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EFFECTS OF INTERPERSONAL STYLE AND INSTRUCTIONAL SET ON THE VERBAL AND NONVERBAL ENCODING OF INGRATIATION¹

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An interview situation was arranged in which male subjects in the role of interviewees were instructed to act ingratiatingly, spontaneously, or objectively toward a female interviewer. Ingratiating behaviors of high and low scorers on the Ring Interpersonal Style Test were also investigated in this 3×2 factorial design. As predicted, more opinion conformity, self- and other-enhancement, and smiling occurred in the ingratiation than spontaneity or objectivity conditions. The prediction that high R-scorers would display more attractiveness cues than low R-scorers was confirmed for self-presentation, other-enhancement, and the Gergen Self-Validation Test. In addition, smiling was the most sensitive measure in distinguishing between high and low R-scorers. Contrary to prediction, high R-scorers smiled less than low R-scorers in the ingratiation condition. A principal component factor analysis revealed two reference axes, best labelled 'ingratiation' and 'positiveness'. Differences between ingratiation and positiveness are discussed.

In their explanation of social behaviour, Harre & Secord (1972) emphasize the crucial role of the personality parameter as a source of variance in the subjects' reactions to experimental instructions. From another angle, Argyle & Little (1972) accentuate that any valuable personality theory should consider any trait in its interaction with particular situational features. Therefore, a complete understanding of human behaviour should proceed via an interactional approach dealing with an analysis of the actors' tendencies in relation to the situational requirements. The present study, then, attempts to explain some of the variance among ingratiation overtures by reference to particular skills of the ingratiator.

The literature overview on personality and ingratiation revealed that personality differences in ingratiating acts have been investigated only in relation to the subjects' Machiavellian tendencies. In general, high scorers on the Mach IV-scale displayed more ingratiation evaluations (Weinstein, Beckhouse, Blumstein & Stein, 1968) and more ingratiation conformity (Kauffmann & Steiner, 1968) than low scorers but only in one of the several conditions; while there were no significant

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differences at all in ingratiation self-presentation (Jones, Gergen & Davis, 1962). Based on the Machiavellian personality (Christie & Geiss, 1970), we believe that the preferences of high and low Machs did not coordinate with the motivational induction to ingratiate. Indeed, the avoidance of instrumental affective relations on the part of the low Machs and the cool nature of the high Machs leads one to expect no differences in ingratiation tactics between high and low Machs. This hypothesis was empirically tested and supported for the range of investigated ingratiation overtures (Lefebvre, 1973).

Since ingratiation refers to strategic attractiveness display, relevant personality features should deal with the charming and strategic way of social behaving. A personality variable related to the ability to encode attractive overtures is the R -scale of the Ring Interpersonal Style Test. According to Ring, Braginsky, Levine & Braginsky (1967, p. 142) high R -scorers are "... individuals who are typically skilled in interpersonal relations, enjoy interpersonal relationships, and know what to do in interpersonal contexts". The fact that the R -scale has been validated in several contexts (Ring et al. 1967; Ring & Wallston, 1968; McKenna, 1971) affords the scale some predictive value. Differences between high and low R -scorers might be expected to occur both on the content of the message and its embellishment.

The content of the message is investigated by the use of several verbal behaviours dealing with aspects of the sender (self-presentation), the recipient (rating of the other), and type of communication (opinion exchange). The embellishment of the message is investigated by the use of nonverbal behaviours. An interview situation was considered as appropriate for the inclusion of these several behaviours. Subjects as interviewees were instructed, without awareness of the interviewer, to win the sympathy of the interviewer via one available strategy, namely acting amiably, spontaneously or objectively. On the basis of previous research on ingratiation, the following hypotheses concerning the use of a particular communication channel in the service of ingratiation were formulated.

In case of self-presentation, the subjects will tend to brag since the interviewer is not immediately aware of their motivations. Indeed, Jones et al. (Jones, Gergen & Jones, 1963; Jones, Gergen, Gumbert & Thibaut, 1965; Stires & Jones, 1969) found that subjects set to ingratiate displayed more self-enhancement than subjects acting spontaneously. Further, Jones, Gergen & Davis (1962) and Gergen (1965) found more self-enhancement on the Gergen self-presentation test under hypocrisy than objectivity conditions.

In case of opinion conformity, the subjects will likely use this channel to ingratiate, since the recipient of conforming messages usually lacks the information to discriminate genuine attitude similarity from tactical conformity. Empirical support for this view comes from Jones et al.'s research (1963; 1965) in which subjects set to ingratiate conformed more than controls.

In case of other-enhancement, the layman's observation of the ubiquitous occurrence of compliments in social interaction leads to expect the occurrence of favourable impression rating of the other in the service of ingratiation. Although laboratory studies (Jones et al., 1963; 1965) have revealed rather ambiguous data, it does appear that subjects set to ingratiate do use more compliments than controls.

Finally, regarding nonverbal attractiveness behaviour, the strong impact of facial expressions in encoding and decoding attitudes (Zaidel & Mehrabian, 1969; Argyle, Alkman & Gilmour, 1971) and their signal value concerning the person's motivation (Ekman, 1965) amply justify the use of the smile as the nonverbal research unit. Further, Rosenfeld's (1966 and 1967) research on the affiliative function of smiling, empirically supports the prediction that subjects set to make themselves attractive will display a greater amount of smiling than subjects set to act spontaneously or objectively.

In sum, the occurrence of more tactical self-aggrandizement, opinion conformity, other-enhancement and smiling was expected under the ingratiation as opposed to the spontaneity and objectivity conditions.

Predictions concerning the *R*-scale might only be tentatively formulated due to the paucity of relevant research. The smoothness of the ingratiation process and the socializing ability of the high *R*-scorers allow to expect that the high *R*-scorers will display more attraction cues than the low *R*-scorers under the ingratiation and spontaneity conditions. The imposed objectivity behaviour of the objectivity conditions will probably suppress the impact of the *R*-variable. Hence, a main effect of the *R*-scale is suggested together with an interaction effect between instruction set and personality variables.

METHOD

SUBJECTS AND EXPERIMENTER'S ACCOMPLICE

Sixty males of the Department of Psychology and Pedagogical Sciences were asked to participate in an experiment dealing with the interaction patterns between two unacquainted persons. The ss were selected from a pool of undergraduates who had filled in the Ring Interpersonal Style Test on the usual yes-no scoring procedure, and also on a seven point scale³. The selected ss had a score which was consistently above or below the median *R*-score for the group. It should be added that the Ring test was validated for the Flemish population by factor analyses of the scores for the entire population to which the test had been administered. Ring's intuitive *P*, *R*, and *C* typology was not found

³ The time between the two administrations was several months. To counterbalance time effects, half the sample filled in the yes-no scale first and half the seven-point scale. This administration was done by a foreign research assistant who claimed to be wanting to validate some test items for part of her doctoral dissertation.

exactly, since only two main factors were found. Items that loaded above .30 and which dealt with the intuitive R-type were retained to constitute the validated R-scale.

Each s was confronted with a female accomplice (A), who had been trained to standardize her behaviour, while still appearing as a naive s. Standardizing her behaviour meant that she had to keep any exchange of pleasantries to a minimum. The use of only one accomplice was partially justified by the fact that the present A had acted as a confederate in several other experiments in which she had shown herself to be very consistent both with other accomplices and throughout the entire experimental session (Lefebvre, 1972).

PROCEDURE

The sequence of events in the experiment was as follows :

1. *The before-questionnaire.* An assistant, independently of the experimenter, asked for the ss' cooperation in assessing the validity of some scale items which he needed for his research. All ss agreed to cooperate and were administered a 12-item questionnaire on which they rated their opinions (on 11-point scales) on a variety of student concerns (e.g., parental financial support for newly-weds). Four of the items were crucial in that the ss also rated them a second time during the interview.
2. *The experimental situation.* An interviewee-interviewer situation was constructed in which s, seemingly by chance, was assigned the role of interviewee and A the role of interviewer. s's task was to win A's sympathy in order to obtain a good assessment from her. s was further instructed as to what means he would use to try to achieve this goal, by behaving in an ingratiating ('be charming, influential'), spontaneous ('be yourself'), or objective ('be impersonal, noninfluential') manner.
3. *The interview.* s's activities were presented in the following standardized order : self-presentation I, opinion exchange, persuasion, self-presentation II, consonant value assertions, and impression ratings of the other.

Self-presentation I consisted of oral and written self-descriptions on eight antonym pairs selected from the Stires and Jones' experiment (1969).

Opinion exchange consisted of 17 items on 11-point scales, on which s and A alternated as to who expressed his opinion first. On the four crucial items, s expressed his opinion after A on the first three items and before A on the last one, which was inserted to investigate the consistency of s's opinions between the before-questionnaire and the opinion exchange. The first three items were direct measures of s's opinion conformity. On these items A, already aware of s's opinion, expressed an opinion six units removed from s's initial opinion.

For the remaining items, A expressed her opinion according to a standardized pattern.

Persuasion task: s was asked to persuade A about the value of a particular kind of pencil for two minutes. In addition to its use as a nonverbal dependent variable (see smiling measure), the persuasion task was inserted both to make the analogy of the experimental session with a real interview session more salient and to serve as a buffer task to minimize the effect of the opinion exchange on the tasks that followed.

Self-presentation II consisted of eight triads from the Gergen Self-Valuation Test (Gergen, 1965). Thirty-five triads had previously been administered to the subject population in order to obtain an index of their within-triad discrimination for positiveness. s divided 10 points among the positive, negative, and neutral self-description phrases according to their applicability to him, with a maximum of 8 points and a minimum of 1 for the most and least applicable statement. The eight selected triads gave the clearest differences between the three phrases and revealed no content similarity with items in self-presentation I.

Consonant value assertions: s estimated A's opinion with regard to four issues, previously rated consistently by others as to their social desirability. The rationale behind the administration of this measure was that s's description of A as conforming favourably to valued items is a rather subtle form of other-enhancement.

Impression ratings of A consisted of ten bipolar traits, rated on 13-point scales. Five traits were related to Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's (1957) evaluation factor and constituted the dependent measure.

DECODING SUBJECTS' SMILES

During self-presentation I, opinion exchange, and persuasion tasks the experimenter and an assistant independently observed s's smiling. The analyses were made on the experimenter's ratings, but the assistant's ratings were also considered whenever there was a discrepancy between the two. Inter-observer reliability ranged from .80 to .99 for the three tasks in each condition. The coding of the smiles was based on the dimensions intensity (small and broad; x and X) and duration (short and long; x/X and xx/XX). According to these combinations, the smiles were categorized into the following five classes: x, xx, X, Xx and xX, and XX, with 1 point for 'x' and 5 points for 'XX', intermediate points corresponding to intermediate classes.

RESULTS

CHECK OF THE EXPERIMENTAL MANIPULATIONS

After the experiment the s had to describe his interview task and to rate the A's behaviour on several scales. The ingratiation-spontaneity-

objectivity instruction set was checked on the s's rating of his interview task. All ss correctly described the induced task. The standardized behaviour of the A was checked on the s's rating of the A on the items dealing with eye contact and smiling for her nonverbal behaviour, on the items concerning seriousness and objectivity for her task-orientation, and on the items concerning warmth and approachability for her behaviour in general. A 2×3 ANOVA was performed over the 60 ss on all of the items. This revealed a main effect only for smiling ($p < .01$), approachability ($p < .05$) and seriousness ($p < .05$). An inspection of the scores revealed the effects to be due to significantly higher scores under the spontaneity than under the objectivity condition ($p < .01$), with the scores of the ingratiation condition each time located between. Since the A's behaviour was rated

dependent measure	hypothesis M.S.	error M.S.	univariate F	probability less than
self-presentation				
instruction (I)	688.62	29.83	23.08	.001
ring group (R)	190.82	29.83	6.40	.05
opinion conformity				
I	485.82	14.71	33.02	.001
consonant value assertions				
I	66.60	23.66	2.81	n.s.
impression rating of other				
I	458.12	25.04	18.24	.001
R	123.27	25.04	4.92	.05
gergen test				
I	8.47	8.48	1.00	n.s.
R	62.02	8.48	7.31	.01
I X R	108.07	8.48	12.74	.001
smiling self-presentation				
I	825.65	23.76	34.75	.001
I X R	125.32	23.76	5.27	.01
smiling opinion				
I	4863.02	49.93	97.39	.001
R	299.27	49.93	5.99	.05
I X R	833.12	49.93	16.68	.001
smiling persuasion				
I	1420.80	23.21	61.23	.001
I X R	299.40	23.21	12.81	.001

TAB. 1. ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF THE SUBJECTS' SCORES ON ALL DEPENDENT MEASURES. The degrees of freedom associated with the F-ratios are for I and I X R : 2,54 and for R : 1,54. Besides the instruction effects, only the significant R and I X R results are presented above.

as identical across conditions on the other items, it is suggested that the main effects that were found are due to the ss' perceptions of A under different conditions rather than to A's behaviour.

Multivariate analyses of variance (Cooley & Lohnes, 1971) were computed for the five verbal and three nonverbal dependent measures separately. The respective F -ratios for equality of dispersion and centroids for the two groups are: F 75,4902 : 1.585; F 25,187 : 5.46;

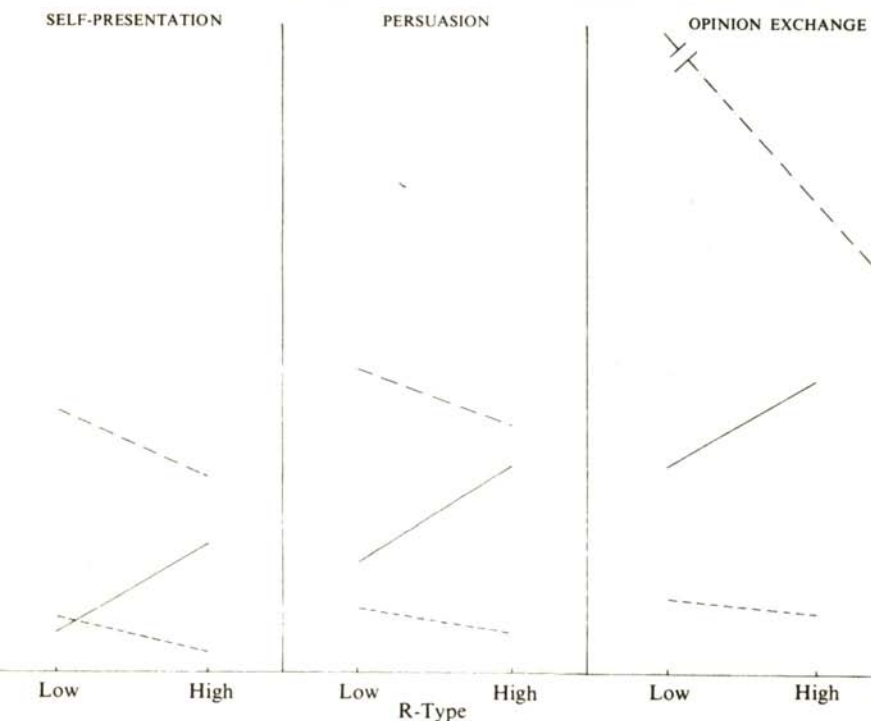


FIG. 1. HIGH AND LOW R-SCORERS' SMILING PATTERNS UNDER THE THREE INSTRUCTION SETS. — · — · — = ingratiation; — = spontaneity; - - - - = objectivity condition.

F 30,6589 : 2.827 and F 15,143 : 11.61. The univariate F -ratios revealed that the groups differ on all but consonant value assertions. Hence, the MANOVAS suggested that the groups were sampled from different populations so far as the dependent variables were concerned. It was considered worthwhile to investigate these differences in greater detail by the use of univariate ANOVAS.

The hypothesis concerning the instruction sets, which predicted a main effect of the instruction on all variables, was tested by an analysis of variance on the several dependent measures and was very strongly supported with the exception of the consonant value assertions and the Gergen test⁴, as indicated in Table 1. It was also

⁴ Analyses of variance were also performed on the positive, negative, and neutral phrases of the Gergen test but failed to yield any significant effect.

expected that the main effect of instruction sets should primarily be due to higher scores under the ingratiation than the spontaneity and objectivity conditions. Additional *t*-tests between the ingratiation-spontaneity, ingratiation-objectivity, and spontaneity-objectivity conditions revealed significant differences at the following probability levels for self-presentation ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p < .05$); for impression rating of other ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p < .06$); for smiling under self-presentation ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p < .06$); for smiling under opinion conformity ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p < .001$); for smiling under persuasion ($p < .001$, $p < .001$, $p < .001$). Opinion conformity, however, only revealed a significant difference between the ingratiation condition on the one hand and the spontaneity and objectivity conditions on the other hand ($p < .001$, $p < .001$).

Concerning the *R*-scores, two predictions were tentatively made. First, high *R*-scorers were expected to display more attractiveness attempts than low *R*-scorers on several variables. This prediction was confirmed for self-presentation, impression rating of other and the Gergen test. However, high *R*-scorers were found to emit significantly less smiles than low *R*-scorers in the opinion exchange.

Second, an interaction between the *R*-scores and conditions was expected on the basis of a stronger differentiation between the high and low *R*-scorers under the ingratiation and spontaneity than under the objectivity conditions. A very strong interaction effect was found for all three nonverbal measures but for the verbal measures only on the Gergen test. An inspection of Figure 1, however, shows that the interaction effect was mainly due to the opposite relationship between the high and low *R*-scorers under the spontaneity as opposed to the ingratiation and objectivity conditions. Since the smiling scores in the objectivity conditions were very low and did not significantly differentiate high from low *R*-scorers, attention was paid to the other two conditions. Concerning the spontaneous behaviour, it was expected and found that high *R*-scorers emit more smiles than do low *R*-scorers under self-presentation ($p < .05$), opinion exchange ($p < .05$), and persuasion ($p < .01$). This effect was also expected to occur in the ingratiation conditions but with an increase in the absolute amount of smiling. An increase in the absolute amount of smiling was found on each task ($p < .001$), but this was accompanied by a reversal in the smiling scores of the high and low *R*-scorers, being significantly different in the opinion exchange ($p < .001$). The significantly greater amount of smiling emitted by low *R*-scorers under instructions to make oneself attractive suggests that low *R*-scorers followed a 'maximum rule', namely the more smiles the better, while the high-*R*-scorers followed an 'optimum rule', namely that it is best to smile frequently but not too much. Concerning the interaction effect between conditions and *R*-scorers for the Gergen test, an inspection of the data shows this to be almost entirely due to a significant effect ($p < .001$) in the spontaneity condition as opposed to the other conditions ($p = \text{NS}$).

The ss' scores on all dependent measures were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, in an attempt to gain an overall picture of the diverse groups and variables. Extraction of roots was stopped according to Kaiser's criterion of relative 'eigen'values ≥ 1 . The unrotated factor solution produced two components accounting for 69% the variance.

condition	subjects	F.I.	F.II	condition	subjects	F.I.	F.II
ingratiation	1.	0.82	-0.46	ingratiation	1.	0.46	-0.33
	2.	0.94	1.24		2.	1.16	0.41
	3.	1.36	-0.29		3.	1.32	2.17
	4.	1.02	-0.21		4.	1.42	-0.09
	5.	0.49	0.74		5.	1.74	0.74
high R-scorers	6.	1.85	1.42	low R-scorers	6.	2.04	-0.38
	7.	1.35	-0.30		7.	1.57	0.74
	8.	1.25	0.45		8.	1.22	-0.01
	9.	0.56	-0.39		9.	1.35	-0.63
	10.	-0.11	-0.27		10.	1.46	0.89
spontaneous	1.	-0.17	-0.16	spontaneous	1.	-0.29	-0.08
	2.	0.41	-0.08		2.	-0.58	0.17
	3.	0.59	-1.74		3.	-1.04	1.54
	4.	0.14	0.08		4.	-0.67	0.11
	5.	-0.14	-0.07		5.	-0.78	-0.74
high R-scorers	6.	0.37	-0.56	low R-scorers	6.	-0.79	0.76
	7.	0.12	-0.49		7.	-0.67	1.16
	8.	0.21	-0.47		8.	-0.62	0.58
	9.	0.44	-0.52		9.	-0.74	1.02
	10.	0.16	-0.42		10.	-1.07	-1.44
objectivity	1.	-0.27	-1.23	objectivity	1.	-1.92	2.02
	2.	-0.92	1.03		2.	-1.57	2.51
	3.	-1.22	-0.09		3.	-1.17	-0.04
	4.	-0.87	-1.05		4.	-1.03	-0.40
	5.	-1.06	-0.56		5.	-0.37	-0.66
high R-scorers	6.	-0.28	-1.88	low R-scorers	6.	-0.58	-1.32
	7.	-0.91	-0.25		7.	-0.59	-1.80
	8.	-1.01	-1.61		8.	-0.70	-1.29
	9.	-1.35	-1.27		9.	-0.37	-0.99
	10.	-0.66	0.02		10.	-1.27	1.88

TAB. 2. FACTORScores OF SUBJECTS FOR THE EXPERIMENT DEALING WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL SKILL AND DISPLAY OF MAIN INGRATIATION.

The first component accounted for 52%. On examination of the loadings of the dependent variables on the components it was found that verbal and nonverbal self-presentation and opinion conformity, impression rating of other and nonverbal persuasion loaded very highly on the first component. This was accordingly labelled as 'ingratiation'. Consonant value assertions and the Gergen test loaded very highly on the second component which was labelled 'positiveness'. This

is consistent with the positions of individual factor scores for ss in groups, and is graphically displayed in Figure 2 and tabulated in Table 2.

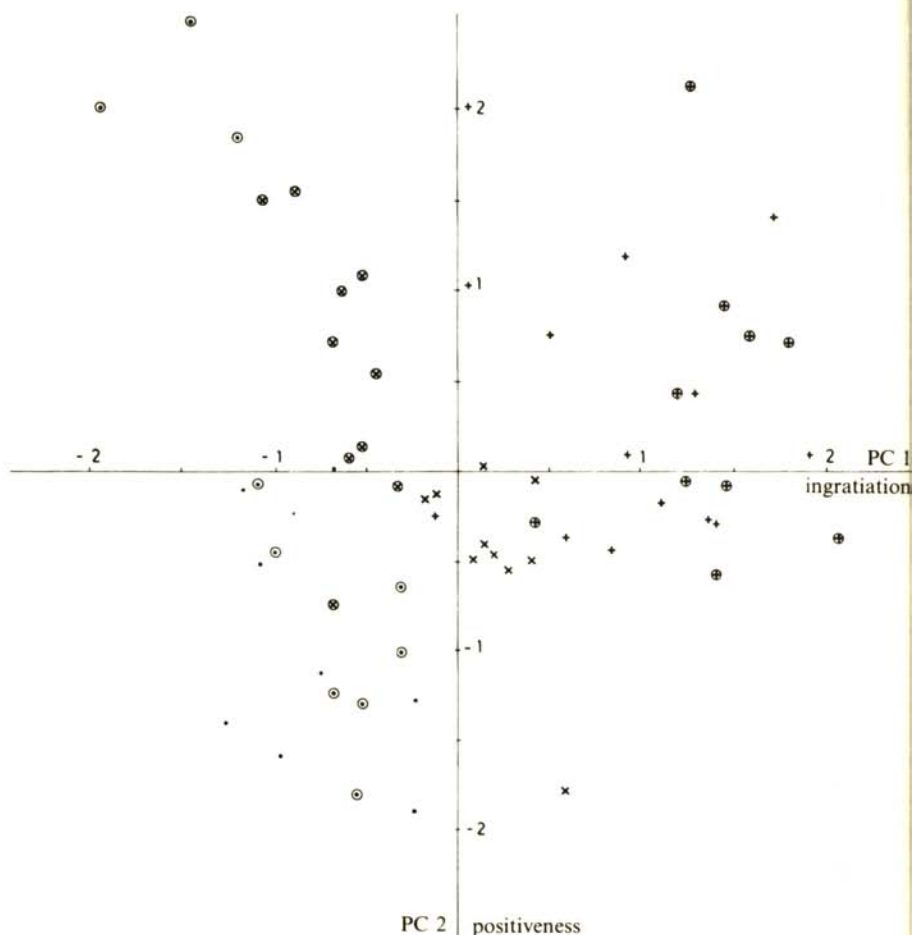


FIG. 2. FACTOR SCORES FOR INDIVIDUAL SUBJECTS. High Ring: + = ingratiations; x = spontaneous; • = objective. Low Ring: ⊙ = ingratiations; ⊗ = spontaneous; ⊖ = objective.

Both ingratiations groups are located highly on the positive side of principal component PC/1, the high R spontaneity group slightly positively and the remaining groups on the other side. These latter groups, however, differ in their location on PC 2: the low R spontaneous group being on the positive and the other two groups on the negative side. Both ingratiations groups are equally split on PC 2, and the high R spontaneous group forms a cluster around the origin of the

two PC's. Concerning the specific location of the high versus low R 's for each instruction set, the Principal Component Analysis provided the following picture.

1. High R 's increase less in ingratiation than do low R 's when told to ingratiate. This differential reaction between high and low R 's becomes more clear when the positiveness component is moved to the right side of the scale, i.e. to point +1. In that case, nine low R 's versus four high R 's fall in the right quadrant of PC 2. This agrees with the obtained findings on the smiling scores.
2. High R 's are more ingratiating but less positive than low R 's when told to be spontaneous.
3. Both high and low R 's are similar when told to be objective. However, two deviant low R 's (upper left quadrant) should be mentioned, although any explanation is difficult and of no direct relevance for the study of ingratiation.

To summarize, the Principal Component Analysis extends and summarizes the findings of the ANOVA and suggests that there may be an underlying relationship between the types of strategy employed in different experimental tasks.

DISCUSSION

One purpose of the present study was the investigation of several tactics by which ingratiation is encoded verbally and nonverbally. The results were clear and showed that opinion conformity, self- and other-enhancement, together with smiling constituted preferred channels for the ingratiation process. This replicated the findings of Jones et al. (1962; 1963; 1965 and 1969), and extended the study of ingratiation to the nonverbal channel. In the context of Jones et al. (1962) research, it is worthwhile noting that the discrepancy between the present results of ss in ingratiation and objectivity conditions was largely due to the instructions to ingratiate and less to the instructions to act objectively as shown by the comparison with the results of the spontaneity conditions.

The second and main purpose of this research was to explore the impact of the R -type on the display of several types of attractiveness overtures. High R -scorers were expected to be more skillful in handling social interaction and therefore to exhibit more displays of attractiveness. Although a main effect was found on the verbal self-presentation and impression rating of the other, it was especially on the smiling behaviour that high and low R -scorers exhibited clear differences. A reasonable explanation for this is probably that smiling and the R -type are both associated with style of acting. This communality is demonstrated by the greater display of smiling by the high R -scorers under the spontaneity condition. The reversal found in the ingratiation condition seems to point to the naivity of low R -scorers in trying to make themselves attractive by means of a great deal of smiling. Hence,

this suggests that the R -type is not to be looked on in vacuo as a personality trait, but rather it is to be thought of in terms of specific social contexts and more work is required on manipulating both instruction set and social context.

Principal Component Analysis would seem to make the overall picture more clear. With respect to the 'positiveness' component, both control groups appeared to be very similar, differing markedly from the spontaneous low R group. On the other hand, the two ingratiation groups differed mainly in the positiveness of their members, both being equally distributed in the two right hand quadrants. With respect to the 'ingratiation' component the groups could be placed in the following descending order: 1. ingratiation, low R group; 2. ingratiation, high R group; 3. spontaneous, high R group; 4. other groups. The high R spontaneous group is clearly unique both in terms of its position and dispersion. This is easily understood when the high R -type is considered as made up of persons high on adroitness in interpersonal relations. In this sense such a group might well act as a norm group in further research.

It is possible to consider the several verbal and nonverbal modes of responses as a way of self-presentation used in the sense of giving a performance. Such a conceptualization of the results makes a comparison possible between the present research and both Goffman's (1959, 1971) theorizing about self-presentation and the related investigation of Schneider & Eustis (1972). Goffman argued that impression management might comprise a variety of tactical moves which largely fall into the classes of positiveness and revealingness. Our data support the occurrence of the positiveness dimension in impression management as shown in the individual differences between spontaneous acting ss on PC 2. The validity of the revealingness dimension could not be tested by the present dependent measures.

Schneider & Eustis proposed that ingratiators act in a more positive and less revealing way than controls. Only the first part of their prediction was supported, while there was no difference in the reaction of ingratiation and control ss in revealingness. The findings of the present research specify the Schneider & Eustis positiveness result in at least two ways. First, the Principal Component Analysis revealed that 'self-presentation' possesses an ingratiation dimension not nested in the positiveness dimension. Second, the positiveness dimension, which was most highly loaded on the consonant value assertions and Gergen test, showed no differential reactions between the ingratiating and spontaneously acting ss of the present experiment in contrast to Schneider & Eustis' experiment. An explanation of this difference could not be ascribed to the heterogeneity (male s and female A) of the present dyads versus the male homogeneous dyads of Schneider & Eustis' experiment since our previous experiment using male dyads did not reveal differences on those tasks. A salient explanation, apart from cultural differences, concerns the experimental set up, which was a face-to-face situation with a range of communication tasks in the

present as opposed to no face-to-face situation with a limited number of written communication tasks in the Schneider & Eustis experiment. The potential pervasiveness of this difference in set up might call attention to the previous research on ingratiation, which was almost always conducted using written communication channels.

It is suggested that the present research may be extended to triadic situations, in which simultaneous ingratiation of two persons is attempted by a third. This should help to clarify the role of nonverbal cues since, presumably, these will be differentially directed at one or other of the targets. In this context it is proposed that low *R*-scorers will be more clearly differentiated from high *R*-scores than in the present study, since it would appear to need great skill to ingratiate well in a triadic situation. It is furthermore possible that a different set of verbal and nonverbal cues would be used in this situation.

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