

Record Keeping in Two Types of Relationships

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On the basis of a distinction between communal and exchange relationships (Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982), the following predictions were made: (a) Members of exchange relationships would keep track of individual inputs into joint tasks and (b) members of communal relationships would not. These hypotheses were tested in three studies. In each study, subjects worked on a task with a partner with whom they (a) desired or had a communal relationship or (b) desired or had an exchange relationship. The task involved locating and circling number sequences in a large matrix. Whether subjects used a pen of the same or of a different color from that used by their partner served as the dependent measure. If partners worked with pens of the same color individual inputs were obscured. If they worked with different color pens, individual inputs were clear. Given this, if the proportion of subjects in a condition choosing different color pens was greater than 50% (chance), it was taken as evidence that subjects in that condition were trying to keep track of individual inputs. If this proportion was less than 50%, it was taken as evidence that subjects were trying to avoid keeping track of individual inputs. As predicted, in all three studies the proportion of subjects in the exchange conditions who chose a different color pen was significantly greater than 50% and was significantly greater than the proportion of subjects in the communal conditions who chose a different color pen. Also as expected, in no study was this percentage greater than 50% in the communal conditions. Indeed when subjects anticipated rather than had an existing communal relationship with the other (Study 1), the proportion of communal subjects choosing a different color pen was significantly lower than 50%.

Recently, together with Mills, I (Clark & Mills 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982) drew a distinction between *communal* and *exchange* relationships. People typically have exchange relationships with strangers, acquaintances, and people with whom they do business. In these relationships, members give benefits with the expectation of receiving comparable benefits soon afterward.¹ When they receive a benefit, they incur a debt to return a comparable benefit soon afterward. Members of such relationships feel no special responsibility for one another beyond that felt for any other human. In contrast, people typically

have communal relationships with family members, friends, and romantic partners. In these relationships, members feel a special responsibility for the needs of the other. They benefit the other in response to the other's needs and in order to demonstrate concern for the other. In such relationships, receipt of a benefit does not create a specific debt or obligation to return a comparable benefit soon afterward. Neither does it alter the general obligation members have to be responsive to one another's needs.

Support for this distinction has now been provided by a series of studies on determinants of attraction (Clark & Mills, 1979), outsiders' perceptions of relationships (Clark, 1981), feelings of exploitation (Waddell &

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¹ Here a benefit is defined as something of value which one member of a relationship intentionally gives to the other. Benefits may be rewarding, but are distinguished from rewards which are derived from a relationship but which the other did not intentionally give.

Clark, 1982, April), and decision-making styles (Sholar & Clark, 1982, April). For example, failure to repay a benefit has been shown to decrease attraction and to increase feelings of exploitation in exchange but not in communal relationships (Clark & Mills, 1979, Study 1; Waddell & Clark, 1982, Study 1), whereas taking one another's needs into account has been shown to be an important determinant of attraction, decision making styles, and feelings of exploitation in communal but not exchange relationships (Sholar & Clark, 1982; Waddell & Clark, 1982).

Record Keeping in Relationships

The present series of studies was designed to obtain further support for the communal-exchange distinction. In these studies, unobtrusive measures were taken of whether or not members of each type of relationship would, in private, strive to keep track of inputs into joint tasks. I predicted that members of exchange relationships would keep track of inputs into joint tasks. Keeping track of inputs is necessary in order to allocate benefits in proportion to those inputs. In contrast, I predicted that members of communal relationships would *not* keep track—such record keeping is not required in order to distribute rewards according to needs or to demonstrate concern for the other.

It is important to test this hypothesis because some of the prior evidence supporting the communal-exchange distinction allows for the possibility that people in communal as well as in exchange relationships do follow basically the same rules for giving and receiving benefits. Specifically, in both types of relationships people may keep careful track of inputs into the relationship and may follow the same (exchange) rule for allocating benefits. People in communal relationships simply may not require or want repayments for these specific inputs in the short run, whereas members of exchange relationships will. If, however, evidence can be found that records are kept in exchange but not in communal relationships that would provide important new support for the idea that distinct rules govern the giving and receiving of benefits in communal and exchange relationships.²

Existing Evidence on Record Keeping

The literature to date provides little evidence on whether or not people keep track of inputs into joint tasks. What evidence is available was collected from pairs of strangers and thus seems most relevant to exchange relationships. This evidence is consistent with the present hypothesis that members of exchange relationships will keep track of inputs into such tasks. Specifically some studies have examined reward allocations made by one member of a pair of strangers following the pair's joint performance of a task (Lane & Messé, 1971; Lane, Messé, & Phillips, 1971). In these studies, subjects chose to divide rewards in proportion to contributors' inputs into the joint task. This result clearly implies that the strangers in these studies did keep track of individual inputs into joint tasks. To allocate rewards according to inputs, they had to do so.

Unfortunately, though, no existing research clearly indicates that members of communal relationships will not keep track of inputs into joint tasks for which there will be a reward. A few studies do show that friends who participate in such joint tasks tend not to allocate rewards for joint tasks according to inputs, but rather according to a need-based or equality principle (e.g., Mikula & Schwinger, 1973, as cited by Mikula, 1980). These results are certainly consistent with the present reasoning. However, they leave open the possibility that subjects did keep track of inputs but nonetheless divided rewards according to need or equally following a specific task in order to create a good appearance and/or good feelings in the short run.

A Measure of Record Keeping

The key to testing the present hypotheses was finding an appropriate measure of record keeping. The following method was devised. Subjects would be presented with a joint task for which there would be a reward. This task

² Note that others have also suggested that the rules governing the giving and receiving of benefits may depend on relationship type (e.g. Deutsch, 1975; Lerner, Miller, & Holmes, 1976; Leventhal, 1976).

would require repeated responses by both people made in ink. The "other" would begin first using one color pen. Then the subject would have to choose a pen from among two available—one of the same color used by the other and one of a different color. Which one the subject used would be observed. Use of a different color pen would make it obvious how much work each person did. Use of the same color pen would obscure who did what. Of course, any given subject might use the same or a different color pen just by chance. Thus this measure does not allow any inferences about whether a particular subject wishes to keep track of individual inputs. However, it does permit inferences about groups of people. Specifically, if a different color pen is chosen by significantly more than 50% of the subjects in a particular group, that indicates subjects are making an effort to keep track of inputs. If a different color pen is chosen by significantly fewer than 50% of the subjects in a group, that indicates they are avoiding keeping track of inputs. Finally, if about 50% of the subjects choose a different color pen, that indicates either that they are not paying attention to keeping track or that individual differences are determining whether or not they keep track.

Specific Hypotheses

In this research, the following hypotheses were tested: (a) People who have or desire exchange relationships will make an effort to keep track of inputs into joint tasks. (b) People who have or desire a communal relationship with another will *not* make an effort to keep track of inputs into joint tasks.

These hypotheses were tested in three studies. In Study 1 relationship type was manipulated. In Studies 2 & 3 subjects in the communal conditions participated along with an existing friend, whereas subjects in the exchange conditions participated with a stranger.

Study 1

Method

Overview. Male subjects participated in this study along with an attractive female confederate (named Paula).

Type of relationship expected was manipulated in much the same way as was done in earlier studies (Clark & Mills, 1979). Specifically, in the communal conditions subjects were informed that the other was new at the university and anxious to meet people. In the exchange conditions they were informed that the other was married. The confederate always started a joint task working in red or black ink and the subject finished it. Whether subjects picked the same or a different color pen from that used by the confederate was recorded.

Subjects. Thirty-three male undergraduates served as subjects. They either partially fulfilled a class requirement by participating, or were paid. Each was randomly assigned to either the communal or exchange condition.³

Procedure On arrival, subjects were greeted and seated in a room. An attractive female confederate had apparently just arrived and was seated in the same room.

The experimenter introduced the confederate, Paula, to the subject. Then the experimenter began explaining the study. It supposedly dealt with workers' performance and attitudes. The experimenter explained that one factor that might influence productivity and attitudes and the only factor to be varied in their particular session was how incentives were allocated to workers. To investigate this factor she had designed two group tasks for which there would be joint rewards and one individual task for which subjects would receive rewards individually. Subjects would work on all three tasks and would receive either group or individual rewards after each one. Following each group task one person would receive the joint reward and would be responsible for dividing that reward between the two people. (As will become evident shortly, subjects only worked on the individual task and one joint task after which the study ended.) In order to lend credence to the cover story, subjects were also told they would fill out questionnaires after the tasks.

The first group task was explained next. The experimenter held up a large matrix of numbers (15 columns and 26 rows), explaining to the subject and confederate that they would work jointly on a "standard serial recognition task." Specifically, she would provide a list of 12 number sequences and they were to locate and circle instances of these sequences. The sequences had been embedded horizontally, vertically, or diagonally in the matrix. Each would take a turn searching for sequences. The experimenter emphasized that there were numerous sequences to find, so the pair would not run out. Following this task the second person was to count the number of sequences found by the team and the experimenter would give that person a joint reward based on that total. The second person would be in charge of dividing it between him or herself and the confederate. To be fair, the experimenter said, "these roles would be reversed for the second joint task".

The experimenter flipped a coin to determine who would be first. The confederate was always asked to call

³ Subject elected to receive credit or pay was determined prior to random assignment to conditions. This procedure, which was also employed in Studies 2 and 3, was used to guard against type of reimbursement becoming confounded with type of relationship.

the flip. The experimenter always said her call was right and that she would go first. Pointing to the subject, the experimenter said that to save time the subject would work on his individual task in another room while the confederate started on the joint task. Then the experimenter led the subject to another room, commenting to the confederate as she left that she would be right back.

In the other room, the subject was given the "individual" (or filler) task to perform. (This simply consisted of drawing the mirror-image of a number of geometric shapes.) The experimenter left him working on this while she supposedly went to the confederate's room to start her on the group task. Four min later the experimenter returned to the subject's room, stopped the individual task, gave the matrix to the subject, and instructed him on how to take his turn at the joint task.

It was at this point that the manipulation of relationship type took place. The experimenter explained that before participating in the joint task each subject was to fill out a "Pre-study questionnaire." This questionnaire asked for the subject's gender, age, marital status, number of previous years completed at the university, and why the subject chose to participate in this particular study.

The questions filled half a page, and the questions for both the subject and the other were xeroxed onto one sheet. The confederate, having been the first participant, had already filled out her questions on the top of this page. Thus the subject could easily see her answers as he answered his questions. In all cases, the confederate indicated she was a female between 18 and 19 years of age. In the conditions designed to induce anticipation of a communal relationship, she also had checked a space indicating she was single, had completed no previous years at the university (writing in as an explanation that, "I just transferred from another university"), and that her reason for participating was, "I thought it would be interesting and a fun way to meet people." In the conditions designed to induce anticipation of an exchange relationship, she checked a space indicating she was married, had completed one year of college, and gave as her reason for participating, "I thought it would be interesting and could schedule it at a convenient time for my husband to pick me up."⁴ A number of communal and exchange versions of these questionnaires were prepared and were randomly ordered prior to the session. During each session the experimenter simply picked up the one on top of the stack without looking at it and gave it to the subject. Thus the experimenter was unaware of the relationship condition.

After instructing the subject to answer his questions, the experimenter left the room saying that she would start Paula on the individual task. She returned a short time later. At this point she placed the matrix with some sequences already circled in front of the subject—for half the subjects the circles had been made in red ink and for the remaining half in black ink. On the subject's desk were two pens—one red and one black. (A pencil, used for the prior task, was removed.) For 8 of the communal subjects and 9 of the exchange subjects a red pen was on the left and a black pen was on the right. These positions were reversed for the 8 remaining subjects in each condition.

After each subject had worked on the joint task for approximately 4 min the color pen he had used was

recorded, he was stopped, checked for suspicion, and debriefed. No subject was suspicious.

Results

The dependent measure in this study was whether or not subjects chose to use a pen different in color from that used by the confederate. The percentages of communal and exchange subjects choosing to use a different color pen are depicted in Figure 1. As predicted, the proportion of exchange subjects who chose a different color pen (88.2%) was significantly greater than the proportion of communal subjects who chose a different color pen (12.5%), ($z = 9.42, p < .01$) as well as significantly greater than the proportion expected by chance (50%), ($z = 3.15, p < .01$). In addition, the proportion of communal subjects choosing a different color pen was significantly lower (12.5%) than would be expected by chance ($z = -3.00, p < .01$).

Discussion

The results confirmed both of our hypotheses. In exchange relationships, people

⁴ The assumption behind this manipulation was that most of our college student subjects would be available for and interested in a communal relationship with the attractive opposite gender confederate who clearly indicated her availability for such a relationship. However, when the confederate ruled out her availability by failing to indicate a desire to meet people as well as by indicating that she was married, it was assumed subjects would expect an exchange relationship instead. We have recently conducted a study that specifically examined the effectiveness of these manipulations in producing a desire for a communal versus an exchange relationship with someone of the opposite gender (Clark, 1984). In this research we exposed subjects to either the communal or the exchange manipulation and asked them questions designed to tap desire for a communal relationship (e.g. Would they enjoy responding to the other's needs?) and questions designed to tap desire for an exchange relationship (e.g. If they gave something to the other would they expect a repayment soon afterwards?). An index indicating preference for a communal relationship as opposed to an exchange relationship was derived by subtracting the sum of each subject's answers to the communal questions from the sum of his or her answers to the exchange questions. As expected, scores on this index were significantly greater for subjects exposed to the communal manipulation than for subjects exposed to the exchange manipulation. A copy of the Clark (1984) paper may be obtained from the author.

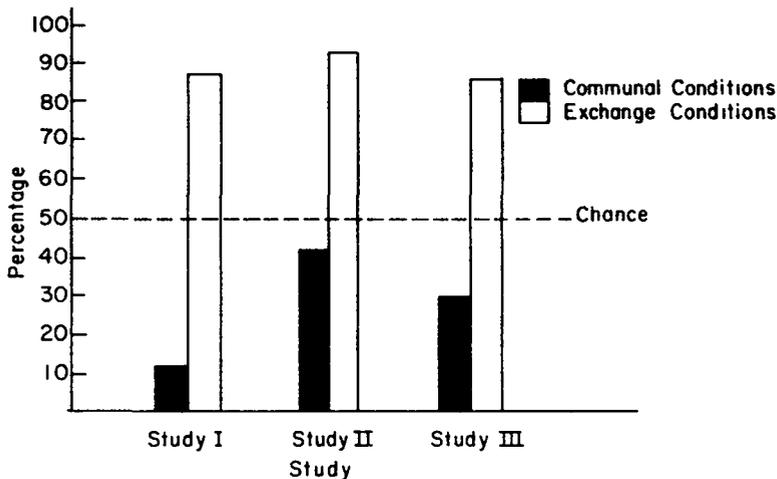


Figure 1 Percentages of subjects choosing a different color pen as a function of relationship type.

working on a joint task for which there would be a joint reward tended to use different color pens. Thus they appeared to make an effort to keep track of their individual inputs into the task. In contrast, members of communal relationships did not make an effort to keep track of inputs into joint tasks. They did not choose a different color pen more often than would be expected by chance.

As pointed out in the introduction, these results can be explained by the assumption that exchange subjects had to keep track of inputs for purposes of allocating rewards later, whereas communal subjects did not. The fact that communal subjects actually avoided keeping track of inputs, however, requires further explanation. I believe the best explanation is that when people are attempting to form a communal relation with another, they are not only concerned with following communal norms but also with avoiding any perception on others' parts (e.g., the confederate and possibly the experimenter in this experiment) that they might prefer an exchange relationship. Thus, not only do they follow communal norms, but they actively avoid following exchange norms including record keeping. (Later, when communal relationships are established, people probably no longer worry about avoiding any behavior that could be interpreted as exchange.)

Although I was pleased with the results of Study 1, there is, unfortunately, an alternative

explanation for these results. Specifically, one might argue that people believe that dividing rewards evenly for a joint task will facilitate the initiation and development of a communal relationship even though they anticipate that the relationship, once formed, will follow exchange rules. Assuming that our subjects wanted to initiate an ongoing relationship in the communal but not in the exchange conditions, this may explain why subjects in the communal conditions did not keep track of inputs, whereas subjects in the exchange conditions did. This can also account for the finding that communal subjects actually avoided keeping track of inputs. If the subject had kept track of inputs he would have no logical justification for his already decided equal reward distribution plan (other than the probably embarrassing one of desiring a close relationship) should the experimenter or the other ask him about his allocation decision. However, if he did not keep track of inputs he would have a ready excuse.⁵

Because this explanation relies on the idea that the communal relationships in Study 1 were not established, two additional studies involving established pairs of friends or pairs

⁵ Note, however, that without the communal-exchange distinction, this explanation still leaves open the question of why dividing rewards evenly promotes relationship development.

of people who did not know one another were conducted. If in established relationships exchange subjects still kept track of inputs, whereas communal subjects did not, this alternative explanation would be ruled out. In addition, examining record keeping in established communal relations would allow a test of my idea that, whereas subjects (such as those in Study 1) who are attempting to form a communal relationship will avoid record keeping, subjects in established communal relationships will be unconcerned with record keeping and will therefore show no signs of either trying to keep records or avoiding keeping records. Therefore, in the second and third studies, pairs of actual friends were recruited and scheduled to participate in the joint task either together (communal conditions) or each with a member of a different pair of friends whom they did not know (exchange conditions).

In Study 2 subjects worked in separate rooms in much the same way as did subjects in Study 1 and also as in Study 1 one piece of data was collected from each subject. In Study 3 pairs of subjects worked face-to-face and chose pens simultaneously. Thus in this study just one piece of data (i.e. use of same or different color pens) could be collected from each pair of subjects. This third study was added to determine whether the results obtained in the first study would generalize to a situation in which the immediacy of the other might increase pressure on all subjects to appear cooperative rather than competitive and thus to choose the same color pen. Because the procedures of Studies 2 and 3 are similar in most other respects, they are described together.

Studies 2 and 3

Method

Subjects. In both studies, subjects were college students taking their first psychology course. Each subject signed up with a friend. Both males and females participated. Each pair of subjects was randomly assigned to either the communal or exchange condition. Members of pairs assigned to the communal condition were scheduled to report to the experiment together. Members of pairs assigned to the exchange condition reported separately, each with a member of a different pair of friends.

In Study 2, 18 pairs of friends participated, 9 in the

communal condition and 9 in the exchange condition. In the communal condition, 3 of the 9 pairs included 2 females, 3 included 2 males, and 3 were mixed gender pairs.⁶ In the exchange condition, 2 of the 9 pairs included 2 females, 3 included 2 males, and 4 were mixed gender pairs. In Study 3, 10 pairs of friends were scheduled to participate in the communal condition and 10 pairs of strangers were scheduled to participate in the exchange condition. In each condition, 3 of the 10 pairs included 2 females, 4 included 2 males and 3 were mixed gender pairs. As in the first study, subjects in Studies 2 and 3 either partially fulfilled a course requirement, or were paid for participating.

Procedure. In both Study 2 and Study 3, subjects originally signed up with a friend for a study billed as being on friendships. Then, prior to their scheduled appointment, the experimenter called each subject. She said the friendship study was over. However, pairs of subjects were still needed for a different study—a study on task performance under various conditions. She said they would still receive their credit (or pay) for participating in this new study and asked if the subject would be willing to participate.

After securing the first subject's agreement (from any given pair) the experimenter randomly assigned both subjects from that pair to the exchange or communal condition. If the subject was assigned to the communal condition, that subject and his or her friend were scheduled to report to the study together. If the subject was assigned to the exchange condition, that subject and his or her friend were scheduled to report to the experiment separately, each with a person from another pair of friends whom he or she did not know.

In Study 2 when both subjects arrived for the study, the experimenter explained the experiment in the same manner as in the first study. Again the first task was the matrix task. Subjects were told that one of them would take the first turn. Then the second person would take a turn. After the second person finished, he or she would count up the total number of sequences circled and would be given a joint reward on the basis of that number. That subject would be responsible for dividing the reward. This time, however, the experimenter did not flip a coin with both people present to determine who would go first. Instead, she began by separating the two subjects. Once subjects were separated each was told that the other would begin the joint task and that while that was going on, the subject would begin with the individual task.

Because there was no need for subjects in the second study to fill out the questionnaire used in the first study, it was dropped from the procedure. From this point on, the procedure was identical to that used in the first study. This time, for nine of the communal and nine of the exchange subjects the red pen was to their left and the black pen to the right, whereas the reverse was true for the remaining nine subjects in each condition.

⁶ The datum from one female in one of the communal male-female pairs was not included in the final data analyses because she used her own pencil for the joint task rather than one of the two pens provided by the experimenter.

In Study 3, when pairs of subjects arrived both subjects were led to the same room and seated at the same table. On the table was the matrix and a pencil holder containing two red and two black pens. The subjects were instructed to work simultaneously on the task. After they had worked on the task for a short time, the experimenter stopped them. She recorded whether or not the pair chose to work with different color pens, said the experiment was over, checked for suspicion, then thoroughly debriefed both subjects.

Results

Study 2. The percentages of communal and exchange subjects in Study 2 who chose a pen different in color from that used by their partner are presented in Figure 1. Again as predicted and consistent with the results of the first study, the percentage of exchange subjects who chose a different color pen (94.4%) was significantly greater than the percentage of communal subjects who did so (42%), ($z = +10.93, p < .01$) as well as significantly greater than the percentage expected by chance (50%) ($z = +3.77, p < .01$). Unlike Study 1, in Study 2 the percentage of communal subjects choosing a different color pen (42%) did not differ significantly from 50%.

Study 3. In the third study, each pair of subjects yielded just one piece of data. The percentage of communal and of exchange pairs choosing different color pens is presented in Figure 1. As can be seen, the results for both the exchange and communal conditions closely paralleled those obtained in the second study. In the exchange condition, 90% of the pairs of subjects chose different color pens. This percentage is significantly greater than 50% ($z = 2.53, p < .01$) and also significantly greater than the percentage of communal pairs who chose different color pens (i.e. 30%) ($z = 4.90, p < .01$). As in the second study, the percentage of communal pairs picking different color pens did not differ from chance ($z = 1.26, ns$).

General Discussion

The results of Studies 2 and 3 rule out the alternative explanation posed earlier for the results of Study 1. The idea that subjects in Study 1 avoided keeping track of benefits in order to promote the formation of a friendship

but would later revert to exchange rules cannot explain the results of Studies 2 and 3. Thus, taken together, the three studies presented in this article offer strong and consistent support for the hypotheses that members of exchange relationships keep track of their specific inputs into joint tasks for which there will be a reward, whereas members of communal relationships do not. From a broader perspective, they provide additional support for a distinction between communal and exchange relationships on the basis of the idea that members of these two types of relationships follow distinct rules for giving and receiving benefits (Clark, 1981; Clark & Mills, 1979; Mills & Clark, 1982).

Although our results clearly support the idea that members of exchange but not communal relationships keep track of inputs into joint tasks, our theory should not be misinterpreted to mean that members of communal relationships never keep track of inputs in their relationship. Even though adherence to a norm of mutual responsibility for each other's needs does imply that people will not keep track of inputs as a basis for allocating rewards, it does not imply that inputs will not be kept track of for other purposes. For example, members of communal relationships who have similar needs may often engage in turn taking which, of course, requires some record keeping of inputs. For instance, spouses may take turns washing dishes and going grocery shopping, or friends may take turns taking one another out to lunch. This kind of record keeping only requires remembering who did the task last. Record keeping might also take place in communal relationships when one member feels his or her needs are being neglected. In that case the member might keep track of how many times the partner has failed to meet a need he or she has. Imagine a wife who counts on her husband to pick her up after work each night, but whose husband often arrives late. She may begin to keep track of the times he has been late in a given week for purposes of later presenting him with evidence of his lack of concern for her needs. In each of these examples, keeping track of inputs into a relationship is quite consistent with the members of a communal relationship following a

need-based norm for giving and receiving benefits in their relationship.

Finally, I would like to address two alternative explanations some might suggest for the results of all three studies. First, it might be argued that our measure picked up a desire to accurately assess one's own skill at the task (Festinger, 1954) and/or to obtain a flattering evaluation of that skill (Thornton & Arrowood, 1966). If such desires are greater in exchange than in communal relationships, that would provide an alternative explanation for our results. However, this possibility seems quite unlikely for several reasons. First, in designing this study, a mundane task was chosen, performance on which should not have been important to our subjects' self-esteem. Thus, subjects should not have been very concerned about their individual performances. Second, and more important, we realized that if, despite our efforts, the measure picked up a desire to compare oneself with the other, a pattern of results opposite to that predicted should obtain. Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) suggests and research has consistently supported the idea that people are most likely to evaluate themselves by comparing themselves to similar others (Hakmiller, 1966; Schachter, 1959; Tesser & Campbell, 1980). This holds true even when the similarity is not directly relevant to what is being compared (Bleda & Castore, 1973; Goethals & Darley, 1977; Suls, Gastorf, & Lawhon, 1978). Since friends have repeatedly been shown to be more similar to one another along many dimensions than are nonfriends (e.g., Byrne, 1971; Griffitt & Veitch, 1974), they ought to be more relevant comparison persons than are strangers. Furthermore, Miller (1977) has found that attraction and being oriented toward personal relations rather than tasks is associated with increased social comparison in groups and Sanders and Suls (1982) have found evidence that adults are more sensitive to social comparisons with their spouse than with an opposite gender stranger. These results clearly imply that if our measure picked up a desire for self-evaluation via social comparison, results exactly opposite to those obtained should have been observed.

Next, consider a closely related alternative

explanation on the basis of the idea that people are more achievement oriented and therefore more competitive in exchange than in communal relations. That is why, it might be argued, there was a tendency to keep track of inputs in exchange but not communal relations. This explanation also seems implausible for several reasons. First, as already pointed out, we chose a dull task about which neither communal nor exchange subjects should have cared much. Second, if subjects were concerned about achievement, then the greater relevance of similar than dissimilar others for social comparison would actually result in greater achievement orientation in communal than in exchange relationships. Finally, if this explanation were true, exchange subjects should have worked harder and circled more number sequences than did communal subjects and available evidence indicates that this was not the case. In Study 1 there was no difference between the number of sequences exchange subjects circled ($x = 9.1$) and the number of communal subjects circled ($x = 8.9$), $t(31) = +0.2$, *ns*. In Study 2, exchange subjects actually tended to circle fewer sequences ($x = 11.0$), than did communal subjects ($x = 16.0$), $t(17) = -1.9$, $p < .08$. Finally, in Study 3, as in Study 1, there was no difference between the number of sequences exchange subjects circled ($x = 19$) and the number communal subjects circled ($x = 20.7$), $t(8) = -0.3$, *ns*.⁷

⁷ This alternative explanation had not been anticipated and all work sheets from Studies 2 and 3 were not retained. Thus, analyses from these studies are based on fewer than the total number of subjects run. However, all sheets that were located from these studies were used. There is no reason to suspect they differed in any systematic way from sheets that had not been retained.

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