

PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS AND SELF-ESTEEM:
A DISCOUNTING-AUGMENTATION THEORY

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. ABSTRACT	1
II. INTRODUCTION	2
Consequences of Physical Attractiveness . .	3
Likeability.	3
Social Expectations.	5
Social Influence	6
Treatment by Others.	7
Beauty is Not in the Eye of the	
Beholder: Evidence	10
Determinants of Self-Esteem	11
Summary	12
The Correlation Between Physical	
Attractiveness and Self-Esteem:	
Current Findings.	13
The Discounting-Augmentation Theory	18
Purpose and Experimental Design	23
Tests for Predicted Effects.	26
Change in Grade as Dependent	
Variable.	26
Feedback Weight (FW) as	
Dependent Variable.	27
Change in Self-Esteem as	
Dependent Variable.	29
III. METHOD	31
Subjects	31
Materials	31
Procedure	31
Manipulation of Visibility	34
Manipulation of Feedback	34
IV. RESULTS	35
Descriptive Statistics and	
Correlational Findings	35
Manipulation Checks	36
Effects on Change in Grade	39
Effects on Feedback Weight (W)	40
Effects on Change in Self-Esteem	41
V. DISCUSSION	43
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	50

Chapter	Page
REFERENCES.	51
APPENDIXES.	61
APPENDIX A - FACT SHEET.	62
APPENDIX B - FEEDBACK MESSAGES	64

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Means and F-Values of Feedback X Time Simple Interactions	37
2. Differences in Mean Self-Grades Before (Time 1) and After (Time 2) Feedback	38
3. Mean Self-Esteem Scores at Phase 1 and Phase 2.	39
4. Comparison of Change in Grade of Seen and Unseen Subjects for Each Predicted Effect.	40
5. Self-Grade at Time 1 and Time 2 for Seen and Unseen Subjects	40
6. Comparison of Feedback Weight for Seen and Unseen Subjects for each Predicted Effect.	41
7. Mean Feedback Weights for Seen and Unseen Subjects	41
8. Comparison of Mean Self-Esteem Scores at Phase 1 and Phase 2	42

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Effect of Physical Attractiveness on Self-Esteem With and Without Discounting and Augmenting Processes.	24

CHAPTER I

ABSTRACT

Previous research has demonstrated that the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem is weak. In an attempt to explain this relationship, the Discounting-Augmentation theory was tested. This theory is an elaboration of an attributional explanation described by Sigall and Michela (1976). The Discounting-Augmentation theory predicted that, under the impression that they were seen by their evaluator, 1) attractive subjects would discount praise, 2) attractive subjects would augment criticism, 3) less attractive subjects would discount criticism, and 4) less attractive subjects would augment praise. Eighty-five female introductory psychology students wrote an essay and received either praise or criticism from a fictitious male evaluator. Of the four predicted effects, only one was supported. Consistent with previous research findings, results indicated a praise-discounting effect among attractive subjects who believed they were seen by their evaluator. This effect and the absence of the other effects are discussed in terms of their ability to explain the weak relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL ATTRACTIVENESS AND SELF-ESTEEM:

A DISCOUNTING-AUGMENTATION THEORY

Although it may seem as if being attractive would go hand in hand with feeling good about oneself, research findings do not offer support. In fact, recent findings consistently indicate a weak correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem for both males and females. Studies examining the relationship between these two variables which have used self-rated measures of physical attractiveness have reported correlation coefficients ranging from .21 to .43, while those which have used ratings from independent judges have ranged from -.47 to .33. In addition, sex differences within this relationship have been inconsistent, as some studies have reported that the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem is higher for males than females, while others indicate the opposite.

The weak relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem is particularly puzzling considering the consequences of physical attractiveness and the determinants of self-esteem. Previous research in the area of physical attractiveness has provided convincing evidence that

physically attractive persons receive more positive evaluation and social approval than those of less attractiveness. In addition, theories on self-esteem development maintain that the evaluation and approval one receives from others are major determinants of self-esteem.

Consequences of Physical Attractiveness

The consequences of physical attractiveness provide convincing evidence of a "what is beautiful is good" physical attractiveness stereotype (Dion, Berscheid, & Walster, 1972). That is, physically attractive people, compared to their less attractive counterparts, receive a disproportionate amount of positive evaluation and social approval. As early as 1921, Perrin provided evidence suggesting a relationship between one's physical attractiveness and how well one is liked by others. Subsequent studies have shown that physically attractive people are advantaged over their less attractive counterparts in four different areas: 1) likeability, 2) social expectations, 3) social influence, and 4) treatment by others.

Likeability

The importance of the relationship between physical attractiveness and likeability has been demonstrated in various studies examining dating preferences. In their classic study examining the influence of physical attractiveness on dating

choice, Walster, Aronson, Abrahams, and Rottmann (1966) found that, out of scores on personality, intelligence, social skill, and physical attractiveness measures, the latter was the only determinant of how satisfied a person was with his or her date. All subjects, regardless of their own level of physical attractiveness, liked the extremely attractive dates best. Walster et al. (1966) reported the correlations between rating of partner's physical attractiveness and liking for the partner as .78 for males and .69 for females. Replications and extensions of this study (Berman & Brickman, 1971; Brislin & Lewis, 1968; Byrne, Ervin, & Lamberth, 1970; Critelli, 1975; Curran, 1973; Miller & Rivenbark, 1970; Tesser & Brodie, 1971) have consistently demonstrated the strong relationship between physical attractiveness and dating choice.

Byrnes, London, and Reeves (1968) found that, among male and female subjects, interpersonal attraction was greater toward physically attractive strangers than unattractive ones, regardless of the stranger's sex. Huston (1973) had male subjects choose a date from an array of women representing three levels of physical attractiveness. Results indicated that men generally preferred to date the most physically attractive women.

The association between physical attractiveness and likeability has been demonstrated across the life-span. Results from studies conducted by Dion (1973) and Dion and Berscheid (1974) have revealed that attractive children are

liked more than unattractive ones. Similar evidence of this effect was found when college students rated their student peers (Dion, Berscheid, and Walster, 1972) and when young and elderly adults (current or former teachers) rated middle-aged peers (Adams & Huston, 1975).

Social Expectations

Studies also show that physically attractive people are expected to possess more "socially desirable" traits. Dion et al. (1972) found that physically attractive people, compared to those of lesser physical attractiveness, are more likely to be perceived as sexually warm and responsive, sensitive, kind, interesting, strong, poised, modest, sociable, and outgoing. In addition, they were seen as more likely to be "exciting dates," to be "nurturant," and to have "better character." Physically attractive people were also viewed as having a more positive future outlook. Subjects predicted that physically attractive persons would have more prestigious occupations, be more competent spouses, and have happier marriages. In fact, the only way in which physically attractive persons were viewed more negatively than less attractive persons was that they were seen as more "conceited."

Miller (1970) had college students record their impressions of people by selecting adjectives on a scale consisting of 17 dimensions. He concluded that highly attractive persons were judged significantly more positively

while unattractive persons were associated with more negative adjectives. Using college students, Landy and Sigall (1974) found that male subjects evaluated a female writer and her work most favorably when she was attractive, least when she was unattractive, and intermediately when her appearance was unknown.

Studies also reflect a higher level of expectations for physically attractive children. Clifford and Walster (1973) had fifth grade teachers evaluate students based on a report card and a picture. As predicted, the child's physical attractiveness level had a strong impact on the teacher's expectations of the child's intellectual potential. Attractive students (male and female) were assumed to have a higher I.Q., were expected to attain more education, and were believed to have parents who were more interested in their education. Also, teachers assumed the more attractive child to have better social relationships with peers. Other studies (Adams & Cohen, 1976a, 1976b; Clifford, 1975; Kehle, Bramble, & Mason, 1974;) have consistently shown that teachers rate attractive children more favorably.

Social Influence

Research has shown that physically attractive people also have more social influence. They have been found to make a relatively powerful (Krebs & Adinolfi, 1975) and favorable (Landy & Sigall, 1974) impression and to be better remembered (Kleck & Rubinstein, 1975). Snyder & Rothbart

(1971) had subjects listen to a 5 minute tape-recorded talk in which the speaker recommended lowering the speed limit on highways. Results revealed that an attractive male communicator was more persuasive than an unattractive or unpictured one.

Horai, Naccari, and Fatoullah (1974) had subjects read articles which related to the importance of receiving a broad general education in high school. They found that subjects agreed as much with an attractive communicator who lacked expertise as with an unattractive communicator who was an expert. Subsequent studies (Howard, Cohen, and Cavior, 1974; Mills & Harvey, 1972; Norman, 1976) have also demonstrated the influence of physical attractiveness on persuasive power. Sigall, Page, and Brown (1971) found that male subjects expended more effort on a handgrip task when evaluated by an attractive rather than unattractive female experimenter.

Treatment By Others

Research has also shown that physically attractive people are treated more favorably. Berkowitz and Frodi (1979) examined the relationship between physical attractiveness and severity of punishment. Subjects watched a TV monitor (which was actually a pre-recorded videotape) of a ten year old girl learning a task. They were required to deliver a burst of noise to the girl through earphones after each error. Half of the subjects observed an

attractive child, while the other half viewed one who had been made to appear unattractive through cosmetic changes, e.g., circles under the eyes, stringy hair. They found that children made to appear unattractive received more intense punishment than those who appeared attractive.

Efran (1974) provided evidence that attractive persons were treated more generously than unattractive persons when punishment was assigned for a social transgression. Student-teacher interactions were observed by Adams and Cohen (1974). A positive relationship was found between students' physical attractiveness ratings and mean frequency of positive verbal teacher-student interactions. West and Brown (1976) found that physically attractive female confederates were more able to solicit money for a "severe medical condition" from male subjects than were unattractive confederates.

Observing nonverbal behaviors, Kleck and Rubenstein (1975) found that male subjects spent more time looking and smiling at physically attractive confederates compared with unattractive confederates. In addition, during a follow-up period, subjects who interacted with the attractive confederate reported thinking more about her, remembering more aspects of her appearance, and continued to like her more compared with subjects in the unattractive confederate condition.

Results from other research studies have also demonstrated that other people treat the physically

attractive person differentially in that they are more reinforcing toward them (Barocus & Karoly, 1972), help them more frequently (Athanasidou & Green, 1973; Mims, Hartnett, & Nay, 1975), approach them for help less frequently (Stokes & Bickman, 1974), and provide them with greater amount of personal space (Dabbs & Stokes, 1975). Kahn, Hottes, and Davis (1971) found that females were more cooperative toward an attractive partner compared to an unattractive one during the Prisoner's Dilemma game. Other studies indicate that physically attractive persons may have the advantage in getting a job (Carroll, 1969), being elected to a public office (Efran & Patterson, 1974), and, for university professors, being evaluated favorably by students (Siskel, 1976).

Thus, findings indicate that, based on a physical attractiveness stereotype, attractive persons are socially advantaged. Perhaps physically attractive persons may also adhere to this stereotype when evaluating themselves. In other words, observant of their own beauty, they view themselves in more positive terms, i.e., more poised, interesting, and sociable. Therefore, in addition to receiving more positive evaluation and regard from others, they may also receive more from themselves. Indeed, if physically attractive persons do see themselves in more positive terms, i.e., they are more self-confident, this may be the "kernel of truth" that underlies the attribution of

"conceited" to physically attractive persons (Dion et al., 1972).

Based on the familiar adage, "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," one might argue that physical attractiveness is a purely subjective preconception which cannot be measured objectively. In other words, beauty is relative, based on the standards of the "beholder." Based on this assumption, it follows that independent objective judgments of physical attractiveness should show little internal consistency. However, research findings refute this idea.

Beauty is Not in the Eye of the Beholder: Evidence

Research findings reveal a high degree of consensus of what is beautiful. Kopera, Maier, and Johnson (1971) had college students rate photographs on a seven point scale of attractiveness. No significant differences were found between male and female judges and the inter-rater correlation coefficient was .93. Phillips et al. (in preparation) reported an inter-rater reliability correlation coefficient of .92 for males and .96 for females. Murstein (1972) reported a correlation of .80 between panels comprised of either male or female judges. Disregarding sex of judge, the interpanel reliability coefficient was found to be .91. Using younger judges (fifth and eleventh grade boys and girls), Cavior and Dokecki (1971) found inter-rater reliability correlation coefficients that ranged from .82 to .98.

Determinants of Self-Esteem

Over the past century, theories of self-esteem have emphasized the importance of evaluation from others. In 1890, William James proposed that an individual has a "social self which is the recognition he gets from his peers..." Cooley's (1902) "looking-glass self" theory describes the self-concept as based on the reflected appraisals from others. That is, we view ourselves according to our perceptions of how others view us. Similarly, Mead (1934) hypothesized that one internalizes the ideas and attitudes expressed by key figures in one's life. As a result, the person develops self-attitudes which are consistent with those expressed by significant others.

The importance of social approval on self-esteem has also been highlighted in studies examining the development of self-esteem. Rosenberg (1965) examined parental influences on a child's self-esteem and found paternal attention and concern to be a significant factor. Adolescents who had closer relationships with their fathers were found to have higher self-esteem. In a later study, Sears (1970) looked at self-concept during middle childhood and found maternal and paternal warmth to be associated with a more positive self-concept. Coopersmith (1967) examined the antecedents of self-esteem and concluded that the first and foremost factor contributing to the development of self-esteem was the amount of respectful, accepting, and

concerned treatment that an individual receives from significant others.

In addition, Bandura's (1977) concept of reciprocal interaction, rooted in social learning theory, suggests that our behaviors and self-perceptions are influenced by what we learn through the environment. It would follow that our self-esteem would also be affected by environmental influences, namely how others see us.

Summary

Research in the area of physical attractiveness provides cogent evidence of a physical attractiveness stereotype. More specifically, findings strongly indicate that physically attractive people receive a disproportionate amount of positive regard and social approval and have more social influence when compared to less attractive people. In addition, physically attractive persons may, as others do, evaluate themselves in a manner which gives them a disproportionate amount of positive regard.

Assuming that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder," the consequences of physical attractiveness would appear tolerable, perhaps even welcome. Knowing that someone will eventually perceive one's physical attractiveness may seem comforting and somewhat egalitarian. However, research findings contradict this proverbial belief and suggest implications which appear somewhat undemocratic. That is, not only do we favor and give preferential treatment to

physically attractive persons, we tend to agree on who these people are. Consequently, a select group of physically attractive persons is being socially advantaged while less attractive persons are not.

Research in the area of self-esteem has provided evidence of a strong interconnection between self-esteem and social evaluation and approval. Thus, it seems logical to conclude that the consequences of physical attractiveness would be important determinants of self-esteem. That is, one might expect that the disproportionately greater amount of social approval which physically attractive people receive would result in higher self-esteem. However, studies examining the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem reveal surprising results.

The Correlation Between Physical Attractiveness and Self-Esteem: Current Findings

Surprisingly, studies examining the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem have consistently found the relationship to be weak for both males and females. In other words, although physically attractive persons are consistently viewed as such and subsequently reap the benefits of the physical attractiveness stereotype, they do not feel better about themselves. This suggests that additional processes are occurring which mediate physical attractiveness and

self-esteem, causing the relationship to remain low. Among the studies which have examined the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem, most have used self-rated measures of physical attractiveness.

Lerner, Karabenick, and Stuart (1973) correlated physical attractiveness (as measured by satisfaction with body characteristics) with self-esteem and found a significantly stronger relationship among females (females, $r = .43$, $p < .01$; males, $r = .33$, $p < .01$). In a later study, Lerner and Karabenick (1974) also found the relationship between self-rated physical attractiveness and self-esteem to be higher among females (females, $r = .40$, $p < .01$; males, $r = .21$, $p < .10$).

Mahoney (1978) had subjects rate themselves on physical attractiveness using a nine-point semantic differential type scale and found a significantly stronger correlation among males (males, $r = .43$, $p < .001$; females, $r = .34$, $p < .001$). Major, Carrington, & Carnavale (1984) used a three item self-perceived physical attractiveness scale and found a weak but significant relationship for males ($r = .34$, $p < .05$) and a negative and nonsignificant relationship for females ($r = -.08$).

The current investigation questions the validity of self-rated measures of physical attractiveness. Are these measures a reflection of one's actual level of physical attractiveness or are they merely a reflection of self-esteem? Cavior and Doeckki (1973) found that one's

self-esteem is strongly related to how attractive one believes oneself to be. Consequently, self-rated assessments of physical attractiveness may actually be a reflection of self-esteem rather than appearance. For example, on self-rated assessments, physically attractive people with low self-esteem may rate themselves low, while physically unattractive people with high self-esteem may rate themselves high.

Research findings also tend to question the validity of self-rated assessments of physical attractiveness. Comparisons of self-rated with objective measures of physical attractiveness cast doubt on the contention that self-rated physical attractiveness is an accurate indication of objective physical attractiveness, i.e., how others would rate the person. Berscheid et al. (1971) collected ratings on degree of satisfaction with physical and nonphysical characteristics of the self. Results indicated that neither of these types of satisfaction were significantly related to one's physical attractiveness as judged by an independent rater.

In addition, Murstein (1972) found the correlation between self-evaluations and external ratings of attractiveness to be .33 ($p < .01$) for men and .24 ($p < .01$) for women. Stroebe, Insko, Thompson, and Layton (1971) compared self-ratings and experimenter's ratings of attractiveness and found a significant but weak correlation ($r = .17$, $p < .05$). Additionally, Curran (1973) found

correlations of .36 ($p < .01$) for both males and females while Cash and Soloway (1975) reported a correlation of .31 ($p < .05$).

Huston (1972) concluded that subjective and objective operationalizations of physical attractiveness should not be used interchangeably in the absence of evidence of substantial covariation. Adams (1977) suggested that use of self-rated vs. objective peer-ratings of physical attractiveness may lead to different conclusions when examining sex differences.

Research by Cavior (1970) suggested that the weak relationship between self-ratings and external ratings may be even more pronounced for children. Results using fifth grade girls revealed that three-fourths of the subjects ranked themselves as the least physically attractive girl in the class. Among those who were attractive by other's standards, there was a tendency to emphasize deficiencies in their appearance which were not noted by judges.

Only a few studies have used independent judges while examining the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. This is somewhat surprising given that research in the area of physical attractiveness has typically used objective measures such as independent ratings. Mathes and Kahn (1975) measured physical attractiveness using independent raters and found a positive relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem

for women ($r = .24$, $p < .05$) and a negative relationship (nonsignificant) for men ($r = -.04$).

In contrast, other studies have shown a stronger relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem among males. Parra (1987) found the correlation coefficient to be $.27$ ($p < .05$) for males and $-.14$ (NS) for females. Phillips et al. (in preparation) also used independent ratings of physical attractiveness and reported a stronger relationship for males ($r = .33$, $p < .05$) than for females ($r = -.03$, NS). In a related study, Spradlin and Phillips (1989) examined sex and age effects and found a moderate negative ($r = -.47$, $p < .05$) relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem among younger (17 years) female college students. This finding was significantly different from that of older (18--23 years) females ($r = .05$, NS).

To summarize, the relationship between objective measures of physical attractiveness and self-esteem is much lower than expected, based on current research findings related to these two variables. Sex differences within this relationship have been inconsistent, as some results indicate a stronger relationship for males while others indicate the opposite. In addition, there is evidence which suggests that the relationship may also be influenced by differences in age.

In an attempt to explain the weak relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem, the

Discounting-Augmentation theory is presented. This theory is derived from attributional analysis theory and describes mediating processes which could account for a weak as well as a negative relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. More specifically, discounting and augmenting processes in response to feedback from an evaluator are described. These processes are hypothesized to be based on the attributions which one makes in regard to feedback.

The Discounting-Augmentation Theory

Drawing from attributional analysis theory (Kelley, 1971), Sigall and Michela (1976) proposed that attractive people may discount the praise they receive and question the sincerity of the praisegiver, attributing it to attempts at ingratiation. Their hypothesis was corroborated by results of a study in which female subjects performed a task which was followed by praise from a male evaluator. In the attractive condition, subjects were made to feel attractive by comparing themselves with photographs of unattractive persons. Conversely, subjects in the unattractive condition, were made to feel unattractive by comparing themselves with photographs of attractive persons. Results indicated that subjects in the attractive condition trusted the praise less when they thought they were seen by the evaluator. Conversely, subjects made to feel unattractive trusted the praise more when they thought they were seen.

Another study testing the attributional explanation for the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem revealed similar results. Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984) found that males and females who were high in self-rated physical attractiveness tended to discount praise from an evaluator when they thought they had been seen. In addition, they attributed the praise less to the quality of their work or writing style. In contrast, individuals who rated themselves low in physical attractiveness were more likely to attribute praise to work-related factors when they believed they were seen by the evaluator.

Sigall and Michela (1976) speculated that a similar discounting process may be operating in less attractive persons who may attribute criticism to their appearance, i.e., "He is biased against me." Thus, a discounting process operating among physically attractive persons in response to praise and among less attractive persons in response to criticism would tend to reduce the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

Sigall and Michela (1976) also suggested that another process based on the augmentation principle (Kelley, 1972) may be operating. They theorized that less attractive persons may take their work more seriously, believing that they must overcome a negative impression created by their appearance. Having put more effort into their work, they augment the effects of praise and see it as more sincere and

deserving. Consequently, praise accentuated by an augmentation process results in higher self-esteem than would be expected from praise alone. Evidence for this praise-augmenting effect was found by Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984). Their results indicated that less attractive persons who believed they were seen by their evaluator attributed praise more to work-related factors rather than those based on appearance or personality.

Conversely, Sigall and Michela (1976) predicted that attractive persons would augment the effects of criticism. That is, attractive people would find criticism particularly painful since they are faced with a negative evaluation in spite of their physical attractiveness. The augmentation process would, therefore, magnify the effects of criticism. Consequently, criticism would have a more deleterious effect on the self-esteem of physically attractive persons and cause it to drop.

In an attempt to test these predicted effects and provide an explanation for the weak correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem, the Discounting-Augmentation theory is presented. According to this theory, discounting as well as augmenting processes occur among both attractive and less attractive persons who believe they are seen by their evaluators.

Specifically, the Discounting-Augmentation theory predicts that, if believed to be seen by their evaluator, 1) attractive persons discount praise, 2) attractive persons

augment criticism, 3) less attractive persons discount criticism, and 4) less attractive subjects augment praise. Considered separately, each of these processes would be expected to reduce the size of the (positive) correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

In other words, the occurrence of either praise-discounting or criticism-augmenting by attractive persons would be associated with lower self-esteem. That is, minimizing praise would prevent self-esteem from increasing while maximizing criticism may actually result in lower self-esteem. Neither would be expected to lead to feeling good about oneself.

On the other hand, either praise-augmenting or criticism-discounting by less attractive persons would be likely to have an increasing effect on self-esteem. Given that one is able to magnify the effects of praise, self-esteem is "boosted." Or, if one is able to discount or "ignore" the effects of criticism, self-esteem is not "shot down." Thus, either of these effects would tend to maintain self-esteem at or above the base level.

Therefore, the occurrence of any of these effects occurring in isolation would seem likely to reduce the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. However, the occurrence of both discounting and augmenting processes operating concurrently may produce a negative correlation.

For example, under ordinary circumstances, it may be assumed that one is likely to receive a mixture of praise and criticism. Given that physically attractive persons receive more praise, they would be expected to have a higher praise/criticism ratio compared to less attractive persons. Thus, they would be expected to have higher self-esteem.

However, the discounting and augmenting processes may act as "filters" which affect how praise and criticism are encoded. Assuming that physically attractive persons discount the praise they receive, a discounting filter reduces their praise/criticism ratio. In addition, a criticism-augmenting filter reduces the praise/criticism ratio even more. Consequently, lower self-esteem results. However, for less attractive persons, praise-augmenting and criticism-discounting filters increase the praise/criticism ratio which results in higher self-esteem.

Therefore, the physically attractive person may actually receive a lower encoded praise/criticism ratio than the less attractive person. Consequently, a negative relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem results. Why this effect seems to be more substantial for females is not clear. Perhaps the belief that people are judged by their appearance may be more salient for females. If this is true, then women would be more susceptible to the discounting-augmentation process. The effects of physical attractiveness on self-esteem with and without the

discounting and augmenting processes are presented in Figure 1.

Purpose and Experimental Design

The current study was carried out in order to examine the weak correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. More specifically, the Discounting-Augmentation theory was tested. The experimental design was an elaboration of that used by Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984) with two major additions. First, in addition to a praise-discounting hypothesis, a criticism-discounting as well as associated augmenting-processes were proposed. Secondly, since mediating processes related to both positive and negative feedback were proposed, reactions to criticism as well as praise were examined.

Two methodological differences were also present. Rather than having subjects rate their own attractiveness, independent judges were used. This method was used in order to attain a more objective measure and to ensure that the physical attractiveness rating was based solely on appearance rather than self-esteem. Another difference was related to the perception of the evaluator. While Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984) had subjects rate their evaluator on various dimensions, the current study used a more behavior-based measure. Reactions to the evaluator were obtained by examining changes in self-assigned grades

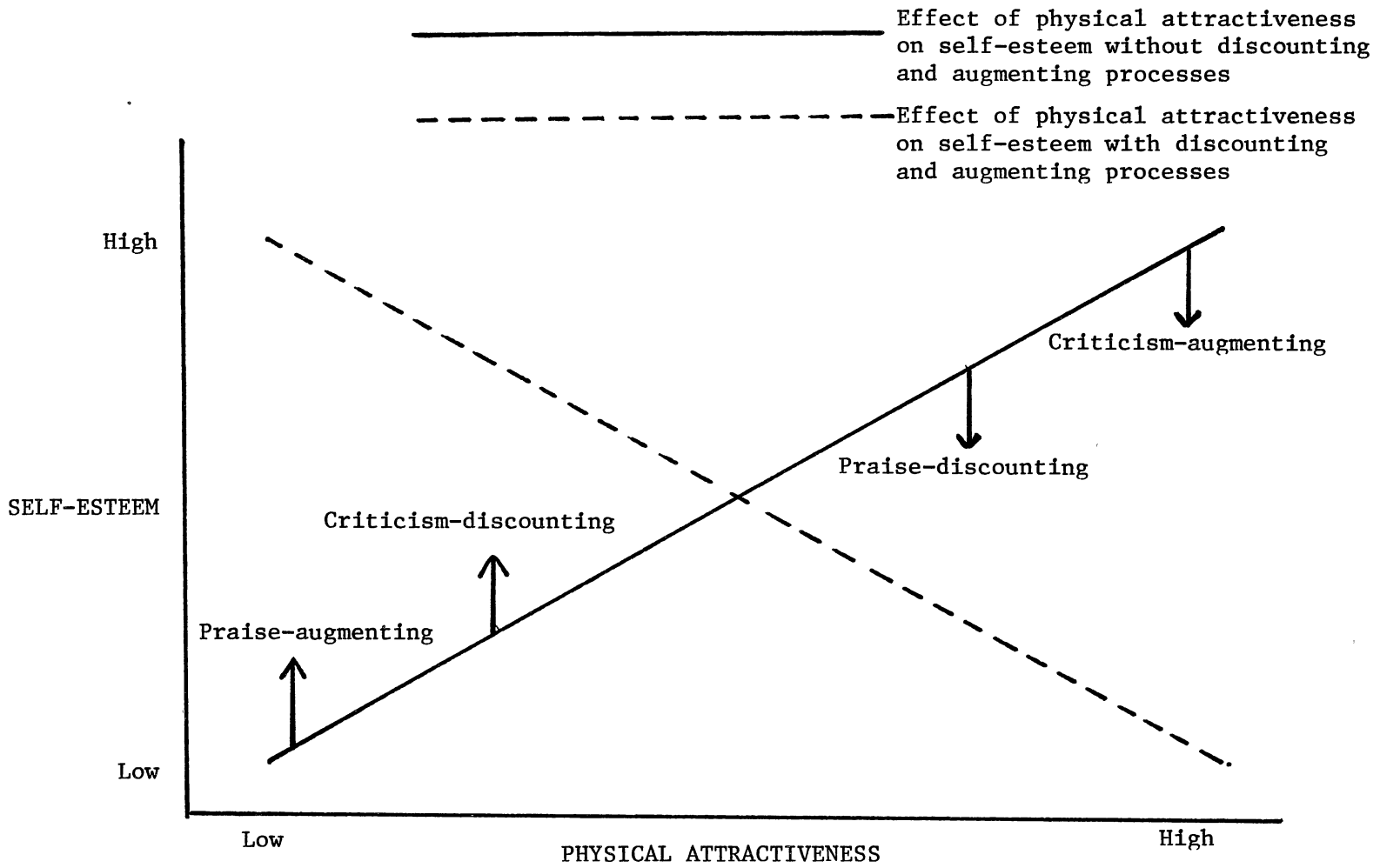


Figure 1. The Effect of Physical Attractiveness on Self-Esteem With and Without Discounting and Augmenting Processes

before and after either praise or criticism from the evaluator. This method, being a more subtle indication of one's perception of the evaluator, was assumed to be a more accurate reflection of mediating processes.

The subjects, who were all female, were led to believe that the evaluator was male. This was based on cultural standards which suggest that physical attractiveness is a more salient feature among male-female dyads compared to those of the same sex.

In the current experimental design, both a control and an experimental group were utilized. All subjects participated in two phases of the experiment which were approximately 3 weeks apart. In order to monitor any changes in self-esteem which might occur over time, control subjects rated their self-esteem during both the first and second phase of the experiment, with no intervening treatment. Changes in self-esteem from the first to the second phase of the experiment were analyzed for both experimental and control subjects.

Based on the assumption that self-esteem is influenced by evaluation from others, subjects in the experimental group were asked to complete a writing task and received feedback from a fictitious evaluator. Subjects rated their performance on the task on two occasions--once before and again after receiving feedback. As in the control condition, measurements of self-esteem were collected during the first phase of the experiment (pre-treatment) and again

during the second phase (post-treatment).

Physical attractiveness (attractive/less attractive), feedback (praise/criticism), and evaluator visibility (seen/unseen) were used as independent variables. Subjects were classified as either attractive or less attractive based on a median split. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the feedback and visibility conditions.

The Discounting-Augmentation theory predicted four specific effects. Under the impression that they were seen by their evaluator, it was predicted that, 1) attractive subjects would discount praise, 2) attractive subjects would augment criticism, 3) less attractive subjects would discount criticism, 4) less attractive subjects would augment praise.

As a test for these effects, three dependent variables were used. Change in self-assigned grades before and after feedback from an evaluator was examined. Also, change in self-esteem before and after the experimental manipulation was analyzed. In addition, a feedback weight, W , was used as an index of the degree to which the subject was influenced by the praise or criticism.

Tests for Predicted Effects

Change in Grade as Dependent Variable. Evidence for the simultaneous occurrence of all four predicted effects was based on a Physical Attractiveness X Visibility X Feedback X Time interaction test.

In order to test for isolated effects, change in grade of seen subjects was compared with that of unseen subjects. Visibility X Time simple interactions were carried out separately for each of the predicted outcomes. As evidence of the predicted praise-discounting effect, attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to show a significantly smaller increase in grade after receiving praise than those in the Unseen condition. As evidence of the predicted praise-augmenting effect, less attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to show a significantly greater increase in grade after receiving praise than those in the Unseen condition.

In regard to the predicted effects related to criticism, as evidence of criticism-discounting, less attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to show a decrease in grade after receiving criticism which was significantly less than that in the Unseen condition. As evidence of criticism-augmenting, attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to show a greater decrease in grade after receiving criticism than that in the Unseen condition.

Feedback Weight (W) as Dependent Variable. An alternative measure used to examine the effects of feedback involved the construction of an index or feedback weight, W . This index was sensitive to both perceived differences in self-evaluation before and after feedback and to differences in evaluation by the subject as well as by the evaluator.

For each subject a feedback weight, \underline{W} , was calculated based on the formula, $\underline{W} = (SG2-SG1)/(EG - SG1)$, where SG2 is the self-grade after receiving feedback (Time 2), SG1 is the self-grade prior to receiving feedback (Time 1), and EG is the estimation of the grade given by the evaluator.

Examination of the data revealed that all subjects in the Praise condition, subsequent to receiving praise, assigned themselves a grade (SG2) which was either greater than or equal to their original self-grade (SG1), i.e., $SG2 \geq SG1$. In addition, subjects' estimate of the evaluator's grade (EG) was always greater than or equal to their original grade (SG1), i.e., $EG \geq SG1$.

Analogously, examination of the data also revealed that all subjects in the Criticism condition, subsequent to receiving criticism, assigned themselves a grade (SG2) which was either less than or equal to their original self-grade (SG1), i.e., $SG2 \leq SG1$. Also, the subjects' estimate of the evaluator's grade (EG) was always less than or equal to their original grade (SG1), i.e., $EG \leq SG1$.

Therefore, \underline{W} values for subjects in both the Praise and Criticism conditions were either positive or zero. The magnitude of the value indicated the degree of influence which the feedback had on the subject. Lower \underline{W} values indicated less influence, while higher ones indicated more influence, regardless of whether the feedback was praise or criticism. Cases in which $SG2 = SG1$ yielded a \underline{W} value of zero, indicating no influence at all.

Evidence for the simultaneous occurrence of all four predicted effects was based on a Physical Attractiveness X Visibility X Feedback interaction test.

One-tailed t-tests comparing subjects in the Seen condition with those in the Unseen condition were carried out as a test of isolated effects. As evidence of the predicted praise-discounting effect, in the Praise condition, attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to have W values which were significantly lower than those in the Unseen condition. As evidence of the predicted praise-augmenting effect, in the Praise condition, less attractive subjects were expected to have W values which were significantly higher than those in the Unseen condition.

In regard to the predicted effects related to criticism, as evidence of criticism-discounting, in the Criticism condition, less attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to have W values which were significantly lower than those in the Unseen condition. As evidence of criticism-augmenting, in the Criticism condition, attractive subjects in the Seen condition were expected to have W values which were significantly higher than those in the Unseen condition.

Change in Self-Esteem as Dependent Variable.

Self-esteem scores were examined in order to observe changes in self-esteem from Phase 1 to Phase 2. Since the experimental task was not expected to have a major influence

on one's self-esteem, no specific changes in self-esteem were predicted in regard to the predicted effects proposed by the Discounting-Augmentation theory.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 174 female undergraduate introductory psychology students enrolled at Oklahoma State University. Ages ranged from 17 to 24 years. In return for participation, students received extra course credit as well as a chance to win money.

Materials

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (1965) was used to assess self-esteem. It consisted of ten general statements about the self. Subjects rated each one on a five point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. All items were scored in the positive direction, with a higher rating indicating higher self-esteem.

A "Fact Sheet" (see Appendix A) describing general information and statistics related to drug abuse was provided to assist subjects in writing their essay.

Procedure

During the first phase of the experiment, all subjects were asked to be photographed and completed the Rosenberg

Self-Esteem Scale. Subjects were told that the photos would be used in a study on impression formation. Seven subjects refused to have their picture taken.

Objective ratings of physical attractiveness were obtained for all photographs. Seventy-one male judges were divided into six groups. Judges in each group independently rated 29 photographs on an 11 point scale which ranged from 0 (least attractive) to 10 (most attractive). For each photo, judges were asked how well they knew the person in the photograph. Only ratings in which the judge responded "not at all" were used. Mean physical attractiveness ratings were obtained for each photograph. Although an attempt was made to recall all subjects to the laboratory approximately 3 weeks later, only 105 subjects returned for the second phase of the experiment. Eighty-five subjects were randomly assigned to the experimental group and 20 to the control group.

In the second phase of the experiment, subjects in the control group took the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale for a second time. No further participation was asked.

Subjects in the experimental group were given approximately 10 minutes to write a brief essay entitled "Should drugs be legalized?" A fact sheet related to this topic was provided in order to assist them with their writing. After writing the essay, subjects assigned themselves a numerical grade based on a standard grading scale, i.e., A = 90-100, B = 80-90, etc. Subsequent to

this, the experimenter informed the subject that the purpose of the experiment was to study a peer grading system. After the experimenter briefly described the purpose in more detail, each subject was asked permission to have an "evaluator" provide comments on her essay. All subjects granted permission and continued with the remaining part of the experiment.

In the presence of the subject, the experimenter then asked a second experimenter if the "evaluator" had arrived. The second experimenter responded, indicating the sex of the "evaluator," "Yes, he has." Although the subjects were led to believe that the "evaluator" was another subject, no such person actually existed. The type of evaluative feedback received was determined by the condition (praise/criticism) to which the subject was randomly assigned.

Next, the experimenter took the subject's essay and left the laboratory. Approximately 5 minutes later, the experimenter returned and gave the subject a fixed evaluation of the essay. Subjects were asked to read it and estimate the grade which they believed the evaluator had assigned to their essay. Subjects were then asked to re-grade their essay and complete the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale for a second time. Finally, subjects were debriefed and asked that they not discuss the experiment with others until it was completed.

Manipulation of Visibility

In the Seen condition, the experimenter attached the subject's picture to the completed essay. The experimenter, after having the subject confirm that the picture corresponded to her, proceeded to take the essay to the "evaluator." Although nothing was stated specifically about why the photo was attached, it was assumed that the subject would believe that the evaluator would see the picture prior to evaluating the essay. In the Unseen condition, the experimenter took the subject's essay, but no picture was attached.

Manipulation of Feedback

Subjects in the Praise condition received a standard set of positive comments, while those in the Criticism condition received negative ones. All subjects within each condition received the same feedback message which was handwritten and presented on a standard size sheet of white paper. Both positive and negative comments were general in nature and pertained to various areas such as writing style, vocabulary, spelling, and persuasiveness (see Appendix B for complete feedback messages). Subjects were led to believe that the "evaluator" was a male. Subjects' estimates of the grade assigned by the "evaluator" constituted a manipulation check.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics and Correlational Findings

Based on data from both experimental and control subjects, scores on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale ranged from 23 to 50 at Phase 1 ($M = 38.50$) and 26 to 43 at Phase 2 ($M = 36.58$).

Physical attractiveness ratings for all 105 subjects ranged from 1.64 to 8.00, with a mean rating of 4.81. Classification of subjects as either less attractive or attractive was based on a median split. Fifty-three subjects were classified as less attractive, with physical attractiveness ratings ranging from 1.64 to 4.89 ($M = 3.67$). Fifty-two subjects were classified as attractive, with physical attractiveness ratings ranging from 5.0 to 8.0 ($M = 5.96$).

The correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem was examined separately at Phase 1 and Phase 2 for all subjects. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient at Phase 1 was .05 (NS) while that at Phase 2 was .09 (NS).

Manipulation Checks

As a test of the manipulation effects, an analysis of variance was carried out using the subjects' estimate of the grade given by the evaluator (EG) as the dependent variable. As expected, a significant Feedback effect was found, $F(1, 69) = 115.21, p < .0001$. The mean EG in the Praise condition was 83.40, while that in the Criticism condition was 64.60.

Further test of the manipulation effect was done by comparing the type of feedback which the subjects received with the subjects' subsequent regrade of their work. Results revealed a significant Feedback X Time interaction, $F(1, 69) = 79.48, p < .0001$. To test for the generality of this effect over various conditions of the experiment, Feedback X Time simple interactions were also examined across physical attractiveness and visibility conditions. All interactions were significant, indicating that the manipulation effect was present for each physical attractiveness and visibility condition. Means and F-values are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

MEANS AND F-VALUES OF FEEDBACK X TIME SIMPLE INTERACTIONS

	Feedback	Time 1	Time 2	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>
Att/Seen	Praise	80.60	80.50	(1,19)	12.25**
	Criticism	82.36	74.73		
Att/Unseen	Praise	82.45	84.45	(1,20)	16.82**
	Criticism	82.36	75.73		
Less att/ Seen	Praise	79.10	81.00	(1,18)	23.06**
	Criticism	83.40	74.70		
Less att/ Unseen	Praise	81.64	83.09	(1,20)	27.72**
	Criticism	82.45	72.82		

Note. * $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Based on a comparison of the mean self-grade at Time 1 with that at Time 2, a manipulation effect was found for both the Praise and Criticism conditions. One-tailed t-tests of differences between dependent means indicated that praised subjects showed a significant increase in grade while criticized subjects showed a significant decrease in grade after receiving feedback. The magnitude of the difference was considerably more substantial among criticized subjects. Means and t-values for both feedback conditions are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
DIFFERENCES IN MEAN SELF-GRADES BEFORE (TIME 1)
AND AFTER (TIME 2) FEEDBACK

Feedback	Time 1	Time 2	df	t	p
Praise	81.00	82.33	41	1.75	.05
Criticism	82.63	74.49	42	10.81	.001

A manipulation effect was also found based on tests using W as the dependent variable. One-tailed t -tests were carried out to determine if the subjects were influenced by the praise and criticism. As previously mentioned, a W value of zero indicated no influence by the feedback. For both the Praise and Criticism conditions, the mean W was found to be significantly different from zero. Results indicated significant differences ($p < .001$) in the overall test [$M = .5375$, $t(84) = 11.37$], as well as in the Praise condition [$M = .5591$, $t(41) = 8.31$] and the Criticism condition [$M = .5163$, $t(42) = 7.77$].

As expected, no manipulation effect was found using self-esteem as the dependent variable. A Feedback X Time interaction test was carried out using both experimental and control subjects. Results were nonsignificant, $F(1, 85) = 1.32$, indicating no differences in change in self-esteem among subjects in the Praise, Criticism, or Control conditions. Mean self-esteem scores at Phase 1 and Phase 2 are presented in Table 3. In addition, change in self-esteem within each feedback condition was compared with that of the control group. Results indicated nonsignificant

results in both the Praise condition, $F(1, 60) = .57$, and the Criticism condition, $F(1, 61) = 1.05$.

TABLE 3
MEAN SELF-ESTEEM SCORES AT PHASE 1 AND PHASE 2

Feedback	<u>n</u>	Time 1	Time 2
Praise	42	37.86	36.07
Criticism	43	39.53	36.99
Control	20	37.65	36.75

Effects on Change in Grade

Results from a Physical Attractiveness X Visibility X Feedback X Time interaction test revealed nonsignificance, $F(1, 69) = 0.00$, indicating that all four predicted effects were not occurring together.

Visibility X Time simple interactions were carried out separately for each of the predicted outcomes. All four were nonsignificant, indicating that none of the four predicted effects was occurring in isolation. F -values are presented in Table 4. Associated means are listed in Table 5.

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF CHANGE IN GRADE OF SEEN AND UNSEEN
SUBJECTS FOR EACH PREDICTED EFFECT

Effect	Subjects	df	F
Praise-discounting	attrac/praised	(1,34)	.33
Criticism-discounting	attrac/crit	(1,36)	.04
Praise-augmenting	less attrac/praised	(1,34)	.01
Criticism-augmenting	less attrac/crit	(1,34)	.10

Note. All F-values nonsignificant.

TABLE 5
SELF-GRADE AT TIME 1 AND TIME 2 FOR
SEEN AND UNSEEN SUBJECTS

		Time 1	Time 2
Attractive/praised	Seen	80.60	80.50
	Unseen	82.45	84.45
Attractive/criticized	Seen	82.36	74.73
	Unseen	82.36	75.73
Less attractive/praised	Seen	79.10	81.00
	Unseen	81.64	83.09
Less attractive/criticized	Seen	83.40	74.70
	Unseen	82.45	72.82

Effects on Feedback Weight (W). A Physical Attractiveness X Visibility X Feedback interaction test was carried out as a test of all four predicted effects. Results indicated significant results, $F(1, 69) = 3.15, p < .05$). One-tailed t -tests analogous to the simple interaction effects using change in grade as the dependent

variable were carried out. Only one of the four was significant, providing evidence for a praise-discounting effect among attractive subjects in the Seen condition, $t(19) = 1.84$, $p < .05$. T -values for each predicted effect are presented in Table 6. Associated means are described in Table 7.

TABLE 6
COMPARISON OF FEEDBACK WEIGHT FOR SEEN AND UNSEEN
SUBJECTS FOR EACH PREDICTED EFFECT

Effect	Subjects	df	t	p
Praise-disc	attrac/praised	19	1.84	.05
Criticism-disc	less attrac/crit	19	.54	NS
Praise-augment	less attrac/praised	19	.09	NS
Criticism-augment	attrac/crit	20	1.41	NS

TABLE 7
MEAN FEEDBACK WEIGHTS FOR SEEN AND UNSEEN SUBJECTS

Subjects	Seen	Unseen
Attractive/praised	.3184	.6697
Less attractive/criticized	.5485	.6511
Less attractive/praised	.6072	.6235
Attractive/criticized	.5654	.3032

Effects on Change in Self-Esteem

As previously stated, no specific changes in self-esteem were expected based on the four predicted

effects of the Discounting-Augmentation theory. However, certain results from the omnibus test which included both experimental and control subjects will be presented as a point of interest. A significant Time main effect was found, $F(1, 85) = 35.17$. The mean self-esteem score at Phase 1 was 38.50, while that at Phase 2 was 36.58, indicating an overall drop in self-esteem across time.

As reported earlier, results from a Feedback X Time interaction test indicated nonsignificance. However, results from two-tailed t -tests of differences between dependent means revealed a significant drop in self-esteem from Phase I to Phase 2 for both praised and criticized subjects. Mean self-esteem scores at Phase 1 and Phase 2 and associated t -values for each feedback condition are presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8
COMPARISON OF MEAN SELF-ESTEEM SCORES
AT PHASE 1 AND PHASE 2

Feedback	Phase 1	Phase 2	df	t	p
Praise	37.86	36.07	41	3.53	.01
Criticism	39.53	36.99	42	5.07	.001
None	37.65	36.75	19	1.22	NS

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Consistent with previous research, the current study has demonstrated that the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem is weak. Based on the combined data from all subjects, correlation coefficients both at Phase 1 ($r = .05$) and Phase 2 ($r = .09$) indicated a relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem which approximated zero.

In an attempt to explain this relationship, the Discounting-Augmentation theory was tested. This theory was a further elaboration of the discounting hypothesis previously examined by Sigall and Michela (1976) and Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984). According to the Discounting-Augmentation theory, both discounting and augmenting processes occur in response to evaluation from observers. Four specific predictions were made:

- 1) attractive/seen subjects discount praise,
- 2) less attractive/seen subjects augment praise,
- 3) less attractive/seen subjects discount criticism, and
- 4) attractive/seen subjects augment criticism.

These processes were hypothesized to have differential effects on

self-esteem, thus accounting for the weak relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

Findings from the current investigation provided support only for the first prediction. Consistent with results by Sigall and Michela (1976) and Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984), attractive/praised subjects who believed that they were seen by their evaluator tended to discount praise.

Evidence for this praise-discounting effect among attractive/seen subjects was found only when feedback weights (W) were compared. Comparison of changes in self-grade did not indicate such an effect. In fact, none of the predicted effects was found when changes in self-grade were compared.

Thus, W was found to be more sensitive to the praise-discounting effect than change in self-grade. This increased sensitivity of W may be due to its consideration not only the subjects' evaluation of their work, but also the subjects' interpretation of the evaluator's feedback (EG). On the other hand, change in self-grade was based solely on the subjects' evaluation without regard to feedback from the evaluator.

In the current experiment, evidence for the discounting principle among attractive/seen subjects was based on the subjects' behavior, i.e., self-assigned grades. This differs from the previously cited studies which relied solely on the subjects' reported evaluation of the evaluator

or reported attributions for praise. Thus, the praise-discounting process among attractive persons who believe they are seen by their evaluator has received further substantiation. In addition, the fact that this discounting effect is reflected in both the subjects' report as well as behavior provides an even stronger confirmation.

Based on the augmentation principle (Kelley, 1972), Sigall and Michela (1976) suggested that, if believed to be seen by their evaluator, less attractive persons would augment the effects of praise. Results from their study indicated that less attractive subjects tended to trust the evaluator more when they had been seen. They theorized that less attractive persons may work harder in order to overcome a negative impression created by their appearance. Consequently, they may see praise as more genuine.

While findings by Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984) provided evidence for the praise-augmenting effect by less attractive/seen subjects, results from the current experiment did not. This difference in findings may have been due to a difference in methodologies. Unlike subjects in the Major, Carrington, and Carnevale (1984) study, prior to writing their essay, subjects in the current experiment were unaware of whether they would be "seen" or not by the evaluator. Therefore, had subjects believed that they would be seen by their evaluator prior to writing their essay, they may have put forth more effort in their writing.

Consequently, the predicted praise-augmenting effect may have been supported.

Results from the present experiment did not confirm analogous discounting and augmenting processes predicted in response to criticism. Perhaps the absence of these effects was due to the intensity of the feedback provided to subjects in the Criticism condition. As results indicated, based on post-feedback grades (SG2 and EG), subjects were more strongly influenced by criticism than praise. Perhaps criticism, a more powerful and personal affront on one's self-esteem, is harder to discount compared to praise. That is, the "devastating" effects of criticism are such that they cannot be easily discounted. On the other hand, praise, a more frequent and less "intense" type of feedback encountered by attractive persons, is more easily discounted.

This increased intensity of criticism may also explain why a criticism-augmenting effect among attractive/seen subjects was not found. It may be that criticism, already having a fairly "augmented" effect, leaves no room for further augmentation.

Therefore, it may be that both the discounting and augmenting effects predicted in response to criticism may have been overshadowed by the magnitude of the criticism effect. Discounting did not occur due to the personal insult afforded by the criticism. Augmentation, on the other hand, was not possible since the criticism was already

at "augmented" levels. Had the criticism in the current experiment been of a less intense or "milder" degree, perhaps these effects may have been found.

As reported earlier, a significant change from pre- to post-feedback grades was found for both praised and criticized subjects. That is, praised subjects increased while criticized subjects decreased their self-grades after receiving feedback. However, the magnitude of the difference was considerably less for praised subjects. While it may be that the praise provided to the subjects was not profuse enough, this smaller difference in grade change is more likely due to a praise-discounting effect.

As reported, no manipulation effect with regard to self-esteem was found. That is, praised subjects did not show an increase in self-esteem and criticized subjects did not show a decrease in self-esteem. This is not surprising given that the experimental task, writing an essay, was most likely seen by the subject as a relatively inconsequential occurrence which will not be repeated. Therefore, it was not expected to have a major influence on the self-esteem. Rather, the more critical issue was how feedback from others is processed. While the experimental task in itself may seem immaterial, it is assumed to be representative of real life events which, when summed over time, have an impact on self-esteem.

As previous research has demonstrated, evaluation from others is an important determinant of self-esteem. It

follows that the praise and criticism one receives from others has a significant influence on one's self-esteem. A higher encoded praise-criticism ratio would be associated with higher self-esteem, while a lower one would indicate lower self-esteem.

Based on the findings of this study, attractive persons who believe they are seen by their praisers should have a lower encoded praise-criticism ratio due to the discounting of praise. Consequently, they would be expected to have lower self-esteem compared to less attractive persons. This, by itself, provides only a partial explanation for the weak correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. Lack of evidence for three of the predicted effects indicates that other factors are operating which tend to reduce the correlation between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

Although the findings in this experiment were based on the assumption that self-esteem is determined by one's responses to positive and negative comments from others, there are undoubtedly many other determinants of self-esteem which have not been considered. While feedback from others would certainly affect one's self-esteem, other more "intrinsic" factors, e.g., feelings of personal competence, feelings of failure, would also be likely to have an important influence.

As suggested earlier, it may be that self-esteem is multidimensional. Perhaps there are different aspects of

self-esteem, e.g., self-confidence, which interact, adding further complexity to the task of studying the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem. On the other hand, it may be that self-esteem and self-confidence are orthogonal. Self-confidence may act as an outer "shell" which protects the inner "core" of self-esteem.

As suggested by Sigall and Michela (1976), levels of self-esteem may fluctuate, thus preventing the observation of its systematic variation with attractiveness. Several items on the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale were such that responses could change over a relatively short amount of time, e.g., "I am able to do things as well as most people." For example, a given subject who made an "A" on her sociology exam earlier that day may strongly agree with this item. However, after failing her algebra exam the next day, she may strongly disagree with this item. Thus, perhaps a self-esteem measure which taps a "trait" rather than "state" self-esteem level is needed.

Therefore, a clearer definition of self-esteem is needed before the relationship between physical attractiveness and self-esteem is understood. The lack of a clear understanding of the determinants of self-esteem as well as the possibility that it is multidimensional and potentially unstable make it difficult to draw definitive conclusions about its correlation with physical attractiveness.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Consistent with previous studies (Sigall & Michela, 1976; Major, Carrington, and Carnevale, 1984), results from the present study supported a praise-discounting effect among attractive individuals who believe they are seen by their evaluator. Evidence was not found for the predicted praise-augmenting, criticism-discounting, and criticism-augmenting effects.

Current findings were based on data from female subjects. Given that societal and cultural influences related to physical attractiveness and self-esteem are different for males and females, the predictions and conclusions are limited to females.

In conclusion, results presented in this study are not conclusive. Further research examining self-esteem as well as other forms of feedback which have longer-lasting effects on the self-esteem are needed. A difficult but challenging task is finding experimental tasks which have a significant impact on self-esteem. In addition, more sensitive dependent variables are needed which can accurately tap into the "mental" processes which mediate between physical attractiveness and self-esteem.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

FACT SHEET

SHOULD DRUGS BE LEGALIZED?

- 18 million Americans abuse alcohol
- together, alcohol and tobacco are responsible for 400,000 deaths a year
- 5 to 6 million people are regular cocaine users
- more than half a million people use heroin
- approximately 18 million people use marijuana
- 1.5 to 2 million Americans are addicted to heroin or cocaine

PRO'S (why drugs should be legalized)

- the crime rate would decrease considerably
(no more violence, pushers, drug gangs, police raids, overcrowded prisons, official corruption)
- there would be less organized crime
- with legalization, the government could regulate the purity and potency of drugs available on the market
(thus, they would be much safer)
- the current policies/regulations are not working; too much money is being spent on enforcement, but people continue to use drugs illegally

CON'S (why drugs should not be legalized)

- drugs cause physical and psychological damage
- 43% of the homicides in America are associated with alcohol use
- 23% of the suicides in America are carried out by alcoholics
- drugs affect innocent people (drunk driving accidents, fetal alcohol syndrome, loss of productivity in business and industry, etc.)
- if drugs were legal, many more people would use and possibly become abusers

APPENDIX B

FEEDBACK MESSAGES

PRAISE FEEDBACK

Your essay was real interesting and I could get into it. It was written pretty good and some of the things you said made me change my mind. You covered alot of good points. It was pretty well organized and you used a good vocabulary. I understood just about all of your ideas. Overall, it was really good.

CRITICISM FEEDBACK

I had a hard time getting into your essay. Some parts were boring. Your vocabulary was OK, but the essay wasn't written very good. I didn't change my mind after reading it. You covered quite a bit of stuff, but it was kind of disorganized and I couldn't understand parts of it. Overall, it wasn't very good.

2
VITA

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