MEDIATORS OF REJECTION IN SOCIAL ANXIETY:
SIMILARITY, SELF-DISCLOSURE, AND OVERT SIGNS OF ANXIETY

by

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Abstract

The present study examined possible mediators of the relationship between social anxiety and social rejection in a face-to-face interaction. Eighty-four undergraduate students with varying levels of social anxiety participated in a self-disclosure task in which an experimental confederate revealed intimate information about herself to which the subject responded. During the interaction, trained observers rated subjects on the extent to which they displayed outward signs of anxiety, the intimacy level of their disclosures, and the similarity of the subject and confederate. After the interaction, confederates rated the extent to which they would be willing to participate in future activities with subjects, a measure of social acceptance or rejection. The results of the present study suggested that perceived similarity mediated the relationship between social anxiety and social rejection. In addition, similarity mediated between self-disclosure and rejection and between overt signs of anxiety and rejection. This mediational model and its practical and theoretical implications are discussed.

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Introduction

Social anxiety is a condition marked by significant distress when interacting in interpersonal situations or performing in public. It has been studied in the social psychological literature (some of which is described below) as both a chronic subclinical condition, "social anxiety" and a personality trait, "shyness". In addition, its clinical manifestation, social phobia, has been extensively studied in the clinical literature. In the present study, research on all of these three highly related phenomena is reviewed and the terms "shyness" and "social anxiety" are used somewhat interchangeably in this review.

Of particular interest in this study is dispositional or chronic social anxiety. This is a condition marked by relative social isolation. Compared to those who are not socially anxious, socially anxious individuals tend to have smaller social networks, fewer close friends, and fewer romantic relationships (Jones & Russell, 1982; Montgomery, Haemmerlie, & Edwards, 1991). In addition, these individuals report more loneliness and less satisfaction with their interpersonal relationships than their nonshy counterparts (Cheek & Busch, 1981; Jones & Briggs, 1984), and they may receive fewer "social provisions" (i.e. less social support) from each of their fewer friends (Montgomery et al., 1991).

One factor that contributes to this isolation is the avoidance behaviour frequently associated with social anxiety (Cheek & Buss, 1981; Pilkonis, 1977; Schlenker & Leary, 1985). By avoiding interpersonal situations in general and by leaving such situations prematurely when they are encountered, socially anxious individuals do not allow themselves the opportunities to develop larger, more intimate, and more supportive social networks. This implies that if shy

people can bring themselves to enter and endure social encounters, their interpersonal lives may be enriched.

However, a growing body of research indicates that entering and enduring social encounters may simply be the first step in enriching the interpersonal lives of these individuals. Even when socially anxious people participate in social interactions, others find them less likable than nonanxious people. For example, both individuals who observe and those who participate in opposite-sex interactions with shy and nonshy subjects tend to rate the former as less friendly and even less physically attractive (Jones & Russell, 1982; Pilkonis, 1977). Similarly, Gough and Thorne (1986) observed that shy individuals, particularly males, were rated as less likable and less well-adjusted in initial interactions by the staff in an assessment centre. Another study, which utilized same-sex interpersonal interactions, found that confederates liked socially anxious women less than nonsocially anxious women and felt less comfortable around them (Meleshko & Alden, 1993). In a similar study, Alden and Wallace (1995) noted that social phobics participating in an opposite-sex interaction were rated as less likable by their partners than control subjects, whether the interaction was successful or not. There is also some evidence to suggest that even the friends of shy people consider them to be less likable and less affectionate (Jones & Carpenter, 1986).

The question then arises, "Why are socially anxious people liked less than people who are not socially anxious?" Specifically, what behaviour or behaviours mediate the relationship between social anxiety and likability? The

present study attempts to identify the factors that mediate the interpersonal rejection of socially anxious people.

Similarity

Perceived similarity has a strong influence on likability. The seminal attraction-similarity studies of Byrne (1961, 1971) and Newcomb (1961) identified a fundamental principle of liking, that is, we like individuals we perceive as similar to ourselves more than those we consider dissimilar. Research has shown that we are especially likely to like those with whom we have attitudes and interests in common (Byrne, 1961, 1971; LaPrelle, Insko, Cooksey, & Graetz, 1991; Werner & Parmelee, 1979). In addition, we tend to use information on similarity (especially similarity in attitudes and activity preferences) when making judgments about how well others will like us (Byrne & Griffitt, 1966; Gonzales, Davis, Loney, LuKens, & Junghans, 1983; Walster & Walster, 1963).

A recent expansion in this area of research was the examination of the relationship between liking and similarity of moods. Several studies observed that dysphoric and nondysphoric subjects reported higher levels of satisfaction with and liking for others with similar moods (Locke & Horowitz, 1990; Rook, Pietromonaco, & Lewis, 1994; Rosenblatt & Greenberg, 1991). In other words, similarity in level of dysphoria predicted liking in these studies. There is also evidence to suggest that perceptions of others' moods are more accurate when these moods match our own, at least in terms of level of dysphoric mood (Pietromonaco, Rook, & Lewis, 1992). Although this work has primarily been conducted with dysphoria, not anxiety, it raises the possibility the others reject

socially anxious people because their distinctive emotional state leads others to perceive them as dissimilar. Research is needed to determine whether the same association exists between perceived dissimilarity and rejection in socially anxious individuals. Furthermore, even if perceived similarity mediates the social anxiety-social rejection relationship, it remains to be determined what behaviour or behaviours on the part of socially anxious people leads other to view them as dissimilar.

Behavioural Mediators of Rejection

Two types of behaviour have been linked to social rejection in socially anxious individuals: anxiety-related microbehaviours and non-normative patterns of self-disclosure. These behaviours may serve as direct mediators of the social anxiety - social rejection relationship or they may enter into others' judgments of the extent to which socially anxious people are similar to themselves. Each type of behaviour is discussed below.

Overt Signs of Anxiety

Shy individuals generally believe that their anxiety is visible to others and that this leads others to think less of them (Jones & Briggs, 1984). A number of studies have found that socially anxious individuals appear more anxious in interpersonal situations than do nonsocially anxious people (Bruch, Gorsky, Collins, & Berger, 1989, Leary, 1983; Pilkonis, 1977). However, several studies did not find this to be the case (e.g. McEwan & Devins, 1983). In addition, research has suggested that shy individuals believe that their anxiety is more visible than it actually is; that is, they over-estimate the visibility of the anxiety they feel (Alden & Wallace, 1995; Bruch et al., 1989; Rapee & Lim, 1992).

Furthermore, even if others do notice overt signs of anxiety, the extent to which this leads to social rejection has not been determined.

Despite this, there is general agreement on the behavioural manifestations of social anxiety. The first and most notable of these is a lack of eye contact. A number of studies have found that shy persons avert their gazes significantly more during the course of a social situation than nonshy persons do. For example, Daly (1978) observed that subjects high in social anxiety made significantly less eye contact in an interview than subjects low in social anxiety while speaking but not while listening. Similarly, both Mandel and Shrauger (1980) and Pilkonis (1977) found that shy males exhibited significantly less eye contact during an interpersonal interaction than nonshy males. Interestingly, a similar effect was not found for shy females. However, a later study by Cheek and Buss (1981) found that shy women averted their gazes significantly more than nonshy women while interacting with another subject of the same sex. Such seemingly contradictory findings make it unclear at this point whether or not there are actual sex differences in eye contact among people with social anxiety.

Another behavioural manifestation of social anxiety is reduced facial expressiveness. There is evidence to suggest that shy individuals exhibit not only fewer facial expressions during the course of interpersonal interactions, but also display expressions which communicate less information (Jones & Carpenter, 1986; Mandel & Shrauger, 1980). A related behavioural indicator, smiling behaviour, seems to be different for males and females. Socially anxious males have been found to smile less in social situations than

nonsocially anxious males while socially anxious females smile more than nonsocially anxious females (Mandel & Shrauger, 1980; Pilkonis, 1977). In addition, shy women in these studies nodded more in such situations than nonshy women did.

Social anxiety may also manifest itself through self-manipulation and speech disturbances. Cheek and Buss (1981) noted that shy subjects engaged in significantly more self-manipulation (touching one's body or face with one's hands, directly or indirectly) during an interaction than nonshy subjects. However, Pilkonis (1977) did not find this, calling into question the robustness of a "self-manipulation effect". By contrast, speech disturbances (e.g. stutters, omissions, "slips of the tongue"), have been observed in a number of investigations and seem to occur more frequently in socially anxious individuals (e.g. Cook, 1969; Kasl & Mahl, 1965; Mahl, 1956).

Self-Disclosure

Although there are a variety of definitions of this variable, in essence, self-disclosure is the act of verbally communicating information about oneself to another (Cozby, 1973). This act represents one of the most important aspects of successful social interactions and yet may be underutilized by socially anxious individuals. The reason for this appears to be motivational in nature. The primary goal of shy individuals in social situations appears to be avoiding negative outcomes, such as disapproval, rather than acquiring positive outcomes (Arkin, 1981; Arkin, Lake, & Baumgardner, 1986; Schlenker & Leary, 1982, 1985). To achieve this end, these individuals frequently adopt "self-

protective" strategies of presenting themselves, one aspect of which is the tendency to avoid self-disclosure.

The picture of the socially anxious person painted in the self-disclosure literature is one of an individual who communicates in such a way as to allow him or herself to participate in a conversation while contributing as little information as possible (Schlenker & Leary, 1985). An example of this can be seen in the types of "verbal response modes" that shy people use. Leary, Knight, and Johnson (1987) found that social anxiety was associated with greater use of questions, acknowledgments (such as "uh-huh", which indicate that the other's communication has been received), and confirmations (such as "I think so, too", which denote shared experiences or convictions), all of which may help to maintain a conversation without actually investing much of oneself in it.

Socially anxious individuals also minimize their self-disclosures in a social encounter by spending less time talking (Bruch et al., 1989; Cheek & Buss, 1981; Leary et al., 1987). Furthermore, when they do disclose, the disclosures of shy women, and perhaps shy men as well, have been observed to be significantly shorter than those of nonshy women (Meleshko & Alden, 1988). Research also suggests that socially anxious people talk about less intimate topics than nonanxious individuals and fail to reciprocate their partner's level of intimacy (e.g. DePaulo, Epstein, & LeMay, 1990; Meleshko & Alden, 1993). For example, Meleshko and Alden (1993) observed that socially anxious women did not match the level of intimacy of their partner's disclosures regardless of the level at which the partner disclosed. Similarly, nonanxious individuals expecting negative social outcomes expressed a strong reluctance to reciprocate intimate

disclosures (Strassberg, Adelstein, and Chemers, 1988). However, it is worth noting that some studies have not found low self-disclosure in socially anxious people or have found low self-disclosure only under certain conditions (Alden & Bieling, 1997; Jacobson & Anderson, 1982). For example, Alden and Bieling (1997) found that socially anxious individuals displayed low self-disclosure when they anticipated negative responses from others, but not when they expected positive responses.

Importance of Self-Disclosure and Overt Signs of Anxiety in Liking

Of the potential behavioural mediators discussed above, self-disclosure seems likely to be the more important determinant of liking. A robust "liking effect" has been found in previous research that indicates people report greater liking for those who self-disclose to them (Collins & Miller, 1994; Cozby, 1973; Curtis & Miller, 1986) . The strength of this effect is such that various theorists have argued that reciprocal self-disclosure is one of the key factors in the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (e.g. Altman & Taylor, 1973; Cohen, Sherrod, & Clark, 1986). Indeed, previous research has shown that most interpersonal interactions seem to proceed according to this process (see reviews by Chaikin & Derlega, 1974; Chelune, 1979; Cozby, 1973). By contrast, some writers have suggested that not reciprocating self-disclosures is a sign of maladjustment (e.g. Jourard, 1971). Similarly, when individuals engage in low levels of self-disclosure, they tend to be perceived as evasive, incompetent, not very likable, and sometimes even mentally ill (Davis & Holtgraves, 1984; Mancuso, Litchford, Wilson, Harrigan, & Lehrer, 1983).

The other potential mediator, overt signs of anxiety, seems to be a less likely candidate. Although evidence exists to support the contention that people like those more who make more eye contact during interactions (LaFrance & Mayo, 1978), such evidence appears to be scarce as far as the other observable manifestations are concerned. Further, there remains some question as to the extent to which such manifestations are readily detectable by others (McEwan & Devins, 1983) and whether they have any influence on how likable an individual is perceived to be.

The Current Study

The primary goal of this research was to identify factors that mediate the relationship between social anxiety and social rejection. Because the development of friendships is a problem for socially anxious individuals, the study used a social task in which another person initiated an intimate conversation, a situation that is believed to be crucial to friendship formation. A cross-section of undergraduate students participated in a self-disclosure task in which an experimental collaborator, enacting the role of another student, revealed personal and intimate information about herself to which the subject responded. During the interaction, trained observers rated: 1) the extent to which subjects displayed outward signs of anxiety, 2) the intimacy level of subjects' disclosures, and 3) the perceived similarity of the subject and confederate, After the interaction, confederates rated the extent to which they would be willing to participate in future activities with subjects, a measure of social acceptance or rejection.

Two mediational models were contrasted (see Figures 1 and 2). In the first model, similarity, overt signs of anxiety, and self-disclosure were conceptualized as separate mediators of the social anxiety - social rejection relationship. According to this model, all three factors contributed directly and independently to the association between social anxiety and social rejection. In the second model, similarity was highlighted as the primary mediator of this association. Self-disclosure and overt signs of anxiety were conceptualized as mediators of the social anxiety - similarity relationship, that is, as the behaviours that influenced perceptions of subject similarity.

Mediational Analyses

The literature on mediational variables specifies four conditions which must be met for a variable to attain mediator status (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Strube, 1988). First, there must be a relationship between the independent variable and the outcome variable and between the independent variable and the potential mediator (covariation). Second, the independent variable must precede the potential mediator, which in turn must precede the outcome variable (temporal precedence). Third, the potential mediator and the outcome variable must be related independently of the independent variable (test of the model). Fourth, the relationship between the independent and outcome variables must be significantly reduced when the potential mediator is controlled for (ruling out or making alternative explanations less plausible).

The second condition, temporal precedence, was assumed in the present study on the basis of previous work in the area (discussed above). The other three were tested with a series of regression models described by Baron and

Kenny (1986). These models include: regressing the potential mediator on the independent variable, regressing the outcome variable on the independent variable, and regressing the outcome variable on both the independent variable and on the mediator. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), for a mediational model to hold, 1) the independent variable must have a significant impact on the hypothesized mediator in the first equation and 2) on the outcome variable in the second equation, and 3) the potential mediator must affect the outcome variable in the third equation. When these occur, and the effect of the independent variable in the third equation is less than in the second equation, support is provided for the hypothesized mediator.

Hypotheses

Five hypotheses were tested:

1) Social anxiety would be positively correlated with social rejection (i.e. negatively correlated with liking).

2) Social anxiety would be negatively correlated with judgments of similarity between subjects and confederates.

3) Social anxiety would be positively correlated with anxiety-related behaviours, that is, socially anxious subjects would display more behaviours indicative of anxiety.

4) Social anxiety would be negatively correlated with intimacy of subjects' self-disclosures.

5) The correlations between the variables would conform to Model 1. That is, similarity, overt signs of anxiety, and self-disclosure were expected to mediate the relationship between social anxiety and social rejection.

Method

Subjects

Subjects for this study were undergraduates in first and second year courses at the University of British Columbia. They ranged in age from 17 to 22 and had never been married. Only female subjects were used since there is evidence to suggest that if sex differences in the relationship between self-disclosure and liking exist, this effect will be stronger for women (Collins & Miller, 1994).

Prior to participating in the interaction, these individuals completed the Social Avoidance and Distress Scale and Beck Depression Inventory (both described below) as part of a larger questionnaire package. In addition, they provided some basic demographic information such as age, marital status and country of birth.

Selection Measure

Social Avoidance and Distress Scale (SAD; Watson & Friend, 1969). The SAD scale is widely used measure of distress in and avoidance of social situations. It consists of 28 true-false items and yields scores ranging from 0 to 28 with higher scores reflecting a greater degree of social avoidance and distress. The psychometric properties of the SAD scale are relatively good. Watson & Friend (1969) reported high scale homogeneity (i.e. a mean point-biserial item-total correlation of .77 and Kuder-Richardson reliability statistic of .94). The correlation between the scale's two subscales, Avoidance and Distress, was .75. Test-retest reliability over one month was .68, although independent researchers have obtained a one-month test-retest correlation of

.86 (Girodo, Dotzenroth, & Stein, 1981). Equally strong support for the criterion-related and construct validity of the SAD has also been reported (Watson & Friend, 1969). Subjects were selected to represent a full range of scores on this measure, although the final distribution was positively skewed as is typical among nonclinical samples ($\underline{M}$ = 11.60, $\underline{SD}$ = 8.60).

Supplemental Measure

Beck Depression Inventory (BDI; Beck, Rush, Shaw, & Emery, 1979). The BDI is a 21 item inventory designed to assess the cognitive, behavioural, and somatic symptoms of depression. Used extensively in the literature on depression, the psychometric properties of the BDI are very strong. The scale's internal consistency (as measured by Cronbach's coefficient alpha) ranges from .73 to .95 with a mean of .86 for psychiatric populations and .81 for nonpsychiatric populations. Test-retest reliability coefficients are usually in excess of .90. In addition, the validity of the BDI has been demonstrated in numerous studies, many of which are cited in Beck, Steer, and Garbin (1988).

The frequent correlation and symptom overlap between social anxiety and depression (Kendall & Watson, 1989; Watson & Clark, 1984), and the conceptual difficulties arising from this "affective confounding" (Ingram, 1989), necessitated the inclusion of the BDI in the present study to ensure that any effects noted were due to social anxiety rather than dysphoric mood. In addition, some research has suggested that depressed and dysphoric individuals tend to disclose at a higher level of intimacy to strangers than nondepressed people, especially about negative topics (Blumberg & Hokanson, 1983; Coyne, 1976; Gibbons, 1987). These more intimate disclosures are typically seen as

inappropriate and may even arouse negative affect in the recipients (Wagner, 1988). Such findings, as well as the finding that depressives tend to avoid eye contact in social interactions (Shean & Heefner, 1995), represented a potential threat to the clarity of the present study's results and reinforced the need to assess dysphoric mood.

Disclosure Task

Subjects participated in a conversation with a female confederate posing as a fellow subject. Subjects and confederates alternated disclosing information about themselves. The confederate always spoke first and her disclosures represented a relatively high level of intimacy (Appendices 6, 7, 8 ,9). This self-disclosure task was based on the classic reciprocity paradigm. The specific details of the task (e.g. content) were based on earlier work by Meleshko and Alden (1993).

Procedure

When the subject arrived for the study, she was greeted by the experimenter and seated so that she would face the confederate across a small coffee table. To enhance the deception, the confederate arrived three minutes after the subject's scheduled arrival time and apologized for being late. When subjects were more than three minutes late, the confederate entered the room and was already seated when the subject arrived. The experimental room was set up to be as comfortable and naturalistic as possible.

The subject and confederate were then given clipboards containing the consent form. Subsequent to completing this form, they were given a topic list

and the following set of instructions, which the experimenter read through with
them:

> We are interested in the different conversational strategies employed by
> individuals in first-meeting situations. To this end, we would like you to
> get to know each other, to talk about yourself and listen as your partner
> talks about herself so that you become better acquainted. We need to
> structure this somewhat, so what we would like you to do is take turns
> talking and listening. I have given you a list of topics to talk about. The
> person with the higher identification number will go first. That person will
> choose one of the topics and talk briefly about it. The other person's task
> is to listen. Then the other person will choose a topic and talk about it
> while the person who spoke first now becomes the listener. Because we
> must structure this somewhat, we must ask that you do not ask questions
> when it is your turn to be the listener. You will continue to alternate back
> and forth until you have both chosen and spoken on 4 topics.

Subjects were told that time was not a particular concern but that they should try
to limit their disclosures to 3 or 4 minutes, in the interests of maintaining
scheduling constraints. Using pre-assigned subject identification numbers, it
was arranged that the confederate always self-disclosed first. The subjects were
told that the experimenter would be behind a one-way mirror in order to monitor
the conversation. At that point, the experimenter asked the pair if they had any
questions. To further enhance the deception, the confederate asked a question
relating to topic selection. After answering this question and any the subject
posed, the experimenter directed them to turn to the topic list. They were told to
take their time and peruse the topic list while the experimenter left the rooms and
went to the observation gallery. After an appropriate period of time to "examine"
the topics, the confederate began her first disclosure.

At the close of the interaction, the experimenter reentered the room and gave the postdisclosure measures to the subject and confederate . The confederate was then taken to another room, ostensibly to ensure that the pair's ratings of each other would be confidential. At this point, the confederate asked if she should take her books and coat with her and was told that she should, as she and her partner would likely finish the questionnaires at different times.

Upon completion of the postdisclosure measures by the subject, the experimenter conducted a structured, funnel-type debriefing designed to probe for subject suspicion. Two subjects who expressed suspicion about their partner were removed from the study and replaced with other subjects. Following the debriefing, subjects were told of the nature of the study, asked to maintain confidentiality, given their experimental participation credit slips, and thanked for participating.

Confederates and Observer

The study employed four female research assistants, all of whom were blind to the hypotheses and experimental design. Two of these women were not socially anxious (SAD scores of 3 and 6) and two were moderately socially anxious (SAD scores of 11 and 16). The latter pair were chosen to examine the possibility described above that liking may be a function of similarity in level of anxiety. The four women alternated between the observer and confederate roles with each one observing and interacting with approximately the same number of subjects. The observer was seated behind the one-way mirror, out of subjects' sight. The experimental room was equipped with a sound system allowing the observer to listen to the interaction.

After each disclosure by the subject, both the observer and the confederate (surreptitiously, while pretending to number her next topic choice) rated the intimacy of the disclosure and the extent to which the subject appeared anxious.

Discussion Topics

The list of discussion topics contains 19 items (Appendix 1). These items, which have been previously rated for intimacy level, contain approximately equal numbers of low, medium, and high intimacy topics (Jourard, 1971; Appendix 12). Confederates began with a topic of medium intimacy and proceeded to disclose on progressively more intimate issues (topics 7, 5, 10, 3; Mean intimacy in Jourard study = 2.857; Mean intimacy rating in this study 5.833). These topics were associated with private, personal, and emotional information.

Confederate Disclosures

The confederates' disclosures followed scripts developed by Meleshko and Alden (1993). The scripts were found to be positive in tone and appropriate to a first meeting interaction. Using these scripts, the nature and content of confederates' disclosures was substantially the same for all the subjects. Checklists, which summarize the major content areas and contain 15 items for each disclosure, were used to ensure that this occurred (Appendix 10). As the confederate spoke, the experimenter checked off each item she mentioned. The mean number of items correctly covered for each of the four disclosures were 14.99, 14.98, 14.81, and 14.96, respectively.

The women employed as confederates were trained in the scripts and in their nonverbal behaviour. They practiced extensively until they were able to

provide natural, verbatim accounts of the four disclosures. The desired

nonverbal behaviour included appropriate eye contact, an attentive demeanor,

and a relatively neutral facial expression, especially while listening. However,

the confederates were instructed to match their facial expressions to the nature

of the subject's disclosures when deemed necessary (e.g. they would smile if the

subject made a joke). They did not comment or speak in response to the

subject's disclosures unless it was unavoidable. Even then, they confined their

responses to non-committal forms of expression (e.g. "uh huh", "umm").

Dependent Measures

Self - Disclosure (intimacy). Two measures of the intimacy of subjects'

disclosures were used in this study. I. Jourard Intimacy: The modified Jourard

Topic List contains 19 topics which have previously been rated for intimacy. The

intimacy ratings range from 1.02 (low intimacy) to 3.79 (high intimacy). The

mean of the intimacy values corresponding to the four topics chosen by the

subject was the first measure of intimacy. However, since previous research has

suggested that disclosures on the same topic may vary in terms of the level of

intimacy of their content (Meleshko & Alden, 1993), the present study included a

second measure of intimacy. II. Rated Intimacy: An observer rated each of the

subject's disclosures for intimacy on 7-point verbally-anchored Likert scales

(Appendix 3). She also made a global intimacy rating at the close of the

interaction (Appendix 4).   To address the issue of "pretest sensitization"

(described below under Manipulation Checks), the confederate rated only

slightly more than half the subjects (n=52).

Overt signs of anxiety. Both the confederate and observer rated subjects on the extent to which they displayed the following overt signs of anxiety: gaze aversion (low eye contact), self-manipulation (fidgeting, touching themselves), uncomfortable facial expressions, and speech disfluencies (stutters, omissions, etc.). These ratings of manifest anxiety were made after each disclosure and globally at the close of the interaction (Appendices 3, 4). The ratings were made on 7-point Likert scales anchored with "not at all" and "very much". Again, the confederate did not rate all the subjects ($\underline{n}$ = 71).

Perceived Similarity. Using three 7-point Likert scales, the observer and confederate also rated subjects on the extent to which they seemed similar to the confederate (Appendix 4). Like the previous two measures, confederates rated only a sample of the subjects ($\underline{n}$=52).

Liking / Social Acceptance. The measure of liking used in this study was an eight item inventory on which confederates rated the extent to which they would wish to engage in a variety of social activities with the subjects (Appendix 5). This Desire for Future Interaction Scale (DFI), an adaptation of a social acceptance scale developed by Coyne (1976), has been used extensively In studies of depressives' disclosures and its individual items have been shown to reliably load on a single factor (Boswell & Murray, 1981; Gurtman, 1987).

Results

Manipulation Checks

Confederates and Observers. Oneway ANOVAs were conducted on each of the dependent measures described above to determine if any of the four female research assistants, particularly the moderately socially anxious pair,

were systematically different from the others. No significant differences were found between the four women on any of these measures ($\underline{p}>.10$), so the confederate ratings were averaged together and the observer ratings were averaged together to yield more robust measures. The presence of these four different women in the current study enhances the generalizability of the results which follow.

Pretest Sensitization. Kazdin (1992) describes a methodological problem known as "pretest sensitization". This problem occurs when responses on an earlier measure influence individuals' responses on later measures. In the present study, the concern was that by having the confederates rate subjects on the hypothesized mediators, these mediators would acquire more weight in their subsequent decisions of liking. To address this concern, the confederates rated just enough of the subjects on self-disclosure, overt signs of anxiety, and similarity to establish a convergence level of .80 or higher with the observer ratings. Given this high convergence, the observer ratings of these variables , which were made for all of the subjects, were utilized in subsequent analyses. In addition, t-tests indicated no differences in confederates' liking (DFI scores) between subjects whom they rated on the variables described below and those whom they did not rate ($\underline{p}>.20$). The means and standard deviations on the independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 1.

Self-Disclosure (Rated Intimacy). The inter-rater reliability between the observer and confederate ratings for this measure was .90 ($\underline{N} = 52$). As noted above, this was sufficient for the observer ratings to be used. The mean of these ratings for each subject's four disclosures represented one measure of

rated intimacy. Following the interaction, each subject's overall level of intimacy was also rated by the confederate and observer. This constituted a second measure of rated intimacy. These two indices were highly correlated (r = .89, N = 84) and they were averaged to yield a single robust measure of rated intimacy.

Overt Signs of Anxiety. The correlation between the observer and confederate ratings for this variable was .80 (N = 71). In addition, since the specific and global indices were highly convergent (r = .92, N = 84), the two were averaged to yield a more accurate measure.

Perceived Similarity. The observer - confederate correlation for perceived similarity was .82 (N = 52). As such, the observer ratings were used in the mediational analyses.

Correlations

The zero-order correlations between the independent and dependent measures are presented in Table 2. Since the correlation between the SAD and BDI was significant, the effects of the latter were controlled for in all subsequent analyses. Table 3 contains the partial correlations between the independent and dependent measures controlling for BDI scores.

Among these correlations, three are of particular interest. The first involves the relationship between Jourard intimacy and rated intimacy. The absence of a perfect correlation between these measures suggests that, as mentioned above, disclosures on the same topic may vary in terms of their level of intimacy. However, the relative strength of this association (r = .40, p < .001) does provide support for construct validity of intimacy. Also of interest are the correlations between the measures of intimacy and rated anxiety. These

coefficients denote the absence of a relationship between the potential

behavioural mediators, self-disclosure and signs of anxiety, indicating that each

makes a unique contribution to the prediction of liking.

Mediational Analyses

As described above, once temporal precedence is assumed, three

regressional models need to be tested and three conditions met for mediator

status to be conferred. The results of these analyses are presented in Tables 4

and 5.

Perceived Similarity. Similarity was the only variable which directly

mediated the SAD - DFI relationship ($p<.05$; see Table 4). **1)** It was predicted

by social anxiety ($p<.05$) **2)** Scores on the SAD also predicted DFI scores

($p<.05$). **3)** And when similarity was controlled for, the power of the SAD scores

to predict DFI scores was significantly reduced ($p<.05$). Similarity is also

strongly related to liking independently of social anxiety ($p<.001$).

Overt Signs of Anxiety. Unlike similarity, overt signs of anxiety failed to

mediate the social anxiety - liking relationship (see Table 4). **1)** SAD scores

predicted overt signs of anxiety ($p<.01$). **2)** SAD scores also predicted DFI

scores ($p<.05$) **3)** However, the strength of the SAD - DFI relationship did not

significantly decrease when overt signs of anxiety were controlled for ($p>.10$).

Furthermore, overt signs of anxiety did not appear to be related to liking

independently of social anxiety ($p>.05$).

Self-Disclosure (Rated Intimacy). As depicted in Table 4, rated intimacy

of self-disclosure also failed to satisfy all the conditions for mediation described

above ($p>.05$). **1)** It was not predicted by SAD scores ($p>.10$). To make sense

of this finding, the intimacy of subjects' disclosures were compared to the intimacy of similar disclosures from previous research (Melesko & Alden, 1993). It was found that a relatively large number ($\underline{n}$ = 17) of nonanxious (SAD < 5), nondysphoric (BDI < 6) subjects were disclosing at a significantly lower level of intimacy than those in the previous study ($\underline{t}$ = -5.51, $\underline{p}$<.001). The implications of this are discussed below. **2)** SAD scores predicted liking ($\underline{p}$<.05). **3)** Controlling for rated intimacy failed to significantly reduce the power of the SAD to predict DFI scores ($\underline{p}$>.10). Despite this, rated intimacy is strongly related to liking independently of SAD scores ($\underline{p}$<.001).

Self-Disclosure (Jourard Intimacy). Like rated intimacy, Jourard intimacy also failed to mediate the SAD- DFI relationship ($\underline{p}$>.05; see Table 4). **1)** It was not predicted by SAD scores ($\underline{p}$>.25). **2)** SAD scores did predict liking ($\underline{p}$<.05). **3)** Jourard intimacy had no significant impact on the power of SAD scores to predict DFI scores ($\underline{p}$>.25) and was not even related to liking when social anxiety was taken into account ($\underline{p}$>.05).

Revised Model

The mediational power of similarity and its relationships with self-disclosure and overt signs of anxiety (see Table 3) suggested the mediational pathway depicted in Figure 3. In this model, perceived similarity mediated the relationships between overt signs of anxiety and liking ($\underline{p}$<.05) and between self-disclosure (rated intimacy) and liking ($\underline{p}$<.01). The standardized regression coefficients for the tests of these results are presented in Table 5.

Overt Signs of Anxiety. **1)** Overt signs of anxiety significantly predict judgments of similarity ($\underline{p}$<.05). **2)** They also predict DFI scores ($\underline{p}$<.05).

3) Controlling for similarity significantly decreases the impact of overt signs of anxiety on liking ($\underline{p}$<.01). In addition, perceived similarity is related to liking independently of signs of anxiety ($\underline{p}$<.001).

Self-Disclosure (Rated Intimacy). **1)** This variable predicted ratings of similarity ($\underline{p}$<.001). **2)** It was also a significant predictor of liking ($\underline{p}$<.01).
3) When similarity was controlled for, it significantly reduced the power of self-disclosure to predict liking ($\underline{p}$<.01). Similarity was also strongly related to liking independently of self-disclosure ($\underline{p}$<.001).

Self-Disclosure (Jourard Intimacy). There was no significant relationship between this variable and liking for similarity to mediate (p>.05).

In contrast to model 2, neither self-disclosure nor signs of anxiety mediated the relationship between social anxiety and similarity ($\underline{p}$>.05). With the former, this resulted from the absence of a relationship between social anxiety and self-disclosure described above. With the latter, it was because signs of anxiety were not related to similarity independently of level of social anxiety ($\underline{p}$<.05). The standardized regression coefficients for the three steps of this analysis were .35 ($\underline{p}$<.01), -.23 ($\underline{p}$<.05), and -.15 ($\underline{p}$>.20; β_{MED} = -.22, $\underline{p}$>.05), respectively.

Discussion

The results of the present study suggested that perceived similarity mediated the relationship between social anxiety and social rejection. Self-disclosure and overt signs of anxiety did not directly mediate social rejection, but

were related to liking, with the latter also associated with social anxiety. Overall, the data supported a modified version of the mediational model presented in Figure 2.

As predicted, social anxiety was associated with social rejection, although the strength of this association was moderate. Individuals with higher levels of social anxiety were less likely to be sought after for future interactions by their partners than individuals with lower levels of anxiety. These results indicated that social anxiety may play a role in liking, as previous research has suggested, but that this role is likely an indirect one (Jones & Russell, 1982; Meleshko and Alden, 1993).

Also as predicted, social anxiety was negatively associated with perceived similarity. Both confederates and observers perceived individuals with higher levels of social anxiety as less similar to the confederates than less anxious individuals. This association was not due to level of dysphoria, which was statistically controlled for in these analyses. This suggests that judgments of similarity may be influenced by negative affect in general, rather than dysphoria or anxiety alone. Perceived similarity was also the strongest predictor of liking. The confederates expressed the greatest desire for future interactions with subjects they deemed similar to them. This is consistent with a large body of research on similarity and liking (e.g. Byrne, 1971; Chapdelaine, Kenny, & LaFontana, 1994; Curry & Emerson, 1970). Finally, perceived similarity mediated the relationship between social anxiety and rejection. This indicates that people reject socially anxious individuals because they perceive them as dissimilar to themselves.

Individuals with higher levels of social anxiety exhibited more signs of this anxiety than nonanxious individuals. This is consistent with the majority of previous studies of the behaviour of socially anxious individuals and suggests that the belief held by many of these individuals, that their anxiety is visible to others, may be accurate (Bruch et al., 1989). Contrary to this study's fourth hypothesis and much of the literature in this area (e.g. DePaulo et al., 1990; Meleshko & Alden, 1993; Strassberg et al., 1988), there was no relationship between social anxiety and self-disclosure. However, this finding is consistent with at least one previous study (Jacobson & Anderson, 1982), suggesting that such a relationship, while frequently occurring, is not inevitable. Comparison with data collected in past research (Meleshko & Alden, 1993) indicates that the absence of this relationship in this study resulted from the failure of nonanxious individuals to reciprocate the confederates' disclosures. Unlike previous studies using this disclosure paradigm, in the current study even nonanxious individuals were reluctant to disclose, perhaps because they perceived the situation as somehow threatening (see, for example, Alden & Bieling, 1997; DePaulo et al., 1990).

The hypothesis that similarity, self-disclosure, and overt signs of anxiety would all mediate the social anxiety - social rejection relationship was not supported. Although similarity did meet the criteria necessary to establish a mediational relationship, this was not true of either self-disclosure or overt signs of anxiety. However, although these two factors did not mediate the social anxiety - rejection relationship, they were nonetheless important in predicting liking. Intimacy of self-disclosure had a relatively strong association with liking,

again providing evidence of the "liking effect" found in previous research (e.g. Collins & Miller, 1994; Cozby, 1973; Curtis & Miller, 1986). In essence, confederates reported greater liking for individuals whose disclosures were intimate. With signs of anxiety, the effect was modest but significant; that is, there was a slight tendency to like individuals who appeared less anxious more than those who did not.

Overall, the results suggest that the relationship between social anxiety and liking is more complex than previously recognized (see Figure 3). Socially anxious individuals tend to appear more anxious and are perceived as less similar by their conversational partners, leading them to be liked less. In terms of self-disclosure, individuals who do not match the intimacy level of those with whom they interact (in the present study, by disclosing less intimately) are seen as less similar and liked less. It is even possible that the importance of reciprocal self-disclosure to successful social interactions, a particularly robust finding in the self-disclosure literature described above, may be due to its influence on perceptions of similarity.

Treatment Implications

Many socially anxious individuals are concerned that their anxiety is visible to others (Bruch et al., 1989) and that they will be negatively evaluated as a result (Jones & Briggs, 1984). However, this seems to be the case only to the extent to which it makes them seem different from those around them. In addition, the strength of the disclosure-liking relationship suggests that disclosing about oneself may offset this. Socially anxious individuals matching their partner's level of intimacy may experience less rejection, regardless of how

anxious they appear. As such, perhaps the treatment of social phobia should focus not only on helping people to overcome their anxiety and its overt manifestations, but also on encouraging them to decrease "safety behaviors" (Wells et al., 1995) such as not self-disclosing. Teaching people to be more comfortable speaking about themselves may foster "real life" gains in the interpersonal lives of the patients rather than simply reducing their symptoms.

<u>Cautions</u>

The conclusions drawn here must be qualified to reflect a number of limitations of the current study. First, although the face-to-face interaction used in the study closely approximated a first-meeting situation, it was, nonetheless, a somewhat structured and artificial interaction. It also constitutes only one of a range of interpersonal situations in which individuals may find themselves and future research is needed to examine the generalizability of these findings to other such situations. In addition, because the subjects, confederates, and observers in the present study were all women, research is also needed to determine the generalizability of these findings to men. Although there is no a priori reason to believe that similar results would not be obtained for male or mixed dyads, this cannot be assumed. Similarly, given that the subjects in the present study were students selected on the basis of self-report measures of social anxiety symptoms, the generalizability of these findings to patients with diagnosed social phobia also cannot be assumed. Thus, future research in this area is needed to examine these issues in clinical populations.

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Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations of Independent and Dependent Measures
(N=84)

Measure	Mean	SD
SAD	11.60	8.60
Rated Intimacy	3.45	1.08
Jourard Intimacy	2.21	0.32
Rated Anxiety	2.27	1.07
Perceived Similarity	3.54	1.63
DFI	3.98	1.32
BDI	9.55	6.82

Table 2

Correlations Between Independent and Dependent Measures

	Rated Intimacy	Jourard Intimacy	Rated Anxiety	Perceived Similarity	DFI	BDI
SAD	.22* (84)	.07 (84)	.42*** (84)	-.45** (52)	-.27* (84)	.40*** (84)
Rated Intimacy		.43** (84)	.08 (84)	.24 (52)	.31** (84)	.18 (84)
Jourard Intimacy			.15 (84)	.26 (52)	.15 (84)	.24* (84)
Rated Anxiety				-.48** (52)	-.27* (84)	.30** (84)
Rated Similarity					.80*** (52)	-.37** (52)
DFI						-.18 (84)

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

(Value in parentheses = N)

Table 3

Partial Correlations Between Independent and Dependent Measures Controlling for BDI scores

	Rated Intimacy	Jourard Intimacy	Rated Anxiety	Perceived Similarity	DFI
SAD	.17 (84)	-.03 (84)	.34** (84)	-.35** (52)	-.22* (84)
Rated Intimacy		.40*** (84)	.03 (84)	.33* (52)	.35** (84)
Jourard Intimacy			.08 (84)	.39** (52)	.20 (84)
Rated Anxiety				-.41** (52)	-.24* (84)
Perceived Similarity					.81*** (52)

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

(Value in parentheses = N)

Table 4

Summary of Mediational Analyses on Relationship between Social Anxiety
(SAD) and Liking (DFI): Standardized Regression Coefficients

	Potential Mediator			
	Self-Disclosure: Rated Intimacy	Self-Disclosure: Jourard Intimacy	Overt Signs of Anxiety	Perceived Similarity
Step 1 Regress mediator on SAD (β_{SAD})	.18	-.03	.35**	-.23*
Step 2 Regress DFI on SAD (β_{SAD})	-.24*	-.24*	-.24*	-.24*
Step 3 Regress DFI on SAD and mediator (β_{SAD}, β_{MED})	-.31** β_{MED}= .40***	-.23* .20	-.17 -.19	.09 .63***
Change from Step 2 to Step 3 significant?	No	No	No	Yes*
Criteria for Mediation Met?	No	No	No	Yes*

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
***$p<.001$

Table 5

Summary of Mediational Status of Similarity for Relationships between Liking
(DFI) and Two Independent Variables: Standardized Regression Coefficients

	Independent Variable (IV)		
	Self-Disclosure: Rated Intimacy	Self-Disclosure: Jourard Intimacy	Overt Signs of Anxiety
Step 1 Regress similarity on IV (β_{IV})	.39***	.26*	-.27*
Step 2 Regress DFI on IV (β_{IV})	.35**	.21	-.24*
Step 3 Regress DFI on IV and similarity (β_{IV}, β_{SIM})	-.12 β_{SIM}= .60***	.04 .63***	-.07 .62***
Change from Step 2 to Step 3 significant?	Yes**	Yes*	Yes**
Criteria for Mediation Met?	Yes**	No	Yes*

* $p<.05$
** $p<.01$
***$p<.001$

Figure 1. Hypothesized Mediation of Social Anxiety (SAD) - Liking (DFI)
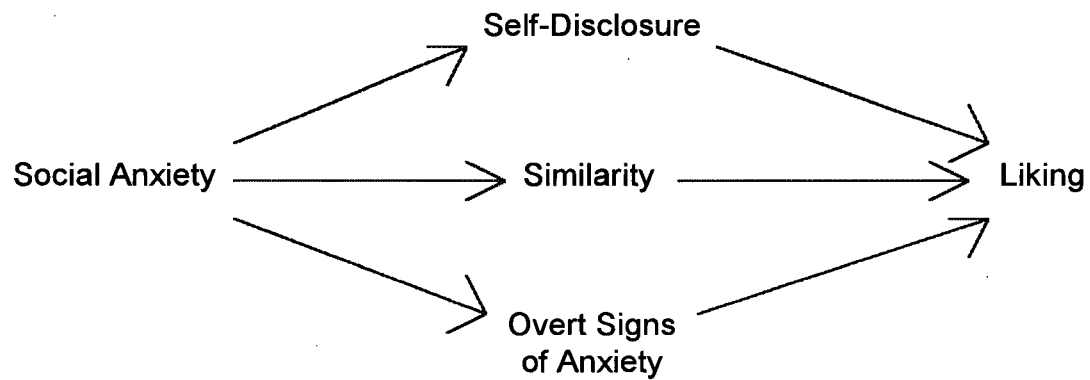Relationship - Model 1

Figure 2. Hypothesized Mediation of Social Anxiety (SAD) - Liking (DFI)
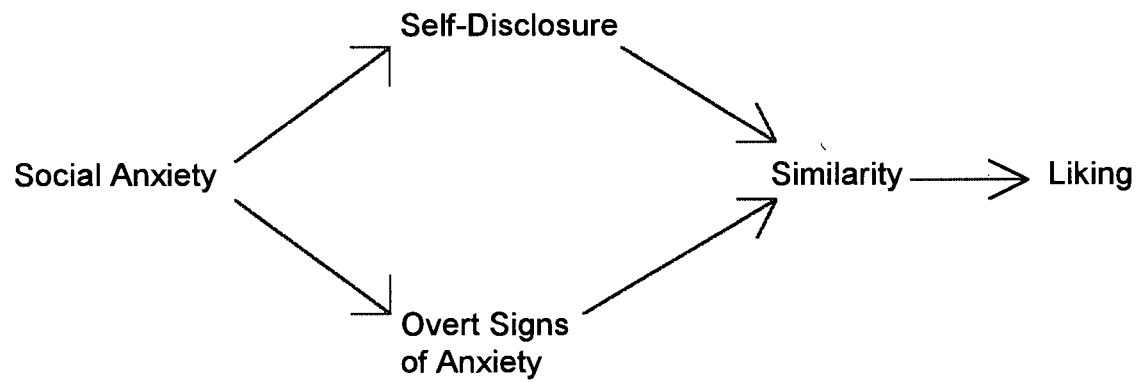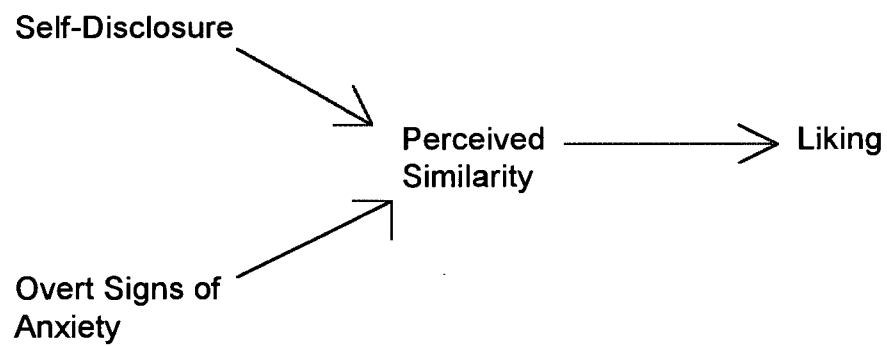Relationship - Model 2

Figure 3. Observed Mediational Pathway between Social Anxiety (SAD) and Liking (DFI)

Self-Disclosure

Perceived Similarity ⟶ Liking

Overt Signs of Anxiety

Appendix 1.

Topic List

1. What are your views on the way a husband and wife should live their marriage?

2. What are your usual ways of dealing with depression, anxiety, and anger?

3. What are the actions you have most regretted doing in your life and why?

4. What are the ways in which you feel you are most maladjusted or immature?

5. What are your guiltiest secrets?

6. What are the habits and reactions of yours that bother you at present?

7. What are the sources of strain and dissatisfaction in your relationship with the opposite sex (or your marriage)?

8. What are your favorite forms of erotic play and sexual lovemaking?

9. What are your hobbies, how do you best like to spend your spare time?

10. What were the occasions in your life on which you were the happiest?

11. What are the aspects of your daily life that satisfy and bother you?

12. What characteristics of yourself give you cause for pride and satisfaction?

13. Who are the persons in your life you most resent; why?

14. Who are the people with whom you have been sexually intimate? What were the circumstances of your relationship with each?

15. What are the unhappiest moments of your life; why?

16. What are your preferences and dislikes in music?

17. What are your personal goals for the next 10 years or so?

18. What are the circumstances under which you become depressed and when your feelings are hurt?

19. What are your most common sexual fantasies?

INTIMACY SCALE ANCHORS

1. Very Nonintimate

The person talked about very superficial issues. She said nothing about herself that was of a personal, emotional, secret, or embarrassing nature. For instance, she discussed movies, music, what she is taking at university, what she does with her spare time, or superficial descriptions of herself and/or family.

3. Somewhat Nonintimate

The person talked about somewhat more personal issues, but not on an intimate level. Generally, she said very little about herself that was of a personal, emotional, secret, or embarrassing nature. For instance, she discussed career and familial goals, what her boyfriend is like, minor conflicts with her parents, or minor disagreements with her siblings.

5. Somewhat Intimate

The person talked about some fairly intimate issues, but tended to do so in a descriptive rather an emotional or personal manner. She said things about herself that were quite personal, emotional, secret, or embarrassing, but perhaps not consistently so, or perhaps in a fashion that made you feel she was holding something back. For instance, she described her parents' divorce, family problems, or failing at school without actually revealing her personal feelings and emotions.

7. Very Intimate

The person talked about some very intimate issues. She said things about herself that were of an extremely personal, emotional, secret, or embarrassing nature. For instance, she discussed relationship problems, serious conflicts with her parents, feelings of guilt or inadequacy, death of a family member, or aspects of her parents' divorce that bother her.

Appendix 3.

Rating of the Subject Form (During Interaction)

How <u>INTIMATE</u> were the subject's disclosures?

First Disclosure
very nonintimate   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very intimate

Second Disclosure
very nonintimate   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very intimate

Third Disclosure
very nonintimate   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very intimate

Fourth Disclosure
very nonintimate   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very intimate

How <u>ANXIOUS</u> did the subject appear?

First Disclosure
not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very much

Second Disclosure
not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very much

Third Disclosure
not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very much

Fourth Disclosure
not at all   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   very much

<u>Appendix 4</u>.

<div align="center"><u>Rating of the Subject Form (Post-Interaction)</u></div>

During the discussion, to what extent ...

1. did the subject appear anxious?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

2. did the subject self-disclose?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

3. did the subject act and talk like you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

4. did the subject display hand tremors or shakiness?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

5. did the subject talk as openly and intimately as you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

6. was the subject a different kind of person than you were?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

7. did the subject display appropriate eye contact?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

8. did the subject reveal personal and intimate information about herself?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

9. did the subject stutter, omit words, or stumble while speaking?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

10. were the subject's comments as personal as yours?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

11. did the subject seem like you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

12. did the subject display facial signs of anxiety, such as blushing or a frozen expression?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all						very much

13. were the subject's comments ...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
brief						lengthy

Appendix 5.

Desire for Future Interaction Scale

Please answer these questions about your reaction to the subject.

1. Would you like to meet this person again?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

2. Would you like to spend more time with her?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

3. Would you like to work with this person?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

4. Would you like to sit next to her on a 3 hour bus ride?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

5. Would you invite this person to visit you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

6. Would you like to get to know this person better?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

7. Would you ask this person for advice?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

8. Would you consider having this person for a roommate?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
definitely not		probably not		probably yes		definitely yes

Appendix 6.

First Confederate Disclosure

Topic #7: What are the sources of strain and dissatisfaction in your relationship with the opposite sex?

[READ TOPIC]

I've been going out with the same guy for the past year now. We get along pretty well in a lot of ways; he's a university student too and we like a lot of the same things. But lately, I've started to wonder if we have as much in common as I thought we did.

He just doesn't seem ... very affectionate I guess. It really bothers me that he never gives me a kiss, or a hug, just on the spur of the moment. And in public, he never touches me, or lets me touch him, when there are other people around.

And even though we've been going out for a year, he just ... well ... doesn't seem very committed. I keep getting the feeling he fits me into his schedule, rather than fitting his schedule to us. Like, ... he cancel our plans if something comes up with the "guys". But he'll never cancel something with them if I really want to do something. I guess what it really is, is that he thinks in terms of "I", instead of "we".

Actually, I don't feel as close to him any more ... I don't feel like I care about him the way I used to. He's always saying we should maybe go out with other people. To tell you the truth, I think that might be a good idea. Considering how many good looking guys there are out there, I think I'm going to have a lot more fun than he thinks.

Appendix 7.

Second Confederate Disclosure

Topic #5: What are your guiltiest secrets?

[READ TOPIC]

Let's see, my guiltiest secrets ...Well I've always had this thing for whip cream [SMILE]. Only kidding, just checking to see if you were paying attention.

Actually it was something that happened last summer. I told my Mom that I was going camping to the Okanagan with my girlfriend for a couple of weeks, but I really went to Penticton with a bunch of my friends and our boyfriends. It was great! We'd spend all day on the beach suntanning and sleeping and then party all night. It was pretty wild. It was the first holiday I've ever been on that I needed to rest up after.

I guess the reason I feel so guilty about it is because I lied to my Mom. We've always been open with each other and I've always been honest with her. It's almost like she's an older sister sometimes, as well as a mother. I've never lied to her before, at least not about something major. I'll probably tell her about it some day. I'm not sure when, but some day.

I guess that's not very "guilty", huh? The whip cream thing probably would have been a lot more interesting. [SMILE]

Appendix 8.

<div align="center">

Third Confederate Disclosure

</div>

Topic #10: What were the occasions in your life on which you were the happiest?

[READ TOPIC]

Actually, the happiest I've ever been has been the past month [PAUSE; LOOK DOWN]. My mom and dad got back together again. [LOOK UP] They've been separated for the past couple of years.

It's so nice to have a "family" again. Everybody's so happy; we're all walking around the house with smiles on our faces. My mom and dad seem really happy. They're always together; I think they really missed each other. They're always smiling and laughing, I haven't heard my mom laugh like that in ages. She's been like a different person since Dad came back; she had been so "serious" and down all the time before. They're like a couple of kids, I keep catching them kissing and hugging all the time, sometimes in the strangest places. I'd never realized before the "romantic possibilities" a laundry room could have.

It sounds stupid, but even our dog seems happier. It's hard to describe; it's just nice to be around the house ... to have a family again. I've started to spend more time at home. I had started going out a lot because it just ... I don't know ... didn't feel right at home. But now it's just great.

Appendix 9.

Fourth Confederate Disclosure

Topic #3: What are the actions you have most regretted doing in your life and why?

[READ TOPIC]

When my dad left, ... after my dad left, I refused to talk to him or see him. He used to come over for dinner once every couple of weeks, but I would always go out. When he phoned I wouldn't talk to him. My mom and sister said I should talk to him; they kept telling me that he loved me, but I just couldn't. I was so mad at him, I felt that everything was his fault. I couldn't understand why he wanted to hurt us, ... I convinced myself that he was having a great time going out with all sorts of exciting women. It got to the point where I felt that I really hated him.

Then when he moved back in, it was really awkward for a while. I was so happy that he was back, that our family was together again, but I was still angry with him. Finally, one night we had a really long talk. I started to realize that my mom was just as much to blame for the separation as he was. And I found out that he didn't have such a great time; he spent more time sitting at home crying than he did going out. And when I realized how much he loved me, and just how badly I'd hurt him, I felt pretty bad. We both started crying and I realized I really didn't hate him; I love him very, very much. We understand each other better, and we're closer now than we ever were, so I guess it wasn't all bad.

Appendix 10.

Confederate Disclosure Content Checklists

#1:   Problems With Boyfriend

___ going out for past year
___ get along pretty well
___ he's a university student
___ like the same things
___ started to wonder lately
___ doesn't seem affectionate
___ kiss or hug on the spur of moment
___ no touching in public
___ doesn't seem committed
___ fits me into his schedule
___ canceling plans
___ thinks I, not we
___ don't feel as close
___ go out with other people
___ good looking guys

#2:   Guiltiest Secret

___ whip cream
___ checking if you're paying attention
___ happened last summer
___ told mom about trip with girlfriend
___ went with boyfriends to Penticton
___ suntanning and sleeping on beach
___ partying all night
___ had to rest up after
___ guilty because I lied to mom
___ we've always been open and honest
___ like older sister
___ never lied about something major
___ tell her someday
___ not very guilty, huh
___ whip cream better

#3: Happiest Occasion

___ past month
___ mom and dad back together
___ separated for couple of years
___ nice to have family again
___ everybody is so happy
___ walking around with smiles
___ always together
___ think they missed each other
___ mom is laughing again
___ mom is like a different person
___ mom had been so serious
___ like a couple of kids
___ laundry room (romantic possibilities)
___ even dog is happier
___ spending more time at home

#4: Actions You Have Most Regretted

___ refused to talk to or see dad
___ go out when he came over for dinner
___ refused to talk to him on phone
___ mom and sister said "he loves you"
___ mad; felt everything was his fault
___ great time; going out with exciting women
___ felt I hated him
___ awkward when he moved back
___ happy that he was back, but still angry
___ long talk one night
___ mom was as much to blame
___ he didn't have great time; crying
___ how much he loved me; how much I'd hurt him
___ both started crying; really love him
___ understand each other better and are closer