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Article *in* Social Psychological and Personality Science · July 2012

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Social Psychological and Personality Science 2012 3: 503 originally published online 23 November 2011
DOI: 10.1177/1948550611427772

Social Psychological and Personality Science
3(4) 503-509

DOI: 10.1177/1948550611427772
http://spps.sagepub.com

Sex, "Lies," and Videotape: Self-Esteem and Successful Presentation of Gender Roles

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Abstract

When presenting themselves to others, people attempt to create the impression that they possess socially desired traits. Verbally claiming to possess such traits is relatively simple, but making good on one's promises by actually behaving in kind is more challenging. In particular, lower self-esteem individuals' relational insecurity may undermine their ability to present themselves in a socially desired manner. The present research used a behavioral coding method to test these hypotheses. Participants filmed a brief introductory video in an evaluative, first impression situation. Independent sets of observers then coded participants' verbal, nonverbal, and global self-presentations on two dimensions: communion/femininity and agency/masculinity. Results revealed that for both sexes, self-esteem was unrelated to participants' ability to "talk the talk" by verbally describing themselves in a socially valued and gender-role specific manner, but was predictive of participants' ability to "walk the walk" by actually behaving in kind.

Keywords

self-esteem, self-presentation, gender role, social behavior

Two work colleagues, Faye and Bianca, were having coffee one day during their break when Bianca asked, "If you had to use one word to describe yourself, what word would you use?" Faye thought for a moment and replied, "I would say that I'm friendly. How about you?" Bianca answered, "I think easygoing sums me up pretty well." Faye was not surprised by her friend's response; time and time again Bianca had demonstrated her laid back style when work or social demands became overwhelming. But Bianca was a little more surprised by Faye's self-description because Faye always seemed a little aloof in group social situations.

By describing themselves to one another as friendly and easygoing, Faye and Bianca are engaging in *self-presentation*, attempting to create a desired impression by strategically controlling the image of the self that is presented to others (Vohs, Baumeister, & Ciarocco, 2005). Through self-presentation, people endeavor to achieve belonging by presenting a self that is in possession of socially valued traits (Baumeister, 1982). For example, in her self-presentation, Faye claims to possess the socially desired trait of friendliness. By opting to present herself this way, Faye has engaged in the first step of self-presentation, selecting a particular image to present to others (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The next step in the process is to convey the desired image to one's interaction partners, and it is this second step that seems to go awry for Faye. Bianca is not convinced that Faye is being totally honest when she says that friendliness is a defining feature of her character because Faye's social behavior does not convey that image.

Therein lies the challenge of self-presentation: Despite its mundane nature, successful self-presentation is a skill that requires confidence, practice, and effort to achieve (e.g., Vohs et al., 2005). We suggest that global self-esteem is an important individual difference factor that predicts self-presentational efficacy in evaluative social situations, such as first impression situations. Relational insecurity is a defining characteristic of lower self-esteem (e.g., Leary & Baumeister, 2000): Individuals with low self-esteem (LSEs) doubt their value as relational partners, whereas individuals with higher self-esteem (HSEs) are confident in their relational value (e.g., Murray, Holmes, & Collins, 2006). We suggest that this fundamental self-esteem difference in relational security has consequences for self-presentation. Evaluative social situations are more anxiety-provoking for LSEs than for HSEs (e.g., Cameron, Stinson, Gaetz, & Balchen, 2010), and evaluation anxieties undermine people's ability to perform socially (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Moreover, relational insecurity causes people to become tense and inhibited in their social behavior (e.g., Stinson, Logel, Shepherd, & Zanna, 2011). Hence,

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we expect that self-esteem will predict self-presentational efficacy in the present research, such that LSEs will be less successful than HSEs at conveying a desired impression to others.

Although it is generally accepted that self-esteem predicts differences in self-presentational style—such that LSEs are concerned mainly with avoiding making a bad impression on others, whereas HSEs are concerned primarily with making a good impression (Baumeister, Tice, & Hutton, 1989)—self-esteem differences in self-presentation of specific characteristics has never been studied using a behavioral coding method. To date, most research examining self-esteem and social outcomes has used affective changes (e.g., state self-esteem; e.g. Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995) or cognitive appraisals (e.g., relationship satisfaction; Marigold, Holmes, & Ross, 2007) as the dependent variables of choice. Though such research is theoretically rich and makes an important contribution to our understanding of the Person-by-Situation interactions that intrigue many social psychologists, a complete picture of the links between self-esteem and social experiences requires an understanding of behavior as well as affect and cognition. Moreover, if we find that self-esteem relates to substantive and quantifiable differences in social behavior, we will have demonstrated that indeed self-esteem has meaningful social consequences, rather than remaining a primarily "in-the-head" phenomenon as some have argued (see Baumeister, Campbell, Krueger, & Vohs, 2003).

Although we could adopt an idiographic approach to assessing self-presentational efficacy, we propose that the types of traits that people typically choose to present in a first impression situation are relatively circumscribed. In particular, we suggest that the impressions that people desire to make in a first impression situation often are determined by their sex because the types of traits that are valued in an interaction partner are related to a person's gender role (e.g., Anthony, Holmes, & Wood, 2007; Bem, 1974; Cross & Madson, 1997; Wood & Eagly, 2002). Women are valued when they possess such *communal* traits as understanding, caring, cheerfulness, and friendliness. In contrast, men are valued when they possess such *agentic* traits as independence, power, ambition, and dominance. Given this, we expect that women's self-presentational efforts will be aimed at creating the impression that they are communal, whereas men's self-presentational efforts will be aimed at creating the impression that they are agentic. As evidence of this relatively uniform desire, we will code participants' verbal trait self-descriptions for evidence of communal and agentic trait adjectives. We expect to find that women use more communal traits than men and men use more agentic traits than women in their self-descriptions.

We do not expect that self-esteem will predict people's use of gender-normed traits to describe themselves. Gender roles are enacted from a very young age (Maccoby, 1998), and people are well aware of the traits that are valued by occupants of their gender roles (Anthony et al., 2007; Cross & Madson, 1997; Good & Sanchez, 2010; Guimond, Chatard, Martinot, Crisp, & Redersdorff, 2006; Lenton, Bruder, & Sedikides, 2009). Moreover, verbal self-presentation is highly controllable (e.g., Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; DePaulo, 1992). These two features combine to suggest that describing oneself in a gender-normed manner requires little self-presentational skill, and hence should not be predicted by global self-esteem. In contrast, nonverbal behavior is much more difficult to control (e.g., DePaulo, 1992; Mehrabian, 1971). Because of this difficulty, we expect that self-esteem will predict people's nonverbal self-presentation of traits that are most valued by occupants of their gender role. Specifically, we expect that self-esteem will predict nonverbal self-presentation of communion, but not agency, for women, but will predict nonverbal self-presentation of agency, but not communion, for men. That is, HSEs women will appear more communal than LSEs women, whereas HSEs men will appear more agentic than LSEs men. Moreover, because actions appear to speak louder than words when it comes to the impression that people form of others (e.g., Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Argyle, Alkema, & Gilmour, 1971; Mehrabian, 1971), we also expect to see a similar Self-Esteem by Sex interaction predicting global impressions of participants' communion and agency. Hence, the present research seeks to determine whether self-esteem and sex interact to predict whether participants cannot only "talk the talk" by describing themselves in a socially desired manner but also can "walk the walk" by behaving consistently with their verbal self-descriptions and by creating their desired impression in observers.

Method

Participants

During a mass testing session, introductory psychology students completed Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem scale. Participants were selected from the top third (HSEs; $M = 7.86$; $n = 37$, 53% female, 47% male) and bottom third (LSEs; $M = 5.21$; $n = 33$, 53% female; 47% male) of the distribution of scores. Participants received either five dollars or partial course credit.[1]

Procedure

Participants were invited to an individual lab session to participate in a study about "group dynamics," wherein they were told that the experimenter was currently recruiting a replacement member for a small market research focus group. The focus group was presented as desirable social opportunity with the added incentive of free products (for greater detail about the cover story and experimental paradigm, see Anthony et al., 2007; Study 5 and Stinson, Cameron, Wood, Gaucher, & Holmes, 2009; Study 1, which used similar methods). The experimenter was the same sex as the participant and was blind to his or her self-esteem. After learning about the focus group, participants indicated their interest in joining the group on a 5-point scale (1 = *I am not interested*, 3 = *I am not sure, please check with me in a week*, 5 = *I would definitely like to join the focus group, please contact me*). Next, the experimenter filmed a structured interview with each participant, which ostensibly would be shown to the focus group so that the group could get to know the participant before meeting him or her. The experimenter asked the participants eight open-ended

questions in the interview (e.g., What personal qualities are important to how you see yourself? and What are you career plans?). After the interview, participants reported their impression management concerns by answering five questions using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all,* 5 = *extremely*; e.g., I am worried what others think of me and I am concerned about the impression I am making.), which were averaged to form a reliable index of *self-presentational concerns* ($\alpha = .70$).

Behavioral Coding

Verbal self-presentation was indexed by the traits that participants mentioned in response to the question: "What personal qualities are important to how you see yourself?" Responses were transcribed, and then two trained coders, blind to participants' self-esteem and sex, categorized participants' statements into trait categories (e.g., honest, athletic). Coders showed high agreement in their categorizations (Intraclass Correlation Coefficient, [ICC], ICC = .84). A second set of two coders then worked together to group traits into one of the two domains. Traits were included in the *agentic domain* if they fit the definitions of the following: circumplex agency (e.g., Wiggins, 1996), independent self-construal (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the vertical dimension of social relations (e.g., Hall, Coats, & LeBeau, 2005), or the masculine domain of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Traits were included in the *communal domain* if they fit the definitions of the following: circumplex communion (e.g., Wiggins, 1996), interdependent self-construal (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), communal qualities (Anthony et al., 2007), the horizontal dimension of social relations (e.g., Hall et al., 2005), or the feminine domain of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). All other traits were labeled "Miscellaneous." Table 1 provides examples of the types of utterances that were included in each domain.[1]

Table 1. Traits Included in Each Trait Category, the Frequency of Mention of Traits, and Examples of Verbal Utterances for Each Trait

Communal Domain	
Accepting (7, 3.8%)	"... if people feel that I accept them ... and appreciate them"
Caring (24, 13.3%)	"... I'm a kind, a caring person ..."
Cheerful (6, 3.3%)	"... I'm a very positive person." "... I think I'm a fun person."
Conscientious (14, 7.7%)	"... being organized ..." "... hard working ..."
Considerate (6, 3.3%)	"... courteous to others."
Cooperative (9, 4.9%)	"... I think that I work pretty well with people ..."
Easygoing (4, 2.2%)	"... I'm pretty easygoing ..."
Friendly (12, 6.6%)	"... I see myself as a very friendly person ..."
Honest (19, 10.4%)	"... I consider myself a very honest person."
Trustworthy (5, 2.7%)	"... trustworthy type of person."
Agentic Domain	
Adventurous (6, 3.3%)	"... I really want to explore new areas of interest ..."
Ambitious (5, 2.7%)	"... know what you goals are and go for it ..."
Analytical (10, 5.5%)	"... I'm a thinker, I ... I tend to analyze maybe a lot."
Athletic (4, 2.2%)	"... I guess ... physical activity, like how active I am."
Creative (6, 3.3%)	"... I write, I'm in a band ..." "... My creativity."
Independent (8, 4.4%)	"... It's important that I'm independent ..."
Self-confident (5, 2.7%)	"... I feel that people should honor themselves ..."
Funny (6, 3.3%)	"... I like trying to be a humorous guy ..."
Miscellaneous category	
Open-minded (9, 4.9%)	"... I'm open to new ideas ..."
Outgoing (12, 6.6%)	"... I think I'm outgoing ..."

Numbers in parentheses are the number of trait utterances and the percent of total utterances for each subdomain.

Drawing on the same constructs used to categorize verbal utterances, next we coded participants' nonverbal behavior for specific actions reflecting communion and agency. Nonverbal self-presentation was rated by five additional trained coders, again blind to participants' self-esteem, who watched the first minute of each taped interview with the volume turned off. The first set of two coders used 6-point scales to rate facial expressiveness (1 = *not at all expressive*; 6 = *very expressive*), hand expressiveness (1 = *not at all expressive*; 6 = *very expressive*), and smiling (1 = *does not smile*; 6 = *smiles a lot*), each of which is associated with communal traits like femininity and warmth (e.g., Brody & Hall, 2010; DePaulo, 1992; Hall, 1984). These same two coders also rated participants' eye contact with the interviewer while speaking (1 = *not at all*; 6 = *sustained*). Sustained gaze, or eye contact, conveys to interaction partners the agentic traits of power, assertiveness, or dominance (e.g., Carney, Hall, & LeBeau, 2005; Droney & Brooks, 1991; Hall et al., 2005; Kleck & Nuessle, 1968). A second set of two coders rated the degree that participants tilted their heads upward and back (1 = *not at all*; 6 = *frequently*), which is a nonverbal signal of the agentic traits of pride, power, or dominance (Carney et al., 2005; Tracy & Robins, 2007). Finally, using a piece of string and watching the interviews on a large-screen television, one additional coder measured the distance in inches between participants' knees at their most spread point in the interview. Knee spread was used as a concrete indicator of openness of posture, which is a nonverbal behavior associated with the agentic traits of power and masculinity (Carney et al., 2005; Hall et al., 2005). Interrater agreement for pairs of coders was high for all rated behaviors (ICCs = .64 to .88). Ratings for the behavioral indicators of communion—facial expressiveness, hand expressiveness, and smiling—were *z* transformed and then averaged to create a *nonverbal communion* (NVC) score ($\alpha = .71$), whereas ratings for the behavioral indicators of agency—eye contact, head tilt, and knee spread—were *z* transformed and then averaged to form a *nonverbal agency* (NVA) score ($\alpha = .41$).[2]

Global impressions of participants' masculinity and femininity were provided by four additional observers who once again watched the first minute of each participant's taped introduction and used a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) to answer two questions: "How feminine does this person appear?" and "How masculine does this person appear?" Ratings of masculinity and femininity both showed excellent agreement, so were averaged across raters to create two reliable indices ($\alpha = .97$ and $\alpha = .96$, respectively). Impressions of masculinity and femininity were correlated so strongly inversely ($r = -.97$) that we created a single variable to reflect participants' *successful enactment of their gender role*, which consisted of coders' ratings of femininity for female participants and coders' ratings of masculinity for male participants. A second team of four observers watched the same segment of each participant's taped interview and used a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = *not at all*; 7 = *extremely*) to rate communion by answering the question, "How Warm/Friendly does this person appear?" and a third team of four observers watched the tape segments and rated agency by answering the question "How Dominant does this person appear?" using the same 7-point scale. Observers showed good agreement in their impressions of participants' communion ($\alpha = .72$), and agency ($\alpha = .70$), so observer ratings were averaged to create indices of *global impressions of communion* and *global impressions of agency*, respectively.

Results

Social Motivation and Performance Concerns

Results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated that self-esteem did not predict interest in joining the focus group, with both LSEs and HSEs reporting a strong interest in joining (Ms = 4.45 and 4.34, respectively; SDs = 0.85 and 0.68, respectively), $F < 1$. Sex did not predict participants' interest in joining the group, nor did self-esteem and sex interact, both Fs < 1. Preliminary analyses indicated that including interest in joining the group as a covariate in each of the central analyses that follow does not alter the reported results; interest in joining the group did not directly or interactively predict any of the dependent variables.

Consistent with our hypothesis that self-esteem is associated with relational insecurity, especially in first impression situations, after filming their introductory video, LSEs reported greater self-presentational concerns than did HSEs (Ms = 2.70 and 2.37, respectively; SDs = 0.79 and 0.51, respectively). Once again, sex was unrelated to this variable, and self-esteem and sex did not interact, both Fs < 1.

Talking the Talk: Verbal Self-Presentation

First, we computed the total number of traits mentioned by each participant when asked to describe their important personal qualities. Results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) ANOVA indicated that women mentioned more traits than men (Ms = 3.20 and 2.63, respectively; SDs = 0.98 and 1.00, respectively), $F(1, 62) = 5.27$, $p < .05$. Self-esteem did not predict the number of traits mentioned or moderate this sex main effect, both Fs < 1. Hence, in subsequent analyses predicting verbal self-presentation, we included the total number of traits mentioned as a covariate, to control for individual differences.

Results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) × 2 (Trait Domain: Communion vs. Agency) mixed model ANOVA—in which Self-Esteem and Sex were between-subjects variables, Trait domain was a repeated measures variable, and total traits mentioned was a covariate—revealed that self-esteem, sex, trait domain, and number of traits mentioned did not directly predict verbal content, all Fs < 1, and there were no interactions between variables except for the predicted Trait Domain × Sex Interaction, $F(1, 61) = 7.19$, $p < .01$. Men's self-descriptions included more agentic traits than did women's (Ms = 0.97 and 0.58; SDs = 0.93 and 0.81, respectively), $F(1, 61) = 6.92$, $p < .05$, whereas women's self-descriptions included more communal traits than did men's (Ms = 2.05 and 1.23; SDs = 1.12 and 0.97, respectively), $F(1,61) = 5.30$, $p < .05$. Hence, all participants, regardless of self-esteem, portrayed themselves in a gender-role specific manner in their verbal self-reports.

Walking the Walk: Nonverbal Self-Presentation

Results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) × 2 (Behavior Domain: NVC vs. NVA) mixed model ANOVA revealed a main effect of sex, $F(1, 61) = 4.25$, $p < .05$, such that women generally displayed more nonverbal behaviors than men (Ms = 0.12 and −0.13, respectively; SDs = 0.45 and 0.53, respectively), and a main effect of self-esteem, $F(1, 61) = 4.76$, $p < .05$, such that HSEs displayed more nonverbal behaviors than LSEs (Ms = 0.13 and −0.14, respectively; SDs = 0.52 and 0.45, respectively). In addition, a Behavior Domain by Sex Interaction, $F(1, 61) = 7.98$, $p < .01$, indicated that women displayed greater NVC than men (Ms = 0.25 and −0.31, respectively; SDs = 0.63 and 0.87, respectively), $F(1, 61) = 8.98$, $p < .01$, but women and men did not differ in their expression of NVA, (Ms = −0.01 and 0.05, respectively; SDs = 0.45 and 0.62, respectively), $F < 1$, *ns*. However, men did display greater NVA than NVC, $F(1, 61) = 5.72$, $p < .05$, whereas women displayed more NVC than NVA, $F(1, 61) = 6.30$, $p < .05$. These results were further qualified by the anticipated three- way interaction between self-esteem, sex, and behavior domain, $F(1, 61) = 9.93$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 1). For women, LSEs showed less NVC than HSEs, $F(1, 61) = 12.24$, $p < .001$, whereas LSEs and HSEs did not differ in NVA, $F < 1$, *ns*. In contrast, for men, LSEs and HSEs did not differ in NVC, $F(1, 61) = 1.14$, *ns*, but LSEs exhibited less NVA than HSEs, $F(1, 61) = 5.05$, $p < .05$.[3] Taken together, these results support our hypothesis that self-esteem predicts nonverbal behavior in a gender-role specific manner.

Do Actions Speak Louder than Words?

Next, we examine whether self-esteem predicts participants' successful enactment of their gender role, global communion, and

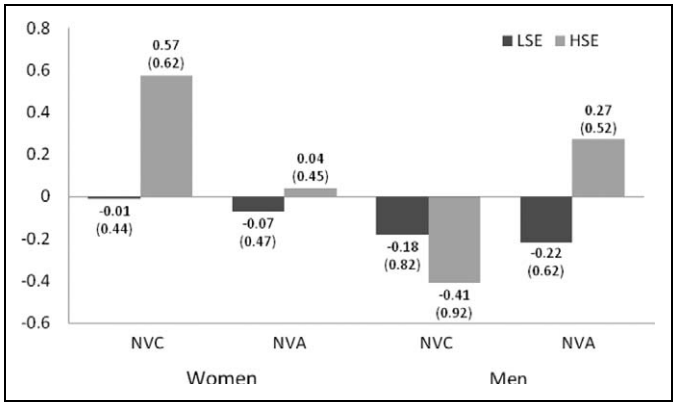

Figure 1. Nonverbal communion and nonverbal agency as a function of gender and self-esteem. *Note.* NVC = nonverbal communion; NVA = nonverbal agency. Numbers above/below bars represent cell means and standard deviations (in parentheses).

global agency. If actions indeed speak louder than words, then the association between self-esteem and these global impression indices should mirror the results obtained for nonverbal behavior rather than the null results obtained for verbal behavior.

Results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) ANOVA predicting participants' successful enactment of their gender role revealed a strong main effect of self-esteem, such that LSEs were less successful in their gender-role enactment than were HSEs (*M*s = 4.47 and 5.03, respectively; *SD*s = 0.84 and 0.72, respectively), $F(1, 62) = 8.89$, $p < .01$. Furthermore, results of a 2 (Self-Esteem) × 2 (Sex) × 2 (Behavior Domain: Global Impressions of Communion vs. Global Impressions of Agency) mixed model ANOVA revealed a main effect of domain, $F(1, 62) = 44.22$, $p < .001$, and a main effect of self-esteem, $F(1, 62) = 4.63$, $p < .05$, which were qualified by a Domain by Sex Interaction, $F(1, 62) = 27.76$, $p < .001$, and a marginally significant Self-Esteem by Sex Interaction, $F(1, 62) = 3.15$, $p = .081$. Simple effects analyses indicated that LSEs were rated lower in agency than HSEs (*M*s = 2.77 and 3.42, respectively; *SD*s = 1.10 and 1.21, respectively); $F(1, 62) = 4.55$, $p < .05$, but sex did not moderate this result, $F(1, 62) = 1.37$, n.s. In contrast, the predicted Sex by Self-Esteem interaction emerged for communion, $F(1, 62) = 4.28$, $p < .05$. For women, LSEs were perceived to be less communal than HSEs, (*M*s = 3.97 and 4.59, respectively; *SD*s = 0.70 and 0.80, respectively), $F(1, 62) = 5.37$, $p < .05$, whereas for men, self-esteem was unrelated to perceptions of participants' communion (*M*s = 3.62 and 3.42, respectively; *SD*s = 1.01 and 0.70, respectively), $F < 1$.

Discussion

These results suggest that self-esteem does not predict people's ability to "talk the talk" when presenting themselves to others. Regardless of their level of self-esteem, everyone described themselves using traits that are socially valued in their sex. However, "walking the walk" by behaving in a way that is consistent with one's self-description and gender role appears to be decidedly more difficult for LSEs than for HSEs. Moreover, actions appear to speak louder than words: Global impressions of participants' masculinity/femininity and communion/agency revealed self-esteem differences that belied participants' verbal self-presentations and instead reflected their nonverbal self-presentations. Taken together, these results suggest that there could be a kernel of truth to LSEs' social doubts about their relational value, at least in first impression situations.

Although the pattern of results was consistent with our hypotheses, one exception stood out: LSEs women were perceived to be less globally agentic than HSEs women. This finding suggests that observers' impressions of women's agency may have been based on nonverbal behaviors other than those coded in the present research, resulting in divergent NVA and global agency results. It is also possible that observers' definition of "dominance" for women diverges from their definitions of masculinity and agency. These explanations notwithstanding, the global impressions result suggest that LSEs women may be particularly at risk for negative social outcomes. Agency predicts respect (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), whereas communion predicts liking (e.g., Stinson et al., 2009). Hence, our results suggest that LSEs men may not garner the same level of respect as high self-esteem men, and may suffer in social situations that emphasize competence, but LSEs men generally will be liked. In contrast, LSEs women may be less respected and less liked than HSEs women, and may perform poorly in social situations that emphasize either interpersonal quality.

One avenue for exploration in future research is whether the gender differences we observed are seen across social contexts. In the present research, the interviewer/researcher was the same sex as participants. Because we propose that self-esteem predicts successful self-presentation of traits that are essential for acceptance by one's interaction partners, changing the characteristics of one's interaction partners, and by extension the traits the interaction partners value, should affect the connection between self-esteem and self-presentation of specific traits. For example, we suspect that if men interact with women in a romantic social context that emphasizes the importance of communion for acceptance (e.g., Anthony et al., 2007), then men's self-esteem will predict successful self-presentation of communion.

In the present research, we did not seek to uncover the underlying mechanism behind the association between self-esteem and self-presentation. Perhaps, the link is an inadvertent consequence of social anxiety and evaluation apprehension, reactions that plague LSEs more than HSEs and can undermine self-presentational efforts (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). But it is also possible that self-esteem differences in self-protective and self-promoting social motivations explain why LSEs are less nonverbally demonstrative than HSEs. For example, someone with LSEs like Faye may purposely refrain from displaying her communal traits as a means of avoiding self-presentational failure. This social strategy likely would undermine LSEs' ability to achieve belonging; but if rejection is more aversive

than belonging is attractive to LSEs, the trade-off could be acceptable. Alternatively, self-verification strivings may underlie self-esteem differences in self-presentation. LSEs' self-presentation may accurately reflect their more equivocal self-views compared to HSEs, implying that self-esteem differences in self-presentation are volitional. Each of these alternative explanations questions the controllability of self-esteem differences in self-presentation and should be examined in future research. Manipulations of social risk, social motivation, or self-regulatory resources would accomplish this goal.

Acknowledgments

The authors are grateful for the assistance of many research assistants at the Universities of Waterloo and Victoria.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This research was prepared with the support of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) standard research grants to Danu Anthony Stinson, Joanne V. Wood, and John G. Holmes; a SSHRC graduate scholarship and SSHRC postdoctoral fellowship to Danielle Gaucher; and a SSHRC graduate scholarship to Lisa Reddoch.

Notes

1. Data from the participants in this study appeared in Stinson et al. (2009), which assessed the influence of participants' anticipated acceptance on actual acceptance by observers and therefore used different predictors and outcome variables than those described in the present research.
2. Although most of the trait categorizations in Table 1 are face valid, a few are not. "Honest" and "trustworthy" are not part of the feminine gender role (Bem, 1974), but Anthony et al. (2007) found that both traits factor-load into a communal domain of characteristics. Further, although the agentic trait "outgoing" is similar to the communal trait of "friendly", Anthony et al. found that the two traits load onto different factors. Moreover, a good sense of humor is not obviously agentic, but researchers have found that humor is often used by men to assert dominance (Hodson, Rush, & MacInnis, 2010). The results we present are the same if we exclude these less-face-valid items from their respective domains.
3. Additional analyses indicated that the reliability of the NVA composite was adequate for men ($\alpha = .62$) but was very low for women ($\alpha = .24$). The range of observer ratings for men and women for all three NVA behaviors were similar, suggesting that restriction of range and ceiling or floor effects did not contribute to the poor reliability of the composite for women. Moreover, observer agreement was adequate for ratings of both men and women. Nevertheless, poor reliability of the composite for women could mean that any null results obtained for women were a statistical artifact. Hence, we will report in a footnote, the results of analyses examining self-esteem differences for each nonverbal behavior individually for men and women. Because the measure for each individual NVA behavior is reliable, indicated by high observer agreement, results of the item analyses are not susceptible to the same reliability issues that affect the NVA composite. Therefore, if we observe self-esteem effects for men but not women on each individual NVA behavior, it will support our hypothesis. For ease of presentation, though, we will report the composite analyses in the main text. Here, we present the simple-effects analyses for each component behavior included in the NVA composite to address the low reliability of the NVA composite for women. Self-esteem effects for eye contact: Men, $F(1, 62) = 6.93$, $p < .05$; Women, $F(1, 62) = 1.19$, $p = .279$. Self-esteem effects for head tilt: Men, $F(1, 62) = 7.41$, $p < .001$; Women, $F(1, 62) = 1.80$, $p = .184$. Self-esteem effects for knee spread: Men, $F(1, 62) = 2.38$, $p = .128$; Women, $F < 1$, *ns.* Taken together, these results suggest that the null results for women obtained on the NVA composite were not a statistical artifact resulting from the poor reliability of the NVA composite for women.

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