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PHENOMENON OF SELF-MONITORING: THEORETICAL CONTENT OF THE CONCEPT AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

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The article analyzes the theoretical content of the concept of “self-monitoring” and considers empirical studies of this psychological phenomenon in foreign psychology. It is noted that self-monitoring is the ability and desire of the personality to monitor through self-observation and self-control of own expressive behavior and self-presentation in social situations, as well as the realization of this ability in reality. It is stated that self-monitoring affects the ability to predict the actual behavior of people in different social situations, and as a consequence, the success in different areas of life. It is emphasized that the developed ability to self-monitoring can produce both positive and negative psychological consequences. The most popular areas of research on the relationship of this phenomenon with various psychological characteristics are highlighted: expressive control; ability to accurately perceive key information in social situations; accessibility of individual attitudes, the content of the image of the Self, the relationship between attitudes and values; the correspondence between personal precepts and public actions; a tendency to adapt behavior to basic personal dispositions and special key information about the social situation; sensitivity to key information about the situation, the characteristics of his / her Self and his / her own attitudes; susceptibility to advertising; consumer product quality assessments; susceptibility to motivational messages that make functional decisions related to the manifestation of social images; appearance orientation as a criterion for evaluating other people; focus on social interaction, friendship and romance; leadership in the group; organizational behavior and management results; critical thinking and reflection, etc. It is indicated that in Ukrainian psychology, the most popular subject of the research is the phenomenon of self-presentation, which is close to self-monitoring. The attention is focused on the fact that the combination of the Western and Ukrainian traditions of the research in this direction is promising.

Keywords: expressive behavior; self-control; self-monitoring; self-presentation, self-observation

В статті проаналізовано теоретичний зміст поняття «самомоніторинг» та розглянуто емпіричні дослідження цього психологічного феномену у зарубіжній психології. Констатовано, що самомоніторинг впливає на здатність передбачати реальну поведінку людей у різних соціальних ситуаціях, і як наслідок цього, на успішність у різних сферах життя. Висвітлено найбільш популярні напрями досліджень щодо взаємозв'язку цього феномена з різноманітними психологічними характеристиками. Зазначено, що в українській психології більш популярним предметом дослідження є близький до самомоніторингу феномен самопрезентації. Акцентовано увагу на тому, що перспективним є поєднання західної та вітчизняної традицій у дослідженнях даного напрямку.

Ключові слова: експресивна поведінка; самоконтроль; самомоніторинг; самопрезентація; самоспостереження

В статье проанализировано теоретическое содержание понятия «самомониторинг» и рассмотрены эмпирические исследования этого психологического феномена в зарубежной психологии. Отмечено, что самомониторинг представляет собой способность и стремление личности отслеживать через самонаблюдение и самоконтроль свое экспрессивное поведение и самопрезентацию в социальных ситуациях, а также реализацию этой способности в действительности. Констатировано, что самомониторинг влияет на способность предвидеть реальное поведение людей в различных социальных ситуациях, и как следствие этого, на успешность в разных сферах жизни. Освещены наиболее популярные направления исследований взаимосвязи этого феномена с различными психологическими характеристиками. Указано, что в украинской психологии более популярным предметом исследования является близкий к самомониторингу феномен самопрезентации. Акцентировано внимание на том, что перспективным является соединение западной и отечественной традиций исследований в данном направлении.

Ключевые слова: экспрессивное поведение; самоконтроль; самомониторинг; самопрезентация; самонаблюдение

The problem formulation. Recently, psychologists have been actively discussing not so much the problem of choosing the single best paradigm in the analysis of personality structure, but the creation of a new one that would absorb all the best and offer options for solving problems at a new quality level.

In the study of human behavior in situations of social interaction in psychological science, the concept of «self-monitoring», introduced by the American psychologist Mark Snyder in 1974, arose and spread [1]. This concept has two interrelated processes: self-observation and self-control, aimed at achieving social adaptability. In some sources, self-control is replaced by self-management and self-assessment, so self-monitoring has three components.

Self-monitoring (SM) has been described as a characteristic of individual differences, which determines, first, the ability and desire to track, through self-observation and self-control, their expressive behavior and self-presentation in social situations and, second, the realization of this ability in reality. In other words, this characteristic indicates the presence or absence of tendencies in the subject to tactical impression management, which contains the construction and improvement of his social image [2, 3, 45].

Thus, the study of the structure of personal properties were engaged in (Akrami N., Asendorpf B., Ackerman P., etc.), the analysis of the relationship between self-monitoring, motivation and values, based on the ideas developed in line with the theory of activity (Leontiev D.A.; Vilyunas VK; Asmolov AG, etc.), as well as approaches to the study of self-presentation and its motivation (Jones E. and Pittman T.; Arkin D., etc.) and models of value orientations (Schwartz S.).

At the same time, the emphasis on applied self-monitoring studies does not fill the gaps in the study of its content. It is also important to note that despite the popularity of the highly predictive construct of self-monitoring in foreign psychology, this phenomenon remains insufficiently covered in the studies of domestic researchers, which makes the analysis of the achievements of foreign scientists relevant.

Thus, the **purpose** of the article is to analyze the theoretical meaning of the concept of “self-monitoring” and consider empirical studies of this psychological phenomenon.

Tasks of the article:

- to carry out theoretical analysis of studies of the phenomenon of self-monitoring;
- to analyze empirical studies of self-monitoring.

The methods of theoretical research are used in the article. The presented theoretical review of the literature is carried out using the analysis, comparison and synthesis of data from the problem under study.

Analysis of recent research. Consideration of the phenomenon of self-monitoring as a complex characteristic not only increases the possibility of diagnostics of this characteristic, but also creates conditions for its formation.

M. Snyder’s theory contributed to the emergence of a large amount of research on the role of processes of impression management in various fields of individual and social functioning. The author himself, on the one hand, linked the idea of the SM phenomenon to the problem of the origins of «acting in life», on the other hand, classified it as a theory of individual differences in expressive control, and on the third - called the central phenomenon of his theory the term «self-monitoring», which translates into “self-tracking” in Ukrainian. This combination, along with the complexity and versatility of the phenomenon itself, has caused fierce controversy over the central notion of this theory, the psychological construct of self-monitoring, and the method of measuring it.

According to the basic tenet of the theory, people differ greatly in the degree to which they can and do want to involve expressive control. This theory is largely repelled by the well-known concept of «role-play dramaturgy» by I. Hoffman, in which the author compares social interaction with a theatrical performance or «chain» of verbal and non-verbal expressive acts that one manages to preserve the correspondence of the situation and his behavior [5]. Such self-management requires a certain repertoire of mimicry, an awareness of how others interpret this or that action, as well as the desire to control the social atmosphere and the use of a certain repertoire of expressive tactics.

Hewlin P. F. emphasizes that, M. Snyder himself repeatedly used the metaphor of the theater to explain the essence of the proposed phenomenon. To some extent, expressive control may be involved “in the innocuous attempt to lubricate the creaking mechanism of social contacts” [6, p. 636]. But expressive control can also be an integral part of illicit social activities, such as lying, hiding one’s true intentions, or presenting a false Self [7, 8, 9, 10]. Kudret S., Erdogan B., and Bauer T. N. found that self-monitoring is a personality trait that can produce mixed psychological consequences. Self-monitoring plays an important role in attenuating the influence of other personality traits, individual values, attitudes, and intent on behavior. Personal characteristics, attitudes, and values become weaker predictors of behavior for individuals with high levels of self-monitoring. In combination with the internal motive of achievement, self-control can produce both positive and negative psychological effects [11].

Pillow D. R., Hale Jr. W. J., Crabtree M. A., and Hinojosa T. L. indicate that self-monitoring literature often describes people with high levels of self-monitoring as social chameleons, implying that they lack authenticity. At the same time, the authors found that with high levels of authenticity, general indicators of self-monitoring are positively associated with positive relationships with other people, and positively related to well-being, when authenticity does not change. According to these researchers, the results obtained by them are of importance for the theory of self-control, disputing the general idea that people with a high level of self-monitoring are not genuine, and focus on the conditions under which self-control is associated with well-being [12].

There are a number of questions, namely, why some people are more able to control their expressive behavior than others; what are the genetic and environmental prerequisites for the development of expressive control; what personality traits are related to expressive control, and how this relationship can be explained.

The theory of individual differences in expressive control could elucidate important nuances in the general context of understanding how social interaction and interpersonal relationships are governed by expressive behavior.

To some extent, the emergence of a construct of self-monitoring can be attributed to the urgency of resorting to expressive control as such and the challenge that it was throwing to the widespread belief at the time that non-verbal behavior could not be subordinated to arbitrary control [13]. The popularity of self-monitoring theory in personality psychology and social psychology can be largely explained by the historical context in which it emerged.

Only a part of people's behavior can be accurately predicted, based on their personal preferences and other characteristics. On the other hand, on the contrary, behavior is determined by the requirements of the situation and minimally corresponds to personal attitudes and values. M. Snyder suggested that these individual differences are due to varying degrees of expression of self-monitoring, and described the characteristics of individuals with high and low levels of development of this quality.

On the one hand, according to M. Snyder, the level of self-monitoring is determined by the source of information that an individual uses to control his or her behavior. Individuals with high levels of self-monitoring (HSM) rely on information about the adequacy of a particular behavior in a given situation. Given the situational expediency of their expressive self-presentation, people with high self-monitoring monitor their expressive behavior and accordingly seek to create the desired image of a public self. Thus, their behavior is sensitive enough to social and interpersonal hints about the situational adequacy of self-presentation. People with low levels of self-monitoring (LSM) use less expressive control, do not show interest in the situational adequacy of their expressive behavior, that is, their expressive behavior is not controlled, but reflects their true internal attitudes, emotions, and feelings.

On the other hand, the theory of self-monitoring refers to the differences of people in how much they value, create, develop, and improve social images and public self-presentation. According to M. Snyder, people with high self-monitoring can be compared with virtuous social pragmatists who are capable and eager to create images intended to impress others. In addition, they seem to even believe in the images they create themselves, and attach importance to the fact that these images can become and even become social realities. On the contrary, people with low self-monitoring give the impression of those who not only do not want, but also can not make their image more attractive [4].

As stated by M. Miller and J. Thayer, at the beginning of his research, M. Snyder presented self-monitoring as a one-dimensional construct with higher and lower levels. It seemed like a low self-monitoring is a drawback, and people with low self-monitoring lack the skills that high self-monitoring has. In later developments, Snyder refers to a two-prototype model [14]. These prototypes can be conceptualized as two comparable strategic and motivational processes that influence the interpretation of the situation. The prototype of a person with high self-monitoring poses the following strategic question: «What does this situation require of me and how can I respond to it?» On the contrary, the expressive behavior of a person with low self-monitoring is generated from his affective states and attitudes, he expresses what he feels. The strategic question of a person with low self-monitoring is this: «Who am I and how can I stay in this situation?» Thus, differences in self-monitoring can be multidimensional configurations.

The theory of self-monitoring offered to some extent an option for resolving differences concerning the relative role of the individual and the situation in the determination of social behavior. Self-monitoring theory has given impetus to further research in this area.

Empirical testing of the hypotheses that arose with the advent of self-monitoring theory contributed to the emergence of a large number of scientific works. From this, quite a number of articles appeared, stating that «this is an important construct that opens new perspectives on the improvement of explanatory mechanisms of socio-psychological phenomena» [15, p.1355], and that the Self-Monitoring Scale is «one of the most popular measurement tools presented recently» [16, p. 663].

Among the numerous studies of SM, there are two main areas to be studied: the study of the structure of the SM construct and the identification of the SM's relationship with different external behavioral correlates.

Self-monitoring studies have typically been conducted using scales consisting of a number of self-description characteristics that identify high and low self-monitoring individuals. The most commonly used instruments are bipolar (with «correct / incorrect» answers) a self-monitoring scale consisting of 25 items and its modified advanced version with 18 items. In spite of the fact that in these methods the multifaceted content of the construct is presented, expressive control manifestations have a special position. Indeed, the point that most closely correlates with the entire Self-Monitoring Scale questionnaire is the point «I could be a good actor» [2, 4, 15].

The actual issue is the fact that there are individual differences in self-monitoring. That is, the concept of SM refers to the motivation of individuals and the ways of realizing these motives, the theory of SM suggests that the multiple manifestations of self-monitoring are shown by the same people and, therefore, reflect the same individual differences. M. Snyder has never questioned the multi-factorial nature of the items in the Self-Monitoring Scale (in addition, the factors were highlighted in his own factor analysis) [4, 17].

The question of what in self-monitoring ensures its integrity, and what its influences in homogeneity

- has become a major feature in future SM studies. The existence of heterogeneous types of self-monitoring - the type of high and low - is another topic for research. Snyder's successors, as the typological approach was increasingly criticized in psychology in general, gradually began to question and then criticize the typological approach to self-monitoring, finding it fundamentally incorrect, and to justify the continuity and homogeneity of the Self-Monitoring Scale.

The next research question concerned the uniqueness of the SM construct. The article by Snyder and Gangestad [17] on the existence of a latent variable, which reflects the main content of the phenomenon of self-monitoring, has caused criticism regarding the provisions of the theory of self-monitoring.

Such line of research on SM, as an analysis of its relationship with the widest range of external variables, is the second major focus in research on SM. Initially, the construct was compared to variables that were likely to be directly related to the SM theory (for example, guidance, sensitivity to the expectations of others, etc.).

From the theory of SM, it emerges that the behavior of those who use expressive control should be especially sensitive to changes in the social context in which self-esteem is created; therefore, in areas where the situation involves a considerable variability in style of behavior, people with high self-monitoring should show greater inter-situational variability in their self-presentation than people with low self-monitoring. In addition, the basic principles of the theory of self-monitoring are the basis for asserting with a high probability that people with low self-monitoring should show greater consistency in the behavioral manifestations of their feelings, their thoughts should be more persistent, and thus, they should have a strong the connection of their attitudes and preferences with real behavioral manifestations.

During the first decade of self-monitoring theory and research, literary reviews and critical commentary on the concept and its measurement have usually concentrated around the above problems (Briggs S. & Cheek J.; John O., Cheek J. & Klohnen E.; Snyder M.; Wolfe R., Lennox R. & Hudiburg R.).

Only in the second decade did independent programs emerge that deal with the study of personal and situational behavioral problems. The focus of researchers' interest was on variables related to social, professional, and personal performance.

Analysis of self-monitoring studies identifies the most popular areas of research on the relationship of this phenomenon to the following characteristics:

- 1) expressive control (Riggio & Friedman; Siegman & Reynolds, Snyder);
- 2) the ability to accurately perceive key information in social situations (Costanzo & Archer; Funder & Harris; Hosch, Leippe, Marchioni & Cooper; Mill);
- 3) the availability of individual guidance, the content of the image of the self, the relationship between attitudes and values (DeBono, Green, Shair & Benson; DeBono & Snyder; Kardes Sanbonmatsu, Voss, & Fazio; Mellema & Bassili; Snyder & Cantor);
- 4) the correspondence between personal attitudes and public actions (Ajzen, Timko & White; DeBono & Omoto; DeBono & Snyder; Kraus; Maio & Olson; Snyder & Kendzierski; Snyder & Swarm; Snyder & Tanke; Wymer & Penner; Zanna, Olson & Fazio; Zuckerman & Reis);
- 5) a tendency to adapt behavior to basic personal dispositions and special key information about the social situation (Danheiser & Graziano; Dardenne & Leyens; Fiske & Von Hendy; Friedman & Miller-Herringer; Lippa & Donaldson; McCann & Hancock; Snyder & Monson; Wong & Watldns);
- 6) sensitivity to key information about the situation, the characteristics of own self and own attitudes (Chen, Schechter & Chaiken; Fritz, Lavine & Huff; Graziano & Biyant; Jones, Brenner & Knight; Krosnick & Sedikides);
- 7) susceptibility to exposure to ads that appeal to product-related images compared to ads that report the real quality of the products being advertised (DeBono & Packer; Shavitt, Lowrey & Han; Snyder & DeBono);
- 8) consumer evaluation of product quality (DeBono & Krim; DeBono & Leavitt; DeBono & Packer; DeBono & Rubin; DeBono & Snyder);
- 9) susceptibility to motivational messages that evoke functional decisions related to the manifestation of social images in comparison to those that justify the expression of individual attitudes and values (DeBono; DeBono & Hamish; Kristiansen & Zanna; Lavine & Snyder);
- 10) appearance orientation as a criterion for evaluating other people (Snyder Berscheid & Glick; Snyder, Berscheid & Matwychuk; Terkildsen);
- 11) focus on social interaction, friendship and romantic relationships (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson & Dermer; Broderick & Beltz; Ickes & Barnes; Ickes, Reidhead & Patterson; Jones & Baumeister; Simpson; Simpson, Gangestad & Biek; Snyder, Gangestad & Simpson; Snyder & Simpson; Snyder, Simpson & Gangestad);
- 12) the emergence of leadership in the group (Anderson & Tolson; Cronshaw & Ellis; Dobbins, Long, Dedrick & Clemons; Ellis; Garland & Beard; Zaccaro, Foil & Kenny);
- 13) organizational behavior and management results (Baron; Caldwell & O'Reilly; Deluga; Fandt & Farris; Jenkins; Kilduff; Kilduff & Day);
- 14) an expressive control and interpersonal orientations that manifest themselves in friendship, romantic and intimate relationships (Snyder et al.; Snyder & Simpson).

In turn, studies of interpersonal orientations have found that people with high SMs choose partners to interact in a particular situation with friends, who assist them in constructing self-presentation patterns relevant to this situation [17]. Moreover, people with HSM are especially preferred in romantic relationships to partners with attractive an appearance, that is, having a characteristic that enhances their own status in the

eyes of others. Guided by external parameters, people with HSM have romantic relationships characterized by less affinity than people with low self-monitoring; in addition, they are more willing to use trickery, deception when «winning» a partner for a romantic relationship. On the contrary, the choice of a friend in people with LSM usually reflects the similarity of identities and the same values. Their romantic relationship is relatively stable and characterized by the intimacy and priority of an intimate relationship. Also, the results obtained by Tyler J. M., Kearns P. O. and McIntyre M. M. show that subjects with a high level of self-monitoring have greater cognitive access to information about self-presentation [18]. It should also be pointed out that a study by Ghanizadeh A. found that self-monitoring indirectly has a positive effect on achievement through understanding and reflection. It has also been found that self-monitoring has a positive and significant impact on critical thinking, understanding, and reflection [19].

It may also be noted that studies relating to advertising, persuasion mechanisms and consumer behavior (DeBono & Snyder; Snyder & DeBono); selection of personnel (Snyder et al.); behavior in the organization (Caldwell & Burger; Caldwell & O'Reilly; Fandt & Farris; Jenkins; Kilduff; Kilduff & Day; Mehra & Kilduff); processes of socialization and development (Eder; Eisenberg et al; Graziano et al.); as well as cross-cultural studies (Gudykunst; Gudykunst & Nishida; Gudykunst, Yang & Nishida).

For example, consumer attitudes and behavior studies have found that people with HSM value goods for their strategic value in improving their social image and public self-esteem, responding positively to, for example, advertising slogans that associate a product with status. On the contrary, people with LSM judge products by their quality, without considering the external characteristics that create the image and enhance the status, that is, select products that can be trusted to perform their assigned functions (DeBono; DeBono & Harnish.; DeBono & Packer; DeBono & Rubin; DeBono & Snyder; DeBono & Telesca; Snyder & DeBono).

Similar trends are evident in the behavior of people in the professional field. People with HSM prefer positions that require self-presentation skills, and people with LSM prefer positions that allow them to express their true self (Snyder & Gangestad). In addition, people with HSM are particularly successful in activities that require flexibility and adaptability when interacting with different clients (Caldwell & O'Reilly), while people with LSM perform better when interacting with relatively homogeneous work groups (Anderson). Similarly, the level of SM, as evidence of a focus on public self-esteem or personal guidance, can be important information for staff selection professionals. When modeling recruitment situations, it is found that people with HSM are more attuned to the required appearance of candidates for the position, while people with LSM are attuned to the necessary personal characteristics of candidates (Snyder et al.).

It is important to note that studies of the second- and third-decade SM phenomenon go far beyond simply demonstrating that individual differences in improving one's public image affect behavior in a situation of self-presentation.

Summarizing the self-monitoring issue in foreign psychology, we can draw the following **conclusions**:

1. The concept of "self-monitoring" was introduced by M. Snyder as a variant of the solution of the confrontation "boundary - situation" in psychology. Recent studies have found that SM influences the ability to predict people's real behavior in different social situations and, as a consequence, their success in different areas of life.

2. SM is a complex and multifaceted concept that necessitates its deeper study in order to understand the mechanisms of functioning of this phenomenon.

3. It should be noted that in relation to SM, the question is still open, what terms to use when considering it, that is, whether the phenomenon relates to features or is a characteristic.

4. The definition of self-monitoring refers to two qualitatively different components: "ability" and "desire", that is, what provides disposition and motivation.

In modern Ukrainian psychology, self-monitoring studies are not widespread, while the phenomenon of self-presentation, when the subject controls his or her own behavior for the sake of making a certain impression on others, is being studied more closely by researchers. Numerous works of domestic scientists are aimed at solving applied issues and present the results of research into the qualitative content of self-presentation in professional, age aspects or in the context of other psychological phenomena. At the same time, in recent years works have been presented that, in addition to applied ones, have theoretical and methodological significance. A.O. Kononenko developed a structural and functional model of self-presentation, which serves as a basis for systematically contributing to the success of improving the efficiency of self-presentation [20]. T.O. Chygyryn defined the concept of effective self-presentation of the individual, and identified three levels of self-presentation efficiency (effective, sufficient and ineffective). The researcher also developed the author's method of their determination [21].

Thus, it should be noted that foreign researchers focus on the quantitative assessment of the ability to self-monitoring, while in the domestic tradition, much attention is paid to the qualitative features of self-presentation.

In our opinion, it is promising to combine these areas of analysis with future research and understanding of self-monitoring as a component of self-presentation, which will enrich both theoretical and applied scientific studies in this field.

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