

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC
SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND
INDIVIDUAL'S ATTEMPTS TO
COMPENSATE FOR AN UNATTRACTIVE
APPEARANCE IN MIXED- SEX DYADS

Rachel Amanda Freidus, Masters of Arts, 2004

Thesis Directed By: Professor Charles Stangor, Department of
Psychology

This research tested the hypothesis that unattractive individuals who were high in public self-consciousness would attempt to compensate for their unattractive appearance in order to be more liked in social settings. A pilot study was used to develop stimulus materials for Studies 1 and 2. In Study 1, dyads of one male and one female participant completed a measure of public self-consciousness and then rated each other on physical attractiveness and likeability before and after having a short interaction. As expected, less attractive individuals who were high (versus low) in public self-consciousness became somewhat more likeable over time. Study 2 demonstrated that these effects were stronger for participants who were given explicit instructions about how to appear likeable. The results provide some support for the idea that low public self-conscious participants do not have the necessary ability to create positive impressions on others.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS AND
INDIVIDUAL'S ATTEMPTS TO COMPENSATE FOR AN UNATTRACTIVE
APPEARANCE IN MIXED- SEX DYADS

By

Rachel Amanda Freidus

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Advisory Committee:
Professor Charles Stangor, Chair
Professor Judson Mills
Professor Harold Sigall

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, and Rottman (1966) randomly paired subjects as dates for a “Computer Dance,” they found that the only important determinant of whether the participants liked each other or not was their date’s physical attractiveness. Physical attractiveness may play a major role during a first impression because, “A person’s physical appearance...is the personal characteristic most obvious and accessible to others in social interaction (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972, p. 285).” The salience of physical appearance allows others to make inferences about personality. Research demonstrates that attractive individuals are perceived to be warmer, kinder, stronger, more poised, more sensitive, sexually responsive, interesting, sociable, outgoing, likeable, popular, fun-loving, and interpersonally skilled than their unattractive peers (Eagly, Ashmore, Makijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992; Langlois, Kalakanis, Rubenstein, Larson, Hallam, & Smoot, 2000; Zebrowitz, 1998). As Alice Eagly and her colleagues put it, “American culture associates beauty with good things and ugliness with bad things. In children’s television and books, the wicked witch and the evil giant are ugly and the heroic prince and virtuous princess are attractive (Eagly, Ashmore, Makijani, & Longo, 1991, p. 112).” Not only does American culture associate beauty with positive images like princesses and heroes, it also associates ugliness with bad things like a wicked witch or giant.

The physical attractiveness stereotype can make it difficult for unattractive individuals to form and maintain social relationships (Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, &

Brand, 1995). In fact, it has been demonstrated that unattractive individuals do exhibit less positive social behavior than their attractive counterparts (Langlois et al., 2000; Miller, Rothblum, Barbour, Brand, & Felicio, 1990). These effects may occur through the operation of attractiveness-based self-fulfilling prophecies, which occur when stereotypes about physical attractiveness produce corresponding behaviors (Zebrowitz, 1998). In one study, Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid (1977) had male “perceivers” interact over the phone with female “targets” whom they believed (as the result of a manipulation) to be physically attractive or unattractive based on photographs given to them. Tape recordings of the phone conversation were analyzed by judges who did not know the purpose of the experiment. The analyses showed that targets who were perceived to be attractive, yet were unaware that others thought they were attractive, came to behave in a likeable manner compared to targets who were perceived to be unattractive. These likeable behaviors were clearly elicited from the targets by the perceiver’s behavior.

Although research has found substantial support for the occurrence of self-fulfilling prophecies (Kleck & Strenta, 1980; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966; Sibicky & Dovidio, 1986; Smith, Jussim & Eccles, 1999) the literature does not generally focus on individuals who have lived life with an actual stigma (see Harris, Milich, Corbitt, Hoover, & Brady, 1992). In the majority of studies, the stereotypes of relevance are only temporarily created in the participants (i.e. Kleck & Strenta, 1980). In contrast to individuals for whom a stigma is made temporarily accessible, people who have lived with a stigma over a period of time may learn to cope with negative expectations (Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, & Brand, 1995). One coping strategy is the use of compensation. Compensation is “a coping response in which

stigmatized persons alter their behavior so that they achieve their interaction goals despite the fact that the people with whom they are interacting may be prejudiced against them (Miller & Major, 2000, p. 253).”

In order for one to be motivated to attempt to compensate, one must first be aware that one has a stigma that can affect one’s social interactions. Because motivation is seen as the necessary factor in compensation (Miller & Myers, 1998; Miller & Major, 2000), it maybe expected that a person who is aware thathe or she has a stigma, and who has the motivation to achieve interaction goals despite one’s stigma, would make an attempt to compensate. For instance, Hilton and Darley (1985) demonstrated that self-fulfilling prophecies could be prevented if targets of the expectation were aware that this expectation existed. They notified some of their target-participants that a person that they would be interacting with expected that they would have a cold personality. The experimenters also told some of the perceiver participants that the target had a cold personality. The only condition that yielded a self-fulfilling prophecy effect was the one in which targets were not aware that the other had been told that they had a cold personality. In the condition where the targets were aware the other had been told that they had a cold personality, the targets’ awareness of the expectation may have motivated them to change the belief of the other person, or otherwise prevented a self-fulfilling prophecy from occurring.

Miller and her colleagues (1995) conducted a study in which obese and non-obese women spoke by phone with another individual. All women were videotaped and the conversations were audiotaped. The partner’s expectations were manipulated by allowing half of them to see the participant. Women’s beliefs regarding whether their looks would affect the interaction was manipulated by telling half of them that

their partners could see them and half that their partners could not. Results demonstrated that obese women received low ratings on social skills when their partner could see them, but only if the women thought their partners could not see them. The finding that obese women who were aware that their partners could see them did not receive low ratings suggests that obese women may have used compensatory strategies to overcome the effect of their stigmatized appearance.

One measure that may determine a person's awareness of their physical attractiveness and how others judge them is *Public Self-Consciousness* (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). A person who is high in public self-consciousness is someone who is habitually aware of oneself as a social object, who is concerned about self-presentation, about making a good impression and appearing a certain way, is aware of his or her appearance, and who thinks about how others evaluate him or her (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). Participants who are high in public self-consciousness are therefore likely to attempt to use compensatory strategies in social settings. The purpose of this research was to examine whether low attractive participants who were high in public self-consciousness would attempt to use compensatory strategies more than those who were low in public self-consciousness, and whether participants who were low in public self-consciousness (who were not normally expected to compensate) would be able to do so if provided with the explicit motivation and knowledge of how to do so. In doing this, I explored mixed-sex dyadic social interactions because I believed that individuals in the age group I was examining (undergraduate students) would be more self-conscious conversing with a member of the opposite sex (Reis et al., 1982). I measured impression change over

time by having perceivers rate targets based on a photograph before the interaction, and then again on the basis of the interaction itself.

Chapter 2: Pilot Study

The goal of this study was to develop a likeability measure that would assess physical appearance stereotypes, and which would be used in Studies 1 and 2.

Method

Participants

One hundred thirty undergraduate students (65 males and 65 females) from the Introductory Psychology course at the University of Maryland participated in exchange for course credit.

Materials

All participants completed a questionnaire created based on traits that had been associated with various appearance stereotypes in prior research (e.g. Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972; Eagly, Ashmore, Makijani, & Longo, 1991; Feingold, 1992; Jackson & Ervin, 1992; Langlois et al., 2000; Ryckman, Butler, Thornton & Linder, 1997; Zebrowitz, 1998). This questionnaire was composed of 61 bipolar traits (see Appendix A), and each bipolar trait was rated on a seven point scale. The questionnaire also included two items measuring perceived attractiveness, one for facial and one for overall physical attractiveness, which I combined and used as the measure of attractiveness for each individual.

Procedure

Participants were told that the purpose of the experiment was to study the concept of judgment based on first impressions. All participants rated themselves on

this trait questionnaire. I then took a Polaroid photograph of each participant. Each participant stood against the same wall, and all were instructed to smile. All of the participants then rated photographs of at least five other participants using the same measure. All participants agreed to have their photograph rated by other participants, and therefore knew the actual purpose for taking a photograph. All participants were debriefed.

Results and Discussion

A principal components analysis with an oblique rotation was conducted on the trait questionnaire. Items with factor loadings greater than .4 were included in the final factors. If an item loaded for more than one factor it was not included. Seven factors were created from the 59 traits (not including attractiveness). The factor loadings suggested the following dimensions: *likeable*, *extraverted*, *intelligent*, *sexy*, *strong*, *neat* and *mentally healthy*. I decided to focus only on the factor of likeable because it was the strongest factor, and it was the factor that related most to social interactions. The likeable factor included 20 items, and the reliability of the factor was $\alpha = .95$. The 20 traits were: agreeable, arrogant (reverse scored), caring, friendly, gentle, good-natured, greedy (reverse scored), helpful, honest, irritable (reverse scored), kind, likeable, modest, offensive (reverse scored), sincere, tolerant, understanding, intimidating (reverse scored), selfish (reverse scored) and warm. This new questionnaire created was called the Likeability Measure (see Appendix B). In the new Likeability Measure, the reverse scored items were un-reversed and renamed so that the positive bipolar trait was placed on the right side of the item.

I computed an attractiveness score for each participant by combining the ratings of facial and physical attractiveness, and averaging the five different raters' ratings of each. I correlated attractiveness ratings with likeable ratings, and found support for the physical attractiveness stereotype – there was a positive relationship between the two variables, $r(130) = .21, p = .018$.

Chapter 3: Study 1

For Study 1 I predicted that low attractive participants who were high in public self-consciousness would attempt to use compensatory strategies and (assuming these strategies were successful) would therefore consequently increase in likeability between time 1 (before the interaction) and time 2 (after the interaction) to a greater degree than low attractive participants who were low in public self-consciousness. No predictions were made regarding participants who were high in attractiveness.

Method

Participants

Eighty-six undergraduate students (43 mixed sex dyads) from the Introductory Psychology course at the University of Maryland participated in exchange for course credit.

Materials

The Likeability Measure created from the previous study (see Appendix B) was used. In this questionnaire my analysis was confined to the factor of likeable. I also included the facial and physical attractiveness ratings developed in the pilot study.

I used Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss' (1975) Public Self-Consciousness Scale. The items included in the scale were: "I'm concerned about my style of doing things," "I'm concerned about the way I present myself," "I'm self-conscious about

the way I look,” “I usually worry about making a good impression,” “One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror,” “I’m concerned about what other people think of me,” and “I’m usually aware of my appearance.” Each item was rated on a seven point scale, ranging from “1” = extremely uncharacteristic to “7” = extremely characteristic.

Procedure

To avoid having the two participants meet each other before the experiment began, participants were scheduled to arrive at the lab five minutes apart. Upon arrival each participant was led to a separate room within the lab. All participants were told they would be participating in an exercise on impression formation, and that the purpose of the experiment was to better understand how individuals form impressions of one another based on a brief interaction. Each participant was instructed that, to ensure confidentiality, they would identify themselves only with a code number. All participants then completed the Public Self-Consciousness Scale, and then rated themselves on the Likeability Measure.

A Polaroid photograph was taken of each participant. All participants were instructed to smile while the photograph was being taken. Participants were told that the purpose of the photograph was to allow their partner to have a bit of information about them before the interaction. All participants knew that the person they would be interacting with would see their photograph prior to the interaction. Each participant rated their partner on the Likeability Measure based on their partner’s photograph. They were told to complete this measure based on their first impression of the individual in the photograph. The participants were then brought together to a single

room and were given 10 minutes to interact with each other. They were told to introduce themselves, say where they were originally from and where they lived at the time, and then to discuss their lives on campus. After the interaction each participant rated their partner on the Likeability Measure again, though this time they were told to base their ratings on the interaction. All participants were debriefed, and allowed to ask questions.

Results

I computed an attractiveness score for each participant by combining the ratings of facial and physical attractiveness, $r(85) = .80, p < .001$, given to each participant by his/her partner on the basis of the original photographs¹.

Likeability Measure

I conducted a regression analysis predicting change in likeability (the difference between before vs. after the interaction) with public self-consciousness, initial attractiveness, and the public self-consciousness x attractiveness² interaction as predictors³. I also used a median split method in order to investigate mean differences (see Table 1).⁴

¹ Although it might be expected that self-rated attractiveness or ratings of how others would view one's own attractiveness would be better predictors of whether one feels a need to attempt to compensate than one's ratings of one's own attractiveness, participants' likeability ratings did not vary on the basis of these measures in either Study 1 or Study 2. One explanation for this lack of results is that the measures were inflated by self-promotion, and thus there was a ceiling effect. Indeed, in Study 2, 78 out of 86 participants rated themselves a 4 or above out of a 7-point scale, and 52 rated themselves a 5 or a 6.

² The correlation between attractiveness and public self-consciousness was $r(85) = .26, p = .016$.

³ Although I did not make predictions regarding gender of the target, I did include it as a variable in preliminary analyses, and found no significant main effects or interactions on any variables.

⁴ I found it necessary to conduct a median split in order to show reported means, however, I analyzed the results using a multiple regression. I did this because, as Aiken and West (1991, p. 4) point out "Median splits of continuous variables throw away information, reducing the power of the statistical test...whereas the MR approach uses all of the information available in the predictor variables."

Table 1

Study 1: Mean Likeability Before and After the Interaction

	<u>Unattractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	5.01	5.70	.69*
Low PSC	5.25	5.74	.49*
	<u>Attractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	5.36	5.68	.32*
Low PSC	5.23	5.90	.67*

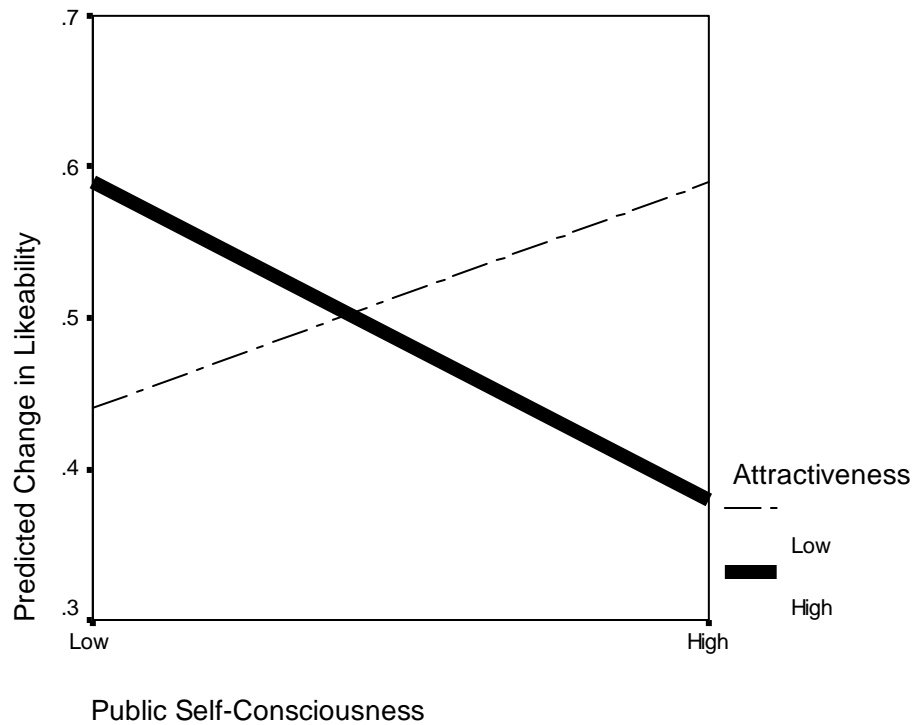
Note: Higher scores indicate greater likeability.

* $p < .05$

Although I did not find any significant main effects or interactions, all $ps > .05$, the means from the public self-consciousness x attractiveness interaction were in the direction predicted by my hypothesis, $\beta = -.79$, $F(1,81) = 1.38$, $p = .24$.⁵ To display the results of the regression analyses, I calculated predicted change in likeability scores at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean public self-consciousness score, and at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean attractiveness score (Aiken & West, 1991). Figure 1 shows the results of this analysis.

⁵ It is possible that a median split does not provide a very strong test of the hypothesis. Therefore, based on attractiveness ratings, the middle third participants were removed, and the remaining participants at both extremes were split into the two groups. A regression analysis was conducted using public self-consciousness as a predictor, and I found that results were marginally significant, $F(1,70) = 3.19$, $p = .08$.

Figure 1. Predicted change in likeability for different levels of public self-consciousness and attractiveness, Study 1.



The trends revealed the expected pattern for participants low in attractiveness. Change in likeability between time 1 and time 2 increased for participants low in attractiveness as public self-consciousness increased. Although not predicted, trends revealed the reverse pattern for participants high in attractiveness, with a greater increase in likeability between time 1 and time 2 occurring as public self-consciousness decreased.

Discussion of Study 1

There were no significant main effects or interactions found in this study. However, the trends were in the predicted direction. The higher the level of public self-consciousness for participants who were low in attractiveness, the greater the increase in likeability. The reverse pattern occurred for participants high in

attractiveness – the lower the level of public self-consciousness the greater the increase of likeability. One goal of Study 2 was to determine whether this unexpected pattern would be found again.

One reason the observed results may not have reached the necessary level of significance was the participants' lack of motivation to appear likeable in this experimental situation. Although the low attractive, high public self-conscious participants were predicted to attempt to compensate, they may have not appraised a social interaction during a laboratory experiment as a situation in which they felt motivated to be on their best social behavior. It is also possible that the participants did not know how to appear likeable in this experimental situation. Being told to discuss a given topic for 10 minutes may seem different to participants than a regular social interaction. As a result they may to have not known how to appear as likeable in such a situation. In order to motivate people and enable them to attempt to appear likeable the way they would in a more typical social situation, I attempted to increase this motivation for some of my participants by adding an experimental manipulation in Study 2.

There are several additional potential explanations for why the results were not significant. In this experiment, each person served the role of both the target and the perceiver. They understood that while they were rating their partner, their partner was also rating them. This might have led to anxiety about being rated by the other, and this might have created biased ratings from that participant towards his/her partner. It may also have been confusing for the participant to focus on both being a

target and a perceiver at the same time. The next experiment changed this situation by assigning each participant a role as either a target or as a perceiver.

Another potential limitation is that in this experiment each person's attractiveness was rated by only one individual: the partner. It is possible, therefore, that the attractiveness ratings were not as reliable as they might have been. In order to increase the likelihood of reliable attractiveness ratings, I collected multiple ratings of each individual's photograph in the next study.

Another potential problem with Study 1 is that in this experiment each participant knew that he/she would be receiving ratings and would be interacting with the individual in the photograph. It is possible that the participants gave each other positive ratings because (although all participants were told all answers were confidential) they may nevertheless have thought their partner would see the ratings. Knowing that they would be interacting with the individual in the photograph for a certain amount of time, they may have thought it would be best to rate them as positively as possible beforehand. In the next study, I gave instructions to the participants in separate parts so that they would not be aware of what they would be doing until immediately beforehand. This way they were unaware that they would be participating in a social interaction when they completed the initial questionnaires.

Chapter 4: Study 2

The goal of Study 2 was to attempt to find further support for the use of compensatory strategies by low attractive individuals. One difference between this study and Study 1 was that in Study 2 each participant in the dyad served as either a target or a perceiver. Because I was concerned that the participants in Study 1 were not motivated to self present, I added a condition in which participants were given the explicit goal of appearing likeable to the partner. In this way I could test whether the low attractive participants who were low in public self-consciousness would be able to use compensatory strategies if given motivation and information about how to do so.

In the experimental condition I gave participants a list of likeable behaviors (see Interaction Questionnaire in Appendix C for list of likeable behaviors) with the goal of both motivating them to appear likeable as well as telling them how to do so. Because there has been no research focusing on what is required to best attempt to compensate, it is unclear whether one's motivation and knowledge of how to compensate will be sufficient when asked to compensate on the spot, or whether one must develop an ability resulting from repeated attempts to compensate in order to do so.

If attempts to compensate require only motivation and knowledge that can be learned on the spot, then both low and high public self-conscious participants should show the same patterns – that is, both groups in the experimental condition should evidence compensation in the likeability condition. However, if attempts to compensate require a previously-established ability, then only high public self-

conscious participants in the experimental condition would be able to successfully compensate, because the low public self-conscious participants would not have already developed the ability to compensate.

No predictions were made for the high attractive participants in the experimental condition, however, I will examine whether the trends found would replicate the pattern found in Study 1. The control condition, in which no instructions were given to participants, provided a replication of Study 1.

An additional goal of Study 2 was to attempt to determine what behaviors participants used to be perceived as likeable. To study this, I had both the perceivers as well as two judges rate the targets' behavior during the interaction using the Interaction Questionnaire (see Appendix C). My predictions for interaction quality measures were the same as those concerning increase in likeability.

Method

Participants

One hundred sixty-four undergraduates (82 mixed sex dyads) from psychology courses at the University of Maryland participated in exchange for course credit.

Materials

I used the same Public Self-Consciousness Survey and Likeability Measure that I used in Study 1. I added an Interaction Questionnaire (see Appendix C), which was created based on the nonverbal and verbal behaviors used by Godfrey, Jones, and Lord (1986). These behaviors were those that people attempted to execute in order to

be seen in a positive manner. This Interaction Questionnaire included 11 items on which the perceiver rated the target based on the target's behavior during their interaction using a 7 point scale. With "7" being the highest, and "1" being the lowest, perceivers were asked to rate the extent to which the person they were rating performed the listed behaviors during the interaction.

Procedure

To avoid allowing the two participants to meet each other before the experiment began, the male and female participants entered the lab from different entrances. Upon arrival each participant was placed in a separate room within the lab. Participants were randomly assigned to be either a target or a perceiver. I also randomized the role of the target such that in half of the sessions the male was the target and the female was the perceiver, and in the other half the female was the target and the male was the perceiver. All participants were instructed that, to ensure confidentiality, they would identify themselves only with a code number. All participants were told they would be participating in an exercise on impression formation. In this experiment, the purpose was not made clear to participants; they were only told that the goal was to "better understand the phenomenon of impression formation." Instructions were given to the participants in sections, so that they were not aware of what they would be doing later on in the experiment.

The procedure differed for targets and perceivers. Targets first completed the Public Self-Consciousness Scale and a Polaroid photograph was taken of him or her. The targets were also asked to indicate how he/she believed others would rate his/her facial and physical attractiveness. The targets were told that the photograph was

necessary for our records of participants in this study, and were instructed to smile while the photograph was being taken. After the targets photograph was taken, the perceivers were then instructed to rate the targets on the Likeability Measure based on their first impression of the individual in the photograph.

I presented half of the targets, those in the experimental condition, with a list of behaviors that they should attempt to execute during the future interaction with their partner. This list of behaviors was the identical to the list which the perceivers used to rate the targets (see Interaction Questionnaire in Appendix C). They were told that these were likeable behaviors that people perform during social interactions that may help them improve the impressions they make on others. They were told to try to carry out these behaviors, yet act as naturally as they could.

The participants in both the control and experimental conditions were then brought to a room together and were given 10 minutes to interact with each other. They were told to introduce themselves, say where they were from originally and where they lived at the time, and then discuss their social lives on campus. They were told that they could digress from the topic. This interaction was videotaped, and both participants were aware of this. After the interaction the perceivers again rated the targets on the Likeability Measure, though this time the perceivers were told to rate the targets based on the interaction. The perceivers also rated the targets on the Interaction Questionnaire. All participants were debriefed, and allowed to ask questions.

Results

Likeability Measure

Five college student judges rated the facial and overall physical attractiveness of the target based on his/her photograph. The coders were told to look at each photograph and to rate each photograph for facial and overall attractiveness on a seven point scale with endpoints of “1”= facially or overall physically unattractive and “7”= facially or overall physically attractive. I computed an attractiveness score for each participant by combining the ratings of facial and physical attractiveness given by the five raters and his/her partner⁶. I averaged these six scores into a single attractiveness score, $\alpha = .76$.

I conducted a regression analysis predicting change in likeability (from before to after the interaction) with public self-consciousness, initial attractiveness, and the public self-consciousness x attractiveness⁷ interaction as predictors⁸. However, I also used a median split method in order to investigate mean differences (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2

Study 2: Mean Likeability Before and After the Interaction- Control Condition

	<u>Unattractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	4.73	5.39	.66*
Low PSC	5.27	5.74	.47*
	<u>Attractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	5.17	5.84	.67*
Low PSC	4.88	5.78	.90*

⁶ While a regression was conducted analyzing self-rated attractiveness based on how the participants believed others would rate them, again, there were no significant results using self-ratings, therefore, other ratings were used.

⁷ The correlation between attractiveness and public self-consciousness was not significant, $r(82) = .10$, $p = .37$.

⁸ Although I did not make predictions regarding gender of the target, I did include it as a variable in preliminary analyses, and found no significant main effects or interactions on any variables.

Note: Higher scores indicate greater likeability.

* $p < .05$

Table 3

Study 2: Mean Likeability Before and After the Interaction- Experimental Condition

	<u>Unattractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	4.70	5.69	.99*
Low PSC	5.18	5.75	.57*
	<u>Attractive Participants</u>		
	<u>Pre-interaction</u>	<u>Post-interaction</u>	<u>Change</u>
High PSC	5.21	5.85	.64*
Low PSC	5.55	6.58	1.03*

Note: Higher scores indicate greater likeability.

* $p < .05$

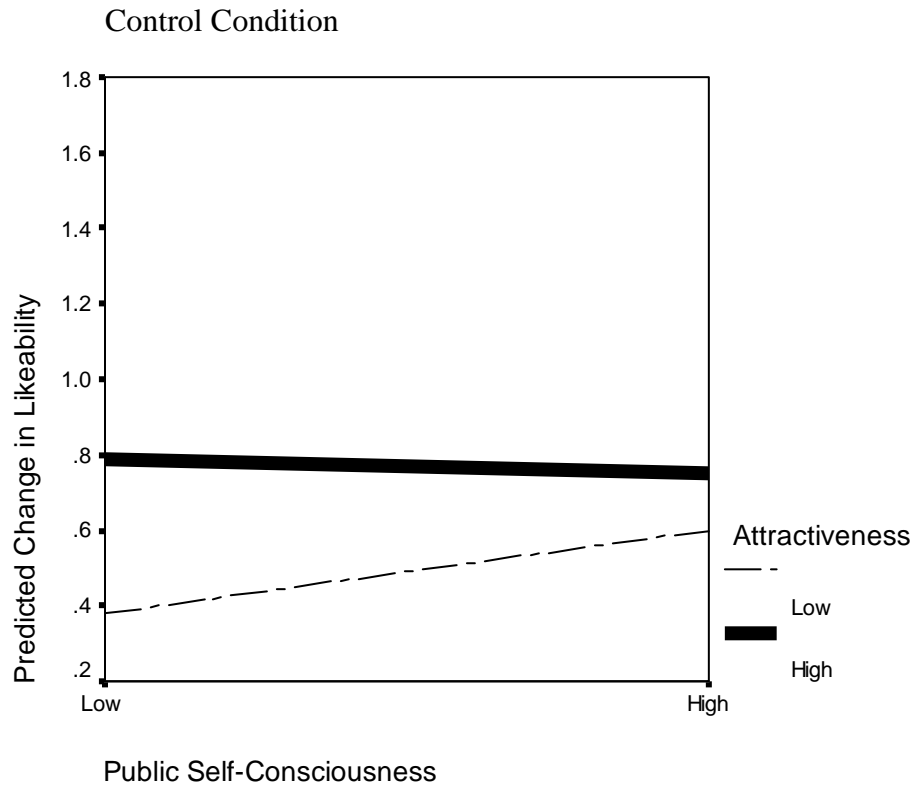
The regression analysis revealed statistically significant main effects for public self-consciousness, $\beta=2.21$, $F(1,74)= 6.32$, $p < .05$ and for physical attractiveness, $\beta=2.60$, $F(1, 74)= 6.98$, $p < .05$. Participants with higher scores on public self-consciousness and attractiveness received a greater increase in likeability ratings over time. There was a marginal main effect of the likeability manipulation, $\beta=-9.43$, $F(1, 74)= 2.80$, $p = .098$; participants in the experimental condition ($M = .83$) increased in likeability somewhat more than those in the control condition ($M = .63$).

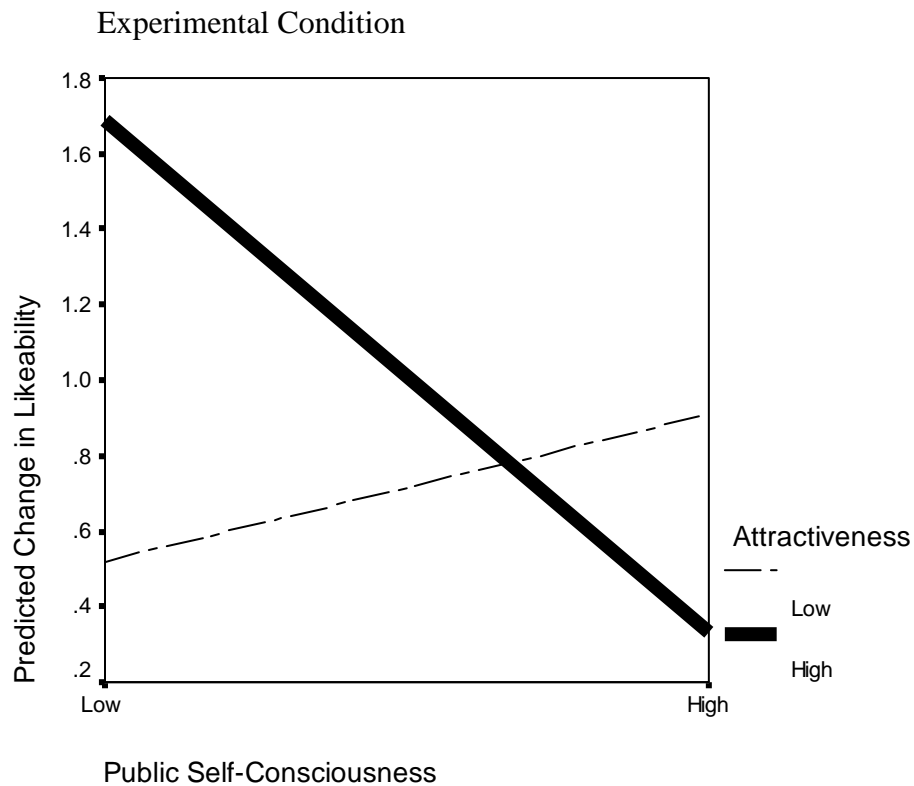
The interaction between public self-consciousness and attractiveness was significant, $\beta=-3.48$, $F(1,74)= 6.20$, $p < .05$, however, this pattern can only be interpreted in light of the likeable-instruction manipulation x public self-consciousness x attractiveness interaction, which was marginally significant, $\beta=-11.27$, $F(1, 74)= 3.39$, $p = .07^9$. To display the results of the regression analyses, I calculated predicted change in likeability scores at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean public self-consciousness score, and one

⁹ It is possible that a median split does not provide a very strong test of the hypothesis. Therefore, based on attractiveness ratings, the middle third participants were removed, and the remaining participants at both extremes were split into the two groups. A regression analysis was conducted using public self-consciousness and the likeable-instruction manipulation as predictors, and I found that results were not significant, $p > .10$.

standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean attractiveness score (Aiken & West, 1991). Figures 2 and 3 show the results of this analysis.

Figures 2 and 3. Predicted change in likeability for different levels of public self-consciousness and attractiveness, Study 2.





For participants in the control condition there was no significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness, $p > .10$ (see Figure 2). There was however a significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness for those in the experimental condition, $\beta = -4.97$, $F(1, 37) = 6.47$, $p < .05$. For participants who were low in attractiveness, change in likeability increased as public self-consciousness increased. For participants who were high in attractiveness, change in likeability increased as public self-consciousness decreased (see Figure 3). This pattern is in the same direction, yet more extreme, than that found in Study 1. The fact that only the low attractive, high public self-conscious participants became more liked over time suggests that the low attractive, low public self-conscious participants did not have the ability to compensate, even though they were given

instruction about how they could do so. It appears that compensation can not just be learned on the spot.

Because the interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness was significant, I conducted a comparison to determine whether participants high and low in public self-consciousness would significantly differ from each other in likeability change within each level of attractiveness. Using a multiple regression method did not allow a simple effect comparison, therefore, conducting a median split on attractiveness was necessary. I conducted a regression analysis predicting change in likeability with public self-consciousness as a predictor separately for high and low attractive participants. Results demonstrated that for those who were low in attractiveness, there was a marginally significant difference between those who were high and low in public self-consciousness, $\beta=.30$, $F(1,26)=3.39$, $p=.077$, with those who were high in public self-consciousness increasing in likeability change more so than those who were low in public self-consciousness. For those who were high in attractiveness there was also a marginally significant difference between those who were high and low in public self-consciousness, $\beta=-.47$, $F(1,15)=3.01$, $p=.10$, with those who were low in public self-consciousness increasing in likeability more so than those who were high in public self-consciousness.

The means in Table 2 and 3 make it clear that for individuals low in attractiveness, first impression ratings (based on the original photograph) were significantly lower for low attractive, high public self-conscious participants than for the low public self-conscious participants, $t(42)=2.46$, $p<.05$. This pattern replicated the pattern found in Study 1. Although it was not expected, because this pattern

occurred in both studies, I conducted subsequent analyses to try to better understand it. I had three students judge each photograph for whether the individual was or was not smiling – the criteria for smiling was “showing teeth.” The inter-rater reliability of these judgments was $\alpha = .98$. Because the reliability of the judging was very high, I used the rating of one of the judges as a measure. I divided the photographs by attractiveness and public self-consciousness using a median split and tallied how many participants smiled in each of the four groups. I conducted a regression analysis predicting smiling with public self-consciousness, initial attractiveness and the interaction between the two as predictors. I found a significant interaction between public self-consciousness and attractiveness, $F(1,78) = 11.36, p = .001$. I then conducted an independent samples t-test on public self-consciousness, splitting the data by attractiveness through the use of a median split. I found that for low attractive participants, those who were low in public self-consciousness ($M = 5.00$) smiled significantly more than those who were high in public self-consciousness ($M = 3.41$), $t(42) = 2.34, p < .05$. On the other hand, for attractive participants, high ($M = 5.00$) and low ($M = 4.30$) public self-conscious participants did not differ.

Interaction Questionnaire

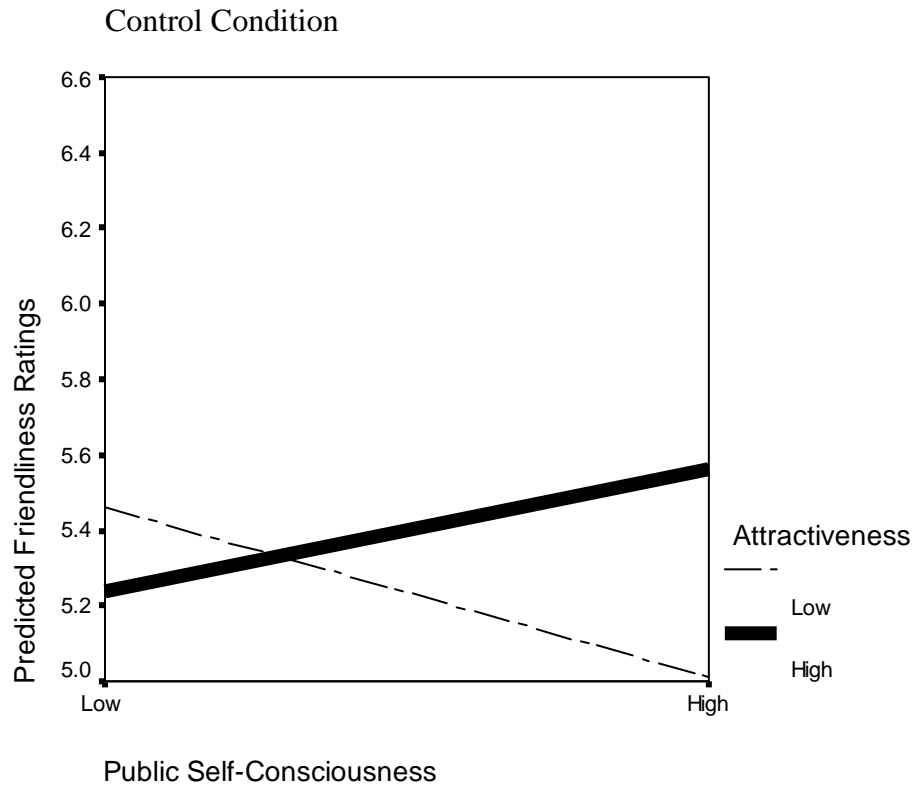
I had two judges rate the behavior of the targets on the videotape using the same Interaction Questionnaire that the perceiver completed after the interaction, $\alpha = .84$. I conducted a principal components analysis with an oblique rotation on the eleven items in the Interaction Questionnaire. Items with factor loadings greater than .5 were included in the final factors. This factor analysis produced three factors: *friendliness*, *ingratiation*, and *body language*. Friendliness included understanding,

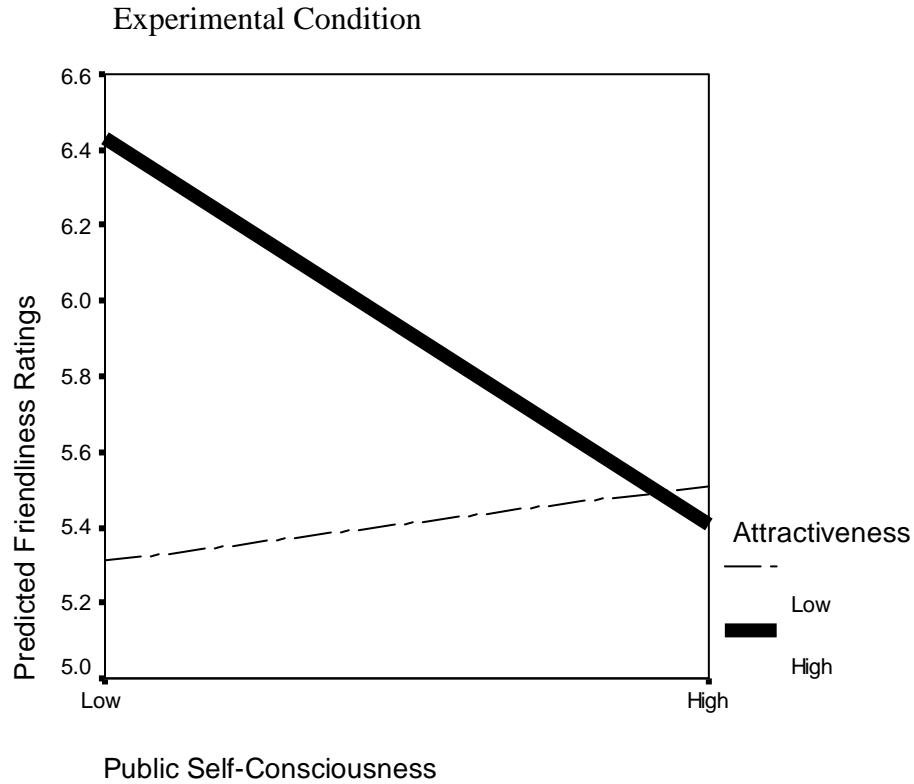
getting the partner to talk more, being agreeable, showing interest and acting natural and friendly. Ingratiation included noting similarities, and using flattery and compliments. Body language included smiling, eye contact and nodding of the head. The reliability of friendliness was $\alpha=.81$, the reliability of ingratiation was $\alpha=.61$ and the reliability of body language was $\alpha=.78$. I found that although change in likeability correlated with partner-rated friendliness, $r(82)=.43, p=.00$, and body language, $r(82)=.31, p=.004$, it did not correlate with ingratiation $r(82)=.13, p=.24$. Because of the relatively low level of reliability, as well as the lack of correlation between ingratiation and change in likeability I did not include ingratiation in my data analysis.

I then conducted a regression analysis predicting friendliness and body language based on the perceiver's ratings with public self-consciousness, initial attractiveness and the interaction between the two as predictors. There were no significant main effects or interactions involving body language, all $ps > .05$. Regarding friendliness, there was a marginally significant main effect of the likeable-instruction manipulation, $\beta=-10.97, F(1,74)= 3.18, p< .10$, indicating that people who were in the experimental condition ($M=5.69$) were rated as acting in a more friendly way relative to those in the control condition ($M= 5.29$). There was also a marginally significant interaction between manipulation, attractiveness and public self-consciousness, $\beta=-11.43, F(1,74)= 2.92, p=.09$. To display the results of the regression analyses, I calculated predicted friendliness scores at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean public self-consciousness score, and one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean

attractiveness score (Aiken & West, 1991). Figures 4 and 5 show the results of this analysis.

Figures 4 and 5. Predicted friendliness ratings given by the partner for different levels of public self-consciousness and attractiveness, Study 2.





For those in the control condition there was no significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness, all p 's > .10 (see Figure 4). I also did not find a significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness for those in the experimental condition, $\beta = -3.09$, $F(1, 37) = 1.49$, $p = .21$, yet the observed pattern was in the same direction as that found for change in likeability (see Figure 5).

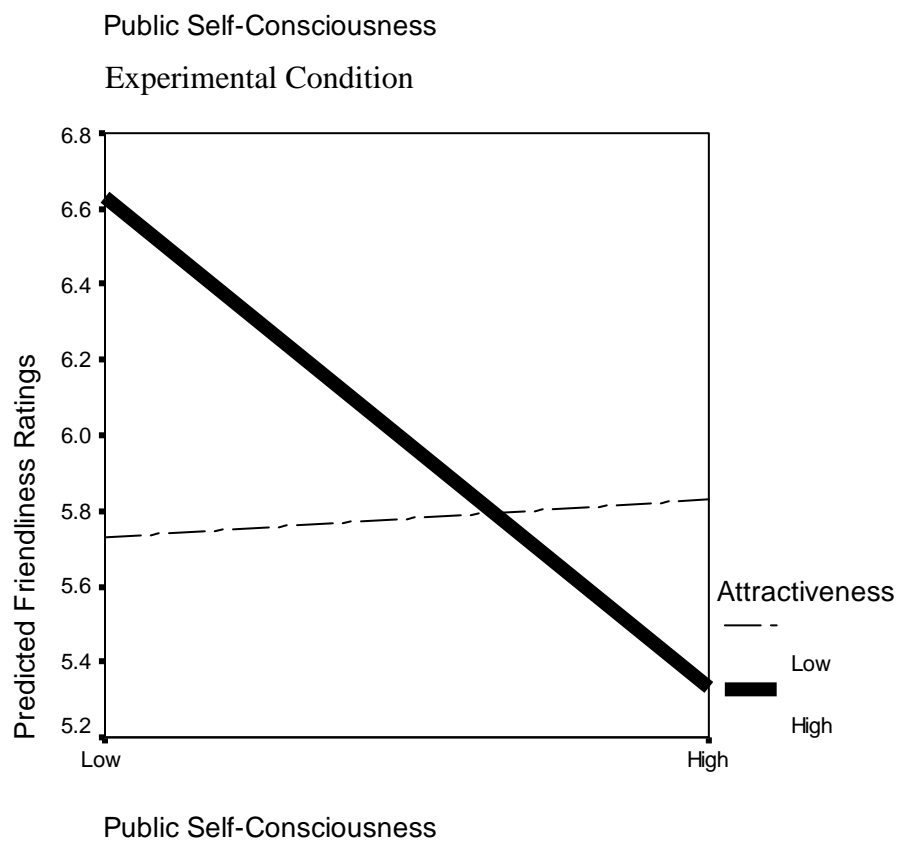
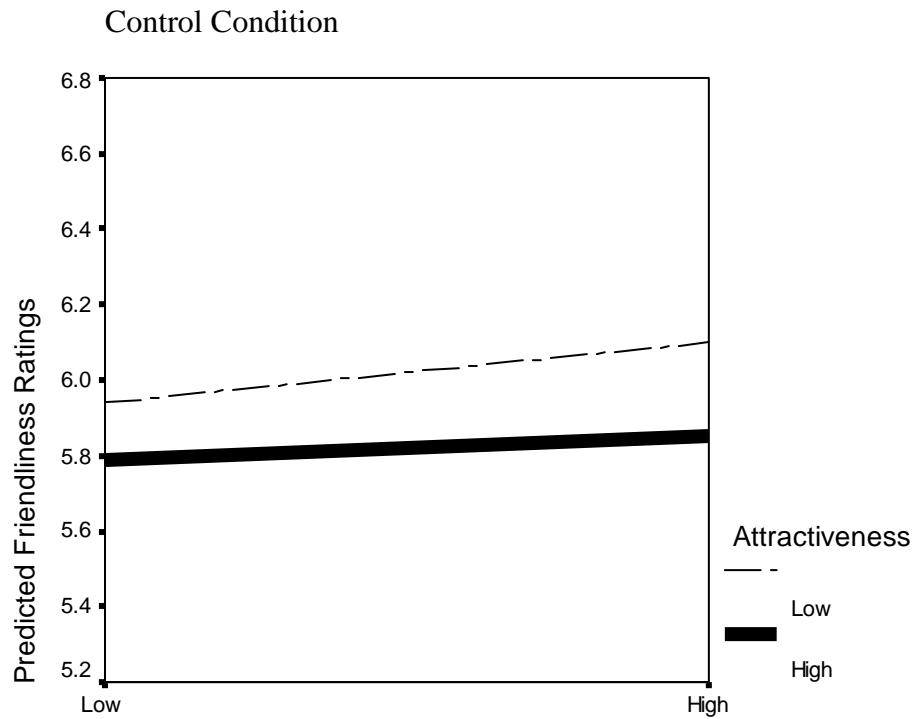
Videotape Ratings

I conducted a regression analysis predicting friendliness and body language based on the perceiver's ratings, with public self-consciousness, initial attractiveness and the self-consciousness x attractiveness interaction as predictors. There were no significant main effects or interactions involving body language, all p 's > .05. There was a significant main effect of the likeable-instruction manipulation on friendliness, $\beta = -10.34$, $F(1, 74) = 4.66$, $p < .05$. Those who were in the experimental condition were

rated by the judges as being more friendly than those in the control condition. There were significant main effects for attractiveness, $\beta=2.14$, $F(1,74)= 6.12$, $p<.05$, and for public self-consciousness, $\beta=1.91$, $F(1,74)= 5.99$, $p<.05$, with those who were high in attractiveness and high in public self-consciousness being rated as higher in friendliness.

There was a significant interaction between the likeable-instruction manipulation, attractiveness and public self-consciousness, $\beta=-11.77$, $F(1,74)= 4.88$, $p<.05$. To display the results of the regression analyses, I calculated predicted friendliness scores at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean public self-consciousness score, and at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean attractiveness score (Aiken & West, 1991). Figures 6 and 7 show the results of this analysis.

Figures 6 and 7. Predicted friendliness ratings given by the judge for different levels of public self-consciousness and attractiveness, Study 2.



For those in the control condition there was no significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness, all $ps > .10$ (see Figure 6). There was a significant interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness for those in the experimental condition, $\beta = -4.57$, $F(1, 37) = 7.71$, $p < .05$. Friendliness scores increased for participants low in attractiveness as public self-consciousness increased, and increased for participants high in attractiveness as public self-consciousness decreased (see Figure 7).

Because the interaction between attractiveness and public self-consciousness was significant, I conducted a comparison in order to see if participants higher and lower in public self-consciousness would significantly differ from each other in friendliness ratings within each level of attractiveness. Using a multiple regression method did not allow a simple effect comparison, therefore, conducting a median split on attractiveness was necessary. I conducted a regression analysis predicting friendliness scores with public self-consciousness as a predictor separately for those who were high and low attractive participants. For those who were low as well as for those who were high in attractiveness, rated friendliness did not significantly differ as a function of public self-consciousness, all $ps > .10$.

Mediational Analysis

The goal of including ratings of the interaction was to determine whether these behaviors influenced likeability change. Therefore, I tested the hypothesis that friendliness ratings made by the partner mediated the relationship between the interaction of attractiveness x public self-consciousness, and change in likeability. I conducted this analysis only for participants who received the goal of being likeable.

However, the mediation was not significant as determined by the conducting of a Sobel test, $p > .10$, demonstrating that friendliness did not carry the influence of the interaction between attractiveness x public self-consciousness on change in likeability for the experimental condition.

Discussion of Study 2

Replicating Study 1, Study 2 showed that for participants low in attractiveness, likeability increased as public-self consciousness increased. And also as found in Study 1, for participants high in attractiveness, likeability increased as public self-consciousness decreased. Although this latter result was not expected, it did occur in two different experiments, and thus demands explanation. Because high attractive participants have the advantage of being attractive, those who are high in public self-consciousness may be aware of their attractiveness and rely on their looks rather than developing alternative methods to present themselves in a positive manner (Miller et al., 1995, p.1096). However, if this is the case, the strategy of presenting themselves in a positive manner based on their appearance did not appear to be successful in this case, as these participants were found to be less likeable than those who are attractive and low in public self consciousness.

As in Study 1, the low attractive, high public self-conscious participants were liked significantly less than the low attractive, low public self-conscious participants on the basis of the photographs (Time 1). This may have been because the low attractive, high public self-conscious participants smiled significantly less than those who were low in attractiveness and low in public self-consciousness. While the low attractive, high public self-conscious participants are hypothesized to attempt to

compensate the most, which would seem to be consistent with smiling behavior, it is possible that while they may usually make an effort to smile in person, because they were told this picture was “for experiment records”, they may have not attempted to make an effort to smile in the photograph. In addition, because they are low in attractiveness and high in public self-consciousness, taking photographs may seem troublesome to them.

Regarding the interaction ratings according to the perceiver, none of the behaviors listed differed significantly between the control and experimental conditions. While the trends for the experimental condition were in the same direction as those for likeability ratings, it is possible the results did not reach significance because perceivers may not have been able to accurately remember the targets behavior. Although the perceiver was not being rated, the perceiver still had to participate in an interaction just as the target did. During the interaction both participants focused on being a part of the interaction and may not, at the same time, have been able to focus on details of the others’ behavior. Regarding the interaction ratings according to the video judges, the trends for the experimental condition were similar to those of the perceiver’s ratings, however, the interactions were significant. The judges did not have the pressure of focusing on an interaction as well as rating a target. They knew what behaviors to look for ahead of time and were able to concentrate on looking for certain behaviors while watching the video. Despite the focus of the judges, they still did not find any significant main effects regarding body language. It is possible that body language of the target was too subtle to be noticed. While body language may play an important role in social interactions (Ambady &

Rosenthal, 1993), it may have been too difficult to notice the role it played in this particular situation.

Both the perceiver as well as the video judges did not report that low attractive, high public self-conscious participants were significantly friendlier than the low attractive, low public self-conscious participants. In addition, while, based on partner ratings, body language and friendliness did correlate with change in likeability, the lack of significance of the mediational analysis demonstrated that the friendly behaviors did not lead to likeability increase. While both friendliness ratings and increase in likeability followed similar trends, the friendly behaviors did not cause the likeability increase. It still remains unclear what behaviors participants were using as compensatory strategies that led to the likeability increase. This is something that must be further investigated.

In terms of ability to compensate, the results of Study 2 support the hypothesis that attempts to compensate may require an ability to compensate, and can not just be learned on the spot. Low attractive, low public self-conscious participants did not successfully compensate, even when they were explicitly given the motivation and knowledge of how to do so.

Chapter 5: General Discussion

The physical attractiveness stereotype, asserting that “what is beautiful is good” (Dion et al., 1972) and “what is ugly is bad” (Eagly et al., 1991) can make it difficult for unattractive individuals to form and maintain social relationships (Miller et al., 1995). Research demonstrates that self-fulfilling prophecies may occur, allowing stereotypes about physical attractiveness to elicit corresponding behaviors. Most self-fulfilling prophecy research, however, has been conducted on individuals who have not lived life with an actual stigma. Miller et al. (1995) point out that individuals who have lived life with a stigma may learn to cope with negative expectations through the use of compensation. When individuals are aware that they have a stigma that may elicit negative expectations, and motivated to use compensatory strategies, they may be able to overcome the effect of their appearance.

Unattractive individuals who are aware of their appearance are those who are high in public self-consciousness. This research tested the hypothesis that unattractive individuals who were high in public self-consciousness would attempt to compensate for their unattractive appearance in order to be more liked in social settings. The resulting trends provide some support for the idea that low attractive, low public self-conscious participants do not have the necessary ability to create positive impressions on others, whereas low attractive high public self-conscious participants do. In the future, compensation researchers should take into account that motivation to attempt to compensate, knowledge of how to attempt to compensate, and the ability that may develop for those who repeatedly make attempts to compensate may all be necessary components of compensation.

Although patterns of means for change in likeability were in the predicted direction for the control condition in Study 2 and for Study 1, the participants who were not explicitly given motivation and knowledge of how to compensate, did not significantly differ from each other based on their levels of attractiveness and public self-consciousness. I believe that the reason this occurred was due to the participant's lack of motivation to appear likeable in this experimental situation. While the low in attractiveness, high in public self-consciousness participants may usually attempt to compensate, they may have not appraised a social interaction during a laboratory experiment as a situation in which they felt motivated to be on their best social behavior. If a future study were to be done focusing on attempts at compensation, it would be desirable if participants were made to care about the impression they would make without being given explicit directions to do so.

Additionally, it would be beneficial to study individuals who are at extremes of attractiveness and unattractiveness in order to better understand the effects of appearance, public self-consciousness and attempts at compensation in dyadic mixed-sex social interactions.

This research provides hope that self-fulfilling prophecies can be prevented, and that appearance may not effect all social interactions for unattractive individuals in a negative manner. While the trends reveal that social interactions can be improved when compensatory strategies are used, the next step important in compensation research would be to figure out what those strategies are.

Appendix A
Trait Questionnaire- Pilot Study

For each of the following items, please indicate your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers - please answer honestly. Check one of the boxes for each question to indicate your response.

What is the code # of the person being rated?

Code: _____

What is your code #?

Code: _____

What is the gender of the person being rated?

1- Male

2- Female

What is your gender?

1- Male

2- Female

Agreeable -----Disagreeable

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

Arrogant -----Not Arrogant

Assertive -----Unassertive

Athletically oriented -----Not athletically oriented

Boring -----Exciting

Caring -----Uncaring

Competent -----Incompetent

Competitive -----Not competitive

Confident -----Not Confident

Determined -----Not Determined

Dirty -----Clean
Disorganized -----Organized
Dominant-----Submissive
Emotionally Stable -----Emotionally Unstable
Extraverted -----Introverted
Facially Attractive -----Facially Unattractive
Friendly -----Unfriendly
Gentle -----Rough
Good-natured -----Bad-natured
Greedy -----Generous
Gullible -----Cynical
Happy -----Sad
Hard-working -----Lazy
Helpful -----Unhelpful
High Academic Ability -----Low Academic Ability
High Status -----Low Status
Honest -----Dishonest
Humorous ----- Not humorous
Independent -----Dependent
Intelligent -----Unintelligent
Intimidating -----Approachable
Irresponsible -----Responsible
Irritable -----Easy-going
Kind -----Unkind
Knowledgeable -----Ignorant

Likeable -----Not Likeable
 Masculine -----Feminine
 Mature -----Immature
 Mentally Healthy -----Mentally Unhealthy
 Modest ----- Not modest
 Offensive -----Inoffensive
 Passive -----Active
 Physically Attractive (overall)-----Physically Unattractive
 Popular -----Unpopular
 Powerful -----Impotent
 Rowdy -----Subdued
 Secure -----Insecure
 Selfish -----Selfless
 Sexually Responsive -----Sexually Unresponsive
 Sexually Warm -----Not Sexually Warm
 Sincere -----Insincere
 Sloppy -----Neat
 Sociable -----Unsociable
 Socially Skilled -----Not Socially Skilled
 Spineless -----Brave
 Strong -----Weak
 Tolerant -----Intolerant
 Understanding -----Not Understanding
 Unenergetic -----Energetic
 Warm -----Cold

Well Adjusted-----Not Well Adjusted

Appendix B

Likeability Measure- Studies 1 and 2

For each of the following items, please indicate your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers - please answer honestly. Check one of the boxes for each question to indicate your response.

What is the code # of the person being rated? (*if you are rating yourself put your own code # here)

Code: _____

What is your code #? (*put your code # here regardless of who you are rating)

Code: _____

What is the gender of the person being rated? (*if you are rating yourself put your own gender here)

- 1- Male
- 2- Female

What is your gender? (*put your gender here regardless of who you are rating)

- 1- Male
- 2- Female

Is this before or after the interaction?

- 1- Before
- 2- After

Disagreeable -----Agreeable

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

Arrogant -----Not Arrogant

Uncaring -----Caring

Facially Unattractive -----Facially Attractive

Unfriendly -----Friendly

Rough -----Gentle

Bad-natured -----Good-natured

Greedy -----Generous
Not helpful -----Helpful
Dishonest -----Honest
Intimidating -----Approachable
Irritable -----Easy-going
Unkind -----Kind
Not Likeable -----Likeable
Not Modest----- Modest
Offensive -----Inoffensive
Physically Unattractive (overall)-----Physically Attractive
Selfish -----Selfless
Insincere -----Sincere
Intolerant -----Tolerant
Not Understanding -----Understanding
Cold -----Warm

Appendix C

Interaction Questionnaire

For each of the following items, please indicate your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers - please answer honestly. Check one of the boxes for each question to indicate your response.

What is the code # of the person being rated? (if you are rating yourself please put your own code #)

Code: _____

What is your code #? (put your own code # here regardless of who you are rating)

Code: _____

Please rate on a scale of 1-7, 7 being the highest and 1 being the lowest

To what extent did the person you are rating perform the following behaviors during the interaction:

1. Show interest in you and what you had to say:

☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7

2. Show sympathy and understanding

3. Try to get you to talk more

4. Smile at you or laugh

5. Make eye contact with you

6. Nod her/his head while you spoke

7. Use humor and/or self-deprecating anecdotes

8. Act natural, informal and friendly

9. Agree with what you were saying

10. Note similarities present between the two of you and/or mutual friends or acquaintances

11. Use flattery or compliments

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