

自尊对基于面孔吸引力人格特质推断的影响^{*}

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摘 要: 自尊影响面孔吸引力刻板印象, 然而由于能动性特质自我评价能够预测自尊, 高自尊的个体拥有更高的能动性自我评价, 因此自尊对面孔吸引力刻板印象的影响是否只体现在能动性特质维度上还未可知。60 名女被试分别评价高、低吸引力女性目标在能动性和社群性人格特质维度上的符合程度。结果发现: 能动性维度上, 高自尊被试对高吸引力目标在积极特质形容词的符合程度评价显著高于低自尊被试, 低自尊被试对低吸引力目标在积极特质形容词的符合程度评价显著高于高自尊被试; 社群性维度上, 高、低自尊被试均认为高吸引力目标与积极特质形容词更符合。研究结果表明, 自尊对面孔吸引力刻板印象的影响主要体现在能动性评价上; 在社群性评价上, 高、低自尊被试都表现出面孔吸引力刻板印象。

关键词: 自尊; 面孔吸引力刻板印象; 能动性; 社群性

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1 前言

外貌吸引力刻板印象 (physical attractiveness stereotype) 或“美即是好”效应, 是指在社会知觉过程中, 个体通过他人外在容貌吸引力推断其内部心理品质的一种心理倾向 (Dion et al., 1972)。具体而言, 相较于外貌吸引力较低的个体, 外貌吸引力较高的个体常常被知觉为拥有更多的社会赞许性品质 (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Dion et al., 1990)。研究者发现, 外貌吸引力刻板印象在道德认知、人才选拔和社会决策等各方面都很普遍 (Olivola & Todorov, 2017; Putz et al., 2016; Ruffle & Shtudiner, 2015); 此外, 无论是男性还是女性, 儿童或者成人, 都具有外貌吸引力刻板印象 (Brand et al., 2012; Ramsey & Langlois, 2002)。

外貌吸引力刻板印象受到自尊的影响, 相较于高自尊者而言, 低自尊者对高外貌吸引力对象的特质评价更低, 而对低吸引力对象的特质评价更高 (Agthe et al., 2010, 2011; Graham & Perry, 1976)。研究者认为, 从进化的视角出发, 外貌吸引力预示着一系列与生存和繁衍相关的优秀特质, 基于这种潜在影响, 高吸引力个体, 尤其是同性高吸引力个体更可能带来威胁 (Bleske & Shackelford, 2001; Buss &

Dedden, 1990)。自尊具有一定的防御作用, 自尊水平越高的个体拥有更多的技能、资源和动机来缓解高吸引力目标所带来的威胁 (Brown et al., 2001; 刘明妍等, 2017), 因此相较于低自尊者, 高自尊者对高吸引力个体的评价更高。同时, 也有研究者提出, 在社会交往、人事选拔等领域, 外貌吸引力较高的竞争者往往受到更多青睐 (Marlowe et al., 1996; Olivola et al., 2017; 李爱梅等, 2009)。这种消极的社会比较过程使得低吸引力个体逐渐发展成为低自尊者并将高吸引力个体视作威胁, 导致相较于高自尊者, 低自尊者对高吸引力目标评价更低 (Graham & Perng, 1976)。此外, 基于已有的自尊模型, 个体自身的外貌吸引力水平与自尊水平具有高度相关 (Feingold, 1992)。相较于高自尊个体, 低自尊个体的自评外貌吸引力常常更低 (Deshpande & Ramana-mma, 2015; Lowery et al., 2005; Lu et al., 2015), 也认为与低吸引力他人有更高的相似性 (Graham & Perng, 1976)。研究者认为, 这种外貌吸引力水平上的相似性使得高自尊个体将高吸引力目标视作内群体, 从而对高吸引力目标评价更高, 而低自尊者对低吸引力目标的评价更高 (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 张莹瑞, 佐斌, 2006)。

自尊是自我概念的核心, 反映了个体对自我价值

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感的有意识的判断(Leary & Baumeister, 2000; Rosenberg, 1965; Yang et al., 2016)。已有研究发现自我评价中的能动性更能预测自尊,自尊并不受社群性自我评价的影响(Gebauer et al., 2013; Wojciszke et al., 2011; 吴师等 2017)。能动性(agency)和社群性(communion)是人格品质的两种基本维度(Abele & Wojciszke, 2013; Bakan, 1966; Fiske et al., 2002; Fiske et al., 2007)。能动性是指人们为了掌控环境、展示自我和体验胜任感所付出的努力,主要与能力和智力等方面的品质相关,例如聪明和勤奋;社群性是指人们为了与他人建立关系和融入群体所付出的努力,主要与关系维持有关,例如热情和友好(Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Diehl et al., 2004; 佐斌等 2015)。

虽然已有研究探讨了自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的影响,然而由于能动性特质的自我评价能够预测自尊,自尊并不受社群性自我评价的影响(Bi et al., 2013; Gebauer et al., 2013; Wojciszke et al., 2011; 吴师等 2017),因此自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的影响是否只体现在能动性特质维度上还未可知,而对这一问题的探讨能够帮助我们进一步认识自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的作用。从能动性特质维度来说,由于高自尊个体具有更高的能动性特质自我评价(Bi et al., 2013; Gebauer et al., 2013; Wojciszke et al., 2011; 吴师等 2017),相较于低自尊者,他们拥有更多的能动性自我资源来帮助其缓解高吸引力目标所带来的能动性方面的威胁(Brown et al., 2001; 刘明妍等 2017),也更可能将具有高能动性特质评价的高吸引力个体视作内群体(Tajfel et al., 1979),因此我们假设高自尊者对高吸引力目标的能动性评价显著高于低自尊者,相应地,低自尊者对低吸引力目标的能动性评价显著高于高自尊者;其次,从社群性特质维度来说,由于外貌吸引力较高的个体往往被认为具有更多的社群性特质,表现得更善交际和更受欢迎,并且个体的自尊水平并不由社群性特质自我评价所主导(Wojciszke et al., 2011; 吴师等 2017),因而高吸引力目标所携带的高社群性信息可能并不会对个体自尊造成相应的威胁,因此我们假设自尊不会影响社群性维度上的外貌吸引力刻板印象,高、低自尊者对高吸引力目标的社群性特质评价均显著高于对低吸引力目标的特质评价。

2 方法

2.1 被试

由于同性高外貌吸引力的个体对同性个体更具

威胁(张秋丽, 2016),并且相较于男性,女性对外貌吸引力更加重视(Baudson et al., 2016; 彭茂莹等, 2018)。因此,为了控制性别效应,本研究仅选用女性被试以及女性面孔图片。随机选取 60 名国内某大学女性大学生被试($M_{\text{年龄}} = 20.18 \pm 1.58$)进行 Rosenberg (1965) 自尊量表(Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale, RSES)施测,根据所有被试的 RSES 得分计算整体平均分,将高于整体平均分的被试划分为高自尊组,低于整体平均分的被试划分为低自尊组。最终,高自尊被试 26 名($M_{\text{RSES}} = 32.27, SD = 2.55$),低自尊被试 34 名($M_{\text{RSES}} = 27.09, SD = 2.09$)。将高、低自尊组被试在自尊量表上的得分进行独立样本 t 检验,发现高、低自尊组被试在得分上差异显著($t(58) = 8.63, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 2.25$)。实验中,所有被试均为右利手,视力或矫正视力正常,能熟练操作计算机,没有精神疾病或精神病史。被试在实验前均签署知情同意书。实验遵循自愿原则,被试可随时停止或退出。

2.2 实验材料

2.2.1 女性面孔照片和人格特质词材料

(1) 面孔照片及其选取:选取中国情绪图片库中的中性情绪女性面孔照片和网路上的中性情绪女性面孔证件照若干。所有照片均为年轻女性正面面孔,均未佩戴眼镜。用 Photoshop 软件将所有照片中的人物头发隐去,并将照片调整为明度一致的黑白照片。随机选取 20 名女性大学生作为评定者(未参加正式实验)对所选照片中的女性面孔吸引力和表情效价分别进行 9 级评分。选取面孔吸引力评分靠前 18% 和靠后 18% 的女性面孔照片分别作为高面孔吸引力照片和低面孔吸引力照片,剔除其中表情效价评分过于积极或过于消极的照片后,最终选出高面孔吸引力照片 6 张($M_{\text{吸引力}} = 5.64, SD = 1.36; M_{\text{表情效价}} = 5.41, SD = 0.38$),低吸引力照片 6 张($M_{\text{吸引力}} = 2.46, SD = 1.11; M_{\text{表情效价}} = 5.31, SD = 0.53$)。高面孔吸引力照片和低面孔吸引力照片在吸引力评分上差异显著($t(19) = 10.79, p < 0.001, \text{Cohen's } d = 2.41$),在表情效价评分上差异不显著($t(19) = 0.77, p = 0.451$)。

(2) 人格特质词的选取:从社会认知基本维度中文形容词词库(韩梦霏等, 2015)中分别选取 6 个能动性特质形容词(进取的、聪明的、勤奋的、怯懦的、笨拙的、畏难的)和 6 个社群性特质形容词(善交际的、友好的、受欢迎的、无礼的、冷漠的、讨厌的)作为人格特质词材料。

将 12 张高、低吸引力女性面孔照片和 12 个能动性、社群性特质形容词进行随机配对,最后实验条件分为 4 类:高面孔吸引力照片-能动性特质词配对条件、低面孔吸引力照片-能动性特质词配对条件、高面孔吸引力照片-社群性特质词配对条件、低面孔吸引力照片-社群性特质词配对条件。

2.2.2 自尊量表

采用 Rosenberg (1965) 自尊量表测量被试的整体自尊水平。该量表共 10 个题目,采用李克特 4 点计分法(1 = “非常同意” 2 = “同意” 3 = “不同意” 4 = “非常不同意”),被试需要报告对每个题目表述的同意程度。原量表中题目 1、2、4、6、7、8 为反向记分题。反向后 10 个题目的总分表示被试的自尊水平,总分越高代表自尊水平越高。本研究中自尊量表的内部一致性系数 α 值为 0.83。

2.3 实验程序

被试达到实验室后,被告知本实验主要考察对他人知觉的准确性,实验中需要对屏幕中呈现的女性面孔照片以及与之对应的特质词的符合程度做出评价,评价结果将与专家的评价结果进行比较,以此来查看被试对他人知觉的准确性。

实验程序如图 1 所示,屏幕中央首先呈现 800 ~ 1000ms 的“+”注视点,随后呈现一张女性面孔照片和一个特质形容词,呈现时间 5000ms,在该阶段中被试需要对图中女性在该特质形容词上的符合程度进行 4 点评分(1 = “非常不符合” 2 = “不符合” 3 = “符合” 4 = “非常符合”)。正式实验结束后,被试对实验中呈现的女性面孔照片的吸引力进行 9 点评分(1 = “非常没有吸引力” 5 = “中等吸引力”, 9 = “非常具有吸引力”)。最后,被试填写 Rosenberg 自尊量表。

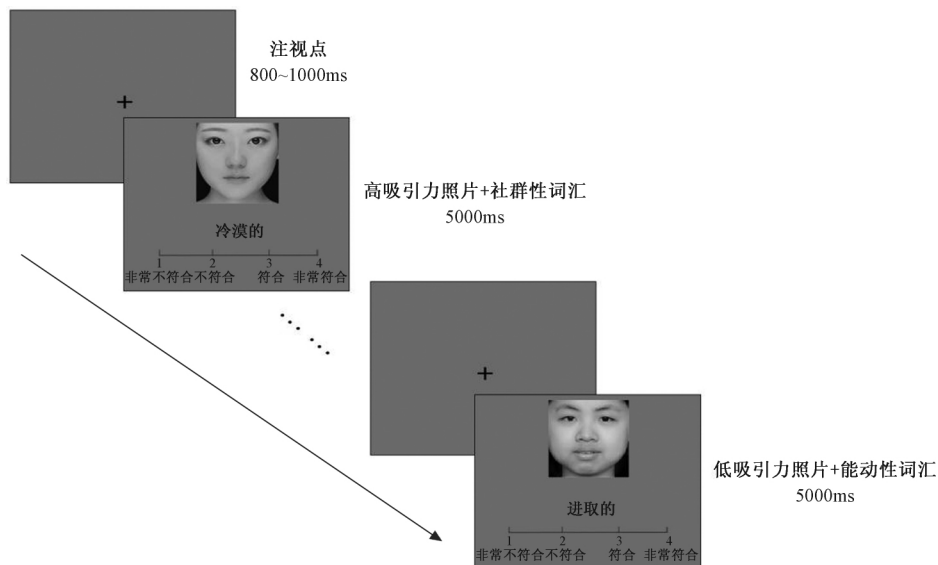


图 1 实验程序图

2.4 实验设计和数据统计

实验采用 2(自尊水平:高、低) \times 2(目标面孔吸引力水平:高、低) 的混合实验设计,其中自尊变量为被试间变量,目标面孔吸引力水平为被试内变量,因变量为被试对目标对象的能动性特质词和社群性特质词的符合度评分。

由于社群性和能动性两类词语在褒贬度即效价上匹配良好,为了方便统计,在结果分析时我们将消极特质词进行反向计分。将反向计分后能动性特质词符合度评分和社群性特质词符合度评分分别进行两因素重复测量方差分析。数据统计分析采用 SPSS 20.0。

3 结果

3.1 照片吸引力有效性检验

将被试对高、低吸引力照片的吸引力评价进行配对样本 t 检验,发现高面孔吸引力照片的吸引力评分($M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.08$)显著高于低面孔吸引力照片的吸引力评分($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.22$), $t(59) = 16.79$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 2.17$ 。

3.2 自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的影响

3.2.1 自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的影响——能动性评价

将能动性评分进行 2(自尊水平:高自尊,低自

尊) $\times 2$ (目标吸引力水平: 高吸引力, 低吸引力) 方差分析, 发现吸引力主效应显著 $F(1, 58) = 57.33$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.50$, 吸引力与自尊的交互效应显著 $F(1, 58) = 11.16$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.16$ 。进一步分析发现, 对高吸引力照片进行能动性评价时, 高自尊被试的评分 ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.24$) 显著高于低自尊被试的评分 ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 0.24$), $t(58) = 2.41$, $p = 0.019$, Cohen's $d = 0.63$; 在对低吸引力照片的能动性进行评价时, 低自尊被试的评分 ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 0.20$) 显著高于高自尊被试的评分 ($M = 2.57$, $SD = 0.21$), $t(58) = 2.14$, $p = 0.036$, Cohen's $d = 0.56$ (图 2)。

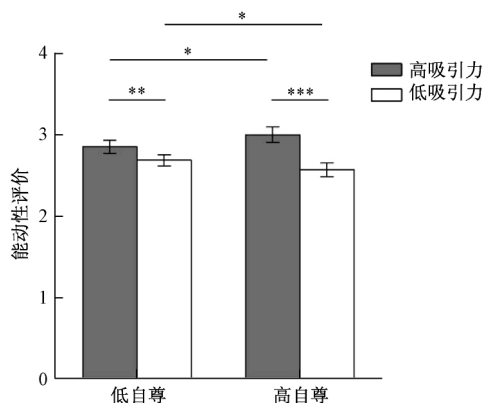


图 2 高、低自尊组对不同吸引力目标的能动性评分

3.2.2 自尊对外貌吸引力刻板印象的影响——社群性评价

将社群性评分进行 2 (自尊: 高自尊, 低自尊) $\times 2$ (目标吸引力水平: 高吸引力, 低吸引力) 方差分析, 发现吸引力主效应显著 $F(1, 58) = 115.41$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.67$, 吸引力与自尊的交互效应显著 $F(1, 58) = 5.48$, $p = 0.023$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.09$ 。进一步分析发现, 对高吸引力照片进行社群性评价时, 高自尊者的评分 ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 0.23$) 与低自尊者的评分 ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 0.25$) 没有显著差异, $t(58) = 1.29$, $p = 0.020$; 在对低吸引力照片的社群性进行评价时, 低自尊者的评分 ($M = 2.49$, $SD = 0.24$) 与高自尊者的评分 ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 0.31$) 也没有显著差异, $t(58) = 1.77$, $p = 0.083$ (图 3)。

4 讨论

本研究主要探讨自尊如何影响面孔吸引力刻板印象在能动性和社群性人格特质维度上的表现, 结果发现在能动性维度上自尊影响面孔吸引力刻板印象, 即高自尊者对高吸引力目标的能动性评价高于

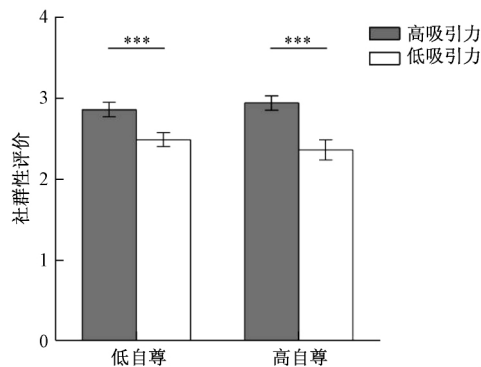


图 3 高、低自尊组对不同吸引力目标的社群性评分

低自尊者, 低自尊者对低吸引力目标的能动性评价高于高自尊者; 在社群性维度上, 高、低自尊者对高吸引力目标的特质评价均高于对低吸引力目标。

首先, 我们的研究结果发现外貌吸引力在两个基本人格特质维度上的主效应均显著, 表现为个体对高吸引力目标的特质评价高于低吸引力目标, 这与前人研究结果一致, 验证了外貌吸引力刻板印象的存在 (Dion et al., 1972; Dion et al., 1990; Vermeir & Sompel, 2014)。其次, 我们的结果还发现高自尊个体对高面孔吸引力目标的特质评价高于低自尊个体, 低自尊个体对低面孔吸引力目标的特质评价高于高自尊个体, 这也与前人研究结果一致, 表明自尊影响着外貌吸引力刻板印象, 相较于高自尊者而言, 低自尊者对高面孔吸引力对象评价更低, 而对低吸引力对象评价更高 (Agthe et al., 2010, 2011; Graham & Perry, 1976)。

更重要的是, 我们的结果发现自尊对面孔吸引力特质推断的影响只存在能动性维度上。在社会互动过程中, 外貌吸引力较高的个体往往受到更多青睐 (Marlowe et al., 1996; 李爱梅等, 2009), 这无疑给其他个体带来了威胁。在进化过程中, 吸引力较高的同性容易对个体的生存和繁衍带来伤害 (张秋丽, 2016), 因此, 高吸引力的同性目标更可能被视作一种自我威胁 (Agthe et al., 2013; Buss et al., 2000; Maner et al., 2009)。自尊能够有效帮助个体缓冲外界对自身的威胁, 高自尊个体拥有更加清晰和积极的自我认识, 当威胁来临时, 拥有更多积极的资源帮助其抵御威胁 (Vandellen et al., 2011)。自尊与能动性具有高相关性, 高自尊个体拥有更高的能动性方面的动机, 对能动性方面的自我评价也更高 (Baumeister & Tice, 1985; Bi et al., 2013; Shekhar & Malhotra, 2013; Tafarodi & Vu, 1997), 因而在面临高吸引力目标所携带的潜在能动性方面的

威胁时,具有更多能动性方面的积极资源帮助他们应对这种威胁(Guan et al., 2015; 杨紫嫣等, 2017; 张向葵等, 2005; 张野等, 2018),从而在能动性维度上,相较于低自尊个体,高自尊者对高吸引力目标做出更高的能动性特质评价。

值得注意的是,自尊水平并不影响个体对不同面孔吸引力对象在社群性特质维度上的评价,无论是高自尊还是低自尊个体,都倾向于认为高面孔吸引力对象比低面孔吸引力对象具有更积极的社群性特质。以往研究表明,自尊水平不能由社群性特质自我评价所预测,即社群性特质并不是影响自尊水平的关键因素(Jiang et al., 2018; Wojciszke & Sobiechowska, 2013),因而可能使得面临来自社群性方面的信息时,高、低自尊者并不将高外貌吸引力所隐含的高社群性信息视作对自我概念的一种威胁。同时,以往关于外貌吸引力刻板印象的研究发现,外貌吸引力刻板印象在社群性维度上的效应非常稳健,如 Eagly 等人(1991)首次采用元分析技术分析了以外貌吸引力刻板印象为主题的研究,发现在社群性维度上,以往研究结果具有很强的一致性(Bassili, 1981; Feingold, 1992; Langlois et al., 2000),后续研究者也得到了与 Eagly 等人一致的结果,这种稳健的效应也可能使得在社群性特质评价上,仅出现了面孔吸引力的主效应。

本研究存在着一些局限性。首先,本研究只采用了女性评价者和女性被评价对象,即只考察了在评价者和评价对象同为女性时自尊对面孔吸引力刻板印象在不同人格维度上的表现的影响,而未考察评价者和评价对象互为异性的情况。已有研究表明,外貌吸引力刻板印象在个体面对同性目标和异性目标时具有不同的效应(Agthe et al., 2010, 2011; Tsukiura & Cabeza, 2011),因此,在评价者和评价对象性别互异的情况下,可能会出现不同的情况,这也是接下来的研究可以进一步探讨的方向。其次,本研究只是初步探讨了自尊对面孔吸引力刻板印象在不同人格维度上的表现的作用,而并未对这种影响机制进行进一步的探究,这也是未来研究可以思考的方向。

5 小结

本研究考察了自尊对基于面孔吸引力的能动性和社群性人格特质推断的影响。结果发现在能动性维度上,高自尊被试认为高吸引力目标与积极人格特质词的符合程度高于低自尊被试;低自尊被试认为

为低吸引力目标与积极特质词的符合程度高于高自尊被试;在社群性维度上,高、低自尊被试都认为高吸引力目标与积极特质词的符合程度高于低吸引力目标。研究结果表明自尊对面孔吸引力刻板印象的影响主要体现在能动性特质评价上,而在社群性特质评价上,无论高、低自尊被试都表现出“美的就是好的”效应。

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Self-esteem Influences Personality Trait Judgments Based on Physical Attractiveness

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Abstract: Physical attractiveness stereotype implies that individuals who are physically attractive will be attributed positive personality traits. Specifically , the more attractive a person , the more likely that person to be perceived as possessing more socially acclaimed personality attributes. Previous research has suggested a moderating effect of self-esteem on physical attractiveness stereotype , in which compared with high self-esteem , people with low self-esteem had a more negative attitude to attractive others and a more positive attitude to less attractive individuals. In addition , studies also showed a positive correlation between self-esteem and agentic trait self-assessments , which suggested self-esteem is dominated by agentic rather than communal trait self-assessments. Despite research has shown the influence of self-esteem on physical attractiveness stereotype , no studies so far have examined how self-esteem affects the performance of physical attractiveness stereotype on agency and communion dimensions. In this current study , we conducted a 2 (self-esteem level: high , low) \times 2 (targets attractiveness level: high , low) mixed experimental design to investigate this impact of self-esteem. Twelve female targets photos with high or low attractiveness (6 photos of attractive and unattractive targets respectively) was collected and be randomly matched with different agentic or communal trait adjectives in advance. Sixty healthy female college students (mean age = 20.18 \pm 1.58) were recruited in the experiment and were divided into either high or low self-esteem group according to their total scores of Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg , 1965) . Participants were asked to evaluate the compliance level between the photos and the trait adjectives on a 4 Likert scale (1 = no at all , 4 = very well) . Results indicated that (1) on agentic traits judgments , high self-esteem subjects had a significantly higher evaluations to attractive targets compared with low self-esteem ($p = 0.019$) ; low self-esteem subjects had a significantly higher evaluations to unattractive targets compared with high self-esteem ($p = 0.036$) ; (2) on communal traits judgments , consistent with hypothesis , there is no salient evaluation difference between high and low self-esteem subjects to high attractive targets , that is , both high and low self-esteem participants were agreed that attractive targets are more communal than unattractive ($p = 0.202$) . As a whole , the results of this current study replicated the findings of most publications showing that there was a robust stabilizing physical attractiveness stereotype on communal trait judgments. Moreover , we found that there was a moderating effect of self-esteem on physical attractiveness stereotype's performance on agentic trait judgement.

Key words: self-esteem; physical attractiveness stereotype; agency; communion