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Situational constraints, individual differences in self-monitoring, and self-presentation

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SITUATIONAL CONSTRAINTS,

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN SELF-MONITORING,

AND SELF-PRESENTATION

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A Thesis

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The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degreeof
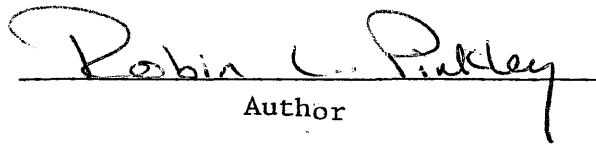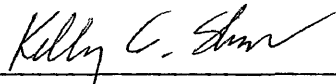
Master of Arts

by

Robin L. Pinkley

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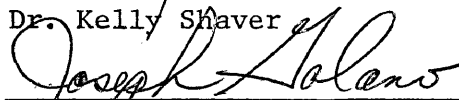
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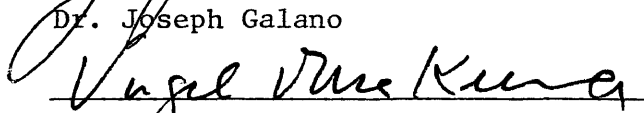
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Dr. Virgil McKenna

ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

There is currently little question that both situational and disopsitional factors play a role in behavior, but despite statistical significance neither contributed ample portions of the variance. A possible explanation for these results was suggested by Bem and Allen (1974), who argued that individuals differ in the extent to which situational and dispositional cues influence and guide their behavior. The social psychological construct of self-monitoring assess the self-conceptual domain that dictates these differences in approach to behavior (Snyder, 1972).

Further, it seems apparent that social environments differ in the extent to which they emphasize the relevance of situational and dispositional guides to behavior. Some situations stress the relevance and utility of attitudes, feeling, and dispositions as appropriate guides to action, while others present clear and unambiguous social and interperonsal cues to behavioral appropriateness (Snyder, 1979b). Social situations may therefore be categorized in terms of their tendency to elicit self-monitoring.

The present investigation was designed to explore the relationship between situational constraints, individual differences in self-monitoring, and self-presentation. Unlike the Snyder and Swann (1976) study, each subject was asked to participate in two simulated interview situations that differ only in the description of the kind of interview it is (i.e., occupational or psychological) and the guidelines on how to approach the interview. This allowed the evaluation of each subject's behavior, regardless of his self-monitoring score, across situations. Manipulation checks were included to assure that subjects perceived the occupational interview as eliciting impression-management and the psychological interview as calling for authenticity. The dependent measures consisted of a series of questions designed to determine whether participants approached the two interview conditions in the same manner, as well as, whether they referred to their own attitudes or situational guides as an impetus to behavior. Rather than evaluating the covariation between a previously stated general attitude and behavior within a specific situation as a measure of behavioral consistency, this investigation looked directly at the anticipated change of behavior across situations, and the relevant cues to that behavior. A 3 x 2 (Self-Monitoring X Situation) analysis of variance with repeated measures over the second factor was computed for each of the dependent variables.

Past research on self-monitoring processes suggest that it is possible to determine for whom situational and dispositional guides to behavior are most influential. In contrast, the pattern of results obtained in this investigation suggests that people change or shift their behavior in terms of the situation in which they are participating, regardless of their

reported self-monitoring characteristics. In fact, in only one instance
was their a main effect of self-monitoring and paradoxically the direction
of the significant relatinoship appears to contradict the behavioral
orientation asserted to be characteristic of high and low self-monitoring
individuals. The present study does, however, support the assumption that
situations can and do differ in the extent to which they provide situational
and dispositional guides to behavior and that people do in fact change
their response patterns in accordance with these salient cues. In light
of these findings, the Self-Monitoring Scale while provideing information
about how subjects view their prefered strategic orientation to behavior,
is limited as a predictor of behavior, independent of knowledge about
salient situational guides to behavior.

SITUATIONAL CONSTRAINTS, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

IN SELF-MONITORING, AND SELF-PRESENTATION

Of particular importance to the behavioral scientist is the controversy over whether traits or situations are primary causes of behavior. On the one hand, some personality theorists assert that behavior is a function of enduring traits, inner-states, and dispositional factors. Trait theory therefore assumes that behavior is consistent across time and situations. While several papers have provided extensive empirically-based trait theories (Allport, 1937, 1961, 1966; Eysenck, 1969, 1970), many influential accounts of behavior have emphasized the importance of situational determinants while minimizing the importance of dispositional variables (Farber, 1964; Mischel, 1968). As an alternative theory, the situationist position negates the existence of a stability in personality by postulating that behavior is determined almost exclusively by situational variables (Argyle & Little, 1972; Endler, Hunt & Rosenstein, 1962). Consistent with this notion, Harthshorne and May (1928) found that consistencies in behavior from setting to setting can be attributed to similarities within the setting, rather than specific personality traits. A review of the literature however, suggests that evidence for the situational determination of behavior is no more convincing than the evidence for the intrapsychic control of behavior (Bowers, 1973; Jaccard, 1974).

In recent years this debate has expanded to include the modern version of the classic interactionist perspective (Murray, 1938). To proponents of this perspective the question of whether situational or dispositional factors are of greatest importance is obsolete, because behavior is viewed as a joint function of the person and situation. In support of this conjecture

2

Mischel (1977) stated that "we may predict best if we know what each situation means to the individual, and consider the interaction of the person and the setting, rather than concentrating either on the situation itself or on the individual in an environmental and social vacuum" (p. 323). The interactionist position thus acknowledges the existence of behavioral stability, but only within situational constraints (Epstein, 1979). In addition, it has been demonstrated that persons, settings, modes of response, and their interaction each played a statistically significant part in determining the total variance of behavior (Moos, 1968, 1969).

There is currently little question that both situational and dispositional factors play a role in behavior, but despite statistical significance neither contributed ample portions of the variance (Bowers, 1973). A possible explanation for these results was suggested by Bem and Allen (1974), who argued that individuals differ in the extent to which situational and dispositional cues influence and guide their behavior. All people possess information regarding cues to the situational or interpersonal appropriateness of any action, as well as information about their own attitudes, feelings, inner states, and dispositions, but they differ in the extent to which their behavior reflects and is guided by either source. One's choice of reference may be determined in part by the extent to which the individual attempts to convey a particular image or impression. While some individuals may attend to situational cues to behavioral appropriateness in an attempt to convey an intended impression others simply respond in terms of their actual feelings and attitudes. Individuals, therefore, vary both in their ability and willingness to control and synchronize their expressive behavior in terms of what is socially appropriate (Snyder, 1974). The social psychological construct of self-monitoring assesses the self-conceptual domain that dictates

these differences in approach to behavior (Snyder, 1972; McGee & Snyder, 1975).

A review of the items generally endorsed by the high and low self-monitoring individuals provides insight into their conception of self and its relationship to their behavior. High self-monitoring individuals appear to view themselves as rather flexible, pragmatic people capable of adopting the self-presentation most appropriate for any given situation. Furthermore, they report that their words and actions do not always accurately represent their "true" attitudes and beliefs. The low self-monitoring individual, on the other hand, perceive themselves as rather principled individuals whose expressive behavior accurately reflects their attitudes and internal states. They deny the ability to adopt any stance foreign to their belief, and seem to view their behavior as consistent regardless of the situation.

Sampson (1978) has provided evidence in support of the assumption about the self-presentation of high and low self-monitoring individuals originally obtained from their endorsement of test items. Participants were given a list of either externally-located features of their environment (i.e., "membership that I have in various groups") or internally-located features (i.e., "emotions or feelings"), and then asked to choose items that best exemplified their personal identities. As predicted by their responses on the Self-Monitoring Scale, low self-monitoring individuals emphasized the importance of internally-located features, while high self-monitoring individuals judged the externally-located features to be of greater importance to their personal identities. In addition, Snyder and Monson (1975) asked individuals to judge in what way they would respond in different situational contexts relevant to expressions of generosity, honesty,

and hostility. High self-monitoring individuals reported much less situation-to-situation covariation than did low self-monitoring individuals. These findings suggest that attitude-behavior congruence is greatest for individuals who perceive their overt behavior as an accurate projections of their corresponding personal disposition.

Several empirical studies have supported an association of the pragmatic and principled self concepts of high and low self-monitoring individuals, respectively, with the initiation of social relationships. When given the opportunity to observe men and women with whom they expected to date socially, high self-monitoring individuals were better able to infer and remember accurate information about that person's traits and dispositions than were low self-monitoring individuals. Moreover, high self-monitoring individuals expressed a more favorable impression of their prospective dates (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976). High self-monitoring individuals actively invest time and energy in the attempt to obtain relevant information from others, which may serve to guide their own behavior. They prove to be keenly attentive to the subtle interplay between the context of action and the actor's behavior (Geizer, Rarick, & Soldow, 1977; Jones & Baumeister, 1976). In addition, they are quite skilled at inferring the actor's intentions as well as predicting the actor's behavior (e.g. Kulik & Taylor, 1979). High self-monitoring individuals will actually purchase information at some cost to themselves, if that information can potentially serve to manage and guide their own self-presentation in future social interactions (Elliott, 1979).

A systematic evaluation of the social interactions and acquaintance processes of high and low self-monitoring individuals again supports the self-monitoring construct and its conceptualization of the pragmatic and

principled selves (e.g., Ickes & Barnes, 1977, 1978). In an investigation

of the effects of self-monitoring on the development of social interaction,

Ickes and Barnes (1977) arranged for spontaneous encounters between pairs

of strangers. Five-minute segments of surreptitiously obtained videotapes

were then evaluated for their interactional dynamics. Individuals high in

self-monitoring were found to take a more active initiatory and regulatory

role in the conversations. They tended to talk first, were evaluated by

their partners as having a greater need to talk and as having been the

more directive member of the dyad. High self-monitoring individuals seem

to have a need to control the situation while retaining a smooth and pleasing

flow to the conversation.

Recent studies have related self-monitoring to the attributional

explanation of one's own behavior (Brockner & Eckenrode, 1978; Gutkin &

Suls, 1979; Snyder, 1976). In a study by Snyder and Tanke (1976) partici-

pants were asked to write counterattitudinal essays within a condition of

perceived choice. Low self-monitoring individuals were found to be more

likely than high self-monitoring individuals to attribute their descrepant

overt behavior to their actual feelings. In addition, high self-monitoring

individuals tended to describe themselves in terms of the demand characteristics

of the situation they were in at the time.

It is not only possible to determine the self-conceptions, cognitive,

behavioral and interpersonal domains of the pragmatic and principled self-

monitors; it is also possible to specify and evaluate the interpersonal set-

tings within which these individuals choose to conduct their social relation-

ships. Snyder (Note 1) suggests that the interpersonal settings in which

people choose to live and interact with others may reflect pertinent features

of their conception of self. In accordance with the self-monitoring construct,

we would suspect that interpersonal settings in which situational guidelines

for behavior were most salient would attract the high self-monitoring

individual (e.g., formal dinner party). Further, it seems likely that

the low self-monitoring individual would choose, when asked for a prefer-

ence, settings in which veridical expressive behaviors were appropriate

and desirable. An investigation conducted by Snyder and Gangestad (Note

2) substantiated this conjecture. When given the opportunity to enter

or not enter a social setting that called for either clear or vague ex-

pressions of social extroversion, high self-monitoring individuals were eager

to enter the clearly defined, unambiguous situation, yet were relatively

unwilling to enter the situation that was vaguely defined. Individuals

who are low self-monitors were equally willing to enter either situation

regardless of whether it was clear or vague, while their willingenss to

enter the situation was directly related to whether it corresponded with

their own personality (i.e., extroverted or introverted).

It seems apparent that social environments differ in the extent to

which they emphasize the relevance of situational and dispositional guides

to behavior. Some situations stress the relevance and utility of attitudes,

feelings, and dispositions as appropriate guides to action, while others

present clear and unambiguous social and interpersonal cues to behavioral

appropriateness (Snyder 1979b). Social situations can therefore be

categorized in terms of their tendency to elicity self-monitoring. As a

means of testing this conceptual formulation, Snyder and Swann (1976) com-

posed social environments that differed in; a) the degree to which they

provided relevant interpersonal cues to situational appropriateness of

self-presentation (what will be referred to here as an "impression manage-

ment setting"); and b) the degree to which relevant personal attitudes were

provided as potential guides to action (what will be referred to as an "authenticity setting"). Subjects participated in a judicial decision making task dealing with a sex discrimination case. General attitudes towards affirmative action were obtained from all subjects several weeks prior to this investigation. Some participants anticipated discussing their decision with a partner who was going to disagree with them on affirmative action (i.e., impression management setting). Others were told to briefly reflect upon their own general attitudes toward affirmative action (i.e., authenticity setting). All of the subjects were then presented with the case, after which they were requested to write an essay outlining their verdicts.

The overall correspondence between previously measured attitude and the subject's verdicts was modest at best. When the data for low self-monitoring individuals and high self-monitoring individuals were considered separately, however, the covariation between measured attitudes and actual behavior was substantially greater for low self-monitoring subjects than it was for high self-monitoring subjects. Further, when the data were reevaluated in terms of which condition the subjects were asked to participate, those subjects who participated in the setting designed to elicit impression management adopted a moderate, middle of the road strategy favoring neither the plaintiff nor defendent. A strategic impression-management approach was used which allowed them to draw support from both sides of the issue, while avoiding alienating the expected disagreeing partner. Subjects in the setting designed to encourage authenticity, on the other hand, showed a covariation between their verdict and previously determined attitude toward affirmative action. These results indicate that social environments and interpersonal contexts can be categorized in terms of the

extent to which they elicit and make salient self-monitoring strategies.

Snyder and Swann (1976) have argued that their results enhance our understanding of social behavior in specific environmental contexts. Several factors, however, make the generalization of their findings difficult. First, their "impression-management" situation involves anticipated conflict with an expected disagreeing partner, as well as the intended impression-management. Although the authors were testing self-monitoring strategies, the disonance literature suggests that the reported behavior change may also be attributed to anticipatory belief change as a function of expected disagreements. Second, this investigation was designed to demonstrate a change in an individual difference variable as measured across situations, yet a between-group design was implemented. A more appropriate means of assessing such change would be a within -subjects design.

Finally, Snyder and Swann imply that measured discrepancies between attitude and behavior for the "impression-management" condition are the result of salient guides to behavior present in that situation as opposed to the "authenticity" condition. That is, their results are contingent on the asssumption that the subjects' essays in the authenticty situation are based on their own enduring attitudes, while their essays in the im-pression-managemnet situation are predominantly influenced by the provided interpersonal guides to behavior. The failure to inquire into the source or reference (e.g., own attitudes, disagreeing partners attitude) used as the impetus for behavior makes the interpretation of their results diffi-cult. Subjects may, for example, have simply mimicked the attitudes of their friends and family without really considering the opposing side, when asked to take a stand on affirmative action. If this were the case, the simple exposure to an opposing argument may truly have weakened their original

stance. The subjects' responses in the impression-management situation could, therefore, reflect a change in personal attitude vis a vis exposure to an alternative view rather than an attitude-behavior discrepancy produced by relevant interpersonal cues. For all of these reasons, it is unlikely that the Snyder and Swann (1976) study has provided a conceptually precise test of the self-monitoring construct.

The present investigation was designed to explore the relationship between situational constraints, individual differences in self-monitoring, and self-presentation. Unlike the Snyder and Swann (1976) study, each subject was asked to participate in two simulated interview situations that differ only in the description of the kind of interview it is (i.e., occupational or psychological) and the guidelines on how to approach the interview. This allowed the evaluation of each subject's behavior, regardless of his self-monitoring score, across situations. Manipulation checks were included to assure that subjects perceived the occupational interview as eliciting impression-management and the psychological interview as calling for authenticity. The dependent measures consisted of a series of questions designed to determine whether participants approached the two interview conditions in the same manner, as well as, whether they referred to their own attitudes or situational guides as an impetus to behavior. Rather than evaluating the covariation between a previously stated general attitude and behavior within a specific situation as a measure of behavioral consistency, this investigation looked directly at the anticipated change of behavior across situations, and the relevant cues to that behavior.

Of particular interest were the following questions: 1) To what degree can the self-monitoring strategies of particular individuals, as measured by the Self-Monitoring Scale, predict behavior regardless of the situational

context (i.e., authenticity eliciting situation as impression-management

eliciting situation)? That is, will low self-monitoring subjects respond

in a consistently authentic manner for both situations, while high self-

monitoring subjects vary their responses in terms of the situational cues

to behavior as predicted by the self-monitoring literature. 2) Do parti-

cular contexts vary in the degree to which they stress the relevance of

personal characteristics or interpersonal and situational guides to behavior;

and if so, will individuals vary their behavior in accordance with these

cues?

Method

Subjects

The subjects consisted of 95 male undergraduates enrolled in intro-
ductory psychology classes at The College of William and Mary. The sub-
jects had been pretested with Snyder's (1974) Self-Monitoring Scale earlier
in the semester. From the obtained distribution of scores, subjects fell
within a high self-monitoring group (SM score of 14-22, N=43); median self-
monitoring group (SM score of 13, N = 19); or low self-monitoring group
(SM score of 3-12, N = 33). All subjects were told that they would be par-
ticipating in an interviewer trainee evaluation exercise, and all received
credit toward a course requirement for their participation.

Psychometric Properties of the Self-Monitoring Scale

Individual differences in self-monitoring are measured by a 25-item,
self-report scale. (See Appendix A) The Self-Monitoring Scale evaluates
the following:

"a) concern with social appropriateness of one's self-presen-

tation (e.g., 'At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt

to do or say things that others will like.'); b) attention to social

comparison information as cues to situationally appropriate expressive

self-presentation (e.g., 'When I am uncertain how to act in social

situations, I look to the behavior of others for cues'); c) the abi-

lity to control and modify one's self-presentation and expressive

behavior (e.g., 'I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie (if for

a right end)'); d) the use of this ability in particular situations

12

(e.g., 'I may deceive people by being friendly when I really

dislike them'); and e) the extent to which one's expressive

behavior and self-presentation are tailored and molded to fit

particular social situations (e.g., 'In different situations

and with different people, I often act like very different

persons')." (Snyder, 1974)

The psychometric construction of the scale can be found in Snyder (1972,

1974). Several factor analyses of the scale have revealed that it is

multidimensional. Typical factors include acting ability (found by

Briggs, Cheek, and Buss, 1980; Lippa, 1974; and Gabrenya & Arkin, 1980);

other directedness (found by Lippa, 1974; Snyder, Bailey, & Arabie, 1974;

Briggs, Cheek, & Buss, 1980; and Gabrenya & Arkin, 1980); sociability

(found by Lippa, 1980; and Gabrenya & Arkin, 1980); and self-serving

impression management (found by Snyder, Bailey & Arabie, 1974). In addition,

some of its factors were found to interact differentially with character-

istics of experimental situations. For information about the correspondence

among factors identified in the various studies, see Gabrenya and Arkin

(1980).

Several methods of measuring self-monitoring have been employed to

demonstrate the Self-Monitoring Scale's convergent and discriminant vali-

dity. The scores of various groups of people stereotypically known for their

ability or inability to control expressive behavior were compared to the

scores of an unselected comparison sample. In accordance with the self-

monitoring construct, stage actors scored higher and psychiatric patients

scored lower than the average (Snyder, 1974). Moreover, people with higher

scores on the scale were typically rated by their peers as being good at

detecting and incorporating socially appropriate behavior, having control

over their expressive behavior, and being capable of projecting the

intended impression (Snyder, 1974). When given the opportunity to ob-

serve another person, individuals high in self-monitoring tended to re-

tain more accurate information than those low in self-monitoring (Berscheid,

Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976).

The Self-Monitoring Scale has been compared to a host of trait

measures to determine its discriminant validity. Included in the list

of measures that do not correlate with self-monitoring are: need for

approval, Machiavellianism, locus of control, inner-directed versus

other-directed social character, social chameleon, field-dependence,

MMPI Pd (Psychopathic Deviance Scale), hypnotic susceptibility, neuroticism,

repression-sensitization, achievement anxiety, intelligence, academic

achievement, public self-consciousness, private self-consciousness, social

anxiety, MMPI L (Lie Scale), MMPI Ma (Mania Scale), MMPI Si (Social

Introversion Scale), vocational interests, and others (Snyder, 1979b).

Design

To compare self-monitoring strategies in response to different

situational cues, all subjects were asked to imagine that they were in

two different kinds of interview situations. These were designed to

encourage subjects either to reflect upon their own feelings and attitudes

as guides to behavior, or to monitor their behavioral choices in terms of

the situational cues. Half of the subjects were exposed to "psychological

interview" (authenticity eliciting situation) first, and half were pre-

sented with an "occupational interview" (impression-management eliciting

situation) first. All interview materials and questionnaires (to be dis-

cussed later) were presented to the subjects by a male assistant who

received the same rationale for the study that the subjects received, and

so was totally blind to the actual purpose of the research. (he was

subsequently debriefed). Before proceeding with the two paper-and-pencil

interviews, subjects were asked to sign a consent form and them to read

the following instructions:

For the last several years Dr. Shaver has been conducting

research on the methodology of interviewing. This particular

project is one of a series of studies, and is designed to train

interviewers for future work. But it is not enough for us just

to train interviewers, we also need to evaluate their performance

in situations that are as realistic as possible. Obviously there

are three different things that can influence the course of an

interview. The first of these is the personality or interviewing

style of the interviewer—and that is what we hope to assess here.

The second is the nature of the material being elicited by the

interviewer——is it a job interview, a psychological interview, or

an attitude survey. The third is the individual character of the

person being interviewed.

If we are to measure the interviewer's performance with any

accuracy, we will need to control the other two aspects of the

situation. So we will have our interviewers conduct several dif-

ferent kinds of interviews so that we can observe their performance

under a variety of different circumstances. The things that remain

constant in their behavior will then be pretty clear to us. While

we can control the situations in which their interviewing is done,

we cannot "control" the kinds of people they talk to. It wouldn't

make any sense for us to have all of the interviewers talk to a

single person——that would certainly eliminate differences between

the people being interviewed, but we would not be able to generalize the results beyond that single individual. To make the interviewer's task as realistic as possible we want them to talk to a variety of people, but to control some of the variability that different people will naturally bring into the situation, we need to find out something about them, and about how they would respond to the situations that we are going to use for the interview. We obviously need to find this out before you take part in the interview, so that we have an accurate assessment of your own individual characteristics. As a means of doing this, as well as exposing you to the types of questions you may be asked during the interview, you are asked to fill out or respond to two different types of preliminary interviews, to be carried out in written form. Some people may respond in the same style regardless of the type of interview. Others will vary their responses to suit the particular type of interview being conducted. Neither is more desirable and it does not matter to us which you do, but we need to be aware of the ways in which you respond to any possible type of interview to which you may be asked to participate. There are no right or wrong answers. Having obtained such information, we will be able to assign you to a particular interview to be conducted later. We will then be able to assess the consistency of each interviewer's performance across subjects and situations. Again please respond to the preliminary interview questions as you would in an actual interview.

If you are interested in participating in this trainee evaluation exercise, begin by reading the consent form carefully. When you have signed the consent form, which you will find attached to

these instruction, ask the student assistant conducting this

aspect of the study to provide you with the first interview.

When you have completed this interview inform the student

assistant. Thank you for your participation in this exercise.

Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

Occupational Interview

Guidelines

Imagine that you are participating in an "occupational interview"

for a sales position in a major corporation. As a means of preparing

their students for their employment interviews, the Harvard University

Business Association developed a set of guidelines entitled "Preparation

for the Interview". We have included this list for your review. Please

read the guidelines and then proceed with the interview.

Preparation for the Interview

There are no set procedures to follow the interview. It's the

moment of truth. Your success will depend on your qualification and

your ability to adapt to the situation. It's every man for himself at this

stage but there are a few amenities which are helpful in establishing

rapport. They are:

1. Use a firm handshake.

2. Maintain a good posture.

3. Be courteous and cooperative.

4. Use the interviewer's name.

5. Let the interviewer take the initiative but don't be passive.

6. Retain your poise. Relax . . . Smile occasionally.

7. Look directly at the interviewer.

8. Neither exaggerate nor discount your qualifications.

9. Speak distinctly, in normal conversational tones.

10. Emphasize your assets . . . tell them how your qualifications, experience and interests qualify you for the opportunities in their organizations.

Interview

1. What were some of your favorite courses in High School or College?

2. Have you had any courses which you feel may have helped to prepare you for a sales position in our company?

3. Describe what extracurricular activities, hobbies, recreation, and/or community activities you have participated in which may have cultivated your interests in a sales position or which may assist you in such a job?

4. Have you been involved in any special project involving sales related work?

5. What situations, if any, have you found yourself in, in which you need abilities or strategies which would be desirable for a sales person?

6. What special traits or characteristics do you possess which would be of particular help to you when attempting to make a sale?

7. How willing are you to dedicate your time and energy to whatever project you happen to be involved in?

8. How comfortable do you feel when meeting and interacting with new people?

9. Are you able to strike up a conversation with someone to whom you have just been introduced?

10. What appeals to you most about selling with our company?

Psychological Interview

Guidelines

Imagine that you are participating in a "psychological interview". As a means of preparing you for this interview, take a few minutes to consider, assess and reflect upon your own internal feelings, attitudes, interests, likes and dislikes. It is important that you spend several moments in reflection before proceeding with the interview. Take a few moments now . . . . You may now proceed with the interview.

Interview

1.   Are you the sort of person who has a lot of friends, or a few close friends?

2.   Describe the types of relationships which you feel are the most rewarding to you as an individual.

3.   People have times when they feel below par; what moods or feelings are the most unpleasant or disturbing to you?

4.   In what kinds of situations are you at your best?

5.   What would be the worst thing that could happen to you?

6.   How important, in your opinion, is your religion and/or church?

7.   Do you consider yourself to be more of an extravert or an introvert?

8.   What do you consider to be your greatest weakness as a person?

9.   What are your main goals in life?

10. What do you think are the most important contributions an individual can make to the world or those around them?

Dependent Measures

After each of the interviews was completed by the subjects, they were asked to answer several questions designed to investigate whether

they responded in a manner consonant with those behaviors associated with high or low self-monitoring strategies. That is, did they respond authentically or did they use impression-management to present a particular image? Responses to these questions were recorded on a 5-point scale varying from Extremely to Very to Moderately to Slightly to Not at all. The questions were as follows:

1. How much did you think out completely what you wanted to say and the best way to say it before answering the questions? (Extremely = 5)

2. To what degree do you feel that your responses in this interview were an accurate reflection of your true personality and interests? (Extremely = 1)

3. How comfortable would you have felt participating in an actual interview of this type? (Extremely = 5)

4. How much did you ignore what the interview seemed to be calling for, and try to "be yourself" in your responses? (Extremely = 1)

5. How much did the description of the kind of interview it was influence the way you responded to the interview questions? (Extremely = 5)

6. To what degree do you feel you would have answered the questions in the same manner if you had not been provided with the guidelines on how to approach this kind of interview? (Extremely = 1)

7. How much did you mold your responses in an attempt to come across in a positive manner; that is did you stress your more desirable qualities while minimizing your less desirable characteristics? (Extremely = 5)

8. To what extent did you consider who this particular interview situation was calling for and how you could come across as that person? (Extremely = 5)

After completing the second "interview", subjects answered all of these

questions again, and then responded to several additional questions designed to assess their awareness of the intended experimental manipulation. These questions dealt specifically with both interviews, and were as follows:

1. Did you change your response pattern or strategy to suit the different kinds of interview in which you were participating, or were you consistent for both? Explain?

2. On a scale of 1 - 10 for each type of interview, how able were you to respond as you feel you actually would in an interview of this kind?

3. To what degree is it more desirable to be consistent or different in your approach or response pattern for the two interview situations? (7 point scale: "Extremely consistent" to "Extremely different")

4. Which interview situation or situations, if any, would call for an individual to attempt to manipulate the type of impression they would make? (Possible responses were occupational interview, psychological interview only, both, or neither.)

5. Which interview situation or situations, if any, would call for authenticity or the expression of an individual's true inner-feelings, attitudes and beliefs? (Same response alternatives as question 4.)

<center>Results and Discussion</center>

Scoring

Each of the eight questions utilized as dependent measures was scored in a direction that corresponded with higher self-monitoring. That is, for those questions designed in the direction of high self-monitoring, the response "extremely" received a score of five while the answer "not at all" received a score of one (e.g., To what extent did you consider who this particular interview was calling for and how you could come across as that person?). Likewise, questions designed in the direction of low self-monitoring received a score of five for the response "not at all" and a score of one for the response "extremely" (e.g., To what degree do you feel that your response in this interview were an accurate reflection of your true personality and interests?).

Manipulation Checks

There were four different checks on the manipulations: one for perceptions of the interviews, one for the demands that might have been inherent in the instructions, one to estimate the mundane realism of the method, and one for possible order effects. As noted above, subjects were asked to describe the kind of behavior called for by occupational and psychological interviews. This question was asked in an attempt to evaluate whether the intended situational cues to behavior were salient. That is, which interview situation, if any, engendered manipulation of the impression that subjects would attempt to make, and which, if either, requested authenticity or the expression of an individual's true inner feelings, attitudes, and beliefs? As predicted, 84% of the participants reported that the occupational interview seemed to call for impression management, while only 2% of the participants reported that the psychological interview elicited

this sort of response. In contrast 64% of the subjects stated that the
psychological interview called for an authentic response while 2% revealed
that the occupational interview seemed to evoke authenticity. The inter-
view situations were therefore viewed as eliciting different types of
behavior $\underline{X}^2(3) = 137.68$, $\underline{p} < .01$. Subjects did not differ in the extent
to which they felt the interview situations called for either authenticity
or impression management in terms of their self-monitoring score. The con-
tingency table presented in Table 1 provides additional information about
the situational cues to behavior.

_____

Insert Table 1 about here

_____

Second, subjects were asked to rate on a 7-point scale whether it was
more desirable to be consistent or different in their approach or response
pattern for the two interview situations. Overall, the subjects reported
that neither was more desirable ($\underline{M}$ = 3.80). This result suggests that the
subject's tendency to respond to the situation in either a consistent or
different manner across situations was not substantially influenced in one
direction or the other by the experimental instructions. When the data were
analyzed using a categorical split (e.e., high, median, and low scores) of
the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974), however, scores did differ signi-
ficantly. The high self-monitoring group claimed that neither strategy
was more appropriate ($\underline{M}$ = 4.19) while the low self-monitoring group ($\underline{M}$ = 3.18)
emphasized consistency, $\underline{t}$ (75) = 2.92, $\underline{p} < .01$. This finding supports the
notion that low self-monitoring individuals feel it is more desirable to be
slightly consistent in their behavior from situation to situation.

Third, to estimate the mundane realism of the experimental setting parti-
cipants were asked to say how able they felt they were to respond to each

of the interview situations as they would have in an actual psychological

or occupational interview. Responses to this question were recorded on a

10-point scale varying from 1 (not at all) to 10 (totally able). Although

the subjects reported that they felt almost as able to respond to the two

interview situations as they would have in actual interviews of this kind,

they felt significantly more comfortable about the impending psychological

interview ($\underline{M}$ = 8.1) then about the impending occupational interview ($\underline{M}$ = 6.7),

correlated $\underline{t}(94)$ = 6.16, $\underline{p} < .01$. Although these results must be interpreted

with caution, they do suggest that the experimental procedures captured the

essential ingredients of occupational and psychological interviews. Finally,

the extent to which subjects thought out completely what they wanted to say

and the best way to say it before answering the questions was affected by

the order in which participants were presented with the interviews $\underline{t}(94)$ = 9.9,

$\underline{p} < .01$. When subjects were presented with the occupational interview first,

they reported that they thought out more completely what they wanted to say

and how to say it then when they participated in the psychological interview

first. There were no order effects for any of the other measures.

Interview Effects

The questions were developed to assess the kinds of behaviors considered

to be characteristic of high self-monitoring or low self-monitoring indivi-

duals (Snyder, 1974). For example, the literature would suggest that when

asked about ignoring the situation and being themselves, the "principled"

low self-monitor would consistently respond with high scores, whereas the

"pragmatic" high self-monitors responses would depend on the situational cues.

In contrast, the literature suggests that high self-monitors would tend to

respond with strong agreement when asked whether the description of the inter-

view influenced the way they responded, while low self-monitor individuals

would typically disagree.

As noted earlier, the eight questions were scored so that higher numbers on each question reflect greater proclivity toward self-monitoring, regardless of the content of the particular question. A total index composed of all eight questions was also computed, and the mean scores and standard deviations for all nine of these measures are presented in Table 2.

_____

Insert Table 2 about here

_____

A 3 x 2 (Self-Monitoring X Situation) analysis of variance with repeated measures over the second factor was computed for each of the nine dependent variables shown in the Table. In addition, the results were recomputed utilizing a 2 x 2 (Self-Monitoring X Situation) analysis of variance with repeated measures over the second factor for each of the nine dependent measures. For this analysis, those subjects scoring in the top 27% (Guilford, 1956)) on the Self-Monitoring Scale were cate- gorized as high self-monitoring individuals and those scoring in the bottom 27% were categorized as low self-monitoring individuals. The idea was to give Self-Monitoring the greatest possible chance to affect the outcome. A review of these results demonstrated that the overall pattern was essentially the same as the results obtained using the three category split. In fact, not only did the second analysis not generate more significant results, it reduced the significant level for all of the findings. Consequently, the results discussed will be those obtained in the original 3 x 2 analysis of variance utilizing the scores of all 95 subjects.

The analysis of variance yielded a highly significant main effect for the interview situation on each of the dependent measures. These findings show that participants, regardless of their characteristic self-monitoring strategy, claim that they would change their behavior in response to the kind

of interview or situation in which they participated. Specifically, subjects were more likely to mold their responses in an attempt to present themselves in a positive manner, $F(1, 92) = 90.13$, $p < .001$, when the imagined interview they were participating in was occupational ($M = 3.52$) rather than psychological ($M + 2.09$). The occupational interview condition led to ($M = 3.33$) reported consideration of what sort of person each interview situation was calling for, $F(1, 92) = 91.92$, $p < .001$, than did the psychological interview condition ($M = 1.84$). In the same vein, the description of the situation was thought to have had a greater influence in the occupational sitting ($M = 3.16$) than in the psychological setting ($M = 2.23$), $F(1, 92) = 32.02$, $p < .001$.

Just as the occupational interview led to an emphasis on the setting, the psychological interview seemed to produce greater concentration on personal qualities. The psychological interview was seen as more comfortable ($M = 3.63$) than the occupational interview ($M = 3.11$), $F(1, 92) = 17.38$, $p < .001$. The psychological interview permitted subjects to think out completely what they wanted to say and the best way to say it. ($M = 3.51$) to a greater degree before answering the questions, $F(1, 92) = 7.72$, $p < .01$ than in the occupational condition $M = 3.23$. In addition subjects stated that their responses reflected more accurately their true personalities and interests, $F(1, 92) = 36.04$, $p < .001$ when in the simulated psychological interview ($M + 1.86$) then when in the occupational interview condition ($M = 2.51$). Finally, subjects in the psychological condition ($M + 2.31$) revealed that they attempted to ignore what the interview seemed to be calling for and tried to be themselves in their responses, $F(1, 92) = 52.59$, $p < .001$, to a greater degree than when in the simulated occupational interview ($M \doteq 3.12$).

Finally, there was a highly significant main effect for the interview situation for the total score $\underline{F}(1, 92) = 85.84$, p $<$ .001. There was no significant relationship between the subjects self-monitoring scores and their subsequent behavior across the interview situations. This result suggests that subjects within the occupational interview ($\underline{M}$ = 24.47) responded in a manner consonant with behavior reported to be characteristic of high self-monitoring individuals. That is, they responded in terms of the situation cues to behavior and attempted to come across in an appropriate and positive manner. Subjects in the psychological interview, ($\underline{M}$ = 19.49) on the other hand, responded in a manner more consistent with the kinds of behavior hypothesized to be prototypical of low self-monitoring individuals. Subjects within this condition reported that they attempted to be themselves in the interview and responded in a manner that was an accurate reflection of their true personalities and interests.

Self-Monitoring Effects

There was a significant main effect for self-monitoring on only the first dependent measure, $\underline{F}(1, 92) = 3.17$, $\underline{p}$ $<$ .05. A comparison of the means demonstrated that median self-monitoring individuals ($\underline{M}$ = 3.71) thought out more completely what they wanted to say and the best way to say it, than did high ($\underline{M}$ = 3.26) or low ($\underline{M}$ = 3.31) self-monitoring individuals. In contrast, the self-monitoring construct would suggest that low self-monitoring subjects should simply respond in terms of their personality and interests, while high self-monitors should take care to communicate what they wanted to say, and the best possible way to say it.

A significant interaction was obtained between self-monitoring and situational variables for the dependent measure that assessed the degree to which subjects attempted to ignore the situational demands and be themselves

in their responses, $F(1, 92) = 4.67$, $p < .025$. Within the context of the

psychological interview, high self-monitors reported ignoring what the

interviews seemed to be calling for and trying to "be themselves" in their

responses to a greater extent ($\underline{M} = 2.30$) than did low self-monitors ($\underline{M} = 2.57$).

In contrast, when in the occupational interview, low self-monitoring parti-

cipants stated that they tried to be themselves more ($\underline{M} = 3.00$) than did

the high self-monitoring subjects (M = 3.14). Perhaps low self-monitors believe

more than highs that it is more desirable to present themselves as they are

in both interviews despite the obvious situational constraints, while highs

attempt to do this to a greater extent for the simulated psychological inter-

view than for the occupational situation.

Correlations Among Measures

Several of the dependent measures were found to be intercorrelated and

will be discussed in some detail here. All correlations are negative only

because of the reverse scoring of some of the items. Within both the

psychological and occupational interview situations, the degree to which

subjects felt that they responded in a manner that reflected their true

personalities and interests was found to be significantly correlated with

how comfortable they would be participating in interviews of this kind as

seen in Table 3 and 4.

Insert Tables 3 and 4 about here

Originally, the question designed to assess how comfortable subjects would

report feeling within a given situation was weighted in favor of high self-

monitoring like behavior in response to the Pilkonis study (1977) which

demonstrated that high self-monitors report feeling more comfortable in

all types of situations then do low self-monitoring individuals. This

study also reported that high self-monitoring individuals were rated by
partners as behaving as if they were more comfortable. In contrast, however,
it is apparent that those subjects who reported responding in a manner
most consonant with their own personalities and interest, also felt that
they would be most comfortable responding in actual occupational as well
as psychological interviews. Therefore, subjects who are able to respond
in terms of their disposition rather than situational cues are most
comfortable in interview situations of the type under investigation. In
addition, the extent to which subjects evaluated the best way to answer the
question was correlated with how much their responses reflected their
true personality and interests within both interview situations. Again, it
was originally felt that prototypical high self-monitoring behavior would
include an attempt to assess the best way of responding in a given situation
before offering a response. In light of the results however, it seems more
likely that those subjects who want to express their own personal character-
istics take greater care in determining how they can best do so. Perhaps
when expressing our own feelings we take greater care to communicate what
is intended then when we have tailored our responses to suit situational
constraints.

For the psychological interview, the degree of comfort was correlated
with how much the description of the kind of interview it was influenced
the subjects responses (Table 3). That is, the more comfortable the sub-
ject felt participating in a psychological interview, the less they attended
to and were influenced by the fact that it was a particular type of inter-
view. Similarly, in the occupational interview, the degree of comfort
was correlated with the degree to which the occupational guidelines in-
fluenced the response set (Table 4). In otherwords, those subjects who

were the most comfortable with this type of interview, attended to and followed the guidelines to a lesser degree then those who were not as comfortable.

In the occupational interview situation, the extent to which people evaluated the best way express what they wanted to say was found to be significantly correlated with the extent to which they attempted to ignore what the situation seemed to be calling for and try to "be themselves" (Table 4). This result suggests that those who were most comfortable in the occupational interview, felt able to respond in terms of their personal characteristics, despite the obvious situational guides to behavior.

A number of the intercorrelations calculated for the repeated measures were found to be correlated for both interview conditions.

Insert Table 5 about here

The extent to which subjects would have felt comfortable participating in a psychological interview as correlated with how much they felt they were able to "be themselves" in the occupational interview. Subjects who are most comfortable in an interview which called for self-disclosure were therefore more willing to respond in terms of personal characteristics within an occupational interview. In a somewhat similar vein is the correlation between the degree of comfort while participating in an occupational interview and the extent to which personal characteristics were expressed in the psychological condition. In contrast, the extent to which subjects molded their responses in a positive manner in the occupation interview was correlated with how much they felt they had responded in terms of their true personalities and interests for the psychological interview. Perhaps the impression they would make in the occupational interview to the greatest

extent were most aware of the situational differences between the interview contexts and therefore responded more in terms of situational cues. They would therefore alter their response pattern to the greatest degree and respond in a manner consistent with their own interests for the psychological interview.

An examination of the principal diagonal (refer to Table 5) showed that three of the dependent variables were not significantly correlated with themselves across the occupational and psychological interview conditions. Interestingly enough, those that were significantly correlated with themselves, resulted in a significant main effect for the interview situation in the direction of authenticity or the psychological interview. Those that were not significantly correlated however (i.e., "How much did the description of the kind of interview it was influence the way you responded to the interview questions?", "How much did you mold your responses in an attempt to come across in a positive manner; that is did you stress your more desirable qualities while minimizing your less desirable characteristics" and " To what extent did you consider who this particular interview situation was calling for and how you could come across as that person?") resulted in a significant main effect in the direction of impression management or the occupational interview. It is apparent therefore that those dependent measures that were intercorrelated across situations tapped the subjects personal characteristics while those that were not significantly correlated address the demands made by the particular situations.

Conclusions

Past research dealing with the self-monitoring construct led to the expectation that people would differ in the extent to which they assess the situational cues to behavior. In the present study, however, subjects were sensitive to the differences between the two interview situations despite their self-monitoring characteristics as measured by the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder, 1974). Participants consistently reported that the occupational interview seemed to elicit a strategic approach to behavior while the psychological interview encouraged the expression of one's own attitudes, dispositions, and other personal characteristics as relevant guides to behavior. While it is doubtful that all situations provide such salient situational and intrapsychic cues, it is likely that most people have access to this information as a possible goad to action.

Further, research on self-monitoring processes suggest that it is possible to determine for whom situational and dispositional guides to behavior are most influential. In contrast, the pattern of results obtained in this investigation suggests that people change or shift their behavior in terms of the situation in which they are participating, regardless of their reported self-monitoring characteristics. In fact, in only one instance was there a main effect of self-monitoring and paradoxically the direction of the significant relationship appears to contradict the behavioral orientation asserted to be characteristic of high and low self-monitoring individuals. These results are inconsistent with those obtained by Snyder and Monson (1975) who found that low self-monitors predicted

greater covariance across situations in expressions of honesty, generosity, and hostility than did high self-monitors. It seems likely that subjects within the Snyder and Monson study predicted how they felt they would behave in terms of their assumed preference in self-monitoring strategy as consistent with their responses on the Self-Monitoring Scale. That is, subjects who feel it it is more desirable to be consistent across situations would report that they would be consistent, while subjects who do not see consistency as particularly desirable would not. Therefore, Snyder and Monson obtained a significant main effect for self-monitoring across situations, when subjects in their study were not provided with the opportunity to respond in contexts similar to those presented in the study. That is the Self-Monitoring Scale was able to predict whether subjects would report that if given the opportunity, they would respond consistently or differently across multiple situations. The present investigation however, allowed subjects to refer to their actual response pattern in simulated interview conditions as salient information about how they actually did respond. It is apparent that by simply making the "situational" variables more salient in this study as compared with the Snyder and Monson (1975) study, the relationship between self-monitoring and behavior has been weakened. It is likely, therefore that by the time we get to actual differences in real situations, self-monitoring may be meaningless.

Further, these results fail to replicate the Snyder and Swann (1976) findings that high self-monitors showed greater attitude-behavior variability than did low self-monitors (see discussion of Snyder and Swann pg 9-10). While the failure to obtain differences between high and low self-monitoring individuals could of course be due to artifacts, may also result from the fact that the "self-monitoring construct" doesn't tell us much about behavior

as past research has claimed.

The present study does, however, support the assumption that situations can and do differ in the extent to which they provide situational and dispositional guides to behavior and that people do in fact change their response patterns in accordance with these salient cues. As previously discussed, the occupational interview was interpreted as promoting impression management. Generally, subjects responded on the basis of these situational cues to take on a strategic orientation that would allow them to make a favorable impression. Likewise participants in the psychological interview responded in ways more consistent with their personalities and interests. Consequently, the degree to which people report that they favor on internal versus contextual cues as measured by Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (1976), does not serve as a good predictor of the differential variability of behavior across situations.

In conclusion, the interview situations utilized in this study may be atypical in that they provided such salient guides to behavior. It is possible that self-monitoring characteristics may have a greater influence on behavior in more ambiguous social contexts. In addition, it is possible that an examination of multiple attitude-behavioral domains would better reflect behavior associated with high and low self-monitoring as predicted by Snyder's (1974) Self-Monitoring Scale. The present study, however, has demonstrated that generally, all people are capable of detecting relevent cues to behavior and are willing and able to alter their response pattern in terms of these salient cues. In light of these findings, the Self-Monitoring Scale while providing information about how subjects view their prefered strategic orientation to behavior, is limited as a predictor of behavior, independent of knowledge about salient situational guides to behavior.

Appendix A

Directions: The statements on the following pages concern your personal reactions to a number of different situations. No two statements are exactly alike, so consider each statement carefully before answering. If a statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE as applied to you, circle the T next to the question; if a statement is FALSE or NOT USUALLY TRUE as applied to you, circle the F next to the question.

(T) (F) 1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.

(T) (F) 2. My behavior is usually an expression of my inner feelings, attitudes, and beliefs.

(T) (F) 3. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.

(T) (F) 4. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.

(T) (F) 5. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.

(T) (F) 6. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people.

(T) (F) 7. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues.

(T) (F) 8. I would probably make a good actor.

(T) (F) 9. I rarely seek the advice of my friends to choose movies, books, or music.

(T) (F) 10. I sometimes appear to others to be experiencing deeper emotions than I actually am.

35

(T) (F) 11. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone.

(T) (F) 12. In group of people I am rarely the center of attention.

(T) (F) 13. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.

(T) (F) 14. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.

(T) (F) 15. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time.

(T) (F) 16. I'm not always the person I appear to be.

(T) (F) 17. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor.

(T) (F) 18. I have considered being an entertainer.

(T) (F) 19. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else.

(T) (F) 20. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.

(T) (F) 21. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.

(T) (F) 22. At a party, I let others keep the jokes and stories going.

(T) (F) 23. I feel a bit awkward in company and do not show up quite as well as I should.

(T) (F) 24. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).

(T) (F) 25. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.

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Table 1

Behavior Elicited by Interview Conditions as Seen by Individuals Varying in Self-Monitoring.

Interview	Self-Monitoring Scaled Scores:					
	Low		Median		High	
Elicited Behavior:	Impression Management	Authenticity	Impression Management	Authenticity	Impression Management	Authenticity
Median	19				43	
N:	33				19	
Occupational	25	1	19	0	35	2
Psychological	1	23	0	14	1	24
Both	4[a]	7	0	5	5	18
Neither	3	2	0	0	2	0

[a] Neither refers to the subjects belief that neither the occupational or psychological interview conditions elicited the behavior discussed. While both refers to the belief that both interviews elicited the particular behavior.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Variables

Dependent Measure		Self-Monitoring Scale Scores:					
		Low		Median		High	
		N: 33		19		43	
	Interview:	Occupational	Psychological	Occupational	Psychological	Occupational	Psychological
How to answer	M	3.27	3.36	3.47	3.95	3.09	3.44
	SD	.94	.82	.90	.85	.68	.83
Personality and interests	M	2.36	1.94	2.79	1.68	2.51	1.88
	SD	.78	.83	1.18	.67	1.05	.73
How comfortable	M	3.15	3.79	3.42	3.23	3.60	3.14
	SD	1.18	.89	1.70	1.05	1.16	1.10
Be yourself	M	3.00	2.58	3.26	1.84	3.16	2.30
	SD	.97	.99	.65	.90	.86	1.23
Interview description	M	2.67	2.21	3.47	2.16	3.16	2.28
	SD	1.29	1.05	1.22	1.17	1.15	1.33
Interview guidelines	M	2.24	1.89	2.62	2.26	2.42	2.12
	SD	1.03	.78	1.21	1.24	1.18	1.10
Mold responses	M	3.45	2.18	3.74	2.00	3.47	2.10
	SD	1.20	1.07	.99	1.00	1.24	1.08
Who to be	M	3.15	2.03	3.37	1.63	3.44	1.79
	SD	1.28	1.02	1.21	.76	1.12	1.01

Table 3

Intercorrelation Matrix for Dependent Variables for[a]
The Psychological Interview Condition

	How to answer (1)	Personality and interests (2)	How comfortable (3)	Be yourself (4)	Interview description (5)	Interview guidelines (6)	Mold response (7)	Who to be (8)
(1) How to answer		-.34***	.05	-.27**	.26**	.06	.00	.15
(2) Personality and interests			-.29**	.32**	-.07	.26**	.26**	.04
(3) How comfortable				-.18	-.16	-.35***	-.04	.03
(4) Be yourself					.23*	.26**	.23*	.28**
(5) Interview description						.27**	.31**	.47***
(6) Interview guidelines							.11	.16
(7) Mold responses								.43***
(8) Who to be								

Dependent Variable

[a] Correlations for Data are based on 95 observations (df = 94).
*p .05.
**p .01.
***p .001.

Table 4

Intercorrelation Matrix for Dependent Variables for
The Occupational Interview Condition

Dependent Variable

	How to answer (1)	Personality and interests (2)	How comfortable (3)	Be yourself description (4)	Interview description (5)	Interview guidelines (6)	Mold responses (7)	Who to be (8)
(1) How to answer								
(2) Personality and interests	-.33**[a]							
(3) How comfortable	.21*	-.36***						
(4) Be Yourself	.10	.14	-.02					
(5) Interview description	.27**	.09	-.05	.13				
(6) Interview guidelines	.18	.27**	-.23*	.20*	.14			
(7) Mold responses	.41***	.07	.26*	.25*	.44***	.02		
(8) Who to be	.25*	.06	-.08	.36***	.58***	.11	.70***	

[a] Correlations fro Data are based on 95 observations (df = 94).
*p   .05.
**p   .01.
***p   .001.

Table 5

Intercorrelation Matrix for Dependent Variables for the Occupational and Psychological Interview Condition[a]

Occupational Interview Condition	Psychological Interview Condition							
	How to answer (1)	Personality and interests (2)	How comfortable (3)	Be yourself (4)	Interview description (5)	Interview guidelines (6)	Mold responses (7)	Who to be (8)
(1) How to answer	.28**	.17	.09	.05	.11	-.10	.07	-.01
(2) Personality and interests	-.08	.21*	-.14	.01	-.14	.09	-.10	-.08
(3) How comfortable	.14	-.22*	.38***	.06	.03	-.16	-.17	.09
(4) Be yourself	.08	.01	-.21*	.30**	.15	.22*	-.10	-.01
(5) Interview description	.09	-.12	.15	-.18	.12	-.12	.12	-.01
(6) Interview guidelines	-.04	.11	-.18	.06	.01	.29**	.06	-.05
(7) Mold responses	.29**	-.28**	.10	.13	.31**	.04	.18	.21*
(8) Who to be	.18	-.08	-.01	.07	.21*	.02	.18	-.10

[a] Correlations for Data are based on 95 observations (df = 94).

*p .05.

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