

Deci and Ryan suggested that people high in autonomy should seek out choice and experience behavior as self-initiated; they should also have a greater capacity to experience events as a source of information, an opportunity for self-expression, and autonomous activity; their behavior should be intrinsically motivated and less controlled by extrinsic rewards. People high in the control orientation should seek out controls and interpret the environment as controlling; their behavior should be a function of extrinsic rewards—what one must or should do determines goals and values. Finally, people high in the impersonal orientation believe they cannot control their behavior and consequently cannot obtain desired outcomes; in essence, these people consider themselves helpless (Seligman, 1975).

Recently, Deci and Ryan (1985a) developed a general causality orientations scale to measure the control, autonomy, and impersonal orientations. The scale contains 12 vignettes, each accompanied by three 7-point items—one item per orientation. Accordingly, the scale yields three scores—autonomy, control, and impersonal—each based on 12 items. Internal consistency of the three subscales was adequate (α values ranged from .69 to .74); stability was relatively high (test-retest r 's for a 2-month interval ranged from .71 to .78). Several correlations with other scales appear consistent with predictions derived from self-determination theory. For example, autonomy orientation was positively correlated with measures of ego development (Loevinger, 1976) and self-esteem (Janis & Field, 1959); and negatively correlated with a measure of self-derogation (Kaplan & Pokorny, 1969). Control orientation was positively correlated with a measure of Type A (Jenkins, Rosenman, & Friedman, 1967). Impersonal orientation was positively correlated with self-derogation (Kaplan & Pokorny), depression (Beck & Beamesderfer, 1974), social anxiety (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975), and external locus of control (Rotter, 1966); and negatively correlated with measures of ego development (Loevinger, 1976) and self-esteem (Janis & Field, 1959). Finally, autonomy orientation was not correlated with control orientation ($r = .03$) and negatively correlated with impersonal orientation ($r = -.25$); control orientation was positively correlated with impersonal orientation ($r = .27$).

The above results as well as other findings by Deci and Ryan (1985a) provided support for the concept of causality orientations. Accordingly, the scale can be used in additional tests of self-determination theory; and these tests may also serve to establish the construct validity of the scale. In the present study, we sought to examine the relationship between control, as measured by the general orientations scale, and two other variables: Self-monitoring (Snyder, 1974) and a preference for a particular advertising strategy—appeals to the image of a product as opposed to its quality (Snyder & DeBono, 1985).

Control Orientation, Self-Monitoring, and Preference for Image versus Quality Approach to Advertising

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The present study examined the relations among control orientation, self-monitoring, and reactions to image-based vs quality-based advertisements. Control orientation, as measured by the general causality orientations scale (E. L. Deci & R. M. Ryan (1985) *Journal of Research in Personality* 19, 109-134), refers to the tendency to organize behavior according to environmental controls and, consequently, to pursue extrinsic rather than intrinsic rewards. Self-monitoring (M. Snyder (1974) *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 30, 526-537) refers to the tendency to tailor behavior to fit situational considerations. Image-based as opposed to quality-based advertisements emphasize the extrinsic rewards associated with the use of a product. It was found that people high in control orientation were also high in self-monitoring and preferred image- to quality-oriented advertisements. Since image preference has been previously related to high self-monitoring, we proposed that other correlates of self-monitoring might also be related to control orientation. Several candidates were offered for future research. © 1988 Academic Press, Inc.

Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985b) distinguishes among three motivational systems: *intrinsic*, *extrinsic*, and *amotivational*. Intrinsically motivated behavior is enacted because of the actor's interest in the behavior itself; accordingly, this behavior persists with a minimum of external support. Extrinsically motivated behavior is enacted as a means for other goals; accordingly, this behavior persists only if reinforced by certain rewards (e.g., pay, status, deadlines, etc.). The amotivational system represents a state of learned helplessness—perceived lack of control over one's own behavior. The three motivational systems are facilitated by the appropriate environmental events and/or personality orientation. *Informational* events and the *autonomy* orientation promote intrinsically motivated behavior; *controlling* events and *control* orientation promote extrinsic behavior; *amotivating* events and *impersonal* orientation promote the amotivational system.

How is one to distinguish among the three personality orientations?

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