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FAKABILITY OF THE PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, PH.D., 1978

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

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A DISSERTATION

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degree of

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BY

JOHN DAVID SCHOELL

Norman, Oklahoma

1978

FAKABILITY OF THE PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	v
List of Figures	vi
Abstract	1
Introduction	2
Method	8
Results	12
Discussion	14
References	20
Appendix A. Dissertation Proposal	27
Appendix B. Additional Tables	50
Appendix C. Data	53

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1 Distribution of Subjects 22

2 POI Total Score Means 23

3 Analysis of Variance: Total Score Data Including Simple Main Effects Analysis 24

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1 Interaction Between Faking Instructions and Sophistication Levels Using Total POI Score 25

2 POI Profiles Produced by Fake Good and Fake Bad Instructions At Two Levels of Sophistication 26

FAKABILITY OF THE PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

JOHN DAVID SCHOELL

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Running Head: Fakability of the POI

ABSTRACT

The relationship between instructions, subject sophistication level and fakability of the Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) was examined. Forty-four subjects were assigned at random to a Fake Good or Fake Bad instruction condition. All subjects were classified as having high or low sophistication according to their scores on a measure of understanding of self-actualization. Subjects were assigned to one of four groups in a two by two matrix relating factors of Faking Instruction (Fake Good or Fake Bad) to Sophistication (High or Low). It was predicted that faking scores on the POI would be higher for subjects faking good than for subjects faking bad and that an interaction would be found between faking instructions and sophistication level. Upon analysis the (FxS) interaction and the Faking Instruction main effect were significant at the .05 and .01 levels respectively. Simple Main Effects analysis showed that sophisticated subjects achieved significantly higher scores than unsophisticated subjects in the Fake Good condition on six of the twelve POI subscales. No differences based on sophistication were found for the Fake Bad groups. It was concluded that all subjects understood underlying concepts of the POI well enough to fake in the directions they were instructed to fake and, further, that sophistication level does affect ability to fake.

FAKABILITY OF THE PERSONAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

The Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) was first published by Shostrom in 1963. It purports to measure dimensions of self-actualization, a concept developed by Rogers (1951, 1961) and later refined by Maslow (1954, 1962, 1971) and Shostrom (Brammer and Shostrom, 1960) himself. From the beginning, a particular distinction has been claimed for the POI: it is described in the manual (Shostrom, 1974) and in the Handbook of the POI (Knapp, 1976) as being exempt from the limitation of fakability.

Shostrom argued that the POI could not be faked because it is based on the concept of self-actualization, a concept unknown to the general public. He holds that the few individuals who have been exposed to the concept tend to produce test profiles of unusually high scores, typically above a standard score of sixty. These are easily distinguishable from profiles of truly self-actualized individuals whose scores typically fall within the standard score range of fifty to sixty, which Knapp has referred to as the "self actualizing" range. Knapp labeled the range above sixty as the "pseudo-actualizing" range. Shostrom maintained that only sophisticated individuals intent on faking would consistently achieve scores in the "pseudo-actualizing" range.

Knapp's (1976) Handbook of the POI included a chapter on fakability in which he cited several studies that supported Shostrom's contentions. Knapp referred to Braun and Asta (1969), Fisher and Silverstein (1969), Foulds and Warehime (1971), and Knapp (in Shostrom, 1974) as studies which demonstrated the inability of subjects

to fake the POI. Braun and Asta told subjects to describe an "ideal self" and Fisher and Silverstein used "good adjustment." Foulds and Warehime as well as Knapp told subjects to make a favorable impression as job applicants. In none of the four studies did the resultant profiles yield consistently higher scores than did profiles produced by subjects given standard "describe yourself as you really are" instructions. Individuals instructed to fake in Braun and Asta came the closest to demonstrating fakability with six out of twelve scale scores being significantly higher than for controls. In the other three studies subjects told to fake actually produced lower scores on a majority of the scales than those of the control groups.

Knapp did not discuss two studies which contradict the above findings. Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) both obtained "true self-actualization" results by giving subjects particular kinds of faking instructions. Braun told subjects to answer first as a typical neurotic, then as the same person would respond "after two years of therapy." Rowe told half of his subjects to answer in such a way that their discussion group leader (a young activist graduate student) would give them a high grade. The other half he told to respond so as to be positively evaluated by a "personnel officer for a traditional large-city school system." In both studies group means for the subjects representing themselves as self-actualized fell within the fifty to sixty standard score interval while subjects faking in the opposite direction achieved much lower scores.

The disparity between the results obtained by Rowe and Braun and those of the other studies cited above requires explanation: Knapp (1976) and even Braun himself (Braun and LaFaro, 1969)

view the Braun (1966) results as unrepresentative. Apparently the results of Rowe (1973) are regarded in this manner, since Knapp references the study but does not refer to it in his discussion of faking.

Another explanation could be that Braun and Rowe elicited a different set of concepts held by the subjects. In other studies subjects' conceptual basis for responding seemed to coincide with familiar cultural norms. The use of the word "job", even when qualified by "your own choice" probably evoked "Protestant ethic" norms. "Ideal self", "well-adjusted", and "normal" tap other norms which, as Shostrom (1974) points out, are different than self-actualization. For this reason, Raanan (1973) concludes that the studies showing significantly lowered POI scores under the fake good instruction may also represent successful faking. She reasoned that these subjects could be thought of as providing self-descriptions which would be very appealing to non-self-actualized employers. In contrast, Braun used "after therapy", Rowe used a counter-culture figure, and both of these instructional codes yielded self-actualization responses. These latter results seem to demonstrate that the concept of self-actualization exists in the subjects' minds and that it can be used to fake good on the POI.

Knapp (1976) also elaborated in the Handbook on Shostrom's second point, the detection of faking by individuals representing various levels of familiarity with self-actualization concepts. He listed two "lie profiles" resulting from attempts at misrepresentation. In the case of subjects' lacking specific knowledge of the instrument's conceptual basis, he notes that the profiles are charac-

terized by "extremely elevated Self-Regard (Sr) scores coupled with depressed Self-Acceptance (Sa) and Existentiality (Ex) scores."

In the case of subjects having been given specific knowledge about the test he describes the resultant profiles as "uniformly hyperelevated." The term "hyperelevated" is not further defined, but is assumed to refer to T scores above the fifty to sixty range, that range which he termed the "actualizing range."

Despite Knapp's attempts to demonstrate that the POI is unfakable or detectably fakable, four studies now exist which challenge those positions. In two of the studies, the previously mentioned Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) works, subjects were not given specific information about self-actualization, but were nevertheless able to produce group means within Knapp's "self-actualizing" range.

Two additional studies, Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976), provided information to subjects about self-actualization and used the term itself in the instructions. In Braun and LaFaro two groups of subjects attended a lecture on self-actualization between the initial POI administration and the subsequent retest. In contrast to the results of the authors' four "uneducated" groups discussed above, the results for these two groups yielded increased scores (pre-to-post) in 22 out of 24 comparisons. The increased scores did not reach Knapp's "pseudo-actualizing" range.

Goldman and Olczak (1976) used a similar design with similar results. Groups who were lectured on self-actualization and the POI were able to show significant pre-to-post increases when instructed

to fake self-actualization, and greater decreases than non-lectured subjects when instructed to be non-self-actualized. Again, increased scores attained in this study did not reach the "pseudo-actualizing" range. The non-lectured group was not able to produce any increase in scores.

To summarize, four studies can be cited which provide positive results not detectably fakable by established criteria. As previously mentioned, results of Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) are considered by Knapp to be spurious. Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976) make a further attempt to refute fakability of the POI by using the term self-actualization in the instructions. The term itself was used to refute the argument already introduced here that the instructions of the other studies were unclear and misleading. These two studies then concluded that even when the term self-actualization is included in the instructions, subjects cannot fake successfully unless told how to do so.

The original argument that many instructions are misleading may well apply to those instructions using the term self-actualization. Although self-actualization may in fact be an established concept in our culture, as the results of Rowe (1973) and Braun (1966) would indicate, those values have not usually been associated with the name of the concept. Adopted by the counter-culture ten years ago, self-actualization values have been reaching the public by way of magazines, television, popular books and other media. But rather than being referred to as components of self-actualization, these values have been associated with labels such as "sensitivity group", "counter-culture", and "unisex."

Thus, Braun's (1966) use of "therapy" and Rowe's (1973) reference to a counter-culture figure in the instructions elicited self-actualization responses whereas the term itself apparently had little meaning for subjects.

It can, therefore, be argued that the effect of teaching the concept of self-actualization in Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976) was not to acquaint them for the first time with the values. Rather it was to associate the concept name with the already known values. If this indeed was true, then the results of Fisher and Silverstein (1969), Braun and Asta (1969), Foulds and Warehime (1971), and Knapp (1974) represent not the effect of attempting to "fake good", but the effect of trying to fake when given a culturally ambiguous target to impress. Furthermore, if the alternate explanation discussed above is valid, the POI must join other instruments of its kind and be labeled as sensitive to dissembling at the discretion of the individual taking the test.

The purpose of this study is to determine if the direction of faking responses to the POI can be reliably predicted from the cultural valence of the target person to be impressed. A secondary purpose is to determine whether knowledge related to the behavior of "self-actualizing" people contributes to the ability of respondents to fake in the desired direction. It is hypothesized that faking scores on the POI will be higher for subjects instructed to impress a person characterized as non-establishment oriented compared to scores of subjects instructed to impress a conservatively oriented figure. It is further hypothesized that an interaction will be found

between degree of faking on the POI and amount of knowledge of self-actualization.

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 46 female undergraduate students in Education classes at the University of Oklahoma. They were primarily juniors and seniors with a median age of 20 and a range of 19 to 45.

Instruments

The Personality Orientation Inventory is a self-descriptive instrument developed by Shostrom (1963, 1974) for the purpose of measuring self-actualization (Maslow, 1954, 1962, 1967; Rogers, 1951, 1961; Brammer and Shostrom, 1960). The instrument consists of 150 two-choice items comprising twelve scales. In each item one of the choices is consistent with self-actualization, while the other is in opposition to the concept. Thus degree of measured self-actualization increases with the scale score. All but two of the scales share common items. The Time Competence (TC) and Inner Directedness (I) scales are mutually independent and between them contain 150 items. There is some overlap on the remaining ten scales with some items occurring on two or more scales. These ten dimensions are Self-Actualizing Value (SAV), Existentiality (Ex), Feeling Reactivity (FR), Spontaneity (S), Self Regard (Sr), Self Acceptance (Sa), Nature of Man-Constructive (Nc), Synergy (Sy), Acceptance of Aggression (A), and Capacity for Intimate Contact (C).

The Self-Actualization Sophistication Test (SAST) was developed for this study for the purpose of measuring degree of knowledge or sophistication about the concept of self-actualization.

The instrument consists of 35 items taken from the POI and recast into a true-false format. Items were selected so as to represent the twelve POI scales proportionately. The degree of sophistication is indicated by the magnitude of the score.

Procedure

All subjects received a copy of the POI test booklet and answer sheet. They were assigned to treatment groups by receiving randomly ordered instructions to Fake Good (F/G) or Fake Bad (F/B). In this way two treatment groups of 23 subjects each were formed. Two subjects in the Fake Bad group did not complete the task in the time available, and their data was therefore not included in the analysis. Next, each subject was given the SAST. In order to minimize test sensitization effects from the POI, no association between the SAST and the POI was mentioned.

Both sets of instructions told subjects to describe themselves on the POI so as to maximize their chances of impressing a particular employer. In each case the employer was the head of a school system. The Fake Good group was told to impress the director of the New School for Children, a progressive administrator who emphasized the importance of an educational environment providing opportunities for emotional as well as intellectual growth. The Fake Bad group was instructed to impress the superintendent of schools in a rural community. This administrator believed in traditional, no frills education and banned dancing in his schools. Thus the objective of the instructions was to present two distinctly different employer models, with the Fake Good employer personifying high levels of self-actualization and the Fake Bad model repre-

senting traditional values. The complete text of the instructions may be found in Appendix A, pages 43 and 44.

The SAST score was used to assign subjects to one of two levels of sophistication. Subjects whose scores fell in the top half of the distribution were assigned to the Sophistication - High (S/Hi) group while the lower half comprised the Sophistication - Low (S/Lo) group. Twelve of the S/Hi subjects belonged to the F/G group while ten were in the F/B group. The S/Lo subjects split evenly between the two treatment groups, with eleven falling in each. The result was the 2 x 2 factorial design shown in Table 1 below.

The dependent variables were the raw scores on the twelve scales of the POI and the total number of the POI items answered correctly.

Insert Table 1 about here

A t-test was run comparing the mean SAST scores of the Fake Good and Fake Bad treatment groups. As the resulting t value did not reach significance at the .05 level, the assumption of random distribution of sophistication scores was considered valid and the treatment groups comparable.

Total POI score data was analyzed with a 2 x 2 ANOVA. Table 2 shows the means for the four groups. The interaction between

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Insert Table 2 about here

Faking Instructions and Sophistication (F x S) was found to be significant at the .05 level (Table 3). The interaction is de-

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Insert Table 3 about here

---

picted graphically in Figure 1. The Faking main effect was sig-

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Insert Figure 1 about here

---

nificant at the .001 level. The Sophistication main effect would not be expected to be significant because the two subgroups within each S group were instructed to fake in opposite directions.

Simple Main Effects (Kirk, 1968) was employed to understand more fully the effect of the faking instructions on subjects representing different levels of sophistication. Table 3 includes the results of that analysis.

As indicated in Table 3, the Fake Good groups were able to achieve significantly higher total POI scores than the Fake Bad groups at both sophistication levels. The data therefore suggest that even relatively unsophisticated subjects are able to respond in the predicted direction to the faking instructions used.

However, some differences in the ability to fake are demonstrated by the results of the simple main effects analysis of the sophistication factor. Under the Fake Bad instructions, no significant difference was found between the mean scores of the S/Lo and S/Hi groups. This is in contrast to the results obtained from the groups instructed to fake good. For those subjects the S/Hi

group was able to achieve significantly higher scores than the S/Lo group. Therefore higher sophistication did seem to result in greater ability to fake good while having no significant effect on faking bad.

Following this analysis a MANOVA design was used to examine further the relationship between faking and sophistication. Dependent variables were the twelve subscales of the POI. In this analysis overall significance was found only for the Faking Instructions main effect, which was significant at the .001 level. When individual ANOVAS were performed, the Faking Instructions x Sophistication interaction was significant for four subscales (I, Ex, Sa, C); the Faking Instructions main effect was significant for all twelve subscales.

Since by inspection the subscale scores of the two Fake Good groups were significantly higher than those of the two Fake Bad groups, statistical comparisons were limited to two: Fake Good, High Sophistication vs. Fake Good, Low Sophistication; and Fake Bad, High Sophistication vs. Fake Bad, Low Sophistication. The results of these comparisons are shown in Figure 2. For the two

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Insert Figure 2 about here

---

groups instructed to fake good, the subjects who were more sophisticated achieved higher scale scores in six out of twelve cases (Tc, I, Ex, Sa, A and C) than subjects who were less sophisticated and showed a tendency to score higher on three additional scales (SAV, Fr and S). The comparison of the Fake Bad groups yielded no significant differences in the predicted direction.

As with the results from the analysis of total score, the data here indicates that faking bad can be done equally well by sophisticated and unsophisticated subjects, while faking good is done better by sophisticated individuals.

Discussion

The subject sample used in this study consisted of junior and senior female Education majors. Thus the subjects represent only one sex and were fairly homogeneous with respect to age and education. Male subjects were not included because there were very few males in the potential subject pool. However, both Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) did use males as well as females while obtaining very similar results. Generalization of these results should be limited to college populations. Since the bulk of research in which the POI has been used as an evaluation tool has also employed college samples, this limitation has little effect.

The use of a sophistication measure broadens the application of the present findings by demonstrating the nature of faking results over a range of sophistication levels.

In agreement with the first hypothesis, subjects who were instructed to impress a non-establishment figure achieved higher POI scores on all twelve scales and on total score than did subjects instructed to impress a conservatively oriented figure. As shown in Figure 2, these differences were not just statistically significant but were obvious and well defined. In fact, scale score distributions from the two treatment groups rarely even overlapped. Thus it was quite clear that subjects understood the underlying

concepts of the POI well enough to fake their responses in the predicted directions. This result confirms the earlier findings of Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973).

Also confirmed is the explanation for the failure of subjects in other studies (Braun and Asta, 1969; Fisher and Silverstein, 1969; Foulds and Warehime, 1971; Knapp, 1974) to fake the POI successfully. When the target persons to be impressed are related to conventional concepts such as "job", "work", "well adjusted", and "socially appropriate", subjects respond to those concepts. As Shostrom (1974) has pointed out, such models are distinctly different and often in opposition to the concepts of self-actualization. Therefore it seems quite logical and predictable that subjects in those studies, responding to concepts antithetical to self-actualization, produced fake good profiles which were lower in self-actualization than those achieved under standard instructions.

The results of this study demonstrate not only that subjects can fake the POI but that they are able to fake without instruction. Again this finding confirms the findings of Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973). These consistent results are in contrast to the results of other studies (Braun and LaFaro, 1969; Goldman and Olczak, 1976) in which faking good successfully occurred only after subjects underwent specific training programs in self-actualization.

As previously suggested, the explanation resolving this conflict appears to be that subjects did not need the training as such since they already were familiar with the conceptual components of self-actualization. The training merely served to

associate the instructions with the appropriate concepts in the subjects' minds.

In accordance with the second hypothesis, subjects who achieved scores in the top half of the distribution on the sophistication measure (SAST) achieved higher POI scores than the S/Lo group when instructed to fake good. Data from the Fake Bad groups suggested a trend toward the predicted relationship of higher sophistication yielding lower scores, although the results in this case did not reach significance.

Examination of the mean scores achieved by the two Fake Good groups reveals a number of important differences. As can be seen in Figure 2, the F/G, S/Hi group produced a POI score profile with a T score range of fifteen points. All of the mean scores are within Knapp's "actualizing" range of 50 to 60 except for the Existentiality scale score of 45 and the Feeling Reactivity score of 49. In contrast, the F/G, S/Lo group produced a profile ranging between T scores of 32 and 59. This range is almost twice as great as that of the more sophisticated group. Seven of the twelve S/Lo group scores were located in the 40 to 50 T score range in which most "normal" profiles are located (Shostrom, 1974; Knapp, 1976). In addition, the Existentiality score was below "normal" and four scores (Spontaneity, Self Regard, Nature of Man-Constructive and Synergy) were in the "actualizing" range. Although both groups avoided the pitfalls of producing faked scores within Knapp's "pseudo-actualizing" limits, the F/G, S/Lo profile is virtually an exact fit of Knapp's alternate description of faking good. F/G, S/Lo group scores include a high on Self-

Regard (T score of 59) coupled with depressed scores on Existentiality (T score of 32) and Self Acceptance (T score of 40). In the Handbook of the POI (1976) Knapp's fake good profile samples (pp. 70-73) show the Existentiality (T score in the 28 to 31 range) while Self Acceptance scores range from 35 to 39 and Self Regard scores range from 51 to 54.

The Fake Bad groups did not display significant differences in scores, although the more sophisticated S/Hi subgroup obtained somewhat lower scores on every POI scale. Actually, both groups produced profiles of scores which were markedly below average with the possible exception of the Self Regard and Nature of Man-Constructive scores. Thus, all subjects instructed to fake bad were successful. Fisher and Silverstein (1969) found similar results with subjects instructed to fake bad. They concluded that faking bad is a simpler task than faking good.

These findings suggest that a significant number of people selected at random from a sample of college students do understand the concept sufficiently to present themselves as self-actualized on the POI. Furthermore, everyone so instructed appears to be able to produce clearly non-self-actualized POI profiles. It is noteworthy that the subjects needed no training to produce their results. On the other hand, the scores achieved by the F/G, S/Lo group indicate that many college students do not understand self-actualization well enough to be able to fake good with total success. Thus is appears that self-actualization is neither a mysterious set of ideas generally unknown, nor is it a universally understood concept.

Some aspects of self-actualization appear to be more difficult to understand than others. The dimensions on which the S/Hi and S/Lo subgroups of the Fake Good group differed most significantly would appear to represent the least understood aspects. Three dimensions, Existentiality (E), Self Acceptance (Sa) and Capacity for Intimate Contact (C) differentiated the S/Hi from the S/Lo group at the .005 level while the other six differences (Tc, I, SAV, Fr, S, A) were less significant with alpha levels of .025 to .150. The E scale measures ability to react situationally without excessive rigidity; Sa measures acceptance of self in spite of weaknesses; and C measures ability to develop intimacy without expectations. Perhaps the reason these scales may be more difficult is that they represent ideals which are more in variance with traditional cultural values than is true for other scales.

The results of this and other studies which have demonstrated the fakability of the POI have important and obvious implications for the use of this instrument as an assessment device.

The POI has been used extensively as an evaluation tool. Knapp's Handbook cites over seventy published articles and one hundred unpublished articles and dissertations which employ the POI to assess the effects of therapy on individuals or to evaluate the qualifications of job applicants.

Contrary to the assumption of non-fakability of the POI made in this extensive body of research, it now appears that safeguards and reservations should be employed whenever this instrument is so used. Identification of obvious faking good as described by Knapp may represent a satisfactory safeguard when the POI is

applied to unsophisticated populations. However, with groups who are more sophisticated, the instrument may be of little use for assessment.

This caution is particularly applicable to studies which employ the POI in a pre-post fashion to measure the effects of individual or group therapy. A person who has undergone psychological treatment is quite often equipped with both the means and the motivation to fake in this situation. Most therapeutic approaches philosophically include self-actualization values, which are imparted to the client as part of the process. However, the probability that the client learns about these values in no way guarantees that he will actually adopt them. Nevertheless, he may be motivated to describe himself as more self-actualized on the post-therapy measure for two reasons. First, he may fake because he has invested significant amounts of time, energy and perhaps money in therapy, and so may wish to see himself as having achieved emotional growth. Second, he may wish to reward the therapist with whom he has developed a positive relationship by overestimating the degree to which he has become self-actualized.

In summary, the results of this study demonstrated that many subjects had sufficient understanding to represent themselves as being self-actualized when they perceived such behavior to be required by the situation. Contrary to previous claims, these findings indicate that when subjects are sophisticated and when there is reason to misrepresent one's self-actualization level, use of the Personal Orientation Inventory is not advisable.

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TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS

		Sophistication: High	Sophistication: Low
Faking Instructions	Good	n=12	n=11
	Bad	n=10	n=11

TABLE 2

POI TOTAL SCORE MEANS

Faking Instructions	Sophistication: High	Sophistication: Low
Good	107.17	92.37
Bad	62.70	72.09

TABLE 3

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE: TOTAL SCORE DATA
INCLUDING SIMPLE MAIN EFFECTS ANALYSIS

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Faking Instructions (F)	13005.41	1	13005.41	55.33***
F @ S/Hi	10999.61	1	10999.61	46.79***
F @ S/Lo	2260.41	1	2260.41	9.62**
Sophistication (S)	278.48	1	278.48	1.19
S @ F/G	1472.03	1	1472.03	6.26*
S @ F/B	461.94	1	461.94	1.97
F x S	1045.33	1	1045.33	4.45*
Within Groups	9402.64	40	235.07	

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

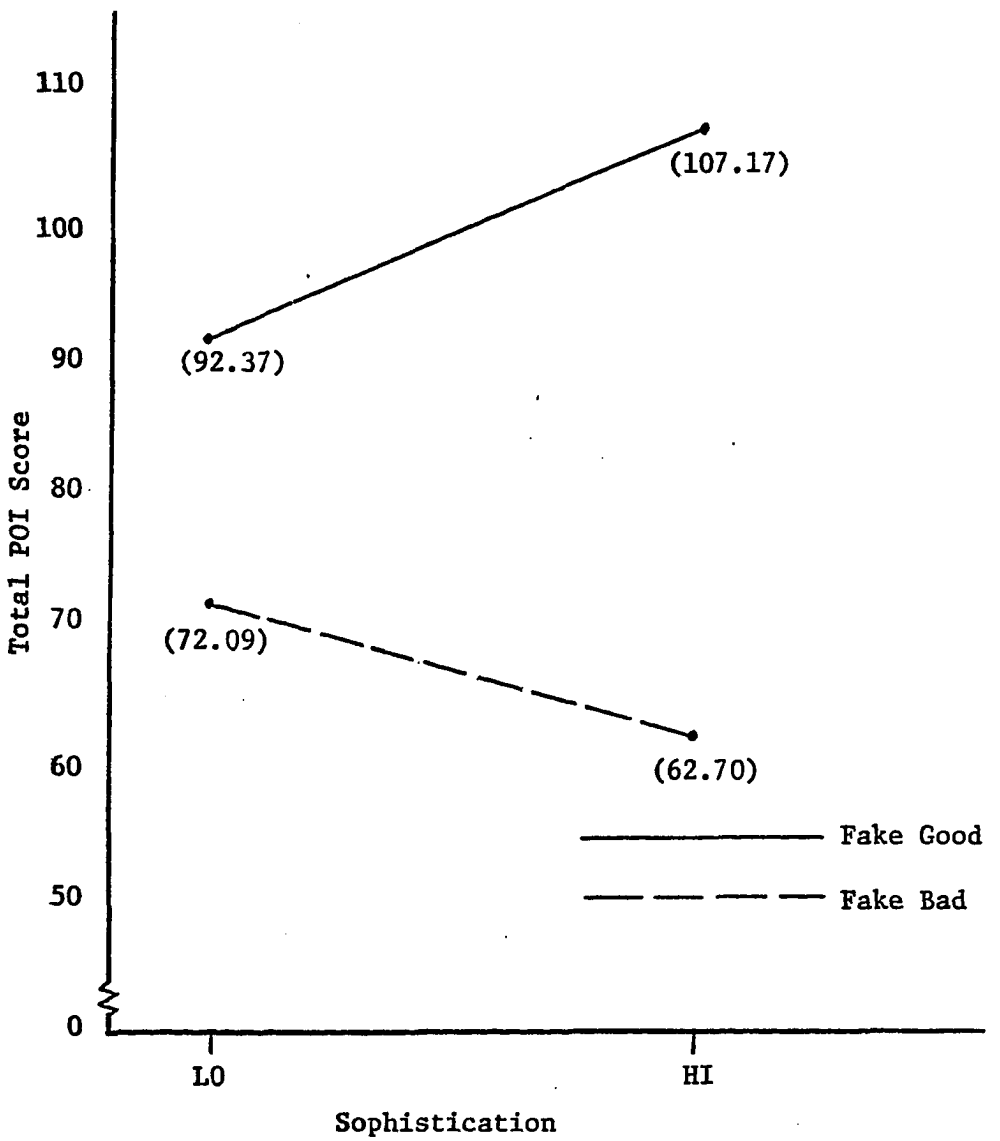

Figure 1. Interaction between faking instructions and sophistication levels using Total POI Score

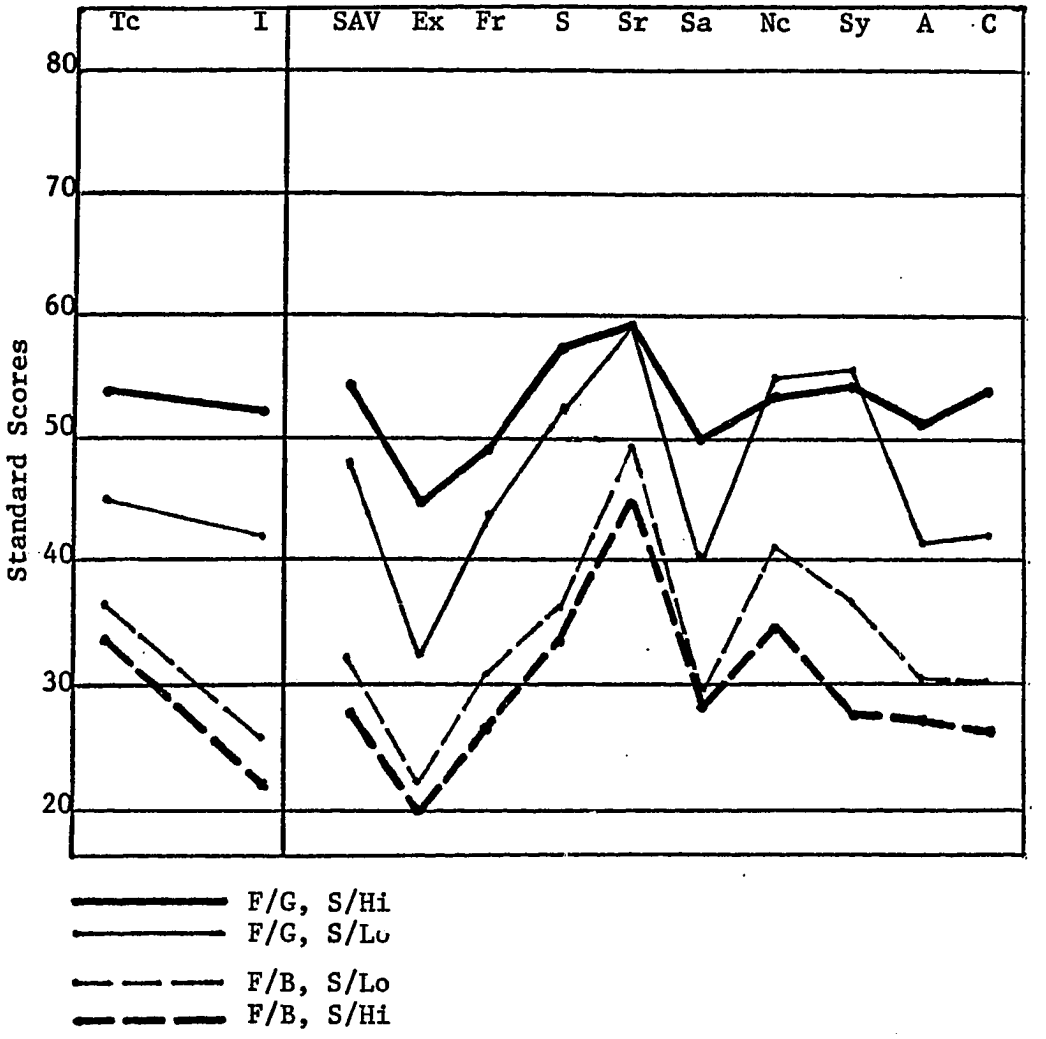

Figure 2. POI profiles produced by Fake Good and Fake Bad instructions for two levels of sophistication

APPENDIX A

DISSERTATION PROPOSAL

INTRODUCTION

The Personal Orientation Inventory (POI) was first published by Shostrom in 1963. It purports to measure dimensions of self-actualization, a concept developed by Rogers and later refined by Maslow and Shostrom himself. From the beginning, a particular distinction has been claimed for the POI: it is described in the manual (Shostrom, 1974) and in the Handbook of the POI (Knapp, 1976) as being exempt from the limitation of fakability.

As a rule, self-administered, self-descriptive instruments like the POI have been shown to be fakable, at least to some degree. Even those which do have validity scales (e.g. MMPI) are considered to be undetectably fakable by individuals who attempt to present themselves in a more positive light (faking good) or more negatively (faking bad) than is actually the case. However, Shostrom (1974) cited two reasons why the POI cannot be faked successfully. First, the keying of items on the test "is based on the direction of the self-actualizing model of personality rather than the cultural norms" (p. 22). He held that the theory of self-actualization which serves as a basis for a test is not understood or experienced by the general public because it is different from concepts of normal adjustment and mental health which come from cultural norms. Therefore, when people try to "fake good" on the POI, they adhere to the cultural norm rather than a self-actualizing one.

Second, those individuals who have been exposed to the self-actualization concept tend to overshoot the mark when attempting to fake good, producing a profile of scores which are extremely high (in

excess of a T score of 60). Knapp (1976) refers to scores above 60 as representing a "pseudo-actualizing" range (see Figure 1).

Knapp (1976) has reviewed research on the topic of faking the POI and has reached two conclusions similar to Shostrom's: (1) most people cannot fake the POI; and (2) those who are able to do so can be detected. A summary of that research follows.

Most People Cannot Fake the POI

Foulds and Warehime (1971) and Knapp (in Shostrom, 1974) told subjects to "present a favorable impression of yourself as if you are applying for a job." Foulds and Warehime added, "a job of your choice." The former authors compared the resultant mean profile with the profile obtained when subjects were given the standard test instructions (Describe yourself as you really are.). A comparison of the two profiles showed that the "fake good" instructions did not result in higher scores on ten out of the twelve scales. Knapp obtained similar results, with nine out of twelve scores indicating less self-actualization with the set of "fake good" directions than with the standard ones.

Braun and Asta (1969) gave subjects an "ideal self" set and showed mixed results. On the six scales subjects portrayed themselves as more self-actualized than under standard instructions, on four scales less.

Fisher and Silverstein (1969) instructed institutionalized felons to "simulate good adjustment" (SEA group), "simulate poor adjustment" (SPA group) or follow standard instructions in completing the POI. All three groups were told to imagine that they were portraying themselves to an administrative head of the prison where they

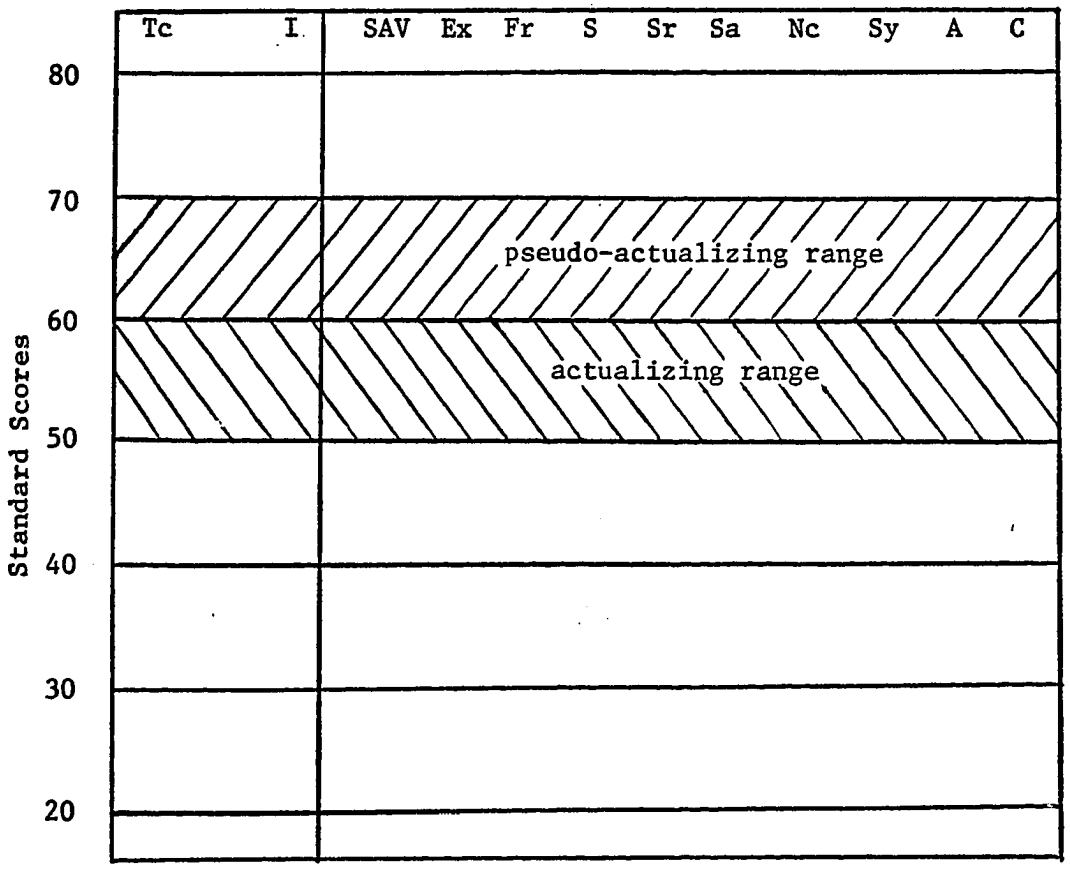

Figure 1. Location of the actualizing and pseudo-actualizing ranges

were incarcerated. Both simulation groups showed significantly lower scores than the group which followed standard instructions. These results were construed to suggest that faking bad was possible, while attempts at faking good were once again shown to fail.

In none of the four studies were the summary scales, Time Competence and Inner Directedness, altered in the desired direction. Knapp concluded that a "fake good" set thus results in a profile expressing less self-actualization than expressed by the non-faked profile.

Knapp did not discuss two studies which contradict the above findings. Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) both obtained "true self-actualization" results by giving subjects particular kinds of faking instructions. Braun told subjects to answer first as a "typical neurotic", then as the same person would respond "after two years of therapy". Rowe told half of his subjects to answer in such a way that their discussion group leader (a young activist graduate student) would give them a high grade. The other half he told to respond so as to be positively evaluated by a "personnel officer for a traditional large-city school system." The "fake good" and "fake bad" results from both studies are shown in Figure 2.

The disparity between the results obtained by Rowe and Braun and those of the other studies cited above requires explanation : Knapp (1976) and even Braun himself (Braun and LaFaro, 1969) view the Braun (1966) results as unrepresentative. Apparently the results of Rowe (1973) are regarded in this manner, since Knapp references the study but does not refer to it in his discussion of faking.

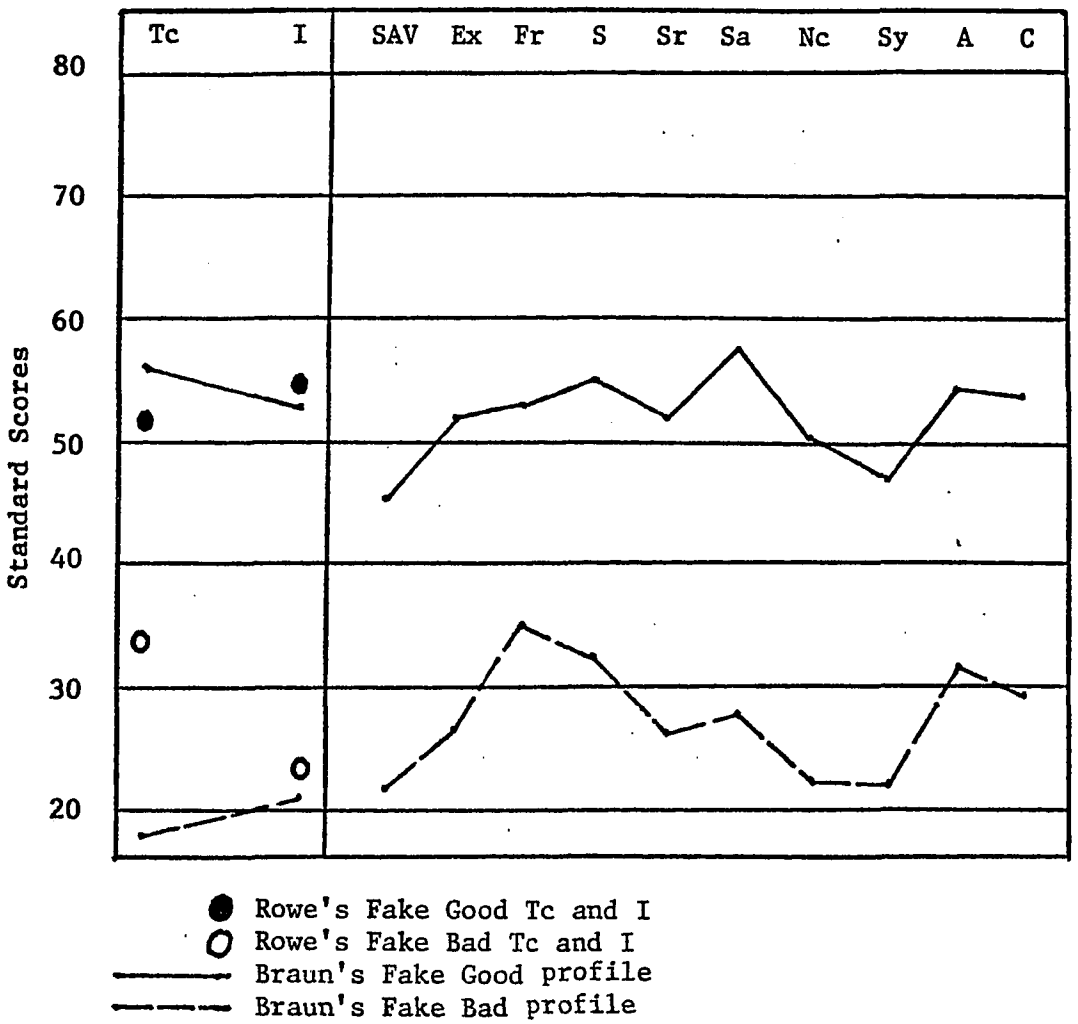

Figure 2. Results of the Braun (1969) and Rowe (1973) studies

Another explanation could be that Braun and Rowe elicited a different set of concepts held by the subjects. In other studies their conceptual basis for responding seemed to coincide with familiar cultural norms. The use of the word "job", even when qualified by "your own choice" probably evoked "Protestant ethic" norms. "Ideal self", "well adjusted", and "normal" tap into other norms which, as Shostrom (1974) points out, are different than self-actualization. For this reason, Raanan (1973) concludes that the studies showing significantly lowered POI scores under the fake good instruction may also represent successful faking. She reasons that these subjects could be thought of as providing self-descriptions which would be very appealing to non-self-actualized employers. In contrast, Braun used "after therapy", Rowe used a counter-culture figure, and both of these instructional codes yielded self-actualization responses. These latter results seem to demonstrate that the concept of self-actualization exists in the subjects' minds and that it can be used to fake good on the POI.

The sensitivity of the POI to change in key words in the instructions is illustrated by comparing the results of Braun (1966) to those of Braun and LaFaro (1969). In the 1969 work the instructions were changed from "two years of therapy" to "make a good impression" or "appear well adjusted". Neither of these two instructions yielded an increase in scores compared to standard instruction results. Results from the other two groups in this study who received different instructions and who were taught about the underlying concepts will be discussed below.

Successful Attempts at Faking Can Be Recognized

Knapp (1976) lists two "lie profiles" resulting from attempts to fake the POI. In the case of subjects' lacking specific knowledge of the instrument's conceptual basis, he notes that the profiles are characterized by "extremely elevated Self Regard (Sr) scores coupled with depressed Self-Acceptance (Sa) and Existentiality (E) scores." In the case of the subjects having been given specific knowledge about the test he describes the resultant profiles as "uniformly hyperelevated". The term "hyperelevated" is not further defined, but is assumed to refer to T scores above the fifty to sixty range, that range which he termed the "actualizing range" (Fig. 1). Thus Knapp's criteria coincide closely with those cited by Shostrom.

Four studies now exist in which subjects were instructed to fake and produced profiles which did not show depressed Sa and Ex scores, an elevated Sr score or "uniform hyperelevation." Rather, the profiles were within or close to Knapp's "actualizing range." In two of the studies, the previously mentioned Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) works, subjects were not given specific information about self-actualization, but were nevertheless able to fake successfully.

Two additional studies, Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976), provided information to subjects about self-actualization and used the term itself in the instructions. In Braun and LaFaro two groups of subjects attended a lecture on self-actualization between the initial POI administration and the subsequent retest. In contrast to the results of the authors' four

"uneducated" groups discussed above, the results for these two groups yielded increased scores (pre-to-post) in 22 out of 24 comparisons. The increased scores did not reach Knapp's "pseudo-actualizing" range.

Goldman and Olczak (1976) used a similar design with similar results. Groups who were lectured on self-actualization and the POI were able to show significant pre-to-post increases when instructed to fake self-actualization, and greater decreases than non-lectured subjects when instructed to be non-self-actualized. Again, increased scores attained in this study did not reach the "pseudo-actualizing range." The non-lectured group was not able to produce any increase in scores.

In an often cited but flawed study, Warehime, Routh and Foulds (1974) did not demonstrate subjects' ability to fake the POI after instruction. However, their results appear to be an artifact of faulty procedure. They did show that subjects could be trained in a "programmed learning" design to respond in the direction of self-actualization on a small sample of POI items. They then hypothesized that subjects who scored high on a measure of social desireability needs would produce significantly higher POI profiles after training in the concept of self-actualization than subjects who scored low. This hypothesized interaction was not demonstrated. No groups produced profiles in the desired range. The results of this study are often cited as further evidence for the resistance of the POI to faking. However, this argument is greatly weakened by the fact that after training subjects were not specifically asked to fake, but rather were given the standard instructions only. Hence, there was

no reason or motivation for the subjects to fake, even though training data suggested that they could.

To summarize, four studies can be cited which provide positive results not detectably fakable by established criteria. As previously mentioned, results of Braun (1966) and Rowe (1973) are considered by Knapp to be spurious. Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976) made a further attempt to refute fakability of the POI by using the term self-actualization in the instructions. The term itself was used to refute the argument already used here that the instructions of the other studies were unclear and misleading. These two studies then concluded that even when the term self-actualization is included in the instruction, subjects cannot fake successfully unless told how to do so.

The original argument that many instructions are misleading may well apply to those instructions using the term self-actualization. Although self-actualization may in fact be an established concept in our culture, as the results of Rowe (1973) and Braun (1966) would indicate, those values have not usually been associated with the name of the concept. Adopted by the counter-culture ten years ago, self-actualization values have been reaching the public by way of magazines, television, popular books and other media. But rather than being referred to as components of self-actualization, these values have been associated with lables such as "sensitivity group", "unisex" and "counter-culture."

Thus, Braun's use of "therapy" and Rowe's reference to a counter-culture figure in the instructions elicited self-actualization responses whereas the term itself apparently had little meaning for subjects.

It can, therefore, be argued that the effect of teaching the concept of self-actualization in Braun and LaFaro (1969) and Goldman and Olczak (1976) was not to acquaint them for the first time with the values. Rather, it was to associate the concept name with the already known values. If this indeed were true, the results of Fisher and Silverstein (1969), Foulds and Warehime (1971), and Knapp (1974) represent not the effect of attempting to "fake good", but the effect of trying to fake when given a culturally ambiguous target to impress. And if the alternate explanation discussed above is valid, the POI must join other instruments of its kind and be labeled as sensitive to dissembling at the discretion of the individual taking the test.

Statement of the Problem

The proposed study will attempt to determine if the direction of faking responses to the POI can be reliable predicted from the cultural valence of the target person to be impressed. A secondary purpose is to determine whether knowledge related to the behavior of "self-actualizing" people contributes to the ability of respondents to fake in the desired direction.

Hypotheses

1. Faking scores on the POI will be higher for subjects instructed to impress a person characterized as non-establishment oriented compared to scores of subjects instructed to impress a conservatively oriented figure.

2. An interaction will be found between degree of faking on the POI and amount of knowledge of self-actualization.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects will be forty undergraduate students in Education classes. They will be randomly assigned to two treatment groups, the Fake Good (F/G) and Fake Bad (F/B) groups.

Instruments

The Personality Orientation Inventory is a self-descriptive instrument developed by Shostrom (1963; 1974) for the purpose of measuring self-actualization. The instrument consists of 150 two-choice items comprising twelve scales. In each item one of the choices is consistent with self-actualization, while the other is in opposition to the concept. Thus degree of measured self-actualization increases with the scale score. All but two of the scales share common items. The Time Competence (TC) and Inner Directedness (I) Scales are independent and between them contain all 150 items. A brief description of the scales is listed below (Shostrom, 1974, p. 5).

1. Time Competence (TC) measures degree to which one is present oriented (23 items).
2. Inner Directedness (I) measures degree to which reactivity is directed toward self versus toward others (127 items).
3. Self-Actualizing Value (SAV) measures affirmation of primary values of self-actualizing persons (26 items).
4. Existentiality (Ex) measures ability to react situationally without rigid adherence to principles (32 items).
5. Feeling Reactivity (FR) measures sensitivity of responsiveness to one's own needs and feeling (23 items).
6. Spontaneity (S) measures freedom to react spontaneously or to be oneself (18 items).

7. Self Regard (Sr) measures affirmation of self because of worth or strength (16 items).

8. Self Acceptance (Sa) measures acceptance of self in spite of weaknesses (26 items).

9. Nature of Man (Nc) measures degree of constructive view of nature of man (16 items).

10. Synergy (Sy) measures ability to accept dichotomies (9 items).

11. Acceptance of Aggression (A) measures ability to accept one's natural aggressiveness rather than denying or repressing it (25 items).

12. Capacity for Intimate Contact (C) measures ability to develop intimate relationships unencumbered by expectations and obligations (28 items).

The Self-Actualization Sophistication Test (SAST) (Appendix A) was developed for this study for the purpose of measuring degree of knowledge or sophistication about the concept of self-actualization. The instrument consists of 35 items taken from the POI and recast into a true-false format. Items were selected so as to represent the twelve POI scales proportionately. The degree of sophistication is indicated by the magnitude of the score.

Procedure

All subjects will receive a copy of the POI test booklet and answer sheet. They will be assigned to treatment groups by receiving randomly ordered instructions to fake good or fake bad. In this way two treatment groups of twenty subjects each will be formed. The instructions are included in Appendix B. Next, each subject will be given the SAST. In order to minimize test sensitization effects from the POI, no association between the SAST and the POI will be mentioned.

The SAST score will be used to assign subjects to one of two levels of sophistication. Subjects whose scores fall in the top half of the distribution will be assigned to the Sophistication-High (S/Hi) group while the lower half will fill the Sophistication-Low (S/Lo) group. The resulting design will be the 2 x 2 factorial shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Design of the Experiment

Faking Instructions	Sophistication Level: High	Sophistication Level: Low
Good	F/G, S/Hi	F/G, S/Lo
Bad	F/B, S/Hi	F/B, S/Lo

Measures

The dependent variables will be the raw scores on the twelve scales of the POI and the total number of POI items answered correctly.

Analysis

A t test will be used to determine if a significant difference exists between SAST scores of the two treatment groups, Fake Good and Fake Bad. If not, the subdivision of the treatment groups into the High and Low groups on the basis of sophistication will be included in the analysis.

The data from each dependent variable will be analyzed by a 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance.

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PROPOSAL APPENDIX A

SELF-ACTUALIZATION SOPHISTICATION TEST

S A S T

Instructions The purpose of this test is to determine how accurately you can predict the thoughts, feelings and behavior of the particular kind of person described below.

This person can be described as:

living in the present	having positive beliefs about man
independent	self-supportive
self-actualized	tuned in to own needs
expressing feelings freely	flexible
accepting self and others	high self-worth
warm	using talents fully

Below are 35 statements. If you think a statement agrees with the description of the person described above, mark the T (true) space after this statement. If you think a statement is not in agreement, mark the F (false) space.

Name_____

The person described above:	T	F
1. feels obligated to return a friend's favor.	___	___
2. is primarily concerned with self-improvement.	___	___
3. feels guilty when selfish.	___	___
4. tries to avoid anger.	___	___
5. has feelings of self-worth based largely on accomplishments.	___	___
6. believes the pursuit of self-interest is opposite to interest in others.	___	___
7. is bothered by fears of being inadequate.	___	___
8. believes reasons are needed to justify feelings.	___	___
9. believes impressing others is more important than expressing oneself.	___	___
10. very often strives to predict what will happen in the future.	___	___
11. welcomes criticism as an opportunity for growth.	___	___
12. feels free to reveal weaknesses at times.	___	___
13. assumes responsibility for other people's feelings.	___	___

	T	F
14. feels free to be oneself and bear the consequences.	___	___
15. already knows everything necessary about own feelings.	___	___
16. hardly ever laughs at a dirty joke.	___	___
17. thinks that self-interest is unnatural.	___	___
18. actively attempts to avoid embarrassment.	___	___
19. prefers to use good things now rather than save them for future use.	___	___
20. is ashamed of some emotions.	___	___
21. believes it is better to be popular than be yourself.	___	___
22. spends more time living than preparing to live.	___	___
23. believes if you really love yourself, everybody will love you.	___	___
24. can let others be in control.	___	___
25. finds people as they are sometimes annoying.	___	___
26. is not afraid to be tender.	___	___
27. believes its a good idea to think about your greatest potential.	___	___
28. feels the need to be doing something significant all the time.	___	___
29. believes that men and women must be both yielding and assertive.	___	___
30. likes to participate actively in intense discussions.	___	___
31. sometimes feels angry enough to want to hurt or destroy others.	___	___
32. feels certain and secure in relationships with others	___	___
33. likes to withdraw from others sometimes	___	___
34. finds some people dull or uninteresting.	___	___
35. believes people are both good and evil.	___	___

PROPOSAL APPENDIX B

FAKING INSTRUCTIONS

1. Fake Good Instructions

This is an exercise to see how well you can fake answers to a personality test.

Your objective is to answer the questions so as to look like a "dynamite" teacher to the director of the school described below. You want very much to get a teaching job in this school.

The director of the New School for Children sees the typical public school as just a place of public instruction which severely limits the relations between teachers and students, unlike his own school.

He views his school as an environment for emotional as well as intellectual growth. He thinks that the relationships between his teachers and the children are the heart of the school program. The most unusual thing about the school is the kind of freedom experienced by the children and the teachers alike.

This test consists of pairs of numbered statements. Read each statement and decide which one of each pair make you sound more like the person who will get the job described above.

REMEMBER Your task is to make yourself out to be the kind of person who will look better qualified for the teaching job than anyone else to the director of this school.

2. Fake Bad Instructions

This is an exercise to see how well you can fake answers to a personality test.

Your objective is to answer the questions so as to look like a "dynamite" teacher to the superintendent of the school described below. You want very much to get a teaching job at this school.

The superintendent believes in basic, no frills education. He has ordered the McGuffey's Reader (a 19th Century series of reading books) for the elementary grades and limits the extra-curricular activities in high school to football, basketball, pep club and band.

The school houses all twelve grade in two buildings and is located in a small rural community. The town does not allow public dancing because of a fear that drugs would be sold if large groups of teen-agers congregated.

This test consists of pairs of numbered statements. Read each statement and decide which one of each pair makes you sound more like the person who will get the job described above. Mark the answers on the answer sheet.

REMEMBER Your task is to make yourself out to be the kind of person who will look better qualified for the teaching job than anyone else to the superintendent of this school.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL TABLES

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF ANOVAS FOR THE TWELVE POI SUBSCALE SCORES: EFFECTS OF FAKING INSTRUCTIONS AND SOPHISTICATION LEVELS

Scale	F Values			
	FxS	p less than	F	p less than
Tc	3.537	0.068	38.142	0.001
I	4.208	0.048	52.682	0.001
SAV	1.941	0.172	38.024	0.001
Ex	5.715	0.022	31.008	0.001
Fr	2.605	0.115	40.472	0.001
S	2.768	0.105	42.187	0.001
Sr	0.635	0.431	21.266	0.001
Sa	7.812	0.008	34.655	0.001
Nc	0.469	0.498	17.465	0.001
Sy	1.469	0.233	31.135	0.001
A	3.855	0.057	30.919	0.001
C	6.589	0.015	48.623	0.001

TABLE 5
t RATIO COMPARISONS OF S/HI AND S/LO
GROUP MEANS UNDER INSTRUCTION TO
FAKE GOOD OR FAKE BAD

	FAKE GOOD (N =23)				FAKE BAD (N=21)				
Scale	S/Hi	S/Lo	diff.	t	MS	S/Lo	S/Hi	diff.	t
Tc	18.750	16.545	2.205	2.306**	5.240	13.727	13.099	0.628	0.620
I	88.417	75.818	12.599	2.198**	188.858	54.727	49.600	6.005	0.854
SAV	21.250	19.545	1.705	1.210	11.429	14.636	13.600	1.036	0.701
Ex	19.167	12.727	6.440	3.135***	24.256	7.558	7.200	0.358	0.166
Fr	15.000	13.272	1.728	1.385*	8.953	9.000	7.800	1.200	0.917
S	14.000	12.182	1.818	1.378*	9.034	7.818	6.600	1.218	0.928
Sr	14.417	14.182	0.235	0.248	5.159	11.636	10.600	1.036	1.044
Sa	16.750	13.083	3.667	2.732***	10.351	9.091	8.400	0.691	0.491
Nc	13.083	13.182	-0.099		5.435	10.727	9.600	1.127	1.106
Sy	7.833	7.860	-0.027		2.122	5.727	4.800	0.927	1.458*
A	16.916	13.727	3.189	2.262**	11.442	10.091	9.300	0.791	0.535
C	19.917	15.182	4.735	3.010***	14.224	10.363	9.000	1.363	0.827

*** $p < .005$
** $p < .025$
* $p < .100$

APPENDIX C

DATA

APPENDIX C

DATA: SUBJECT SAST SCORES AND FAKED POI SCORES

Subject I.D. No.	SAST	POI Scores Tc	I	SAV	Ex	Fr	S	Sr	Sa	Nc	Sy	A	C	Total Score
F/G, S/Hi group														
101	28	19	94	21	21	14	14	16	21	11	6	13	22	113
103	30	18	77	21	14	14	14	14	14	12	8	16	16	95
104	30	19	90	22	20	15	16	16	15	14	9	18	20	109
106	30	18	88	23	17	16	16	15	15	13	8	16	18	106
109	27	17	67	17	10	11	11	14	13	13	7	12	15	84
111	29	17	67	19	11	11	10	14	11	13	8	13	15	84
112	31	19	76	18	17	12	12	14	13	12	7	13	21	95
117	31	20	112	24	31	19	18	16	23	13	8	22	26	132
119	33	20	100	24	23	17	15	15	18	15	9	20	23	120
120	26	18	90	21	18	15	12	11	19	14	7	18	19	108
121	29	18	83	21	16	15	12	12	15	13	8	19	18	101
123	34	22	117	24	32	21	18	16	24	14	9	23	26	139
F/G, S/Lo group														
102	25	19	90	22	21	15	14	16	14	14	9	16	21	109
105	26	18	100	22	23	19	16	16	18	13	9	17	24	118
106	25	13	62	20	8	15	9	11	5	12	6	11	13	75
107	21	17	66	18	8	13	10	15	10	12	7	14	10	83
110	24	14	63	19	8	8	9	14	10	13	7	11	12	77
113	26	20	83	21	14	14	15	15	13	16	9	16	14	103
114	26	15	95	21	19	17	16	14	14	15	8	15	22	110
115	21	19	78	22	8	13	14	14	15	16	9	15	13	97
116	26	16	64	18	10	9	11	14	11	13	7	10	12	80
118	25	16	75	16	12	14	11	14	13	12	7	14	15	91
122	25	15	58	16	9	9	9	13	9	9	6	12	11	73

APPENDIX C (CONT.)

Subject I.D. No.	SAST	POI Scores Tc	I	SAV	Ex	Fr	S	Sr	Sa	Nc	Sy	A	C	Total Score
F/B, S/Hi group														
202	28	13	44	12	7	7	6	7	9	8	4	6	6	57
204	34	11	45	12	6	8	4	11	6	12	5	5	6	56
205	31	9	33	9	3	2	3	8	6	7	4	5	7	42
208	28	11	47	11	7	7	6	8	11	9	5	11	8	58
209	31	12	59	16	8	10	8	13	10	9	5	15	11	71
216	29	15	54	15	5	8	9	12	10	13	4	8	8	69
217	28	14	31	11	4	4	2	7	5	6	3	4	5	45
218	28	14	60	17	11	11	9	11	10	11	7	16	13	74
219	29	17	73	20	12	12	14	15	9	14	7	12	15	90
220	32	15	50	13	9	9	5	14	8	7	4	11	11	65
F/B, S/Lo group														
201	24	14	34	4	4	4	2	6	9	6	2	5	6	48
203	20	12	56	15	8	7	7	14	7	15	6	8	10	68
207	26	6	38	9	4	8	4	7	5	8	2	5	9	44
210	24	17	61	16	9	7	9	13	11	14	7	10	10	78
211	23	13	73	22	15	10	12	13	12	10	7	14	15	86
212	25	14	61	17	9	13	9	12	10	13	6	12	9	75
213	25	16	61	16	9	10	10	13	7	13	6	10	12	77
214	26	15	64	19	8	14	11	14	12	9	7	14	14	79
215	25	14	55	17	9	8	8	13	8	12	8	12	11	69
221	25	15	52	14	8	9	9	12	12	9	5	9	8	67
223	22	15	47	12	9	9	5	11	7	9	7	12	10	62