table 19

Shift in Role of Chief Confidant(e) with Involvement with a Member of the Opposite Sex (Data Drawn from Tables 16 and 18)

Sex of Chief Confidant(e)	Involved	Not Involved	Total
Same Sex	15	44	59
Opposite Sex (Including Mate)	35	10	45
Total	50	54	104

$\chi^2 = 28.03$  (Significant at .001 level)

Table 17: the change in the chief confidant(e) as the result of involvement is significant at the .001 level for a two-tailed test.

It is interesting to note (See Tables 15 and 16) that acquiring a mate completely "washes out" opposite sex individuals as chief confidant(e)s. There were 10 percent whose chief confidants were their closest friends of the opposite sex among those who did not have mates. There were none whose chief confidants were their closest friends of the opposite sex among those who did have mates. Whether the "Platonic" relationship is a reality or not, it apparently does not survive mating, at least not in the age group under consideration.

Such retrospective self-reports might be considered faulty in that they rely upon human memory, and for this reason a comparison was made between those who were intimately involved with a member of the opposite sex and those who were not involved with respect to their chief confidant(e)s.

An examination of Table 18 once again testifies to the prevalence of the same sex friend as chief confidant(e) and to the presence of the opposite sex friends when there is no mate relationship: 64 percent of those not intimately involved with members of the opposite sex reported that their chief confidants were their closest friends of the same sex, while 16 percent reported that their chief confidants were their closest friends of the opposite sex. Furthermore, the postulates that the chief confidant(e) for the uninvolved is the same sex friend, that more confiding takes place in the mate relationship than in the friend relationship and that there is a significant shift from the friend to the mate as chief confidant(e) when involvement with a member of the opposite sex takes place, are clearly supported when the data contained in Table 16 is again considered. The shift in chief confidant(e) indicated in Table 19 is significant at the .001 level for a

two-tailed test.

It would seem that had our target person hypotheses been posed in terms of confidant(e) rank rather than extent of self-disclosure, we would have produced more significant results.

### The Association

The hypothesis that the extent of self-disclosure to a target person is associated with the rank of that person as a confidant(e) was tested in terms of gross self-disclosure. The reason for this was that anticipated differences with respect to extent of categorical self-disclosure were not borne out in the testing of the hypotheses dealing with categorical self-disclosure.

Tables 20 through 23 indicate that there is a positive association between disclosure and confiding and that this association varies in intensity from one control group to another. For uninvolved males, error in guessing the extent of TST-based self-disclosure to a target person is reduced by 22 percent when the rank of that person as a confidant(e) is known. For uninvolved females such error is reduced by 52 percent when the rank of the target person is known. For involved males and females the error of guessing extent of disclosure is reduced by 37 and 50 percent respectively when confidant(e) rank is known.

There is a meaningful association, then, between extent of disclosure to a target person and that person's rank as a confidant(e). This association seems consistently stronger for females than for males. However, this association is far from perfect for either sex, a fact which suggests a vast array of intervening variables.

Table 20

Association of Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e) with the Extent of Disclosure to That Person --Males Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Proportion of TST Self Aspects Disclosed to Target Person

Ranking of Target Person as Confidant(e)

Lo

Hi

Hi

5

20

Lo

10

15

$$T' = .22$$

$$N = 25 \text{ (with 2 Target Persons under Consideration)}$$

Table 21

Association of Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e) with the Extent of Disclosure to That Person --Females Not Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Proportion of TST Aspects  
Disclosed to Target Person

Ranking of Target  
Person as Confidant(e)

Lo

Hi

Hi

4

28

Lo

20

12

$$T' = .52$$

$$N = 32 \text{ (with 2 Target Persons under Consideration)}$$

Table 22

Association of Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e) with the Extent of Disclosure to That Person --Males Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e)	Proportion of TST Responses Disclosed to Target Person		
	Lo	Md	Hi
Hi	5	0	15
Md	3	8	10
Lo	10	5	4

$$T' = .37$$

$$N = 20 \text{ (with 3 Target Persons under Consideration)}$$

Table 23

Association of Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e) with the Extent of Disclosure to That Person --Females Intimately Involved with Members of the Opposite Sex

Proportion of TST Responses Disclosed to Target Person

Rank of Target Person as Confidant(e)

	Lo	Md	Hi
Hi	5	3	24
Md	7	18	10
Lo	19	3	4

$$T' = .50$$

$$N = 31 \text{ (with 3 Target Persons under Consideration)}$$

## DISCUSSION

On the basis of the foregoing analysis of data, it must be concluded that the quantification of self-disclosure by means of TST responses leaves something to be desired, as does the analysis of the content of self-disclosure by means of such responses. However, the question remains as to whether or not TST data represents an improvement over other types of data.

Considering the general statistical insignificance of the findings of both the present study and the Lewis study, it seems possible that this insignificance is to a large extent an artifact of the TST. Perhaps the instrument, because of its format, is biased toward statistical insignificance. Respondents may be inclined to indicate the same self-aspects over and over again when they are asked to indicate which they disclose to various target persons, differentiating only slightly if at all among these target persons. This possible consistent bias is not very likely to be the case, however, since there was a great deal of difference in format between the Lewis instrument and that used in the present study. It is interesting that the findings of the present study duplicate those of the Lewis study to a remarkable degree.

Apart from this recurring statistical non-significance, there are other problems involved in the analysis of data captured by instruments which are along the lines of the one used in the present study. The first of these is: Is it reasonable to expect a respondent to be able to indicate whether or not he has disclosed specific aspects of his "self" given the different forms these aspects take? That is, are respondents capable of making the intellectual leaps necessary for them to give reliable responses? Another is: Are the categories into which TST re-



sponses were divided as meaningful as they might have been? Did they facilitate the interpretation of the data to the maximum extent possible without "stacking the deck" in favor of an association or lack of association of some kind?

These problems seem easily surmountable, however, when compared with the most difficult problem of all. Most likely the insignificance of the data of the present study, as well as that of the Lewis study, is attributable to the fact that mere proportions of numbers of self-aspects, even within specific categories, are not the appropriate way to measure so complicated a phenomenon as self-disclosure. If this is the case (and it probably is, considering the imperfect association between self-disclosure and confiding which was demonstrated in the analysis of data) it is an indictment of the measurements used in virtually every attempt to quantify self-disclosure which has been made to date. It is an indictment of the simplistic use of the unstructured instrument, but it is also an indictment of the simplistic use of the structured instruments contrived to produce statistical significance. While the latter might be useful for the development of indicators of specific sorts, they are thoroughly useless as devices for the study of disclosure as a broad phenomenon universally present in primary relationships.

The problem of oversimplifying the quantification of self-disclosure, then, is shared by both structured and unstructured instruments. Considering the fact that the unstructured instrument has several advantages over the structured instrument, such as its ability to uncover important topics of disclosure such as roles and interpersonal relationships, it would seem that our aim should be to perfect the unstructured instrument as the most effective tool for the study of self-disclosure.

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### The Complexity of Self-Disclosure

The following case studies are included not because they support any hypotheses or statistical evidence forthright, but because they illustrate the interplay of variables which creates the complicated phenomenon of self-disclosure.

#### Case #168

The first case which we shall consider is that of a girl who confides most to her mother. After her mother comes her boy friend, her closest friend of the opposite sex, and her closest friend of her own sex. Apparently, the former opposite sex friend who is now her boy friend was her chief confidant (apart from her mother) before her involvement. This phenomenon is explainable in terms of two factors: First, the girl is only 17 years of age. Second, she believes in the idea of one's being able to carry on a "Platonic" relationship.

For this young lady there is no association between the rankings which she gives to confidant(e)s and the extent to which she discloses herself to these confidant(e)s. As can be seen from Figure 10, she discloses only certain aspects of her "self" to her closest friend of the same sex and to her boy friend, but she discloses all of them to the person who is now her closest friend of the opposite sex. There is a subject which she consciously stays away from with this opposite sex friend of four years, however, the subject of sex. The implication is that this subject is not a feature (but could be a feature if it were not for a commitment to another individual) of the relationship and is not a suitable subject for conversation within the bounds of propriety and in keeping with the idea of friendship. For this girl respectability (see Response #3 TST) seems to be a personality trait of great salience.

She also stays away from the subject of sex with her same-sex friend, but the reasons are explicit:

Figure 10

TST Responses/Self-Aspects Disclosed	Case #168		
	Same Sex Friend	Boy Friend	Opposite Sex Friend
1) A woman	X	X	X
2) Black	X		X
3) Respectable	X	X	X
4) Curious			X
5) Fond of life		X	X
6) A big sister			X
7) My boy friend's girl	X	X	X
8) A model	X		X
9) An actress			X
10) A psyche major	X		X
11) A student(at least for this semester)	X		X
12) A preacher of philosophy	X		X
13) A number and not a person	X		X
14) A human being capable of anything			X
15) The best friend a person could have	X		X
16) The worst enemy a person could have			X
17) An astrology buff	X	X	X
18) A born leader			X
19) A creative writer			X
20) A lover of people		X	X

"Sex is always unmentionable. My friend and I have different outlooks on sex. While she feels there is nothing wrong with premarital sex, I feel there is. Therefore, to avoid a hassle, we refrain from discussing it."

She is simply avoiding a bone of contention. Critical disclosures have taken place between her and her same-sex friend with respect to this topic as well as with respect to others.

With her boy friend she does not discuss her "flirtatious, aggressive, and sexy ways." One reason might be that sex --perhaps this aspect of sex-- was once the occasion for his telling her things about herself which hurt or upset her deeply.

She apparently confides less with her same-sex friend since her involvement: she says that her same-sex friend seems to feel that she is intruding into the boy-friend-girl friend relationship. However, her opposite sex friend does not avoid her. To what extent this is an aspect of some ideal of friendship remains undetermined.

It should be noted that, when asked to characterize her two closest friend relationships by means of four statements on a checklist, she indicated, for both her same sex and opposite sex friends, that she continued to relate with them because she could not cultivate other friends and that she felt very much at ease and relaxed with them. At the same time, she indicated that her friendship with a member of the same sex was characterized by petty quarrelling and irritation and that her friendship with a member of the opposite sex was based upon natural interests and liking for his personality.

It would seem that she, in her youth, carries on two relationships which might later be replaced by one. One of these relationships, the "mate" relationship, is characterized by the sensuousness present in Simmel's conceptualization of "love." The other, the opposite sex friend relationship, is a Platonic ideal. It would seem that her attitudes to-

ward these relationships, in conjunction with the relevance to these relationships and topical content of specific aspects of self, determines the extent of disclosure in these relationships.

Also interesting is the factor temporality: sex is not discussed with the same sex friend, yet attitudes on sex are known to that friend. This is a factor which is an ever-present influence on the measurement of self-disclosure, and how it is to be controlled must be an ongoing concern.

Case #176

This young woman, intimately involved, ranks her boy friend as her chief confidant. After her boy friend come her closest friend of her own sex and other same-sex friends. For the period prior to her involvement, she lists only her closest friend of the same sex and other same sex friends as confidantes. Opposite sex friends have never been important confidants.

For this case Figure 11 shows that the rank of a confidant(e) is associated with the extent of self-disclosure to that confidant(e): the respondent discloses more self-aspects to her boy friend than to her closest friend of the same sex. This is true in spite of the fact that she has known her same sex friend for 11 years and her "mate" for only one year. This might, of course, be explained by the fact that, at age 20, she and her same-sex friend grew up together. In other words, she would not need to discuss certain topics such as being an alien, being German, being the last daughter at home, and the fact that her grandparents were dead with her friend. Her friend would have knowledge of these things by virtue of their long acquaintance. Also, it might be explained by the fact that her lover is very accessible and her same sex friend only somewhat accessible. Two factors have thus been brought into the overall picture: temporality and the situational factor accessibility. While for this case confidant(e) rank is associated with extent of self-disclosure, either of these factors potentially could alter this association.

The respondent indicated:

Figure 11

TST Responses/Self Aspects Disclosed

Case # 176

	Same Sex Friend	Boy Friend	Opposite Sex Friend
1) Junior at Loyola University	X	X	X
2) Twenty years old	X	X	X
3) Austrian citizen, an alien		X	
4) Engaged to be married	X	X	X
5) Last daughter living at home		X	
6) Member of a sorority	X	X	X
7) Dominick booth girl	X	X	
8) Slightly nervous, hyperactive person			X
9) Woman	X	X	
10) Conservative, with some liberal aspects or leanings	X	X	X
11) Average student	X	X	
12) Graduate of Immaculata High School	X	X	X
13) Independent	X	X	
14) German		X	
15) Tall, blonde, blue-gray eyes		X	
16) Have two older married sisters	X	X	
17) An aunt, I have three nieces	X	X	
18) My parents are in their fifties	X	X	
19) No grandparents, all dead		X	
20) Will marry a Polish-American in July, '74	X	X	

"My best friend and I are not as close as we used to be. I don't tell her everything as I used to."

In fact, she refrains from telling her closest friend of the same sex:

"Some of my relationship with my boyfriend which I have been instructed (by him) not to discuss with her."

On the other hand, there is nothing which she refrains from discussing with her boy friend.

Nevertheless her relationship with her same sex friend is intimate to the point, as is her relationship with her boy friend, where upsetting issues can be discussed until some sort of solution is reached. It should be noted that, until her involvement, her same sex friend was the companion with whom she identified most.

On the whole, this young woman's patterns of confiding or self-disclosure reflect a very conformist orientation toward friendship, the mate relationship, and perhaps life in general. This statement gains weight when one considers the fact that she is undecided as to whether or not such things as "Platonic" relationships exist. Her self-disclosure with respect to both content and amount, vis a vis specific target persons, as well as her submission to her boy friend, reflects her general socio-cultural background as determined by biographical information and TST responses: Catholic, immigrant, middle class, conservative -- in other words, traditional. Her confiding and the extent of her disclosure are right along the lines one would expect them to be. Her confiding and disclosure is interesting in that it seems markedly devoid of the influence of intervening variables. But this could change just as it has changed for her in the past.

#### Case #064

The young man of 19 who is our final concern confides most to his girl friend, then to his closest friend of his own sex, then to his closest friend of the opposite sex, and, after her, to other friends of the



same sex. This order, except for his girl friend, applied before his involvement.

To his closest friend of the same sex, a friend of 15 years standing, he confides about certain goals and about his sports-mindedness, and to his closest friend of the opposite sex, a friend of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years, he confides about his academic inclinations and about his sports-mindedness (See Figure 12). To his girl friend he discloses every aspect of the "self" which he revealed in the TST. He has known her for six years.

There is nothing which this young man refrains from discussing with his girl friend. With his closest friend of the same sex he refrains from discussing his egotism. And, predictably, he refrains from discussing sex and his love relationship with his closest friend of the opposite sex. He has never discussed hurtful or upsetting matters with his friends, but he has done so with his girl friend. His girl friend, in turn, has told him unfavorable things about himself, things which relate to his "egotism."

With both his same sex and opposite sex friends he is relaxed and enjoys playing at sports and games. He discusses really personal matters with neither. He identifies with his same sex friend, and has interests in common with him which are based on common experiences. He and his opposite sex friend have courses which they are taking in common, but little else. Convenience sustains their friendship. In these relationships it appears to be topical relevance to the relationship which determines the extent of disclosure (in terms of TST responses) which takes place.

Figure 12

TST Responses/Self Aspects Disclosed Case #064

	Same Sex Friend	Girl Friend	Opposite Sex Friend
1) A Person		X	
2) Male		X	
3) Egotistic		X	
4) Certain of goals	X	X	
5) Aggressive, yet shy		X	
6) Friendly		X	
7) Interesting		X	
8) Confident for the most part		X	
9) Academically inclined		X	X
10) Vibrant personality		X	
11) Witty		X	
12) Charming		X	
13) Sports-minded	X	X	X
14) Average height (5'7")		X	
15) Average weight (130-135 lbs.)		X	
16) Versatile		X	
17) Heterosexual		X	
18) 19 years of age		X	
19) Employed		X	
20) Talented		X	

## Recommendations

The experience with the present TST-based study of self-disclosure has made clear the fact that the measurement of self-disclosure involves something more than the counting of the aspects of self-disclosure by subjects to target persons. Besides the mere fact of disclosure, valid measurement of disclosure must consider a multitude of intervening variables. These intervening variables are in addition to the truthfulness and cathexis which drew Jourard's attention: they are variables such as thoroughness versus superficiality in the disclosure of a specific self-aspect, the relevance of the disclosure of a topic to the maintenance of a relationship, and the psychological and situational contexts of disclosure (which open a Pandora's box of additional variables such as the relative importance of the aspects of self, the voluntariness of disclosure, the prior knowledge of the target person, and the accessibility of the target person).

Another factor which concerns us even though it has no effect on the measurement of the gross extent of disclosure is the categorization of TST self-aspects. It is only through such categorization that the content of disclosure based upon data captured by unstructured instruments can be made discernible, and the categories employed in the present study are deficient, at least to the extent that they produced no meaningful differences amongst themselves.

Finally, there is the sample itself: the extent to which our non-selectivity with respect to it influenced our findings is uncertain. The contrivance of a sophisticated sample, along with the control of the intervening variables mentioned above and the development of refined analytic categories, is a research goal to be pursued.

## SUMMARY

The present study was undertaken to confirm some research-based assumptions and Simmelian postulates about self-disclosure as a process of sociation, and, in doing so, to assess the value and perfectability of the Twenty Statements Test as a device for the study of self-disclosure.

Specific hypotheses to be tested with TST-based data were that females disclose themselves to a greater extent than males, regardless of target person; that both males and females disclose themselves to their closest same sex friends to a greater extent than they do to their closest opposite sex friends; and that both males and females disclose themselves to a greater extent to their mates, when they have mates, than they do in either of the closest friend relationships. These hypotheses were tested with data gathered from 108 college undergraduates --45 males and 63 females, about half of whom were intimately involved with members of the opposite sex, -- whose ages ranged from 18 to 29. They were tested by difference of means tests for both uncategorized (gross) and categorized data.

Of the hypotheses tested, with respect to gross self-disclosure only one proved statistically significant, and it did so with respect to only one group: involved females disclosed themselves to a significantly greater extent ( $p < .05$ ) than involved males. This relationship of females disclosing themselves to a greater extent than males ( $SD_f > SD_m$ ), however, was a consistent, overall trend in the data: it was as clear for the uninvolved as it was for the involved. Another fairly clear trend was for there to be a greater extent of disclosure to mates, for those who had mates, than to any

other target person (that is,  $DT_{mate} > DT_{ssf}$  or  $DT_{osf}$ ). There was no trend toward greater disclosure toward the same sex friend than toward the opposite sex friend. And with respect to the testing of all of the hypotheses in terms of categorized data, while there were many interesting variations, there were no clear-cut trends.

A constant feature of the TST-based data seems to be the way in which it fails to produce statistically significant differences: it produced as few significant differences in the 1970 Lewis study as it did in the present study. For this reason the testing of a final hypothesis was of special interest. This hypothesis was one of association between the TST-based measurement of extent of disclosure to specific target persons and the rank of those persons as confidant(e)s. It was felt that such a test could indicate the extent to which disclosure validly measured by an unstructured, unbiased instrument could be used as an indicator of confiding or intimacy in a primary relationship.

The levels of association produced by the testing of this last hypothesis were low:  $T' = .22$  and  $.52$  for uninvolved males and females respectively and  $.37$  and  $.50$  for involved males and females. This indicated that something was missing from our measurement of disclosure, that some set of intervening variables was being overlooked. It also cast doubt on the viability of the findings of the several studies which utilized structured instruments and produced very significant results without incorporating any controls for these missing variables. It led us to believe that the designers of the instruments used in these studies might have designed their instruments specifically to produce statistical significance, rather than to get at the reality of self-disclosure.

Recommendations for future self-disclosure research must be

to attempt to perfect the use of unstructured instruments such as the TST, for they are the only possible means for revealing the sociative process of self-disclosure as it is. The perfection of the usage of such instruments depends upon our ability to refine instrumentation to the point at which it can do what it is supposed to, and perhaps upon our ability to contrive experimental designs in which sampling will insure that statistical insignificance will not be the result of the interdependence of groups involved. But it also depends upon our ability to control that vast array of variables which impinge upon self-disclosure in its uncontaminated form, that is, as it is measured by the unstructured instrument. This means controlling truthfulness in disclosure, the thoroughness and superficiality of disclosure, the relevance of the disclosure of a specific aspect of self to the maintenance of a relationship, the psychological context of disclosure, and the situational context of disclosure. And in conjunction with these controls, it means refinement of the categories of disclosure, those logical tools which, in spite of the valuelessness of their present crude form, will ultimately enable us to discuss disclosure meaningfully.

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**APPENDIX A**

## TWENTY STATEMENTS TEST

There are twenty numbered spaces on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who am I?" in the spaces. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or importance. It is not necessary that you include your name. Go along fairly fast, for time is limited.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_
6. \_\_\_\_\_
7. \_\_\_\_\_
8. \_\_\_\_\_
9. \_\_\_\_\_
10. \_\_\_\_\_
11. \_\_\_\_\_
12. \_\_\_\_\_
13. \_\_\_\_\_
14. \_\_\_\_\_
15. \_\_\_\_\_
16. \_\_\_\_\_
17. \_\_\_\_\_
18. \_\_\_\_\_
19. \_\_\_\_\_
20. \_\_\_\_\_

SECTION I. CLOSEST FRIEND OF THE SAME SEX.

Please answer the following questions with reference to your closest friend of the same sex as yourself. If you do not have a distinguishable closest friend of your own sex, select one of your friends of your own sex as representative and use this representative friend as the basis for answering these questions.

1. Which of the items which you mentioned on the preceding Twenty Statements Test do you discuss with your closest friend of the same sex? (Answer by giving item numbers.)

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Are there any aspects of these items which you consciously refrain from discussing with your closest friend of the same sex? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If yes, describe: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you consciously refrain from discussing with your closest friend of the same sex any of those items which you did not mark down as items of discussion?

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If yes, which items?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Are there topics which you discuss with your closest friend of the same sex which you did not mention on the Twenty Statements Test? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_  
If yes, describe (continue on back, if necessary):

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. How long have you been close friends (in years and/or months)?

\_\_\_\_\_

6. I have told my closest friend of my own sex matters that have hurt and upset him/her. I felt that it was more important to tell the truth than to spare feelings.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Have not had this reaction \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how has your friend reacted to your disclosures? Describe in detail:

---



---



---

If yes, what did this matter pertain to generally?

---



---



---

7. Has your friend told you things about yourself that have hurt or upset you deeply?

a. Yes, he has told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

b. Yes, he has told me very unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

c. No, he has told me unfavorable things but these have been superficial \_\_\_\_\_

d. No, he has not told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

He has not told me unfavorable things about myself because

a. He with-holds telling such things \_\_\_\_\_

b. There is nothing really to tell \_\_\_\_\_

c. We are not really that close \_\_\_\_\_

If your friend has told you unfavorable things that have upset or hurt you, how did you react? Describe:

---



---



---

What did the matter generally pertain to? \_\_\_\_\_

---

8. Below is a list of common characteristics of close interpersonal relationships. Please check the four most important characteristics of your closest friendship with a member of your own sex.

- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have common interests based on our common experiences.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Although my friend and I discuss impersonal matters, I cannot disclose personal matters to him because he seems uninterested.
- \_\_\_\_\_ I identify with my friend more than I do with any other companion.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I are compatible but we feel somewhat ill at ease with each other.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend is very easy to reach and this convenience sustains our friendship.
- \_\_\_\_\_ I continue to relate with my friend because I cannot cultivate other friends.
- \_\_\_\_\_ I feel very much at ease and relaxed with my friend.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have common enemies as our mutual interest and topic of conversation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I get along but quarrel about petty matters.
- \_\_\_\_\_ I enjoy my relationship with my friend because his personality attracts me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I enjoy playing together at sports and games but do not discuss personal matters.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I often make cutting remarks to each other which become irritating.
- \_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have the same classes and study together but have little else in common.

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## SECTION II. SPOUSE OR "LOVER."

Answer the following questions only if you are married or are carrying on what might be called an intimate relationship with a member of the opposite sex. Answer them with reference to your spouse or lover.

1. Which of the items you mentioned on the Twenty Statements Test do you discuss with your spouse or lover? (Answer by giving item numbers.)

---

2. Are there any aspects of these items which you consciously refrain from discussing with your spouse or lover? Yes  No

If yes, describe: \_\_\_\_\_

---



---



---

3. Do you consciously refrain from discussing with your spouse or lover any of these items which you did not mark down as items of discussion?

Yes  No

If yes, which items?

---

4. Are there topics which you discuss with your spouse or lover which you did not mention on the Twenty Statements Test? Yes  No

If yes, describe (continue on back, if necessary):

---



---



---



---

5. How long have you been married or involved (in years and/or months)?

---

6. I have told my spouse or lover matters that have upset him/her. I felt that it was more important to tell the truth than to spare feelings.

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Have not had this reaction \_\_\_\_\_

- If yes, how has your spouse or lover reacted to your disclosures? Describe in detail:

---



---



---

If yes, what did this matter pertain to generally: \_\_\_\_\_

---



---



---

7. Has your spouse or lover told you things about yourself that have hurt or upset you deeply?

a. Yes, he has told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

b. Yes, he has told me very unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

c. No, he has told me unfavorable things but these have been superficial \_\_\_\_\_

d. No, he has not told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

He has not told me unfavorable things about myself because

a. He with-holds telling such things \_\_\_\_\_

b. There is nothing really to tell \_\_\_\_\_

c. We are not really that close \_\_\_\_\_

If your spouse or lover has told you unfavorable things that have upset or hurt you, how did you react? Describe:

---



---



---

What did the matter generally pertain to? \_\_\_\_\_

---

## SECTION III. CLOSEST FRIEND OF THE OPPOSITE SEX.

Please answer the following questions with reference to your closest friend of the sex opposite to your own. If you do not have a distinguishable closest friend of the opposite sex, select one of your friends of the opposite sex as representative and use this representative friend as the basis for answering these questions.

1. Which of the items which you mentioned on the preceding Twenty Statements Test do you discuss with your closest friend of the opposite sex? (Answer by giving item numbers.)

---

2. Are there any aspects of these items which you consciously refrain from discussing with your closest friend of the opposite sex? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If yes, describe: \_\_\_\_\_

---



---

3. Do you consciously refrain from discussing with your closest friend of the opposite sex any of those items which you did not mark down as items of discussion?

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If yes, which items?

---

4. Are there topics which you discuss with your closest friend of the opposite sex which you did not mention on the Twenty Statements Test? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_  
If yes, describe (continue on back, if necessary):

---



---



---



---

5. How long have you been close friends (in years and/or months)?

---



I have told my closest friend of the opposite sex matters that have hurt and upset him/her. I felt that it was more important to tell the truth than to spare feelings.

Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_ Have not had this reaction \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how has your closest friend reacted to your disclosures? Describe in detail:

If yes, what did this matter pertain to generally?

Has your friend of the opposite sex told you things about yourself that have hurt or upset you deeply?

a. Yes, he has told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

b. Yes, he has told me very unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

c. No, he has told me unfavorable things but these have been superficial \_\_\_\_\_

d. No, he has not told me unfavorable things about myself \_\_\_\_\_

He has not told me unfavorable things about myself because

a. He with-holds telling such things \_\_\_\_\_

b. There is nothing really to tell \_\_\_\_\_

c. We are not really that close \_\_\_\_\_

If your friend has told you unfavorable things that have upset or hurt you, how did you react? Describe:

What did the matter generally pertain to? \_\_\_\_\_

Below is a list of common characteristics of close interpersonal relationships. Please check the four most important characteristics of your closest friendship with a member of the opposite sex.

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\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have common interests based on our common experiences.

\_\_\_\_\_ Although my friend and I discuss impersonal matters, I cannot disclose personal matters to him because he seems uninterested.

\_\_\_\_\_ I identify with my friend more than I do with any other companion.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I are compatible but we feel somewhat ill at ease with each other.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend is very easy to reach and this convenience sustains our friendship.

\_\_\_\_\_ I continue to relate with my friend because I cannot cultivate other friends.

\_\_\_\_\_ I feel very much at ease and relaxed with my friend.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have common enemies as our mutual interest and topic of conversation.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I get along but quarrel about petty matters.

\_\_\_\_\_ I enjoy my relationship with my friend because his personality attracts me.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I enjoy playing together at sports and games but do not discuss personal matters.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I often make cutting remarks to each other which become irritating.

\_\_\_\_\_ My friend and I have the same classes and study together but have little else in common.

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SECTION IV. GENERAL

1. Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_
2. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Year in school: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Your occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Your father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Involvement with a member of the opposite sex: Married \_\_\_\_\_  
Intimately involved \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat involved \_\_\_\_\_ Not involved \_\_\_\_\_
7. Do you believe in what is commonly referred to as a "Platonic" relationship? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Undecided \_\_\_\_\_
8. Do you live with your closest friend of the same sex? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, how physically accessible do you consider your friend of the same sex?  
Very accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Not very accessible \_\_\_\_\_
9. How physically accessible do you consider your closest friend of the opposite sex?  
Very accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Not very accessible \_\_\_\_\_
10. Is your closest friend of the same sex a relative? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If yes, what is your relationship? \_\_\_\_\_
11. Is your closest friend of the opposite sex a relative? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If yes, what is your relationship? \_\_\_\_\_
12. If married or involved, do you live with your spouse or lover?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, how physically accessible is your spouse or lover?  
Very accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat accessible \_\_\_\_\_ Not very accessible \_\_\_\_\_

13. Rank those in whom you confide (including closest friend of your own sex, your closest friend of the opposite sex, and spouse or lover, if you have one) in order from #1 for most to #5 for least. (Do not use persons' names. Ties may be indicated.)

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. \_\_\_\_\_

14. If married or involved, prior to your marriage or involvement how would you have ranked the people in whom you confided from #1 for most to #5 for least?

- 1. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. \_\_\_\_\_

15. If married or involved, does your spouse or lover know your closest friend of the same sex?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, were they acquainted before your marriage or involvement?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

How would you rate their relationship?

Close \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately close \_\_\_\_\_ Distant \_\_\_\_\_

Is it less close now than it was before your marriage or involvement?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Are they relatives? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

16. If married or involved, does your spouse or lover know your closest friend of the opposite sex?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, were they acquainted before your marriage or involvement?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

How would you rate their relationship?

Close \_\_\_\_\_ Moderately close \_\_\_\_\_ Distant \_\_\_\_\_

Is it less close now than it was before your marriage or involvement?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Don't know \_\_\_\_\_

Are they relatives? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

17. If married or involved, do you have a child or children?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how many? \_\_\_\_\_

What are their ages? \_\_\_\_\_

18. If married or involved, how would you rate the way in which you and your spouse or lover have adjusted to each other?

Good \_\_\_\_\_ Fair \_\_\_\_\_ Poor \_\_\_\_\_

19. If married or involved, describe in detail the way in which your closest friendship with a member of your own sex has changed--with respect to confiding-- since your marriage or involvement. (Continue on back if necessary.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

20. If married or involved, describe in detail the way in which your closest friendship with a member of the opposite sex has changed--with respect to confiding--since your marriage or involvement. (Continue on back if necessary.)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Clarence L. Fewer has been read and approved by the following Committee:

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Helena Z. Lopata  
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

December 11, 1979  
Date

S. Kirson Weinberg  
Director's Signature