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Impression Management: The Effects of Loneliness, Anxiety, and Depression

Among Kyrgyz Women

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Abstract

The study investigated whether and how various levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression were related to various strategies of impression management among 100 women in Kyrgyzstan. Three analyses were performed upon the data. Analysis of frequencies was used in order to examine the most and least used strategic self-presentations by the respondents. Independent sample T-test was conducted to examine any differences in the usage of strategic self-presentations, as well as reported levels of anxiety, depression, and loneliness controlling for demographic variables, such as marital and partner status, and others. Finally, to examine absence or presence of relationships between variables a correlational analysis was performed. Level of loneliness was significantly related to increased anxiety and depression, which supports prior research. Moreover, the study showed that reported levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression related to having/not having an intimate partner, rather than to marital status. Finally, it was found that usage of particular self-presentation strategies was related to levels of loneliness and anxiety in females.

Impression Management: Effects of Loneliness, Anxiety, and Depression Levels among Women

We put on a face to meet the faces that we meet.

T. S. Eliot

This study will investigate whether and how various levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression are related to various strategies of impression management among young women in Kyrgyzstan. Impression management is used in different life situations when a person engages in a particular self-presentation strategy in order to form a desired impression and thus, in some cases, promote interpersonal contact (Franzoi, 1996). Research suggests that longing for interpersonal contact is a hallmark of loneliness (Jackson, 2007), meaning that lonely people are most willing to get involved in interpersonal relationships. It is, therefore, possible to assume that lonely people might be more willing to use particular self-presentation strategies in order to initiate, promote, and secure their interpersonal relationships. However, research to date also found that lonely people view themselves as lacking in skills to forge connections and circumvent rejection (Jackson, 2007), which may result in them engaging in ineffective or even dysfunctional presentations of self, which, in turn, might contribute to undesirable impression management outcomes and rejection by others. Thus, it is assumed that the person is caught in a vicious cycle of loneliness and ineffective strategic self-presentations. This study will investigate whether and how various levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression are related to various strategies of impression management, and thus will provide a deeper understanding of the issue and potential solution for the problem.

This study analyzes self-presentation strategies in relation to particular instances of women's lives (i.e., intimate and interpersonal relationships). Interpersonal relationships play a very important role in our lives and personal development, along with friendship and other social

bonds, and have a significant influence on our self-esteem, or personal sense of worthiness (Sanford & Donovan, 1985). Intimate relationships have the potential to either enhance self-esteem or devastate it as no other relationships can (Sanford & Donovan, 1985), which is especially relevant for women in Kyrgyzstan where cultural pressure emphasizes successful marriage as a value.

Taking into consideration the focus of the given study on a particular area of interpersonal relationships, it is necessary to differentiate between various types of loneliness. Weiss (1973, 1974) has described a comprehensive typology of loneliness, hypothesizing that two distinct types of loneliness exist (as cited in Russell, Cutrona, Rose, & Yurko, 1984). Thus, emotional loneliness results from the lack of a close, intimate attachment to another person. Individuals who have recently been divorced, widowed, or ended a dating relationship experience this form of loneliness. Social loneliness results from the lack of a network of social relationships in which the person is part of a group of friends who share common interests and activities. Individuals who have recently moved to a new social environment experience this form of loneliness (as cited in Russell, Cutrona, Rose, & Yurko, 1984). This study will mostly focus on emotional loneliness, as women are more prone to experience this particular type of loneliness (Cockrum & White, 1985).

Indeed, some researchers found that female respondents are more likely to admit that they are emotionally lonely than male respondents. As Borys and Perlman's study of self-labeling loneliness established, women report being lonely much more frequently than men (as cited in Heinrich & Gullone, 2006). Moreover, Pudrovskaya, Schieman, & Carr (2006) found that women are especially susceptible to being stressed as a result of their loneliness and this tendency is reported to increase as women grow older. Cockrum & White (1985) established that emotional

loneliness is the most important variable in predicting women's level of life satisfaction followed by the availability of attachment. Problems associated with emotional loneliness include anxiety, tension, loss of appetite, sleep difficulties, somatic symptoms, and feelings of being "empty or hollow" (Weiss, 1975, 1981, as cited in Cockrum & White, 1985, p. 551). Similarly, Hayes (1981) found that professional never-married women are most likely to say that the lack of male companionship is the main ingredient missing in their lives preventing greater life satisfaction (as cited in Cockrum & White, 1985).

Clinical Significance of Loneliness

These results underline the importance of the interrelation and dynamics of interaction between singlehood and loneliness, and also the relevance of the clinical significance of loneliness among single people. After all, a number of sources emphasized the vitality of satisfying social relationships for mental and physical health (Heinrich & Gullone, 2006). Thus, Crockett and colleagues (2002) conducted a longitudinal study examining the effects of living alone on the mortality of patients with severe chronic obstructive pulmonary disease. Results of the study demonstrate a relationship between loneliness and the survival rate for female patients. Living with a partner is associated with an additional 12 months of life (Crockett et al., 2002).

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000) emphasizes that relational problems might warrant the focus of clinical attention because they cause clinically significant distress, as well as complicate the treatment of, or intensify mental disorders. Indeed, a number of studies demonstrated how loneliness is related to a number of serious mental health disorders, including alcoholism, suicidal behavior, and depression (Bragg, 1979; Cutrona, 1981; Peplau, Russell, & Heim, 1979; Weeks, Michela, Peplau, & Bragg, 1980, as cited in Russell, Cutrona, Rose, & Yurko, 1984).

Moreover, research on loneliness is particularly relevant in the light of findings of the study on intergenerational transmission of loneliness in college females (Lobdell & Perlman, 1986). It was established that loneliness scores of parents and their daughters significantly correlate. The study implied the existence of genetic and social factors underlying the transmission of loneliness between parents and children (Lobdell & Perlman, 1986). Also, research showed that children, whose parents are lonely, fail to form strong emotional bonds and secure attachments in early childhood and are consequently prone to many forms of emotional distress, personality disturbances, anxiety, depression, emotional detachment, and loneliness (Bowlby, 1977, as cited in Lobdell & Perlman, 1986).

Loneliness and Singlehood

In this study I make a clear distinction between loneliness and singlehood, focusing on the level of reported loneliness rather than the marital status. Previous research implies that marriage is associated with substantially less loneliness with the strength of the marriage-
loneliness relationship constant across 16 nations (Stack, 1998). Another established finding in the literature is that marked differences in subjective well-being exist between categories of marital status, both in the general population and among older adults in particular. Thus, the married report higher levels of well-being than the single with respect to happiness (Glenn & Weaver, 1988), morale (Balkwell, 1985), mental health (Gove, 1972; Hughes & Gove, 1981), life satisfaction (Acock & Hurlbert, 1993; Strain & Chappel, 1982), and loneliness (De Jong Gierveld, 1987; Perlman, 1988) (as cited in Peters & Liefbroer, 1997). Moreover, research established that adults who are not involved in a partner relationship are lonelier than adults with a partner (Peters & Liefbroer, 1997).

However, the favorable well-being of married people is usually explained by stressing the importance of having a partner for the fulfillment of basic human needs and the provision of resources (Peters & Liefbroer, 1997). In particular, a partner is important in monitoring one's behavior (Ross, 1995; Waite, 1995), in structuring one's time use (Milardo, Johnson, & Huston, 1983), and in giving life meaning (Waite, 1995) (as cited in Peters & Liefbroer, 1997). At the same time, it is possible to imply then that well-being is related to living and having a partner rather than to being married. Thus, Peters & Liefbroer (1997) found that people living in alternative relationship arrangements, such as cohabitation or a close intimate relationship with a person outside the household, show levels of well-being comparable with those of married people. Moreover, some researchers found that married women consequently report higher levels of loneliness than unmarried women (Matlin, 1987). This might be particularly relevant for Kyrgyzstan, a nation with low divorce rates and sociocultural censure of divorce. Therefore, it is not unlikely that some lonely persons and those married to lonely people may be trapped in unhappy marriages in this country.

Loneliness and Social Behavior

Loneliness is also related to the social behavior of individuals. Indeed, studies of social behavior of lonely individuals indicate that they have social skills deficits, including a negative view of self and others, low levels of responsiveness to others, and problems with self-disclosure (Chelune, Sultan, & Williams, 1980; Solano, Batten, & Parish, 1982, as cited in Russell, Cutrona, Rose, & Yurko, 1984). Additionally, lonely participants are less willing to self-disclose regardless of the target (Schwab, et al., 1998) and social situations (Chelune, et al., 1980). Furthermore, the study by Haines, Scalise, and Ginter (1993) established a relationship between loneliness and self-esteem. In particular, they found that two affective dimensions of loneliness

(isolation and dejection) correlate negatively with scores of respondents on self-esteem (Haines, Scalise, & Ginter, 1993). Among the most consistent, strongest correlates of loneliness have been self-esteem and depression, the quality and quantity of social contacts, and assessments of how one's own social ties compare with those maintained by one's peers (Lobdell & Perlman, 1986).

Impression Management

A more specific focus on social behavior of my research is impression management. Impression management, also called strategic self-presentation, is the process by which individuals attempt to control the impressions others form of them (Goffman, 1959). Self-presentation, in its turn, is the process by which individuals represent themselves to the social world. This process occurs at both conscious and unconscious levels and is usually motivated by a desire to please others and/or meet the needs of the self (Goffman, 1959). Self-presentation is an important part of social life and is largely a prosocial way by which individuals negotiate social interactions. Yet, for the individual, the process of self-presentation might be fraught with internal tensions that can arise between the need for social approval and desire for authenticity (Goffman, 1959). According to Goffman, self-presentation strategies differ across individuals and are influenced by environmental factors. In addition to self-presentation differences observed according to age, gender, and culture, researchers have observed differences in self-presentation based on environmental factors. That is, individuals may elect to alter their self-presentations in response to cues from the social environment (Jones & Pittnam, 1982, as cited in Franzoi, 1996).

Individuals manage their behavior and personal characteristics in the presence of others in an attempt to create a specific impression on their audience. The primary aim of this process is to exert some power over forming of desired impressions about an individual (Franzoi, 1996).

Social psychology distinguishes two ways of presenting ourselves to others: strategic and authentic self-presentations (Goffman, 1959). Whenever one uses conscious and deliberate efforts to shape others' impressions with a purpose of gaining power, sympathy, influence, etc., we are talking about strategic self-presentation. Nonstrategic self-presentations, which are not aimed at impression management but rather at verification of important aspects of our self-concept, are defined as authentic (Goffman, 1959). Jones and Pittnam (1982) introduced the taxonomy of strategic self-presentations, which included six common strategic self-presentations: self-promotion, exemplification, modesty, intimidation, supplication, and ingratiation (as cited in Franzoi, 1996). Self-promotion refers to conveying positive information about the self either through one's behavior or by telling others about one's positive assets and accomplishments. Exemplification is described as a behavior, which involves eliciting perceptions of integrity and moral worthiness. Modesty is underrepresenting one's positive traits, contributions, or accomplishments. Intimidation takes place when a person convinces others that he/she is dangerous with a purpose of arousing fear and gaining power. When one is attempting to solicit help or sympathy by advertising one's weaknesses or one's dependence upon others we observe supplication. Finally, ingratiation stands for saying positive things about someone in order to get people to like oneself (as cited in Franzoi, 1996).

Impression management has been widely studied in the context of organizational psychology. A study on corporate impression management strategies found that corporate websites focus on competence and exemplification strategies more than on other ones (Connolly-Ahern & Broadway, 2007). Guadagno and Cialdini (2007) examined the use of impression management tactics in organizational settings for gender differences in behavior. They found that men and women generally report using impression management tactics consistent with gender

role expectations. Within this study women used more modesty, supplication, and ingratiation self-presentation strategies, while men generally reported using more self-promotion and intimidation strategies (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007). Another study on gender differences in impression management showed that women who ingratiated received better performance evaluations than those who did not, whereas this was not the case for men (Kipnis & Schmidt, 1988, as cited in Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007). Similarly, Bolino and Turnley (2003) reported that the use of intimidation was positively related to performance evaluation for men but not for women (as cited in Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007).

Strategic self-presentation has also been studied in relation to self-consciousness (Doherty & Schlenker, 1991). Self-consciousness is defined as the habitual tendency to engage in self-awareness (Franzoi, 1996). Self-awareness, in its turn, is a psychological state in which one takes oneself as an object of attention (Franzoi, 1996). The construct of private self-consciousness was developed by Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss (1975) to indicate a dispositional tendency to focus on one's inner experience (e.g., thoughts, feelings, physical sensations) (as cited in Harrington & Loffredo, 2007). People who are publicly self-conscious have been characterized as being especially concerned about their social identities and oriented toward gaining approval and avoiding disapproval. Research showed that these subjects are mostly concerned with maximization of approval and minimization of disapproval by other people in the process of social interactions, whereas individuals with low public and high private self-consciousness do not display these strategic patterns (Doherty & Schlenker, 1991).

Clinical Research on Impression Management

Strategic self-presentation has also been studied in a clinical context. Recently research showed that a protective self-presentation style is correlated with eating pathology and anorexia

nervosa, mediated by sociocultural attitudes towards appearance (Bachner-Melman et al., 2009). In this study eating-disordered women had a more protective self-presentation style than partially or fully recovered women, who in turn had a more protective self-presentation style than controls. Authors of the research implied that protective self-presentation might be a risk factor for eating disorders (Bachner-Melman et al., 2009). In another study Leake, Friend, and Wadhwa (1999) found that patients with chronic renal dialysis, who were put in a strategic self-presentation condition, report better adjustment, fewer physical symptoms, and more coping skills than patients in other groups, which included problem disclosure condition and control group. Patients in the self-presentation condition were presenting themselves as successful copers, which strongly influenced their private self-evaluations and improved adjustment to the disease (Leake, Friend, & Wadhwa, 1999). Thus, research on interrelation of impression management and mental health shows that usage of strategic self-presentation style might result in both positive and negative outcomes for psychological and physical well-being of the individual.

Impression Management and Loneliness

In this study I explore the relationships between the two specific concepts, loneliness and impression management, as an instance of social behavior. Some research suggests that protective self-presentation features, social anxiety, and peer relations have unique effects on loneliness (Jackson, 2007). In particular, features of protective self-presentation are highly related to loneliness, as well as peer factors. Social anxiety has a modest affect and authors supposed that this association may imply common genetic and biological factors underlying social anxiety and loneliness (Jackson, 2007).

I find it important to look into the relationships between social behaviors among lonely people as previous research showed, indeed, that lonely people are perceived differently by outsiders. A single person is perceived to have poorer social skills, to be less physically attractive, and less reliable than married, divorced, or widowed persons (Etaugh & Malstrom, 1981, as cited in Matlin, 1987). This is also true in regard to research on loneliness in young children, which indicated that lonely children, compared to non-lonely children, are viewed as less prosocial (by both peers and teachers), more aggressive (by both peers and teachers), more shy (by peers but not by teachers), and more disruptive (by teachers only) (Cassidy & Asher, 1992). Additionally, single women have often been viewed as less feminine, less loving and nurturing, less sexually attractive, and more selfish (Knupfer, Clark, & Ram, 1966; Nadelson & Notman, 1981; Srole, Langes, Michale, Opler, & Rennie, 1981, as cited in Cockrum & White, 1985).

However, even though research showed no clear tendency for single women to be judged less professionally capable than non-single persons, it is not surprising that lonely people may want to engage in impression management to avoid being perceived negatively because of their status. Later, Sheffer, Penn, and Cassisi (2001) examined the effects of impression management demands on heart rate, self-reported social anxiety, and social competence and found that high impression management demand produces significantly higher heart rate and self-reported anxiety. Moreover, the social importance of loneliness is indicated by the large amount of research concerning its effects on emotional, physical, and behavioral problems (Jones et al., 1990, as cited in Rokeach et al., 2001). Hansson et al. (1986) established, that loneliness has been inversely related to measures of self-esteem and has been strongly associated with depression, anxiety, and interpersonal hostility (as cited in Rokeach et al., 2001).

These findings are important to consider because they highlight the interaction between levels of loneliness that a person experiences and his or her pattern of social behavior. It is possible then to imply that usage of particular strategic self-presentations in the society, caused by feelings of loneliness or being lonely, may have a negative consequence – enhanced loneliness rather than the desired effect and, thus, enhanced anxiety and depression. As stated earlier, prior research showed that lonely people view themselves as lacking in skills to forge connections and circumvent rejection (Jackson, 2007), which might result in engaging in ineffective or even dysfunctional presentations of self, which, in its turn, might contribute to undesirable impression management outcomes and rejection by others. This study is particularly relevant as it was established that women are twice as likely as men to experience depression, regardless of cultural context, from early adolescence through adulthood, which might be caused by failure to establish interpersonal bonds due to ineffective social behavior resulting from feeling of loneliness (Nolen-Hoeksema, 2001).

Loneliness, Anxiety, and Depression

Indeed, previous research established that loneliness has been significantly related to depression and anxiety in several Western studies (Rokeach et al., 2001; Sheffer, Penn, & Cassisi, 2001; Jackson, 2007; Lobdell & Perlman, 1986; Bragg, 1979; Cutrona, 1981; Peplau, Russell, & Heim, 1979; Weeks, Michela, Peplau, & Bragg, 1980). However, no research on interaction between these variables has been conducted in post-Soviet communities. This study will look for interrelations between loneliness, depression, and anxiety within the cultural context of Kyrgyzstan. It is expected that loneliness will positively correlate with both anxiety and depression, as research suggests that loneliness is a universal phenomenon and its consequences are not culturally dependent (Stack, 1998).

Also, drawing upon the previous studies, it is expected that lonely women will be using particular impression management strategies consistent with female gender role expectations in Kyrgyz society. As lonely women are striving for interpersonal contact (Jackson, 2007), they might be involved in socially acceptable and expected behavior with a purpose of promoting interpersonal relationships. This might be especially applicable in Kyrgyzstan, where collectivistic cultural norms enhance the influence of social norms on individual behavior. Relying upon prior research, it is therefore assumed that women with high loneliness scores will be higher in modesty, supplication, and ingratiation self-presentation strategies above all others (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007).

Thus, it is expected that

1. The self-reported level of loneliness would be positively related to the self-reported level of anxiety.
2. The self-reported level of loneliness would be positively related to the self-reported level of depression.
3. A high level of loneliness would be related to usage of particular strategic self-presentations, in particular, supplication, modesty, and ingratiation.

Method

Participants

One hundred female participants aged 20-35 took part in this study. The study discriminated among three types of intimate relationships: dating, cohabitation, and marriage. Dating referred to close romantic relationships between a man and a woman when they were not sharing a household. Cohabitation (in Russian “civil marriage”) meant that two persons of the opposite sex were living together as husband and wife without being married (Matlin, 1987).

Finally, marriage referred to intimate relationships between a man and a woman when they were officially married and shared a household. Another category considered in this study were single women, meaning ones that were not involved in any kind of intimate relationships at the time. The study also assessed additional categories – widowed, divorced, and separated women.

Participants were selected by means of convenience sampling. Respondents included AUCA female students, female employees of the AKI-press news agency, the El Group Consulting company, the Voice of Freedom organization, etc. Regarding race and ethnicity of the participants, 34% were Kyrgyz women, 30% were Russian, 9% were Korean, 9% - Tatar, and the remaining 18% reported other Caucasian and Asian ethnic backgrounds. The average age of the sample was 23.74 with a standard deviation of 4.13. Sixty-nine percent of respondents were single women, 24% were married, and 7% were divorced. Additionally, 47% of participants reported having a partner, 53% reported not having a partner at the time when the study was conducted. Sixty-nine percent of respondents reported having the experience of intimate relationships previously, 31% reported not having previous experience in intimate relationships.

Materials

Three questionnaires were used for the study:

1. A strategic self-presentations questionnaire developed by the researcher and approved by the research supervisor.
2. The UCLA Loneliness Scale developed by Russell, Peplau, & Ferguson (1978).
3. The Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS) developed by Zigmond A. S. and Snaith R. P. (1983).

A strategic self-presentations questionnaire was developed in order to measure the usage of particular strategies by respondents. The semi-structured questionnaire included two

situational tasks. The first task was related to interpersonal contact with an imagined/real former partner, and the second task implied a social situation with male counterparts. The respondents were asked to respond to a range of behavioral reactions representing 6 strategic self-presentations on the scale from 1 to 7, where 1 was the least likely behavior and 7 the most likely behavior. Participants were presented with 6 strategic self-presentations as options, including self-promotion, exemplification, modesty, intimidation, supplication, and ingratiation. Respondents were also free to offer their own response in the provided space.

The UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell, Peplau, & Ferguson, 1978) was used to measure level of loneliness of respondents. This scale measures subjects' self-reports of several experiences and behaviors that are theoretically related to loneliness, such as social accessibility to others, difficulty in making friends, and a sense of aloneness. It has an alpha coefficient of .96 and a test-retest reliability of .73. While it is closely associated with other emotional states such as depression and self-esteem, it is considered a distinct construct (Lobdell & Perlman, 1986). The instrument consisted of 20 questions with a possible range of answers from 1 to 4, where 1 was 'never' and 4 was 'always'. Scores 0-20 implied low level of loneliness of the respondent, 20-40 – medium level of loneliness, and 40+ scores indicated high level of loneliness. The version of the UCLA Loneliness Scale translated into the Russian language was validated in Latvia. The instrument had shown high internal reliability with Cronbach's alpha of .89 (Ishmukhametov, 2006).

To measure anxiety and depression the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale (HADS) developed by Zigmond A. S. and Snaith R. P. (1983) was used. The scale was developed for revealing and estimating the severity of depression and anxiety in general medical practice conditions. The instrument had shown high discriminant validity in regard to depression and

anxiety. The scale had 14 questions with 4 answers corresponding to each of them. Half of the questions referred to the anxiety subscale and the other half to the depression subscale. Scores 0-7 for each subscale indicated normal level of anxiety and depression, 8-10 – subclinical level of anxiety and depression, and 11+ scores implied the clinical level of anxiety and depression.

Russian version of the HADS used for the study has been translated by the MAPI Research Institute.

Procedure

The researcher administered the final version of the questionnaire, consisting of the strategic self-presentations questionnaire, the UCLA Loneliness Scale, and the Hospital Anxiety and Depression Scale to the participants of the study, which included AUCA female students ages 20-25, employees of AKI-press information agency ages 23-35, etc. The questionnaire consisted of 6 pages on A4 format paper, black letters on white background, font name: Cambria, font size: 11-14. All respondents were briefly informed about the purpose of the study and their rights on taking part in the research. Respondents were also informed about the anonymous and confidential nature of the reported information. The research procedure was in full compliance with the APA ethical standards concerning research activities.

Results

Three analyses were performed upon the data. An analysis of frequencies was used in order to examine the most and least used strategic self-presentations by the respondents. An independent sample T-test was conducted to examine any differences in the usage of strategic self-presentations, reported levels of anxiety, depression, and loneliness controlling for demographic variables, such as marital status, having/not having a partner, and others. Finally, to

examine absence or presence of relationships between variables a correlational analysis was performed.

Frequencies

An analysis of frequencies showed that the most used strategic self-presentation in an interpersonal situation with a former partner was exemplification (43%), and the least used self-presentation strategies in this situation were intimidation (38%) and supplication (47%). The most commonly used strategies of self-presentation in a social situation with male counterparts were exemplification (29%) and supplication (30%) with the least used self-presentation strategy modesty (76%).

Moreover, frequency tables were run with control for marital status of the respondent and having/not having the intimate partner variables. Married respondents reported using exemplification strategies in both interpersonal (50%) and social (34%) tasks. The least used self-presentation strategies by married women were supplication in interpersonal task (41.7%) and modesty in social task (62.5%).

Single respondents having an interpersonal partner reported the usage of supplication strategies in social situations most frequently (60.9%) and showed no clear tendency in the usage of any particular strategy when presented with an interpersonal task. Also, similar to married respondents, single respondents with a partner reported using supplication in interpersonal situations (47.8%) and modesty in social situation (95.7%) least often.

Finally, single respondents without a partner reported usage of exemplification strategies most frequently in both interpersonal (71%) and social (41%) tasks. Least used self-presentation strategies were, once again, supplication in interpersonal task (51.6%) and modesty in social task (77.4%).

Independent sample T-test

An independent sample T-test, controlling for the level of loneliness variable, revealed significant difference between means of the reported level of anxiety and the reported level of depression variables. Medium levels of loneliness indicated a normal level of anxiety (mean score 1.49), while high levels of loneliness indicated subclinical level of anxiety (mean score 2.13). Similarly, a medium level of loneliness implied a lower level of depression (mean score 1.08) and higher levels of loneliness indicated a higher depression level (mean score 1.55). It must be noted, however, that reported level of depression mean scores did not signify significant deviations from the normal depression level. All relations were significant at .05 level.

Marital status seemed to be connected with levels of loneliness and anxiety of the respondent. Thus, single persons not having a partner indicated higher levels of loneliness (mean score 2.35) and anxiety (mean score 1.86), while married respondents reported lower levels of loneliness and anxiety with mean scores of 1.88 and 1.29, correspondingly. The relation between marital status of the respondent and the level of depression was not significant (significance level .05).

To examine whether presence or absence of the partner was an indicator of reported levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression, another independent sample T-test was performed. Controlling for the presence/absence of the partner variable revealed significant differences in mean scores of all three variables tested. Thus, absence of an interpersonal partner indicated higher scores on loneliness (mean score 2.43), anxiety (mean score 1.93), and depression (mean score 1.33). However, it should be noted that the level of depression mean scores was not at a clinical level. All relations were significant at .05 level.

Interestingly enough, no significant differences in mean scores of married respondents and single respondents having a partner were found regarding loneliness, anxiety, and depression variables. Independent T-test showed that these two categories reported similar mean scores of self-reported levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression.

Another finding implied that presence or absence of interpersonal experience was related to self-reported level of anxiety. Thus, absence of interpersonal experience with an opposite sex partner indicated significantly higher levels of anxiety in single respondents not having an intimate counterpart at the time of the study. Mean anxiety scores of single respondents not having a partner, but having interpersonal experience in the past equaled 1.64, while the mean score of single respondents without having a partner and interpersonal experience was 2.16. the findings were significant at .05 level.

Regarding impression management strategies, they seemed to be related to levels of loneliness and anxiety in interpersonal situations, and only to the level of loneliness in social situations. Thus, when presented with an interpersonal task, respondents with lower levels of loneliness (mean score 2.08) and anxiety (mean score 1.58) preferred a modesty strategy among all as the most proper social behavior at the moment. Similarly, an exemplification strategy was also preferred by women with comparatively low anxiety (mean score 1.74) and loneliness (mean score 2.16) levels. As a matter of fact, another interpersonal self-presentation strategy – self-promotion was involved by respondents with significantly higher levels of loneliness (mean score 2.63) and anxiety (mean score 2.25). Significance level was set at .05.

In contrast, in a social situation with male counterparts, respondents with comparatively higher level of loneliness (mean score 2.48) tended to involve exemplification strategy, while

respondents with lower loneliness level (mean score 1.87) preferred a self-promotion strategy in the same situation. All findings were significant at .05 level.

Correlational analysis

A correlational analysis showed the existence of significant positive correlation between several variables.

Thus, the presence/absence of interpersonal experience quite strongly correlated with having/not having a partner variable with Pearson's r of .63 (significance level .01). Also, having/not having a partner variable was positively related to reported levels of loneliness ($r = .339$), anxiety ($r = .356$), and depression ($r = .264$) at the significance level of .01.

As a matter of fact, presence/absence of interpersonal experience also quite strongly correlated with the same variables: loneliness ($r = .330$, significance level .01), anxiety ($r = .410$, significance level .01), and depression ($r = .233$, significance level .05).

Moreover, the level of loneliness correlated with self-reported levels of anxiety and depression as well. Correlation between the variables was moderately positive with Pearson's coefficients of .359 for anxiety and .427 for depression. The correlation coefficient between anxiety and depression variables was .318. All correlations were significant at .01 level.

Regarding the interpersonal self-presentation variable, it was inversely correlated with several variables, including having/not having a partner ($r = -.302$), presence/absence of interpersonal experience ($r = -.342$), and level of anxiety ($r = -.322$).

Finally, the social self-presentation variable was significantly correlated with the marital status with Pearson's coefficient of .313.

Discussion

The findings of the study indicate that the most used interpersonal self-presentation strategy among women in Kyrgyzstan is exemplification in particular social situations; the most used social self-presentation strategies included exemplification and supplication. The popularity or preference of the exemplification strategy in this particular culture is not surprising. With respect to the conservative nature of Kyrgyz society it is possible to imply that the exemplification strategy, which is behavior that elicits perceptions of integrity and moral worthiness, is viewed as most successful and acceptable within this culture. Moreover, the perception of a woman in Asian societies has a distinctively moral character with emphasis on such qualities of females, as purity, integrity, submissiveness, etc. It is quite logical that women would use the exemplification strategy in this society in order to form the desired impression.

Interestingly enough, the supplication strategy, which is described as behavior attempting to solicit help or sympathy by advertising one's weaknesses or one's dependence upon others, was preferred only in a social situation, while in the interpersonal task with a former intimate partner respondents tended to not report it. This might be caused by the fact that women might not be willing to solicit sympathy by advertising their weakness and dependency from a particular person (male), but rather from a group of male counterparts, which decreases the possibility of rejection by the person addressed. This desire is also partially explained by the findings of conducted research showing that lonely people viewed themselves as lacking in skills to forge connections and circumvent rejection (Jackson, 2007). Also, this finding might be explained by the difference in motivations of a woman in two situations. Thus, when dealing with several male counterparts a woman might be inclined to provoke competition among them for her attention by using the supplication strategy. In contrast, this strategy would not be

effective in the situation with a single male, where competition for her attention is not reasonable.

Also, findings suggest that the least used interpersonal self-presentation was intimidation. As the intimidation strategy is mostly described as an attempt to convince others that one is dangerous with a purpose of arousing fear and gaining power, it is quite logical that women did not prefer this particular impression management strategy. This result supports findings of the study by Guadagno and Cialdini (2007), which states that women almost never used the intimidation strategy, most likely because it is not consistent with their gender norms. The fact that one of the least used strategic self-presentations was intimidation in both studies, suggests that there might be a universal pattern of usage of strategic self-presentations regardless of cultural context among women.

As for the least preferred social self-presentation, participants reported using the modesty strategy least often. These results contradict the findings of the study conducted by Guadagno and Cialdini, who found that women used modesty, supplication, and ingratiation self-presentation strategies more often. This discrepancy might be caused by the fact that prior research was focused on the self-presentation strategies used in organizational contexts, while this study places an emphasis on interpersonal and social contexts. Moreover, different cultural conditions might also have been among possible reasons for discordance of results. Kyrgyz women may differ in their usage of self-presentation strategies.

The study has also found the existence of significant positive correlations between the level of loneliness and levels of anxiety and depression. Although the strength of both correlations was medium, these findings suggest that women, who are feeling lonely, are also more likely to feel anxious and depressed in Kyrgyz cultural context as well. An independent

sample T-tests supported the correlations, and revealed a significant difference between the means of the reported level of anxiety and the reported level of depression variables when controlling for the level of loneliness variable. This implies that the higher of the experience of loneliness, the higher are the levels of anxiety and depression. These findings support the initial research hypothesis, which suggested that the self-reported level of loneliness would be related to self-reported levels of anxiety and depression. Also, findings support previously conducted research on interrelations between loneliness, anxiety, and depression (Rokach et al., 2001; Sheffer, Penn, & Cassisi, 2001; Jackson, 2007; Lobdell & Perlman, 1986; Bragg, 1979; Cutrona, 1981; Peplau, Russell, & Heim, 1979; Weeks, Michela, Peplau, & Bragg, 1980) and suggest that interactions between the mentioned variables are universal regardless of cultural context.

Loneliness was also related to the marital status of the person, which supports findings of previous research conducted by Stack, implying that marriage was associated with substantially less loneliness with the strength of the marriage-loneliness relationship constant across 16 nations (Stack, 1998). At the same time, these results contradict reports of Matlin (1987), stating that married women report higher levels of loneliness than unmarried women. Additionally, the marital status of the individual was related to the level of anxiety: married women reported substantially lower anxiety scores. This finding is quite self-explanatory in the framework of a conservative culture, where marriage is an obligatory expectation of a woman reaching legal age. It is therefore possible to imply that marriage itself might provide a sense of protection and belonging to a woman, while unmarried women would experience anxiety under social pressure.

However, the study has also found that married respondents and unmarried respondents having an intimate partner reported similar levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression. These results were supported by the correlational analysis, which revealed the fact that the absence of

an interpersonal partner was related to a higher reported level of loneliness, anxiety, and depression in women. Therefore, it seems that the marital status of the person did not play a key role in the psychological state of the individual, but it was rather influenced by having or not having an intimate partner. This assumption is supported by the findings of the study by Peters and Liefbroer (1997), which established that adults who were not involved in a partner relationship were lonelier than adults with a partner with no regard to marital status of the individuals (Peters & Liefbroer, 1997).

This also implies that women with no intimate partner are at the same time more prone to experiencing loneliness, anxiety, and depression on subclinical and clinical levels, which makes them more vulnerable with regard to mental health and clinical research. The findings suggest that people living in any relationship arrangements, such as cohabitation or a close intimate relationship with a person outside the household, show lower anxiety and depression levels, which is once again correspondent with Peters and Liefbroer's study (1997). It also implies that the impact of the presence or absence of a partner on levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression may have a universal pattern and is not dependent on culture, at least with regard to female respondents.

Additionally, the presence/absence of partner variable strongly correlated with having or lacking interpersonal experience in the sample. This suggests that the absence of partner implied that the respondent was not involved in any interpersonal relationships after all. This result was found to be true with no regard to the age of the respondent. Therefore, a single person tends to remain single most of the time.

Also, presence/absence of interpersonal experience was related to reported levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression. It was established that absence of interpersonal experience

correlated with higher levels of loneliness, anxiety, and depression in the sample with this tendency enhancing with age. These findings illustrate the interaction between the psychological state of the person and sociocultural norms and expectations. It is necessary to investigate this phenomenon deeper, as social pressure might sometimes devastate the state of mental health of the individual enhancing anxiety and depression, which might result in psychological breakdown.

With regard to impression management strategies, it is necessary to note that strategic self-presentations were related to levels of loneliness and anxiety in interpersonal situations, and only to the level of loneliness in social situation. Thus, respondents with lower reported levels of loneliness and anxiety preferred modesty and exemplification strategies when presented with an interpersonal task. However, respondents with significantly higher reported levels of loneliness and anxiety mostly involved a self-promotion strategy, which refers to conveying positive information about the self either through one's behavior or by telling others about one's positive assets and accomplishments. These findings might be explained by the fact that although all three strategies are aimed at formation of a positive impression of a woman by the interpersonal partner, self-promotion has the most direct impact. Therefore, a person experiencing high levels of loneliness and anxiety might involve this strategy as a desperate attempt to draw attention to him or herself and self-affirm by means of advertising one's positive qualities.

The results were supported by a correlational analysis, which revealed the existence of correlations between usage of self-promotion and absence of interpersonal partner and experience. Thus, the usage of self-promotion might be a sign of lacking intimate relationships and longing for interpersonal contact. The usage of self-promotion was also related to increased

level of anxiety, which supports the idea that women not having a partner experience anxiety associated with loneliness and depression, as shown by previous findings.

Contrastingly, in a social situation with male counterparts respondents with comparatively higher level of loneliness tended to involve exemplification strategy, while respondents with lower loneliness level preferred self-promotion strategy in the same situation. Moreover, no relations between usage of social self-presentation strategies and level of anxiety were found. Thus, we can suppose that in a situation of dealing with several male counterparts a lonely woman tends to choose indirect ways of drawing attention to her positive qualities. This is once again conditioned by the cultural context and expectations that society (male part of it in particular) places on a woman's behavior. Also, a lonely woman possibly fears that the effect of using the self-promotion strategy might be reversed.

As a matter of fact, most used social self-presentation strategy correlated with the marital status of the respondent. Thus, single women tended to use mostly exemplification and supplication strategies in the context of social interaction with male counterparts, while married women tended to use mostly self-promotion strategy. These findings might suggest that married women are more self-confident and express more masculine-typed behavior (Guadagno & Cialdini, 2007), which is conditioned by comparatively lower levels of anxiety and loneliness. At the same time, single women are involved in self-presentation strategies, which are in accordance with particular cultural gender expectations.

There are several limitations of this study to be addressed. Limitations include the relatively small sample size and also usage of convenient sampling, which influenced the reliability and validity of results. Another limitation of the present study could be the fact that only female respondents were examined. Furthermore, the strategic self-presentations

questionnaire included only two situational tasks, while a more advanced instrument needs to be developed in order to be able to establish the relationships between strategic self-presentations and other variables. Moreover, the mentioned instrument was not validated.

Therefore, future studies should focus on the development and validation of the strategic self-presentations questionnaire for a deeper and more precise investigation of impression management strategies. Further research should also focus on examining the effectiveness of strategic self-presentations used by lonely people in terms of testing whether engaging in particular impression management strategies provides for achievement of the goal of one's behavior, i.e. decreased loneliness, anxiety, and depression. Additionally, research should expand the sample to both male and female respondents. It would be useful to establish whether strategic self-presentations are gender-bound in various situations, not limited to organizational or interpersonal context.

Findings of the current research might be useful to inform further investigation of strategic self-presentations in clinical contexts, that is, among mental health patients. Also, results of the study might be of interest to psychologists working with lonely women. That is, given research provides an insight into social behavior of lonely individuals. Moreover, if combined with research on effectiveness of usage of strategic self-presentations, present study might be helpful for lonely women in choosing particular self-presentation strategies in order to decrease their loneliness, anxiety, and depression, and at the same time improve their psychological well-being. Also, the study might contribute to gender research, as well as those in social and organizational psychology fields.

In all, the study research established that the level of loneliness was significantly related to the level of anxiety and the level of depression, which has been supported in Western studies.

This implies the possible universality of the relationship between these variables and provides further ground for cross-cultural clinical research. Moreover, the study showed that the psychological state of a woman seems to be more related to having an intimate partner, rather than to her marital status. Finally, it was found that the usage of particular self-presentation strategies was related to levels of loneliness and anxiety in females.

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Table 1. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Level of Loneliness variable.

| Group Statistics | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Reported level of loneliness | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
| Reported level of anxiety | medium | 61 | 1,49* | ,744 | ,095 |
| | high | 31 | 2,13* | ,763 | ,137 |
| Reported level of depression | medium | 61 | 1,08* | ,277 | ,035 |
| | high | 31 | 1,55* | ,675 | ,121 |

Table 2. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Marital Status variable.

Group Statistics

| | Marital status | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|----------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | married | 24 | 1,88* | ,612 | ,125 |
| | single | 69 | 2,35* | ,538 | ,065 |
| Reported level of anxiety | married | 24 | 1,29* | ,624 | ,127 |
| | single | 69 | 1,86* | ,809 | ,097 |
| Reported level of depression | married | 24 | 1,08 | ,282 | ,058 |
| | single | 69 | 1,26 | ,533 | ,064 |

Table 3. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Presence/Absence of Partner variable.

Group Statistics

| | | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | Do you have a partner yes | 46 | 2,00* | ,516 | ,076 |
| | no | 54 | 2,43* | ,570 | ,078 |
| Reported level of anxiety | yes | 46 | 1,39* | ,577 | ,085 |
| | no | 54 | 1,93* | ,866 | ,118 |
| Reported level of depression | yes | 46 | 1,09* | ,354 | ,052 |
| | no | 54 | 1,33* | ,549 | ,075 |

Table 4. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Marital Status variable between married and single respondents having a partner.

Group Statistics

| | Additional variable | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----|------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | married_partner_experience | 24 | 1,88 | ,612 | ,125 |
| | single_partner_experience | 23 | 2,17 | ,388 | ,081 |
| Reported level of anxiety | married_partner_experience | 24 | 1,29 | ,624 | ,127 |
| | single_partner_experience | 23 | 1,48 | ,511 | ,106 |
| Reported level of depression | married_partner_experience | 24 | 1,08 | ,282 | ,058 |
| | single_partner_experience | 23 | 1,09 | ,417 | ,087 |

Table 5. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Presence/Absence of Interpersonal Experience variable.

| Group Statistics | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Additional variable | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
| Reported level of loneliness | single_no partner_experience | 22 | 2,27 | ,631 | ,135 |
| | no partner_no experience | 31 | 2,52 | ,508 | ,091 |
| Reported level of anxiety | single_no partner_experience | 22 | 1,64* | ,727 | ,155 |
| | no partner_no experience | 31 | 2,16* | ,898 | ,161 |
| Reported level of depression | single_no partner_experience | 22 | 1,27 | ,456 | ,097 |
| | no partner_no experience | 31 | 1,39 | ,615 | ,110 |

Table 6. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Interpersonal Self-Presentation variable.

Group Statistics

| | Interpersonal self-presentation | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | self-promotion | 16 | 2,63* | ,500 | ,125 |
| | exemplification | 43 | 2,16* | ,574 | ,088 |
| Reported level of anxiety | self-promotion | 16 | 2,25* | ,775 | ,194 |
| | exemplification | 43 | 1,74* | ,819 | ,125 |
| Reported level of depression | self-promotion | 16 | 1,19 | ,403 | ,101 |
| | exemplification | 43 | 1,23 | ,527 | ,080 |

Table 7. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Interpersonal Self-Presentation variable.

Group Statistics

| | Interpersonal self-presentation | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | self-promotion | 16 | 2,63* | ,500 | ,125 |
| | modesty | 12 | 2,08* | ,669 | ,193 |
| Reported level of anxiety | self-promotion | 16 | 2,25* | ,775 | ,194 |
| | modesty | 12 | 1,58* | ,669 | ,193 |
| Reported level of depression | self-promotion | 16 | 1,19 | ,403 | ,101 |
| | modesty | 12 | 1,25 | ,452 | ,131 |

Table 8. Independent sample T-test controlling for the Social Self-Presentation variable.

Group Statistics

| Social self-presentation | | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|------------------------------|-----------------|----|-------|----------------|-----------------|
| Reported level of loneliness | self-promotion | 15 | 1,87* | ,516 | ,133 |
| | exemplification | 29 | 2,48* | ,634 | ,118 |
| Reported level of anxiety | self-promotion | 15 | 1,80 | 1,014 | ,262 |
| | exemplification | 29 | 1,83 | ,889 | ,165 |
| Reported level of depression | self-promotion | 15 | 1,07 | ,258 | ,067 |
| | exemplification | 29 | 1,34 | ,553 | ,103 |

Table 9. Correlations table.

| | | Correlations | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------------|----------------|-----------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | Marital status | Do you have a partner | Presence/absence of interpersonal experience | Interpersonal self-presentation | Social self-presentation | Least likely interpersonal self-presentation | Least likely social self-presentation | Reported level of loneliness | Reported level of anxiety | Reported level of depression |
| Marital status | Pearson Correlation | 1 | ,605** | ,215* | -,057 | ,313** | ,240* | -,069 | ,289** | ,157 | ,147 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | ,000 | ,032 | ,575 | ,002 | ,016 | ,496 | ,003 | ,118 | ,146 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Do you have a partner | Pearson Correlation | ,605** | 1 | ,631** | -,302** | -,137 | ,199* | ,111 | ,339** | ,356** | ,264** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,000 | | ,000 | ,002 | ,173 | ,047 | ,271 | ,001 | ,000 | ,008 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Presence/absence of interpersonal experience | Pearson Correlation | ,215* | ,631** | 1 | -,342** | -,112 | ,228* | ,065 | ,330** | ,410** | ,233* |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,032 | ,000 | | ,001 | ,267 | ,023 | ,520 | ,001 | ,000 | ,020 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Interpersonal self-presentation | Pearson Correlation | -,057 | -,302** | -,342** | 1 | -,078 | -,377** | ,042 | -,138 | -,322** | -,015 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,575 | ,002 | ,001 | | ,439 | ,000 | ,675 | ,172 | ,001 | ,881 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Social self-presentation | Pearson Correlation | ,313** | -,137 | -,112 | -,078 | 1 | ,180 | ,006 | ,006 | -,107 | -,047 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,002 | ,173 | ,267 | ,439 | | ,074 | ,949 | ,949 | ,287 | ,643 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Least likely interpersonal self-presentation | Pearson Correlation | ,240* | ,199* | ,228* | -,377** | ,180 | 1 | ,175 | ,075 | ,046 | -,088 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,016 | ,047 | ,023 | ,000 | ,074 | | ,082 | ,456 | ,651 | ,384 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Least likely social self-presentation | Pearson Correlation | -,069 | ,111 | ,065 | ,042 | ,006 | ,175 | 1 | -,281** | ,059 | -,154 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,496 | ,271 | ,520 | ,675 | ,949 | ,082 | | ,005 | ,557 | ,126 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Reported level of loneliness | Pearson Correlation | ,289** | ,339** | ,330** | -,138 | ,006 | ,075 | -,281** | 1 | ,359** | ,427** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,003 | ,001 | ,001 | ,172 | ,949 | ,456 | ,005 | | ,000 | ,000 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Reported level of anxiety | Pearson Correlation | ,157 | ,356** | ,410** | -,322** | -,107 | ,046 | ,059 | ,359** | 1 | ,318** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,118 | ,000 | ,000 | ,001 | ,287 | ,651 | ,557 | ,000 | | ,001 |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Reported level of depression | Pearson Correlation | ,147 | ,264** | ,233* | -,015 | -,047 | -,088 | -,154 | ,427** | ,318** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | ,146 | ,008 | ,020 | ,881 | ,643 | ,384 | ,126 | ,000 | ,001 | |
| | N | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 1. The most used interpersonal self-presentation strategy.

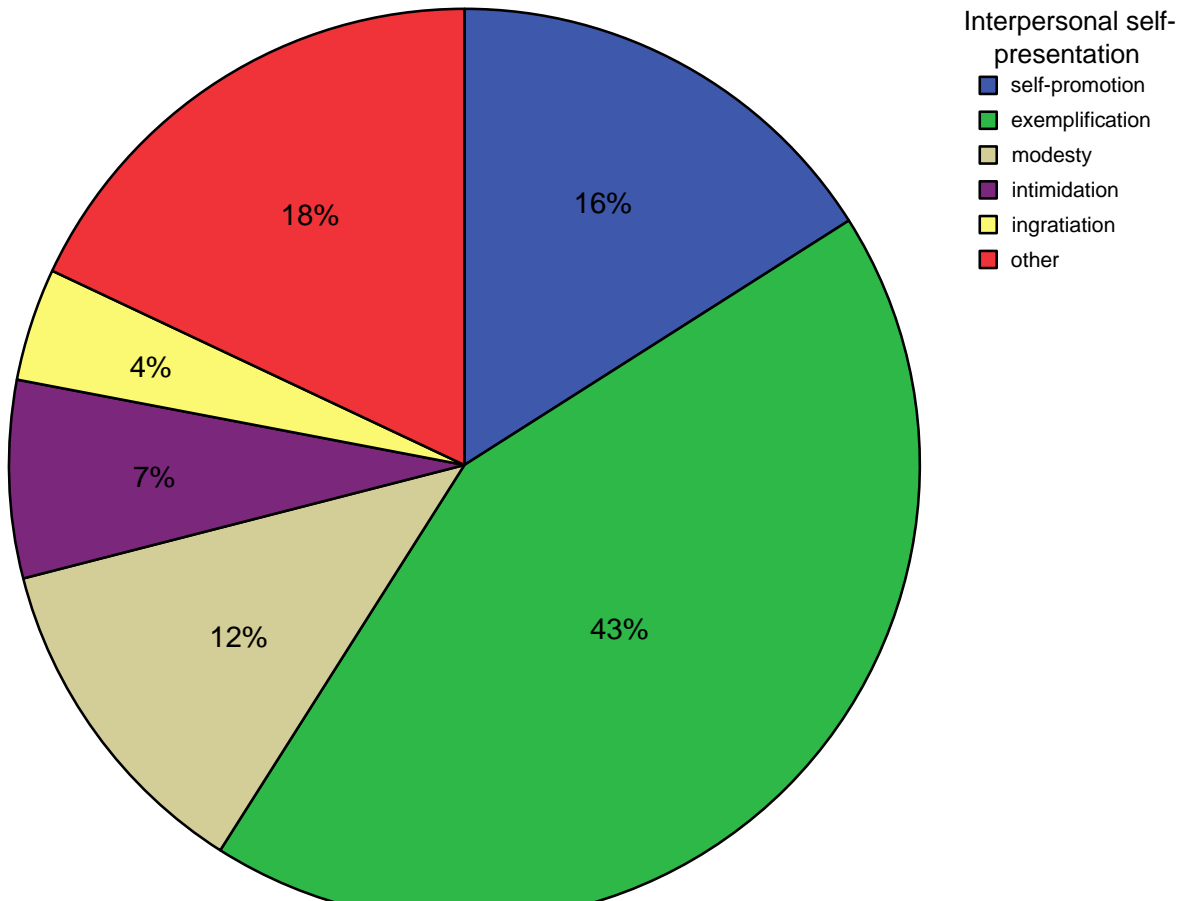


Figure 2. The most used social self-presentation strategy.

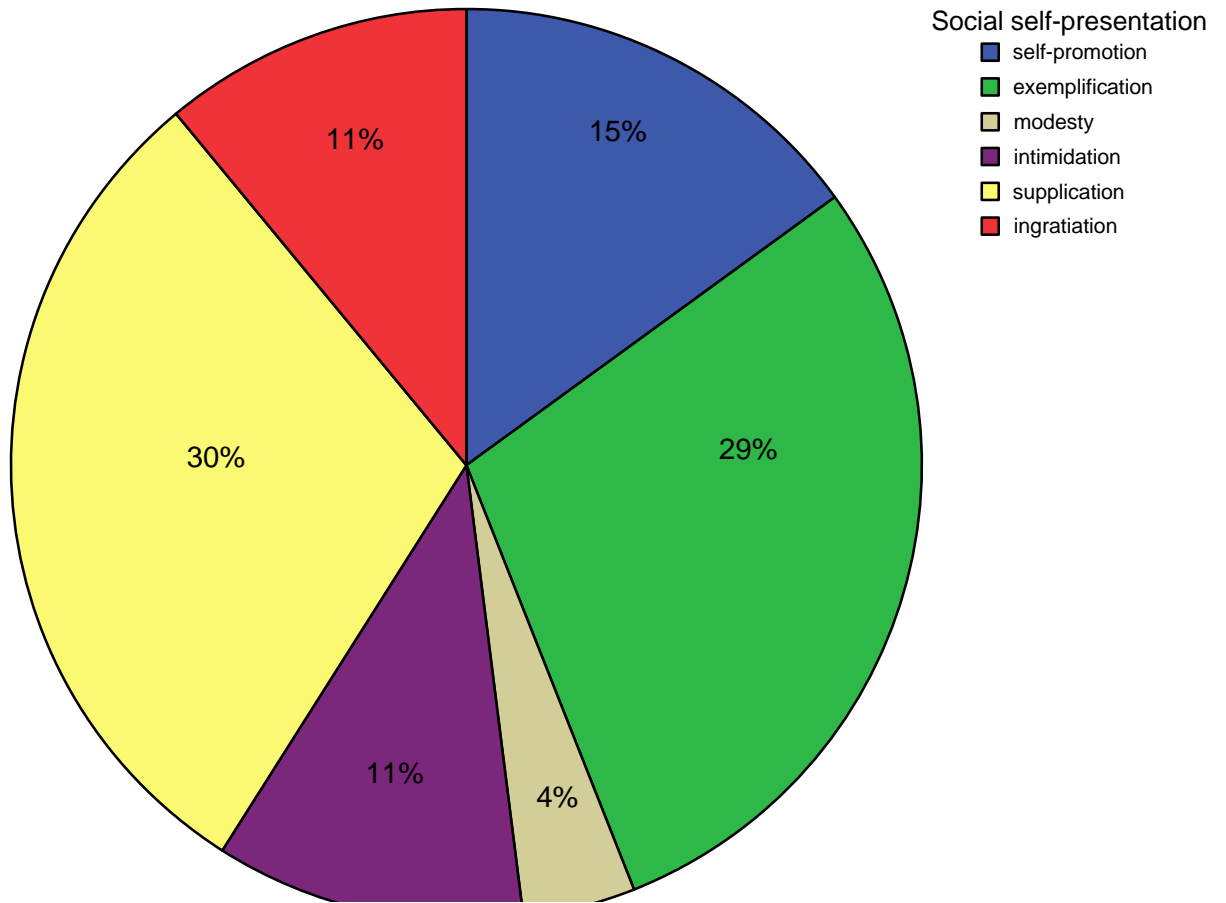


Figure 3. The least used interpersonal self-presentation strategy.

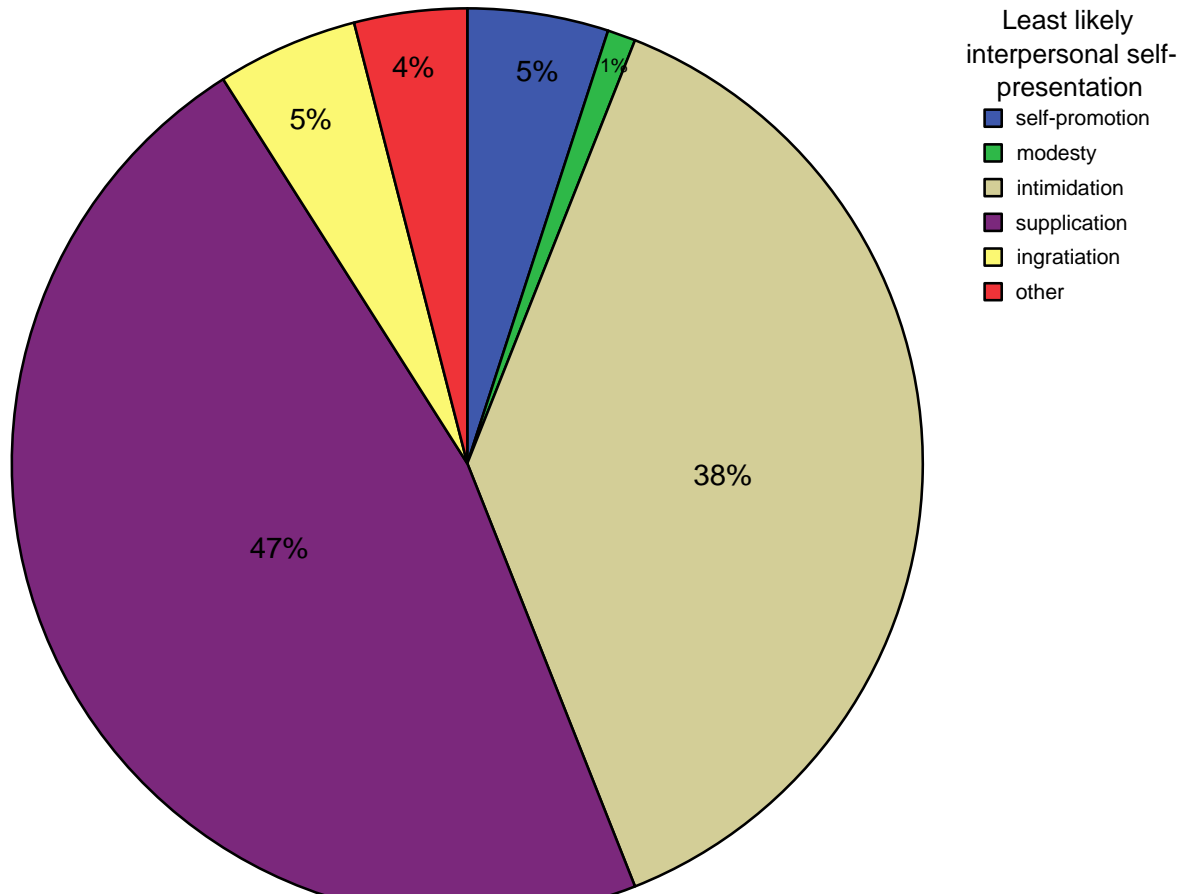


Figure 4. The least used social self-presentation strategy.

