

# THE IMPACT OF PREADOLESCENTS' PHYSICAL BEAUTY ON OTHERS AND THE SELF

Mira Čudina-Obradović  
Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb

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Using 2x2x2 ANCOVA on a sample of 574 school children (grades 5th to 8th) a series of hypotheses was investigated concerning the impact of "subjective" and "objective" physical attractiveness upon a number of objective outcomes (GPA, teachers' and peers' giftedness nominations and a measure of social preference) and self-perception. The main aim was to test the acceptability of the "self-fulfilling prophecy" explanation of the impact of "beauty" ratings on objective outcomes. As it was hypothesized, the self-fulfilling prophecy is rejected as a general explanation, if the congruence of objective (PAT) and subjective ratings (SPAT) of someone's physical attractiveness is taken as an intervening variable. The relationship between PAT and self-worth was established only for some children, i.e. for those being neither defensively immodest nor too modest in their self-perceptions of beauty. It is most probable that other mechanisms and not the self-fulfilling prophecy are responsible for the impact of someone's beauty on his/her success. With intelligence being controlled, better grades and higher peers' and teacher's giftedness nominations are given to the children being considered more beautiful regardless of their sex and preadolescent or adolescent status, and regardless of their feelings about themselves.

## INTRODUCTION

It is a well established fact that physically attractive children from nursery to college age get better ratings in a wide variety of social, emotional and cognitive fields than their less attractive peers. They are considered more intelligent and get better grades (Byrnes, 1987), are better socially accepted (Cole, 1991; Lerner et al., 1991; Krantz et al., 1985; Langlois & Stephan, 1977), are better adjusted and suffer less from anxiety (Lerner et al., 1991; Page, 1992). Why is this so?

The most obvious explanation (Snyder et al., 1977) is the "self-fulfilling prophecy" mechanism: The physically attractive person is judged favorably by others and this produces in the person feelings of self-worth and communicates to him/her the high expectations that others have of him/her. These high expectations set a standard of behavior that he/she then actually strives to achieve, so in the final outcome there is a congruence between the judge's expectations and the behavior of the judged person. There are several sets of assumptions in this train of events which still need to be explained and empirically purported. The first concerns the question of the beginning of the cycle of favorable interactions. How and why is the cycle of self-fulfilling prophecy started in the first place? Is physical beauty a social norm created and perpetuated by mass media and consequently becoming evident at increasingly younger ages (Harter, 1989)? Or, as the other line of evidence suggests, could the norms of physical beauty be innate? The findings that even 6 month old babies show a distinct preference for attractive faces would point in favor of the conclusion that the "majority of perceivers at any age and from any culture prefers a particular type of face (one that is average to the population) as attractive (Langlois et al., 1991).

Although the part of the problem concerning the beginning of the self-fulfilling prophecy cycle is far from being resolved, it is not crucial for the explanation of the process. Whether innate or created and transmitted by popular media, a preference for the physically attractive face and/or body is (according to this approach) a source of a series of mutually stimulating positive interactions between the person and others, which leads to a high congruence between the predicted and actual behavior. The second set of suppositions concerns the unfolding of the chain of positive interactions between the person and the perceiver. This implies the existence of several basic relationships which so far haven't been confirmed by the research data. The existence of at least one of two possible relations could confirm the beginning of the positive interactions between perceiver and the perceivee. The first is the relationship between the perceiver's judgement of a person's physical attractiveness and the person's feelings of self-worth. The second is a two-level relation: a relation between the perceiver's judgement of a person's physical attractiveness and the person's judgement of his/her own physical attractiveness; secondly a relationship between the person's judgement of his own physical attractiveness and his feelings of self-worth.

### **The relation between the others' evaluations and self-evaluations**

Relations between evaluations by others and evaluations by self appeared to be weak and inconsistent until the self-perception started to be considered as a multi-dimensional construct. A multitude of research based on this approach provides evidence that self-evaluations in a specific domain do reflect the eval-

uations by others (academic self-perception /Phillips, 1984/; social acceptance /Cole, 1991/). But not so for physical self-perception. Neither peers' nor teachers' evaluations of physical attractiveness proved to be related to children's self-perceived physical attractiveness. The research correlating "objective" and "subjective" physical attractiveness usually reports a low correlation between them (Jovanovic et al., 1989; Granleese et al., 1989) and also low correlations between "objective physical attractiveness" and self-esteem (Granleese et al., 1989; Krantz et al. 1985).

### **The relationship between subjective physical attractiveness and the feelings of general self-worth**

Of all the results concerning the impact of physical attractiveness it seems that the most robust one is the relationship between the self-appraisal of one's own physical attractiveness and his/hers feelings of general worth or self-esteem. Subjective physical attractiveness predicts self-esteem for preadolescent and adolescent children (Krantz et al., 1985; Harter, 1989; Thornton & Ryckman, 1991) as well as feelings of hopelessness (Page, 1992) and psychological functioning (Jovanovic et al., 1989). In general "the children's and adolescents' judgements of their physical attractiveness are highly predictive of their global self-worth. This pattern reveals a very interesting developmental similarity across the life span that warrants further consideration. It raises the possibility that the relationship between physical appearance and self-worth may represent an issue more profound than mere media effects in the socialization of both children and adults" (Harter, 1989).

### **The relationship between subjective physical attractiveness or general self-worth and objective outcomes**

Although there is some evidence of the impact of high academic self-perception on school grades (intelligence being controlled /Phillips, 1984/), and high self-perceptions on social acceptance (Boivin & Begin, 1989; Cornell et al., 1990), in studying the relationship of physical self-perception and self-worth it is usually impossible to discern whether the self-worth is the cause or the consequence of some behavioral outcome. Longitudinal research efforts are needed to establish this link and some have succeeded: high physical attractiveness self-appraisals were found to be related to future objective physical attractiveness measures and social popularity (Lerner et al., 1991; Krantz et al., 1985).

### **The effects of age and gender**

The connection between the objective and subjective physical attractiveness on the one hand and between the subjective physical attractiveness and be-

havioral outcomes on the other are far from being formally established (the most corroborated being the influence of self-appraisals on feelings of self-worth), while a further complication is posed by the variations brought by gender and age. The data on age and gender differences in both subjective and objective physical attractiveness as well as in their behavioral concomitants are inconsistent. Many of the studies do not examine them in mixed samples or avoid the issue using one gender samples. In those who do examine the gender differences it appears that the consistent results point to higher subjective physical attractiveness in males (Wade, 1991; Downs, 1990): males do see themselves as better looking, but it can be so because males show greater tendency to overestimate their physical appearance (Gurman & Balban, 1990), or because the males' subjective physical attractiveness has less salience in their overall self-worth (Harter, 1989). Also, these sex differences seem to be more pronounced in early adolescence than later (Wade, 1991).

What do all these results tell us? First: The others' perception of a person's attractiveness (objective physical attractiveness - PAT) does have an impact on persons' behavioral outcomes and/or his/her objective social standing. Second: Self-perception of someone's physical attractiveness (subjective physical attractiveness - SPAT) does have a major impact on his/her feelings of self-worth, self-esteem, feelings of helplessness and anxiety. Third: The link between the objective attractiveness and either subjective attractiveness or feelings of general self-worth is either very weak or nonexistent. That would mean that a) physical beauty is important in judging a whole person both to the others and to the person himself, and b) it seems that the person himself and the others in his environment have independent criteria for judging physical attractiveness, both probably using some subjective standard dependent on accepted social norms, environment comparisons and subjective value put on physical beauty. The consequential variability of the standard at various times and situations may well be the cause of the established independence of the measures of objective and subjective physical attractiveness. At the same time it seems that the objective physical attractiveness is more important for the objective outcomes than the subjective ones. These results would mean that the self-fulfilling prophecy explanation is not confirmed by the existing data.

### **The congruence of subjective and objective physical attractiveness**

It may be supposed that the relationship between objective and subjective physical attractiveness does exist, not in a form of a straightforward linear fashion, but in a more complicated manner of mutual interactions. If we suppose that both a person and his judge have some independent objective ideal as a basis of judgement, then a judge would produce an objective judgement which reflects this ideal, but the person judged would produce a subjec-

tive judgement which reflects this ideal (objective), and also his reaction to the objective judgement. So it could be that the relationship between the others' appraisals and selfappraisals of physical attractiveness and self-worth does exist, but only if we look into the congruence between the self-judgement and others' judgements as the intervening variable.

Some research data point in this direction. Kenealy et al. (1991) linked self-ratings of physical attractiveness to judge's ratings to determine whether the children aged 11 to 13 (N=1.018) overrated, underrated or perceived accurately their own physical attractiveness. Underraters had a lower mean score for self-esteem than overraters or accurate perceivers. The same result was found for undergraduates (Gurman & Balban, 1990). It was also found that the congruence is changing over time: it becomes greater in older children (Krantz et al., 1985). This last finding could point to the increase of conformity of standards or to the decrease of defensiveness and more readiness to accept the real self instead of ideal self.

## PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

So far obtained research data seemingly point to the independence of subjective feelings of self-worth and/or of being beautiful and the others' judgement of person's being beautiful. If this is so, then the hypothesis of self-fulfilling prophecy as the mechanism of the impact of beauty on the person's success in objective outcomes must be refuted. The problem of this study is to verify if the relationship between the subjective feelings and objective ratings of someone's physical attractiveness could be established if we control for the congruence between the two.

It seems plausible to expect that the link between the "objective" physical attractiveness and the feelings of self-worth does exist, but in linear regressions studies it is not evident because of the opposite relationship in incongruent groups. It is the first prediction (*hypothesis 1*) of the present research that there would be a significant difference in feelings of self-worth between children obtaining high and low objective ratings of physical attractiveness (PAT), if we control for the congruence of subjective (SPAT) and objective physical attractiveness measures (PAT). Similarly, if the SPATxPAT congruence is controlled, it could be supposed that all the measures of self-perception would show a significant difference between children obtaining high and low PAT (*hypothesis 2*), and also that all the measures of objective outcomes (grades, objective ratings of general worth, teacher's and peers' giftedness nominations and social preference) would be significantly different in children obtaining high and low PAT (*hypothesis 3*). According to earlier research data, it could be stated, that all the measures of objective outcomes would show the difference between the high and low objectively physically attractive subjects even regardless of the congruence of subjective and objective appraisals (*hypothesis 4*). Higher outcomes would belong to the group of higher objective physi-

cal attractiveness.

If some of the hypotheses from 1 to 3 are confirmed, the possibility of existence of the self-fulfilling prophecy in case of physical beauty is proved. If only the fourth hypothesis is confirmed, some other mechanisms of the impact of physical beauty on the person's objective outcomes are to be found. Contrary to earlier research, the present study will control not only for the congruence of subjective and objective physical attractiveness, but also for age, gender and intelligence scores of the subjects as well.

## **METHOD**

### **Participants**

574 participants, boys and girls, in 5-th, 6-th, 7-th and 8-th grade were tested by all the instruments in the school setting.

### **Measures**

*PAT* (objective physical attractiveness) was measured by the Physical Appearance Scale of the Teacher's Rating Scale of Child's Actual Behavior (Harter, 1985). Two groups were defined according to the central value as the cut-off point: *PAT-low* group (scores  $\leq 4.0$ ); *PAT-high* group (scores  $> 4.0$ ).

*SPAT* (subjective physical attractiveness) was measured by Physical Appearance Scale of the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985). Two groups were determined: *SPAT-low* group (z-scores  $\leq 1.0$ ); *SPAT-high* group (z-scores  $> 1.0$ ).

*PATxSPAT* (congruence of objective and subjective physical attractiveness) was determined by the participant's belonging to the congruent group,  $N=324$  (high *PAT*, high *SPAT* or low *PAT*, low *SPAT*) or to the incongruent group,  $N=240$  (high *PAT*, low *SPAT* or low *PAT*, high *SPAT*).

*AGE*: preadolescent group (LT 13 years); adolescent group (GE 13 years).

*SELF-PERCEPTION MEASURES* are obtained by the instrument: Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985):

*SELFWORTH* (z-values of sum on all 5 scales of specific domains)

*SELFSC* (z-score on Scholastic Competence Scale)

*SELSOC* (z-score on Social Acceptance Scale)

*SELFPHYS* (z-score on Physical Appearance Scale)

### **OBJECTIVE OUTCOMES MEASURES:**

*GPA* (grade point-average)

*GENWORTH* (general self-worth: total score on Teacher's Rating Scale of Child's Actual Behavior, /Harter, 1985/)

TEACH G.N. (total number of teacher's giftedness nominations for each child in 18 domains)

PEER G.N. (total number of peers' giftedness nominations for each child in 5 domains)

SOCAPREF (Social preference score was determined using Boivin and Begin (1989) sociometric procedure. The LM (liked most) and LL (liked least) scores were obtained by summing up the choices each child received from all classmates. Social preference score was obtained by the subtraction of LL score from the LM score standardized for each class.

INTELLIGENCE (z-score in "Problems test" by Z. Bujas, Sobota & Miharija, 1985.)

## RESULTS

Two groups of PAT (objective physical attractiveness) were formed within congruent and within incongruent PATxSPAT groups, so 4 groups altogether were formed. These 4 groups can be conceived in psychologically meaningful terms as congruent low self-raters (1), congruent high self-raters (2), overraters (3) and underraters (4) of own physical attractiveness. To test the significance of differences between these 4 groups in subjective and objective variables, ANCOVA statistical procedure was used. First the effects of intelligence on subjective feelings of worth and on objective outcomes was controlled by using z-scores in intelligence test as a covariate. Then the main effects of PAT, SPAT, SEX and AGE were calculated and checked for interactions. The t-test was used to determine the significance of difference between high and low PAT groups within each of the congruence groups. The self-perception scores, objective ratings and social preference scores for these four groups are given in Table 1.

Table 1

Mean scores and the significance of differences between groups of low and high objective physical attractiveness (PAT) controlled for congruence of PAT and subjective physical attractiveness (SPAT)

Variables	PAT X SPAT congruent		PAT X SPAT incongruent		Signif. of t-test between cells	
	PAT LOW N=276 1	PAT HIGH N=48 2	PAT LOW N=56 3	PAT HIGH N=194 4	1,2	3,4
SELFWORTH	.00	.467	.432	.65	***	***
SELFSCH	.00	.84	.57	.17	***	***
SEFISOC	.00	.71	.71	.26	***	***
SELPHYS	.00	1.66	1.73	.08	***	***
GPA	2.83	3.40	2.74	3.40	***	***
GENWORTH	2.91	3.58	2.90	3.55	***	***
TEACH. G.N.	1.07	2.11	.90	1.97	***	***
PEER G.N.	3.58	5.98	2.49	5.04	**	***
SOCAPREF.	2.54	3.81	.00	4.63	ns	**

\*\*\* P<.001; \*\* P<.01; ns = not significant

**Table 2**  
**Significance of F-ratios (P) for the covariate intelligence (INT),**  
**main effects (PAT, SPAT, SEX, AGE) and significant interactions**

Variables	F- RATIOS						Interaction
	INT	PAT	SPAT	SEX	AGE	R	
SELFWORTH	.000	.034	.000	ns	ns	.53	SPATxAGE
	.000	ns	.000	ns	ns	.47	
SELFSOC	.000	.005	.000	ns	ns	.26	
SELPHYS	.000	ns	.000	.000	ns	.67	
GPA	.000	.000	ns	.000	ns	.68	
GENWORTH	.000	.000	ns	ns	ns	.71	
TEACH. G.N.	.000	.000	ns	ns	ns	.43	PAT x SEX x AGE
PEER G.N.	.020	.020	ns	ns	ns	.38	PAT x SEX x AGE
SOCREFER.	.003	.003	ns	ns	ns	.23	SPAT x AGE

ns = not significant

9 separate ANCOVAs /2 (PAT) x 2 (SPAT) x 2 (SEX) x 2 (AGE)/ with covariate "intelligence" were performed. Means of all the variables for high and low PAT groups within the "congruence" groups are given in Table 1 and the significance of main effects F-ratios is given in Table 2. Significance of t-tests for differences between the high and low PAT groups within the "congruence" groups is given in Table 1.

### **Objective ratings of physical attractiveness (PAT) and self-perception**

As given in Table 2, the main effects for PAT are significant for all self-perception/self-esteem variables except for academic competence and physical attractiveness. The comparison of the "type of congruence" groups shows that as expected (hypothesis 1 and 2), children rated higher in physical attractiveness have higher scores in all measures of self-perception in congruent group, while the opposite is true for the incongruent group, all the t-tests between high and low PAT within congruent and incongruent group being significant at the level of  $P < .001$ . For the variable "total self-worth" a significant interaction showed between subjective physical attractiveness and age: although higher SPAT showed higher scores in SELFWORTH, this was less so for older subjects. (Means for SELFWORTH: low SPAT /pre-adolescent: .00; low SPAT/adolescent: .43; high SPAT/pre-adolescent: 3.75; high SPAT/adolescent: 2.94).

### **Objective ratings of physical attractiveness (PAT) and objective behavioral outcomes**

The main effects for PAT ("objective physical attractiveness") are significant for all the behavioral outcome variables (GPA, general worth, teacher giftedness



nominations, peer giftedness nominations and social preference scores) as predicted (hypothesis 3). Regardless of the congruence between teacher's and child's ratings of child's physical attractiveness, children of higher PAT are getting significantly higher objective ratings (hypothesis 4). In social preference scores the only group differing is the "overraters" who get significantly lower preference scores than the other three groups. The same pattern of significant interactions is found between PAT, sex and age in both teachers' and peers' giftedness nominations. In both cases "beautiful" preadolescent girls get most giftedness nominations, while in adolescent age it is the "beautiful" boys who are getting most credit for being gifted (means for PEER .N.: preadolescent/beautiful/boys: 4.47, preadolescent/beautiful/girls: 6.45; adolescent/beautiful/boys: 6.13; adolescent/beautiful/girls: 3.23). In social preference scores there is an interaction between SPAT and age, showing that children having high scores in subjective physical beauty are socially less accepted in their adolescent and not preadolescent years (means for social preference: preadolescent high SPAT scorers: 3.82; adolescent high SPAT scorers: 0.00; preadolescent low SPAT scorers: 3.69; adolescent low SPAT scorers: 4.44).

### **Subjective ratings of physical attractiveness (SPAT) and self-perception and objective behavioral outcomes**

The main effects of SPAT are significant for all the measures of self-perception and self-esteem but for none of the objective outcome measures. The usual most robust findings that subjective appraisals of someone's physical beauty have the most impact on his/hers feelings of self-worth are repeated in the present study also.

## **DISCUSSION**

It seems that all the predictions of the study proved to be true. The low or nonexistent effects of objective physical attractiveness appraisals on self-perceptions and self-esteem found in earlier studies (Jovanovic, 1989; Granleese et al., 1989) could be questioned in view of their failure to control for the congruence between self-perceptions and objective perception of one's physical attractiveness. It would mean that objective ratings of the beauty actually are related to self-perceptions and self-esteem. For the congruent group high objective ratings are related to high self-perceptions/self-esteem measures. But in accordance with Kenealy et al. (1991) and Gurman & Balban (1990) data, we also found a group of "incongruent" children who show low self-perception and low self-esteem in spite of high objective beauty ratings and vice versa. "Underraters" i.e. the children who see themselves as less physically attractive than the others see them have significantly lower self-esteem and self-perception scores, but in spite of this they get significantly higher ratings in all the objective outcome measures. It could be supposed that these children belong

to the "modest psychological type" described by Coopersmith (1963) as anxious, highly motivated and of high personal standards. The "overraters" probably belong to the "defensive psychological type" (Coopersmith, 1963; Gurman & Balban, 1990) who distort their self-perception as a means of maintaining high self-esteem but get the lowest ratings in all objective outcomes and are the only group not accepted by peers. The first link of the self-fulfilling prophecy cycle is thus being established only for some children, & e. for those being neither defensively immodest nor too modest in their self-perceptions of beauty. But the existence of the self-fulfilling prophecy even for the congruent group must be questioned in view of the fact that the objective outcome measures are not affected by the subjective feelings independently, but are independently related to objective appraisals of physical beauty. So, in spite of the existence of the relationship between objective and subjective physical beauty appraisals it is obvious that the impact of someone's beauty on his success in objective and social outcomes does not depend on his subjective feelings of being beautiful or of high general self-worth. It is most probable that other mechanisms and not the self-fulfilling prophecy mechanism are responsible for the impact of someone's beauty on his/her success. With intelligence being controlled, better grades and higher peers' and teacher's giftedness nominations are given to the children being considered more beautiful regardless of their sex and preadolescent or adolescent status, and regardless of their feelings about themselves. Somewhat different results are obtained for social preference scores. In contrast to earlier data (Krantz et al., 1985; Lerner et al., 1991) peers are not influenced by the physical beauty in socially accepting the child, although it is evident that they are so in the case of giftedness nominations. It is only the child belonging to the "immodest psychological type" who is not accepted. So it seems probable that social preference depends more on some person's traits which are behavioral consequences of the physical beauty and not the beauty itself. This can not be verified, because teachers being very reluctant or even opposed to rating children's physical attractiveness produced ratings of no considerable distribution, so that the results can be treated only as "high" and "low" PAT.

### **Age and gender interactions with subjective ratings of physical attractiveness (SPAT)**

Our data on subjective physical attractiveness do show some differences for sex and age. In accordance with some earlier data (Wade, 1991; Downs, 1990), our male subjects showed higher subjective physical attractiveness than female subjects ( $M_m=0.41$ ,  $M_f=0.0$ ;  $P<.01$ ). In contrast to earlier data (Wade, 1991) both males and females show significantly higher SPAT in adolescence than in preadolescence ( $M_{pr}=0.0$ ,  $M_{+ad}=0.03$ ;  $P<.05$ ), and no interactions between age and sex in SPAT was found.

According to our results teachers and peers are influenced in judging and accepting other children by their physical attractiveness and the children judged

are influenced by these judgements in their self-perceptions and feelings of self-worth. Although teachers deny and are ashamed of this determinant of their judgment it seems that "other things being equal" this judgement has an impact on child's "success" regardless of child's feelings of his own physical attractiveness or general self-worth. In all probability, the mechanisms of interactions between the self judgements and objective judgements of physical beauty are confounded by many intervening variables, such as the salience or centrality of the SPAT, the parallel maintenance of ideal and realistic criteria and others, rendering the notion of "self-fulfilling prophecy" too simplistic and one-dimensional. In spite of possible differences between the sociocultural context of the present study (Croatian) and the context of all the research cited (Anglo-American), there is a high agreement between the main results of the present study and other results. It seems that "the importance of being beautiful" is similarly high in different cultural contexts.

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## UTJECAJ FIZIČKE LJEPOTE PREADOLESCENATA NA DRUGE I NA SEBE

Mira Čudina-Obradović  
Filozofski fakultet, Zagreb

**N**a uzorku 574 školske djece (5., 6., 7. i 8. razred) pomoću 2x2x2 postupka ANCOVA provjerava se prihvatljivost "samoispunjenja proročanstva" kao objašnjenja utjecaja procjena fizičke ljepote na "uspjeh" pojedinca (školski uspjeh, učiteljske i vršnjačke nominacije u skupinu nadarenih, socijalno preferiranje). U skladu s početnim pretpostavkama "samoispunjenje proročanstva" ne može se prihvatiti kao objašnjavajući mehanizam tog utjecaja ako se u obzir uzme slaganje objektivnih i subjektivnih procjena ljepote kao intervenirajuća varijabla. Takvim se postupkom dobiva povezanost između objektivnih procjena ljepote i subjektivnog osjećaja vlastite vrijednosti samo u one djece koja nisu "pretjerano skromna" ili "defenzivno neskromna" u samoprocjenama fizičke ljepote. Rezultati pokazuju da bolje ocjene i veće procjene nadarenosti postižu djeca koja dobivaju više procjene fizičke ljepote, i to bez obzira na spol, preadolescentnu/adolescentnu dob i osjećaje vlastite vrijednosti i ljepote.

## **DIE ROLLE KÖRPERLICHER VORZÜGE BEI DER SELBSTEINSCHÄTZUNG VON PRÄADOLESZENTEN UND BEI DER BEURTEILUNG DURCH ANDERE**

Mira Čudina-Obradović

Philosophische Fakultät, Zagreb

In einer Gruppe von 574 Schülern (5., 6., 7. und 8. Schuljahr) wurde unter Anwendung des ANCOVA-Verfahrens (2x2x2x2) geprüft, inwiefern die "Selbsterfüllung von Prognosen" akzeptabel ist als Erklärung für die Wirkung körperlicher Schönheit beim "Erfolg" des einzelnen (Erfolg in der Schule, Beurteilung als Talent von seiten der Lehrer und der Altersgenossen, soziale Bevorzugung). Im Einklang mit den anfänglichen Voraussetzungen kann die Wirkung körperlicher Vorzüge bei der Selbsteinschätzung und bei der Beurteilung durch andere nicht durch eine "Selbsterfüllung von Prognosen" erklärt werden, geht man von der Übereinstimmung objektiver und subjektiver Urteile über gegebene körperliche Vorzüge als intervenierender Variable aus. Durch ein solches Verfahren ergibt sich, daß zwischen der objektiven Beurteilung körperlicher Vorzüge und der subjektiven Wertschätzung des einzelnen nur dann ein Bezug besteht, wenn das jeweilige Kind keine "übermäßige Bescheidenheit" oder "defensive Unbescheidenheit" bei der Beurteilung der eigenen körperlichen Vorzüge an den Tag legt. Die Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigen, daß jene Kinder, die als gutaussehend eingeschätzt werden, bessere Noten erzielen und als begabter gelten. Dies gilt ohne Rücksicht auf Geschlecht, Alter (Präadoleszenz/Adoleszenz) und Selbstwertgefühl bzw. die Einschätzung des eigenen Aussehens.