### DOES SELF-PRESENTATIONAL SUCCESS IN THE MULTIPLE AUDIENCE PROBLEM AFFECT PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING? AN INTRODUCTION TO AND TEST OF THE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT MODEL OF HEALTH

Ву

**AUSTIN LEE NICHOLS** 

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2010

© 2010 Austin Lee Nichols

To my grandfather,	Arthur Sharpe, v the ambitious,	whose guidance hard-working m	e and influence ian I am today	as a child made me

### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I want to first thank my wife, Elana Nichols, for her continued support in all that I do. I also thank my parents, Laura Sharpe and Gary Nichols, for their encouragement throughout my life. Last, I thank the members of my supervisory committee for their mentoring, advice, and feedback throughout the process.

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

		page
AC	CKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
LIS	ST OF TABLES	8
LIS	ST OF FIGURES	9
AE	SSTRACT	10
	HAPTER	
Oi		
1	INTRODUCTION	12
	Past Research on the Multiple Audience Problem  Current Study	
	Goal 1. Determine How Ability- and Motivation-Related Personality and Situational Factors Affect Self-Presentational Success in the Multiple Audience Problem	10
	Situational factors in self-presentational success	
	Personality factors in self-presentational success	
	Goal 2. Determine How Self-Presentational Success in the Multiple	
	Audience Problem Influences Positive Affect	
	Success predicting positive affect	
	Positive affect predicting health outcomes	
	Hypotheses	27
	A. Actors will be more successful in the multiple audience problem when they are familiar with the audiences than when they are	
	unfamiliar with the audiences	27
	B. Actors will be more successful in the multiple audience problem when the desired impressions are similar than when the desired	
	impressions are discrepant	27
	C. The higher the actors are in the ability-related personality traits of extraversion and self-monitoring, the more successful they will be in	
		28
	D. The lower the actors are in the ability-related trait of social anxiety, the more successful they will be in the multiple audience problem	28
	E. The higher the actors are in the motivation-related personality traits,	
	the more successful they will be in the multiple audience problem  F. The more successful the actors are in the multiple audience problem	
	the more positive affect they will experience	
2	METHOD	31
	Participants	31
	Procedure	

	Familiar Audiences, Discrepant Impressions Condition	. 32
	Party animal interaction	. 32
	Bookworm interaction	
	Multiple audience interaction	. 33
	Unfamiliar Audiences, Discrepant Impressions Condition	
	Familiar Audiences, Similar Impressions Condition	
	Unfamiliar Audiences, Similar Impressions Condition	
	Measures	
	Personality	
	Extraversion	
	Need for Consistency	
	Need to Belong	
	Public Self-Consciousness	
	Self-Monitoring	
	Social Anxiety	
	Success	
	Single audience situations	
	Multiple audience problem  Positive Affect	
	FOSILIVE ATTECL	. 42
3	RESULTS	47
Ŭ		• • •
	Pretesting	. 47
	Preliminary Analyses	
	Tests of Hypotheses	
	Hypothesis A. Actors Will Be More Successful in the Multiple Audience	
	Problem When They Are Familiar with the Audiences Than When They	
	Are Unfamiliar with the Audiences	. 51
	Hypothesis B. Actors Will Be More Successful in the Multiple Audience	
	Problem When the Desired Impressions Are Similar Than When the	
	Desired Impressions Are Discrepant	. 51
	Hypothesis C. The Higher the Actors Are in the Ability-Related Personality	
	Traits of Extraversion and Self-Monitoring, the More Successful They Will	
	Be in the Multiple Audience Problem	52
	Hypothesis D. The Lower the Actors Are in the Ability-Related Trait of	
	Social Anxiety, the More Successful They Will Be in the Multiple Audience	
	Problem	. 52
	Hypothesis E. The Higher the Actors Are in Motivation-Related Personality	. 02
	Traits, the More Successful They Will Be in the Multiple Audience	
	Problem	. 53
	Exploratory Analyses	. 53
	Hypothesis F. The More Successful the Actors Are in the Multiple Audience	
	Problem, the More Positive Affect They Will Experience	. 54
	·	_
4	DISCUSSION	. 56
	Implications	59

	Limitations and Future Directions  Conclusion	
ΑP	PENDIX	
Α	SELF-IMPRESSION QUESTIONS	61
В	SELF-LIKABILITY QUESTIONS	63
С	SELF-AUTHENICITY QUESTIONS	64
D	STATE-TRAIT ANXIETY INVENTORY	65
Е	ACTOR CONFIDENCE QUESTIONS	67
F	ACTOR LIKABILITY QUESTIONS	69
G	ACTOR MOTIVATION/ABILITY QUESTIONS	70
Н	ACTOR AUTHENTICITY QUESTIONS	72
I	SITUATION DIFFICULTY QUESTIONS	73
J	THE PANAS	75
K	AUDIENCE IMPRESSION QUESTIONS	77
L	AUDIENCE LIKABILITY QUESTIONS	79
M	AUDIENCE AUTHENTICITY QUESTIONS	80
N	IMPRESSION COMPATIBILITY QUESTIONS	81
0	DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS	82
Р	PERSONALITY MEASURES	83
Q	PRETESTING SCENARIO	91
R	PRETESTING QUESTIONS	93
LIS	ST OF REFERENCES	96
BIC	OGRAPHICAL SKETCH	100

### LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		page
2-1	Familiar audiences, discrepant impressions procedure	42
2-2	Unfamiliar audiences, discrepant impressions procedure	43
2-3	Familiar audiences, similar impressions procedure	44
2-4	Unfamiliar audiences, similar impressions procedure	45
2-5	Descriptive statistics of key variables	46

### LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>page</u>
1-1	Proposed IM Model of Health	30
3-1	Interaction of impression discrepancy and audience familiarity on self-presentational success.	55

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

DOES SELF-PRESENTATIONAL SUCCESS IN THE MULTIPLE AUDIENCE PROBLEM AFFECT PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING? AN INTRODUCTION TO AND TEST OF THE IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT MODEL OF HEALTH

By

#### **Austin Lee Nichols**

August 2010

Chair: Catherine A. Cottrell

Major: Psychology

People often interact with multiple people simultaneously and desire to convey distinct impressions to each person (i.e., the multiple audience problem). Selfpresentational success in these situations depends on various self-presentational factors (e.g., audience familiarity and social anxiety). In addition, task success often increases positive affect, which reliably predicts health outcomes. However, no studies have examined how self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem affects psychological well-being. I designed a model—the Impression Management (IM) Model of Health—that suggests self-presentational success in social interactions predicts a variety of health outcomes. The current research focused on how selfpresentational success in the multiple audience problem affects one indicator of health—positive affect. Actor participants (n = 122) attempted to convey multiple impressions simultaneously to two other participants (i.e., audiences). I measured actors' personality and experimentally manipulated two features of the interaction: the actors' familiarity with the audiences (familiar vs. unfamiliar) and the discrepancy of the desired impressions (similar vs. discrepant). After the interaction, the audiences

described their impression of the actors while the actors reported their positive affect.

Overall, when participants conveyed similar impressions, they achieved more selfpresentational success than when they conveyed discrepant impressions. However,
contrary to my hypothesis, the more successful actors were in the multiple audience
problem, the less positive affect the experienced after the interaction. In all, I describe
and test the IM Model of Health in the multiple audience problem, as well as discuss the
implications of its use for future health interventions.

### CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Most people remember the last time they faced the multiple audience problem (i.e., desiring to convey distinct impressions to different people simultaneously; Nichols, Cottrell, Richards, & Cook, 2010). In addition, reality television shows like "Survivor" and "Big Brother" regularly illustrate people facing the multiple audience problem. Person X separately promises loyalty to Person Y and loyalty to Person Z. However, at some point, Person X faces both Persons Y and Z and must preserve these two impressions. Movies such as "Grease" also illustrate the multiple audience problem. During the movie, Danny (John Travolta) acts tough around his buddies, yet shows a softer, loving side to his love interest, Sandy (Olivia Newton John). Eventually, the two "audiences" come together when his buddies throw him into Sandy. Each impression is important to him, and he now experiences the multiple audience problem. Finally, politics often provide relevant real-world examples of the multiple audience problem. On the campaign trail, politicians frequently tailor their speeches and advertisements to people with specific opinions, values, preferences, etc. It becomes much more difficult to please all of these audiences later when politicians win elections and must speak to all audiences simultaneously.

To date, no research has examined the psychological consequences of failing in the multiple audience problem. Conceptually, I define failure in the multiple audience problem as not conveying all desired impressions to all intended audiences. If people fail to convey the desired impressions, they may experience less positive affect (Lyubomirsky, King, & Diener, 2005). As a result, people who are unsuccessful in the

multiple audience problem may be at risk for a number of diseases (Pressman & Cohen, 2005) or other health-related problems (e.g., obesity, alcoholism, depression).

To examine the possible outcomes of the multiple audience problem, I designed a model that considers the predictors and consequences of self-presentational success (see Figure 1-1). I tested this Impression Management (IM) Model of Health by placing participants in a variety of multiple audience problems to determine how ability- and motivation-related personality and situational factors affect their self-presentational success, and how this success influences positive affect. In the following sections, I review research related to the multiple audience problem, introduce the IM Model of Health, and discuss research relevant to each proposed link of the model.

### Past Research on the Multiple Audience Problem

Impression management (IM) is the act of controlling the impressions one conveys to an audience (Schlenker, 1980). Impression management is not limited to acts involving deception, and instead includes any act, conscious or nonconscious, intended to convey a particular impression—about the self or others—to a particular audience. For example, people often manage others' impressions to help these others accomplish their impression management goals (Schlenker & Britt, 1999). In addition, an audience may not actually contain other people; it may be an imagined audience, or it may be the "self" as an audience (Schlenker, 1980). In these single audience situations, people are often successful, and even young children can effectively use avoidance processes (i.e., avoiding situations where self-presentational threats are likely to occur), corrective interchanges (i.e., recognizing threats and initiating actions to correct for their effects), and specific conversational points to convey a desired impression (Hatch, 1987).

Stemming from this broader concept of impression management, self-presentation focuses on the ways people attempt to present themselves to others (Leary, 1995). When people are aware of the desired image they seek to convey to a particular audience, they can systematically use various self-presentational tools to choose what to say and how to act to convey the desired image. However, people may face more complicated self-presentational situations. For example, people often seek to convey different impressions to multiple audiences simultaneously (i.e., the multiple audience problem).

The multiple audience problem occurs when a person faces two or more audiences and desires to convey a different impression to each. An "audience" can be any number of people to whom the person wants to convey a specific impression. In addition, the impressions can range from discrepant and incompatible to similar and compatible, yet they must be at least somewhat discrepant. Although these situations may sometimes arise from duplicity, they also occur when people convey various authentic aspects of themselves to different people. For example, when a teenage boy goes to dinner with his mother and his girlfriend, he likely wants to convey different impressions to these two audiences (e.g., responsible to his mother and carefree to his girlfriend). In addition, politicians in a two-party system often want to convey one impression (e.g., a conservative) to all members of their party and another impression (e.g., a liberal) to all members of the other party. Therefore, the "problem" involves the possibility of conveying the wrong impression to the wrong audience, which may result in negative social (e.g., losing friends) and/or health (e.g., increased stress) consequences. To be successful in the multiple audience problem, people must convey all desired impressions to all intended audiences. In the current research, I examine only a small subset of the many possible multiple audience problems.

In pioneering research on the multiple audience problem, Fleming, Darley, Hilton, and Kojetin (1990) examined the communication of multiple messages. In these studies, participants either wrote essays or recorded videotapes in which they attempted to embed a hidden message. Participants' task was to convey the hidden message to their friend while concealing it from strangers. Results indicated that participants' friends were able to detect the hidden message while strangers were not. In later work, Fleming and Darley (1991) found that participants were also successful at conveying hidden messages to other audiences (e.g., the participants' parents, other participants). Only the intended audiences detected the messages while the other audiences did not. Whereas the ability to convey hidden messages could be useful in some circumstances (e.g., a prisoner of war who has the opportunity to address someone back home while in the company of captors), I believe people rarely communicate hidden messages in their day-to-day lives. However, as the opening examples demonstrate, people often encounter multiple audiences to whom they desire to convey different impressions of themselves.

Along these lines, Fleming (1994) theorized about the desire to present multiple impressions of the self, arguing that people are often successful in these multiple audience problems. However, he neither presented any data examining self-presentational success in this situation nor discussed factors affecting this success. The current research not only attempts to add to existing research by considering impressions of the self rather than messages, but also by considering personality and

situational factors that may affect self-presentational success. By studying various multiple audience problems, it is possible to determine whether people are successful in most multiple audience problems or just some, therefore allowing for a more comprehensive inspection of how self-presentational success in multiple audience problems may ultimately affect psychological well-being and health.

Bringing a new set of hypotheses to the multiple audience literature, Van Boven, Kruger, Savitsky, and Gilovich (2000) measured participants' success and confidence in these situations and, for the first time, empirically examined multiple impressions. These researchers asked "actor" participants to present one impression (i.e., an extremely studious individual) while alone with one person and then the opposite impression (i.e., a reckless party animal) while alone with a second person. Each actor then interacted with both audiences together and received instructions to preserve both impressions. In general, people successfully maintained each desired impression (as measured by audiences' impressions of the actor). In addition, participants were overconfident in their ability to convey the two different impressions simultaneously. That is, actors expected to convey stronger impressions than they actually did.

Although research reviewed to this point suggests that people can be successful in the multiple audience problem, this is not always the case. Participants in one study described a teacher truthfully to one audience and deceptively to a second audience. They then described the teacher to both audiences simultaneously. Finally, audiences reported whether they thought the description was the "truth" or a "lie." In general, participants appeared deceptive to the audiences regardless of whether they told the truth or lied (Bond, Thomas, & Paulson, 2004). Although this research suggests people

may be less successful in certain multiple audience problems, this research focused on lies rather than desired impressions of the self. As with the hidden messages research (Fleming, 1990; Fleming & Darley, 1991), Bond et al.'s research may be relevant to some situations (e.g., men living double lives) but is probably not representative of problems people commonly encounter. In addition, I argue that multiple audience problems do not typically occur because people lie about who they are. Instead, I suggest multiple audience problems most commonly result from people exhibiting different aspects of their personalities to different people. Because different aspects of people may be relatively similar or relatively discrepant, I manipulated the discrepancy of the impressions in the current research to compare situations involving similar impressions versus those involving discrepant impressions.

Most recently, Nichols and Cottrell (2010) examined factors affecting selfpresentational success in the multiple audience problem. Participants arrived in groups
of three, and experimenters assigned one participant to play the actor while the other
two participants served as audiences. In each interaction, experimenters gave specific
instructions to the actor regarding which impression(s) to convey. In one condition (i.e.,
the familiar audiences condition), actors conveyed an impression individually to each
audience and then attempted to preserve the different impressions in front of both
audiences. In a second condition (i.e., the unfamiliar audiences condition), actors
conveyed different impressions to both audiences simultaneously without first
establishing the impressions in prior interactions. We also assessed relevant aspects of
the actor's personality to examine whether some people tend to achieve more selfpresentational success in the multiple audience problem than others do.

In general, audience familiarity affected self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem (i.e., the ability to convey both impressions simultaneously). People were more successful in the multiple audience problem when they faced familiar than unfamiliar audiences. In addition, social anxiety affected actors' confidence in the multiple audience problem. The more socially anxious people were, the less confidence they reported. Results also suggested actors were underconfident (i.e., they expected to convey weaker impressions than they did), rather than overconfident (Van Boven et al., 2000). Participants' social anxiety also moderated this effect—the more socially anxious actors were, the more underconfident they were. In all, these findings suggest self-presentational factors affect success and confidence in the multiple audience problem. In the current research, I considered a more comprehensive set of situational and personality factors to examine whether these differences in self-presentational success affect positive affect.

### **Current Study**

Although some research has examined how self-presentational motives affect people's health (e.g., Leary, Tchividjian, & Kraxberger, 1994), none has examined how self-presentational success can affect people's health. To determine how self-presentational success in social interactions affects health indicators, the current research focused on an especially difficult social interaction—the multiple audience problem. Examining the multiple audience problem provides a good initial test of the relationship between self-presentational success and positive affect because success in this challenging situation is likely to be more variable than in simpler social interactions. In all, the current research had two goals: 1) Determine how ability- and motivation-related personality and situational factors affect self-presentational success in the

multiple audience problem, and 2) determine how self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem influences positive affect.

In general, the IM Model of Health (see Figure 1-1) predicts that selfpresentational success in social interactions affects health through positive affect. In
addition, the model considers the effects of various ability- and motivation-related
personality and situational factors on self-presentational success. In all, this model
predicts whether people will suffer from negative health outcomes arising from these
social interactions. I next discuss the goals of the current research, as well as research
relevant to each link of the model.

# Goal 1. Determine How Ability- and Motivation-Related Personality and Situational Factors Affect Self-Presentational Success in the Multiple Audience Problem

If self-presentational success affects health, examining the determinants of success is essential to the effectiveness of health interventions (e.g., smoking cessation, weight loss programs). Therefore, I placed people (i.e., actors) into the multiple audience problem and measured personality factors related to their ability and motivation to succeed in the interaction. In addition, I manipulated ability-related aspects of the situation (i.e., familiarity of the audiences, discrepancy of the impressions).

Together, this combination of personality assessment and situational manipulation allowed for an examination of factors affecting self-presentational success.

The IM Model of Health proposes that various self-presentational factors will predict self-presentational success in social interactions (see Figure 1-1). In general, people appear to be moderately successful at conveying specific images of themselves, yet certain factors affect the degree of self-presentational success people achieve in single audience situations (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000). For example, people are less

successful when conveying impressions that are inconsistent with their own personalities than when conveying impressions that are consistent with their personalities (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000). Self-presentational factors also affect people's ability to convey impressions using nonverbal behavior. Although a review of nonverbal behaviors suggests people are generally able to manage their impressions (Depaulo, 1992), many factors (e.g., levels of expressiveness, personal styles, range of expressive cues, amount of practice and experience regulating nonverbal behaviors) affect the extent of people's self-presentational success.

Little research, however, has investigated factors affecting self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem. As such, I examined factors related to people's ability and motivation to convey the desired impressions to the intended audiences by way of both verbal and nonverbal self-presentational tools.

### Situational factors in self-presentational success

Schlenker and Leary (1982) proposed that relevant situational factors affect people's motivation to convey desired impressions, as well as their likelihood of successfully doing so. Although I do not consider situational variables related to motivation, I propose two ability-related situational variables will affect self-presentational success within the multiple audience problem. The following predictions assume participants will achieve some degree of self-presentational success at conveying the desired impressions to the intended audiences.

The actor's ability. I propose that the familiarity between the actors and the audiences will affect self-presentational success. Fleming et al. (1990) suggest self-presentational success may result from shared knowledge between the audience and the actor. In addition, recent research revealed that people are more successful in

multiple audience problems involving familiar audiences than in multiple audience problems involving unfamiliar audiences (Nichols & Cottrell, 2010). In the current research, I again examined the effect of audience familiarity on self-presentational success. In general, actors should achieve more self-presentational success with familiar audiences than with unfamiliar audiences because unfamiliar audiences require actors to construct the desired identities without the benefits of prior experience or previously established impressions. That is, actors must start "from scratch" with unfamiliar audiences. Not only do familiar audiences already have the desired impressions of the actor, they also share knowledge that makes it easier for the actor to secretly maintain those impressions (e.g., inside jokes, previous encounters, common information).

I also expect that the discrepancy of the desired impressions will affect selfpresentational success. Throughout research on the multiple audience problem,
researchers used extremely polarized messages and impressions, which requires
conveying essentially opposite impressions at the same time (e.g., party animal versus
bookworm—Van Boven et al., 2000). However, people may often desire to convey less
polarized impressions of themselves. Whereas people may have difficulty conveying
discrepant impressions at the same time, they should be better able to convey similar
impressions simultaneously (e.g., someone who occasionally parties, someone who
occasionally reads). Therefore, I expect that people will be more successful when the
impressions are similar than when the impressions are discrepant.

### Personality factors in self-presentational success

In addition to situational factors affecting self-presentational success, Schlenker and Leary (1982) also propose that personality factors affect people's motivation for and

likelihood of successfully conveying desired impressions. Similarly, I propose that several dispositional traits will affect actors' self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem. I chose these variables due to their history of importance in the self-presentational literature (Leary, 1995). These personality traits fall into two conceptual groups: 1) traits related to the actor's ability to convey impressions, and 2) traits related to the actor's motivation to convey impressions.

The actor's ability. First, I predict that extraversion will affect self-presentational success. Researchers describe extraverts as people who enjoy human interactions and are generally enthusiastic and talkative (Costa & McCrae, 1992). This comfort in social interactions should enable them to convey impressions well in their social interactions. In addition, some research suggests extraverts are more able to convey impressions than introverts are regardless of the desired impression (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000). Extraverts were able to convey both an extraverted impression and an introverted impression, yet introverts were able to convey only an introverted impression and not an extraverted impression. I expect extraverts will also be more successful when faced with the multiple audience problem due to their ability to convey distinct impressions (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000).

The second ability-related trait I consider is self-monitoring. People high in self-monitoring are highly sensitive to the actions of others and use others' cues to monitor their own self-presentations (Snyder, 1974). High self-monitors are also able to adjust their actions to fit the needs of the current situation. Due to their sensitivity to the demands of the situation and their ability to adjust their own behavior, people higher in

self-monitoring should be better able to convey impressions than those lower in self-monitoring, and this ability should generalize to the multiple audience problem.

One variable I expect to affect self-presentational success negatively in a multiple audience problem is social anxiety. Researchers suggest that people high in social anxiety are motivated to convey desired impressions but are not confident in doing so (Leary & Kowalski, 1997). In addition, people high in social anxiety are generally anxious about social situations, interactions with others, and others' evaluations of them. Due to the preoccupation with these perceived social pressures, people higher in social anxiety may be less able to convey impressions than people lower in social anxiety. Because multiple audience problems involve more people and more desired impressions than typical interactions, people higher in social anxiety should be even less successful in the multiple audience problem. Moreover, with state anxiety increasing when socially anxious people face unfamiliar people or discrepant impressions (Duronto, Nishida, & Nakayama, 2005), I predict that people higher in social anxiety will do even worse in these multiple audience problems (i.e., Social Anxiety × Audience Familiarity and Social Anxiety × Impression Discrepancy interactions).

The actor's motivation. I also consider three personality traits pertaining to the actor's motivation to convey impressions. As a societal norm, people are expected to perform in a manner consistent with their past actions and claims (Gergen, 1968), and people high in need for consistency have a strong motivation to appear consistent.<sup>1</sup>

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alternative predictions exist regarding other forms of consistency that affect self-presentational success. For example, people may want to appear consistent with their own impressions of themselves. However, I

Specifically, people high in need for consistency should be motivated to convey both impressions in the multiple audience problem to avoid either audience spotting inconsistencies in their behavior. Because motivation often leads to success (e.g., Bandura, 1986), people higher in need for consistency may be more successful at conveying impressions than people lower in need for consistency. In addition, this need for consistency may exert a greater effect in situations in which audiences have already formed impressions because people higher in need for consistency will be highly motivated to appear consistent with these prior impressions. That is, the effect of need for consistency on self-presentational success should be greater in the familiar audiences situation than the unfamiliar audiences situation (i.e., Need for Consistency × Audience Familiarity interaction).

Another trait I expect to affect self-presentational success is need to belong. People high in need to belong have "a strong desire to form and maintain enduring inter-personal attachments" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Assuming self-presentational success strengthens interpersonal attachments, the higher people are in need to belong, the more motivated they should be to convey desired impressions. This motivation may also facilitate self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem.

The final motivation-related personality factor I consider is public selfconsciousness. People high in public self-consciousness are more likely to monitor others' impressions of them (Buss, 1980), and are said to be chronically aware that they

hypothesize that people are most concerned with appearing consistent to others, and I focused measurement on this conceptualization.

are in the public eye. Due to this chronic awareness of public images, people higher in public self-consciousness should be more motivated to convey desired impressions in social interactions, including the multiple audience problem.

### Goal 2. Determine How Self-Presentational Success in the Multiple Audience Problem Influences Positive Affect

In general, little research has examined the outcomes of self-presentational success, and none has established how self-presentational success affects people's health and psychological well-being. In an attempt to identify the health risk factors associated with self-presentational failure, I examined the effect of self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem on positive affect.

### Success predicting positive affect

The next link of the model predicts positive affect from self-presentational success (see Figure 1-1). Recent research has examined the affective outcomes of being successful in a variety of tasks. Results suggest people report lower positive affect when they fail than when they succeed. In academics, people with low self-esteem report less positive affect after receiving failure feedback than do people with high self-esteem (Park, Crocker, & Kiefer, 2007). Regarding goals, adults who perceive their goals as difficult report an increase in positive affect after they accomplish these goals (i.e., goal progress is a strong predictor of well-being; Wiese & Freund, 2005). Additionally, in their review of the relationship between positive affect and success, Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) suggested that success in a variety of tasks often increases positive affect.

In general, self-presentational research has not adequately examined positive affect as a primary dependent measure. However, some research has examined the

effects of self-presentation on psychological well-being more generally. People who hid their social stigmas from others suffered from decreased well-being felt socially excluded, and performed worse at work than people who did not hide their stigmas (Ellemers & Barreto, 2006). In the current research, I focus specifically on self-presentational success and its effect on positive affect. This research fills a void in the literature and begins to explore how social interactions may affect people's health. My expectation is that self-presentational success will directly influence positive affect—more self-presentational success will predict more positive affect. This expectation assumes that people have an idea of their success in social interactions. Because past multiple audience research suggests success and confidence are strongly positively correlated (i.e., as success increases, confidence increases) and people in these studies generally had a high level of confidence (Nichols & Cottrell, 2010; Van Boven et al., 2000), this assumption appears valid.

### Positive affect predicting health outcomes

Finally, although not directly tested in the current research, the IM Model of Health assumes that positive affect resulting from self-presentational success will predict certain health outcomes (Pressman & Cohen, 2005). In general, positive affect is associated with better physical health. For example, greater positive affect predicts longer life (Danner, Snowdon, & Friesen, 2001), more illness prevention (Cohen, Doyle, Turner, Alper, & Skoner, 2003), lower likelihood of stroke (Ostir, Markides, Peek, & Goodwin, 2001), fewer injuries (e.g., Koivumaa-Honkanen, Honkanen, Viinamaeki, Heikkilae, Kaprio, & Koskenvuo, 2001), lower rates of rehospitalization (Middleton & Byrd, 1996), and even less pain (Kvaal & Patodia, 2000). Therefore, research suggests

positive affect can lead to a number of beneficial health outcomes, and the current model uses positive affect as an indicator of these outcomes (see Figure 1-1).

### **Hypotheses**

Although people can often convey specific impressions in social interactions, past research has not adequately addressed a variety of intriguing questions about the antecedents of self-presentational success and the consequences of self-presentational failure for people's health. The IM Model of Health, therefore, seeks to bridge the gap between impression management and health research to suggest possible intervention points that may prevent a range of negative health outcomes. Specifically, I focus on the multiple audience problem to test this model in a social interaction more likely to result in varying levels of self-presentational success.

Considering past research and the rationale discussed earlier, I hypothesized the following:

## A. Actors will be more successful in the multiple audience problem when they are familiar with the audiences than when they are unfamiliar with the audiences

Having no past experiences with the audiences, actors will be less able to convey different impressions to each audience because past experience affords actors additional factics based on shared information between them and the audiences.

# B. Actors will be more successful in the multiple audience problem when the desired impressions are similar than when the desired impressions are discrepant

Actors will be more able to convey similar impressions to each audience than discrepant impressions because the multiple audience problem requires conveying impressions simultaneously and conveying essentially opposite impressions at the same time is more difficult than conveying similar impressions.

# C. The higher the actors are in the ability-related personality traits of extraversion and self-monitoring, the more successful they will be in the multiple audience problem

The higher the actors are in these ability-related traits, the more skilled to convey multiple impressions simultaneously they should be.

# D. The lower the actors are in the ability-related trait of social anxiety, the more successful they will be in the multiple audience problem

People higher in social anxiety will expect negative outcomes, which will undermine self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem. This anxiety will also inhibit higher socially anxious people (compared to lower socially anxious people) less when conveying similar impressions than when conveying discrepant impressions (i.e., Impression Discrepancy × Social Anxiety). In addition, the effect of social anxiety on self-presentational success will be weaker when facing familiar audiences than when facing unfamiliar audiences (i.e., Audience Familiarity × Social Anxiety).

# E. The higher the actors are in the motivation-related personality traits, the more successful they will be in the multiple audience problem

In general, the motivation-related variables (i.e., need to belong, need for consistency, public self-consciousness) will facilitate self-presentational success because people often are successful at tasks for which they are motivated to succeed. In addition, only need for consistency will moderate the relationship between audience familiarity and success in the multiple audience problem—people high in need for consistency will be especially successful in the familiar audiences situation compared with the unfamiliar audiences situation (i.e., Audience Familiarity × Need for Consistency).

# F. The more successful the actors are in the multiple audience problem, the more positive affect they will experience

Assuming people have an idea of how much success they achieve in the multiple audience problem, self-presentational success should afford people more positive affect due to the social rewards of success. Because success is a pleasant experience for most people, it should result in more positive emotions (i.e., higher positive affect).

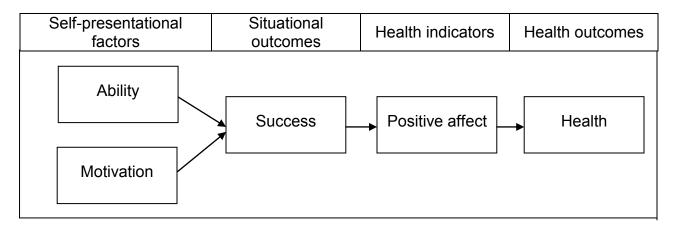


Figure 1-1. Proposed IM Model of Health.

### CHAPTER 2 MFTHOD

### **Participants**

Seven hundred twenty-eight participants from the University of Florida Department of Psychology's human subjects pool participated in this study in partial fulfillment of a course requirement. Due mostly to errors in the administration of the questionnaires and participants arriving late, leaving early, or not showing at all, I included four hundred seventy-two participants (193 men, 279 women) age 18 to 39 (M = 18.80, SD = 1.54) in the following analyses.. Most of these participants were Caucasian (58%), yet the ethnicity of the sample was relatively diverse (Hispanic American = 14%, African American = 13%, Asian American/Pacific Islander = 10%, Other = 5%).

#### **Procedure**

I employed a 2 (Audience Familiarity: familiar vs. unfamiliar) × 2 (Impression Discrepancy: similar vs. discrepant) completely between-subjects factorial design. Participants signed up in groups with other members of their sex. When participants arrived at the lab, experimenters randomly assigned them to one of the four experimental conditions and one of two roles (i.e., actor or audience). The actor's job was to convey specific impressions as instructed by the experimenter. The other participants served as audiences whose job was to interact with the actors and report an impression of them. Actors began by answering items about their personality. Included were measures of extraversion, need for consistency, need to belong, public self-consciousness, self-monitoring, and social anxiety. In addition, actors reported, on a 7-point Likert-type scale, how much of a party animal vs. bookworm they are (see

Appendix A), how likable they perceive themselves (see Appendix B), and how authentic they normally are (see Appendix C).

### **Familiar Audiences, Discrepant Impressions Condition**

In the "familiar audiences" conditions, I employed a procedure similar to that used by Van Boven et al. (2000) and in research conducted in our lab (Nichols & Cottrell, 2010). The actor met with two audiences separately (i.e., one audience at a time) to establish the desired impressions. Then, the actor, now familiar with each audience, met with both audiences simultaneously while attempting to maintain those impressions (see Table 2-1).

### Party animal interaction

Experimenters informed the actor that the study would consist of three short discussions. Experimenters began by informing the actor of the goal for the first interaction. That is, experimenters instructed actors to adopt the identity of a party animal, someone who "likes to party and always have a good time," who "prefers to live life for the moment," and who people could describe as a "party animal." Experimenters then informed the party animal (PA) audience that the first interaction would consist of a five-minute conversation regarding advice for incoming freshman concerning "What is the best way to spend one's time in college?" Meanwhile, the actor completed the state portion of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI—see Appendix D), reporting his/her state anxiety prior to the interaction. After conversing for five minutes, the actor and PA audience separated to answer questions regarding the interaction. The actor reported his/her confidence in conveying the desired impression (see Appendix E). In addition, actors answered questions regarding how likable they believed the audiences perceived them (see Appendix F), their desire to succeed in the situation (see Appendix G), how

authentic their behavior was in the situation (see Appendix H), and the difficulty of the situation (see Appendix I). Finally, the actor answered questions from the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS—see Appendix J) regarding current affect. The PA audience simultaneously reported an impression of the actor (see Appendix K), how likable the actor was (see Appendix L), and how authentic the actor's behavior appeared (see Appendix M).

#### **Bookworm interaction**

Experimenters next informed the actor of the goal for the second interaction. Specifically, experimenters instructed actors to adopt the identity of a bookworm, someone who "likes to study and keep his or her nose to the grindstone," who "prefers to think about and prepare for the future," and who people could describe as a "bookworm." Experimenters informed the bookworm (BW) audience that the first interaction would consist of a five-minute conversation regarding advice for incoming freshman concerning "What is the best way to spend one's time in college?" while the actor again reported his/her current level of state anxiety. After conversing for five minutes, the actor and BW audience separated to answer questions regarding the interaction. The actor answered the same questions as after the PA interaction (including questions related to affect) while the BW audience answered the same questions as the PA audience (including reporting an impression of the actor). Past research in our lab suggests the order of impressions does not affect success; therefore, all sessions occurred in this order.

#### Multiple audience interaction

Finally, experimenters informed the actor of the goal for the third interaction (i.e., to appear as a party animal to the PA audience and a bookworm to the BW audience).

Experimenters then informed the PA and BW audiences their second interaction would consist of a five-minute conversation about advice for incoming freshman concerning "What is the best way to spend a Saturday in the Fall?" Before the discussion, the actor reported his/her state anxiety. After conversing for five minutes, the actor and audiences again separated to answer questions regarding the interaction. The actor answered the same questions s/he answered after the previous interactions (including affect) as well as questions regarding the compatibility of the impressions (see Appendix N).

Meanwhile, the PA and BW audiences reported an impression of the actor, how likable the actor was, and how authentic they perceived the actor's behavior. All participants also answered demographic questions (see Appendix O).

### **Unfamiliar Audiences, Discrepant Impressions Condition**

In addition to the "familiar audiences, discrepant impressions" condition, I also included an "unfamiliar audiences, discrepant impressions" condition (see Table 2-2). In the unfamiliar audiences situation, participants took part in initial interactions that were identical to the familiar audiences condition (i.e., convey PA impression to a PA audience and then BW impression to a BW audience). Actors first interacted with two audiences separately to establish the desired impressions. Then, those two audiences departed, and two new audiences arrived. In the final interaction, the actor simultaneously conveyed the same impressions as s/he conveyed to the original audiences (i.e., party animal and bookworm) to two new audiences. Instead of instructing actors to maintain the original impressions, experimenters instructed them to convey the "party animal" impression to the person on the left and the "bookworm"

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These initial interactions provided actors in both familiarity conditions with the same experience conveying the impressions, therefore eliminating any practice effects.

impression to the person on the right, meeting these two new audiences simultaneously for the first time to discuss "What is the best way to spend a Saturday in the Fall?"

Actors and audiences answered the same questions as in the familiar audiences condition.

### Familiar Audiences, Similar Impressions Condition

I also included an additional factor to manipulate the discrepancy of the impressions. In the discrepant impressions conditions just described, participants conveyed the party animal and bookworm impressions. However, actors in the "familiar audiences, similar impressions" condition conveyed less polarized impressions in the initial interactions and then maintained these similar impressions in the multiple audience problem (see Table 2-3). That is, instead of the party animal impression, the actor maintained the impression of someone who occasionally parties. Rather than coming across as someone who "likes to party and always have a good time," who "prefers to live life for the moment," and who people could describe as a "party animal," the actor was instructed to come across as someone who "likes to only sometimes party and have a good time," who "only occasionally lives life for the moment," and who people could describe as someone who "sometimes likes to have fun." In addition, for the second impression, rather than coming across as someone who "likes to study and keep his or her nose to the grindstone", who "prefers to think about and prepare for the future," and who people could describe as a "bookworm," the actor was instructed to come across as someone who "likes to only sometimes study and keep his or her nose to the grindstone", who "only occasionally thinks about and prepares for the future," and who people could describe as someone who "occasionally enjoys a good book."

Participants answered dependent measures identical to those used in the "familiar audience, discrepant impressions" condition.

### **Unfamiliar Audiences, Similar Impressions Condition**

In the final condition, experimenters presented actors with unfamiliar audiences and instructed them to convey similar impressions to each audience (see Table 2-4). Instead of conveying the "party animal" and "bookworm" impressions to two audiences separately and then conveying those same impressions to two new audiences simultaneously, actors conveyed the "someone who occasionally parties" and "occasionally enjoys a good book" impressions. Again, participants answered the same questions as in the other conditions.

In all, actors conveyed discrepant impressions to familiar audiences in 35 experimental sessions, discrepant impressions to unfamiliar audiences in 21 experimental sessions, similar impressions to familiar audiences in 34 experimental sessions, and similar impressions to unfamiliar audiences in 32 experimental sessions. Throughout the following analyses, I conducted tests at the level of the experimental session (N = 122) rather than the individual participant (N = 472).

#### Measures

#### **Personality**

To measure personality traits related to ability and motivation, I employed the following scales (see Appendix P):

#### Extraversion

I used a ten-item version of the NEO-Five Factor Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Goldberg, 1992). Participants responded to each item using a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 = Disagree strongly, 7 = Agree strongly). Murray, Rawlings, Allen, and Trinder

(2003) determined that the scale possessed adequate reliability and validity in measuring extraversion (i.e., positive emotions, surgency, the tendency to seek out stimulation and the company of others). The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .87). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

### **Need for Consistency**

I used the 18-item Preference for Consistency Scale (Cialdini, Trost, & Newsom, 1995). Participants responded to each item using a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 9 = Strongly agree). Cialdini et al. developed and tested this scale, demonstrating its validity in measuring people's tendency to act in ways consistent with previous expectancies, commitments, and choices. The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .89). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

#### **Need to Belong**

I used the 10-item Need to Belong Scale (Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer, 2010). Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree). Leary et al. demonstrated good psychometric properties of the scale. The 10-item scale measures people's intrinsic motivation to affiliate with others and to seek social acceptance. The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .80). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

#### **Public Self-Consciousness**

I used the Self-Consciousness Scale (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975). I administered the widely used 7-item Public Self-Consciousness subscale. Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale (0 = Extremely uncharacteristic, 4 = Extremely characteristic). The scale has adequate reliability and validity in measuring people's awareness of others' view of them (Cramer, 2000). The

measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .74). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

### **Self-Monitoring**

I used the 18-item Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986). Participants responded to each item by indicating whether each statement was true or false. Although this scale has been highly criticized, the revised scale seeks to create a more parsimonious method for assessing self-monitoring. This newer version has adequate psychometric properties (Jackson, 1999) and measures people's tendency to regulate their own behavior to "look good" to others. The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .72). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

#### **Social Anxiety**

I used the 15-item Interaction Anxiousness Scale (Leary, 1983). Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Not at all characteristic of me, 5 = Extremely characteristic of me). The scale is widely used and is a valid measurement of social anxiety (Leary & Kowalski, 1993). It measures people's anxiety about social situations, interactions with others, and evaluations from others. The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .89). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

#### Success

I measured success in each interaction by asking audiences to rate their impression of the actor (see Appendix K). On a 7-point Likert-type scale, audiences reported how serious, outgoing, bookish, and sociable they viewed the actors (1 = Not at all describes him/her, 7 = Perfectly describes him/her), their view of how important attending parties and attending course lectures was for the actors (1 = Low priority, 7 =

High priority), and to what degree they believed the actors valued schoolwork versus social life (1 = Schoolwork most important, 7 = Social life most important).

To operationalize self-presentational success, I created averaged composites indicating the extent of actors' self-presentational success in presenting the party animal impression to the PA audience or the bookworm impression to the BW audience (i.e., the strength of the impression conveyed).

#### Single audience situations

To obtain a measure of success in the PA interaction (SinglePA), I averaged: 1) the PA audiences' ratings of how serious(-), outgoing, bookish(-), and sociable they viewed the actors; 2) audiences' view of how important attending parties and attending course lectures(-) was for the actors; and 3) to what degree audiences believed the actors valued schoolwork versus social life (see Appendix K;  $\alpha$  = .84). Then, to obtain a measure of success in the BW interaction (SingleBW), I similarly averaged: 1) the BW audiences' ratings of how serious, outgoing(-), bookish, and sociable(-) they viewed the actors; 2) audiences' view of how important attending parties(-) and attending course lectures was for the actors; and 3) to what degree audiences believed the actors valued schoolwork versus social life(-) ( $\alpha$  = .83). The higher the number on each composite, the more success participants had (i.e., the more polarized impression they conveyed). SinglePA = (Serious(-) + Outgoing + Bookish(-) + Sociable + Parties + Lectures(-) + Social Life)

SingleBW = (Serious + Outgoing(-) + Bookish + Sociable(-) + Parties(-) + Lectures + Social Life(-))

7

### Multiple audience problem

Conceptually, I defined success in the multiple audience problem as the ability to convey both impressions simultaneously. Similar to the single audience situations, I first created averaged composites of self-presentational success for each impression. The composites indicate how much self-presentational success the actors achieved in presenting the party animal impression to the PA audience or the bookworm impression to the BW audience in the multiple audience problem (i.e., the strength of the impression conveyed). Specifically, to obtain a measure of success with the PA audience (MultiplePA), I averaged: 1) the PA audiences' ratings of how serious(-), outgoing, bookish(-), and sociable they viewed the actors; 2) audiences' view of how important attending parties and attending course lectures(-) was for the actors; and 3) to what degree audiences believed the actors valued schoolwork versus social life (see Appendix K;  $\alpha$  = .54). Then, to obtain a measure of success with the BW audience (MultipleBW), I averaged: 1) the BW audiences' ratings of how serious, outgoing(-), bookish, and sociable(-) they viewed the actors; 2) audiences' view of how important attending parties(-) and attending course lectures was for the actors; and 3) to what degree audiences believed the actors valued schoolwork versus social life(-) ( $\alpha$  = .78). The higher the number on each composite, the more polarized impression the actor conveyed in the multiple audience problem.

MultiplePA = (Serious(-) + Outgoing + Bookish(-) + Sociable + Parties + Lectures(-) + Social Life)

7

MultipleBW = (Serious + Outgoing(-) + Bookish + Sociable(-) + Parties(-) + Lectures + Social Life(-))

Next, I created composites for overall self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem averaging across both impressions. I designed each composite to reflect the extent to which actors conveyed each desired impression to the corresponding audiences (i.e., their ability to present the party animal impression to the PA audience while presenting the bookworm impression to the BW audience). Specifically, I subtracted the initial party animal impression (SinglePA) from the party animal impression conveyed in the multiple audience problem (MultiplePA) to obtain a measure of how well the actors maintained the PA impression (SuccessPA). Next, I subtracted the initial bookworm impression (SingleBW) from the bookworm impression conveyed in the multiple audience problem (MultipleBW) to obtain a measure of how well the actors maintained the BW impression (SuccessBW). Finally, I averaged these two scores to obtain a measure of how well actors maintained both impressions simultaneously (MAPSuccess). The higher the number, the more success participants had (i.e., the better they maintained both impressions simultaneously). A zero on this final composite suggests actors conveyed similar degrees of the impressions in the multiple audience problem as in the single audience interactions. In addition, positive numbers indicate the impressions actors conveyed in the multiple audience problem were stronger than the impressions originally conveyed in the single audience interactions. Finally, negative numbers suggest impressions weakened after the multiple audience problem. For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

 $MAPSuccess = \underline{(MultiplePA - SinglePA) + (MultipleBW - SingleBW)} = \underline{SuccessPA + SuccessBW}$ 

2

### **Positive Affect**

To measure positive affect, I used the positive affect portion of the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (see Appendix J). Participants responded to 10 items using a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = Very slightly, 5 = Extremely). Researchers validated the scale across various populations (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). The measure was also reliable in the current sample ( $\alpha$  = .94). For descriptive statistics, see Table 2-5.

Table 2-1. Familiar audiences, discrepant impressions procedure

Step	Actor	Party animal audience	Bookworm audience				
	3 participants arrive						
1	Answered personality questions	Received information					
2	Received instructions to convey party animal	regarding interaction	Answered personality				
3	Interacted with PA audience	Interacted with actor	questions				
4	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor					
5	Received instructions to convey bookworm		Received information regarding interaction				
6	Interacted with BW audience	Answered personality questions	Interacted with actor				
7	Reported positive affect	queenene	Reported impression of actor				
8	Received instructions to maintain both impressions	Received information regarding interaction	Received information regarding interaction				
9	Interacted with both audiences	Interacted with actor and BW audience	Interacted with actor and PA audience				
10	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor	Reported impression of actor				

Table 2-2. Unfamiliar audiences, discrepant impressions procedure

I able	le 2-2. Unfamiliar audiences, discrepant impressions procedure.					
Step	Actor	Party animal audience	Bookworm audience			
	3 participants arrive					
1	Answered personality questions	Received information				
2	Received instructions to convey party animal	regarding interaction	Answered personality			
3	Interacted with PA audience	Interacted with actor	questions			
4	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor				
5	Received instructions to convey bookworm Impression		Received information regarding interaction			
6	Interacted with BW audience	Answered personality questions	Interacted with actor			
7	Reported positive affect	questions	Reported impression of actor			
	Original PA and BW au	diences leave and 2 new	audiences arrive			
8	Received instructions to convey PA and BW	Received information regarding interaction	Received information regarding interaction			
9	Interacted with both new audiences	Interacted with actor and BW audience	Interacted with actor and PA audience			
10	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor	Reported impression of actor			
11		Answered personality questions	Answered personality questions			

Table 2-3. Familiar audiences, similar impressions procedure.

Table	2-3. Familiai audiences, similai	impressions procedure.				
Step	Actor	Occasionally parties audience	Occasionally enjoys a good book audience			
	3 participants arrive					
1	Answered personality questions	Received information				
2	Received instructions to convey occasionally parties	regarding interaction	Answered personality			
3	Interacted with OP audience	Interacted with actor	questions			
4	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor				
5	Received instructions to convey occasionally enjoys a good book impression	Answered personality	Received information regarding interaction			
6	Interacted with OB audience	questions	Interacted with actor			
7	Reported positive affect		Reported impression of actor			
8	Received instructions to maintain both impressions	Received information regarding interaction	Received information regarding interaction			
9	Interacted with both audiences	Interacted with actor and OB audience	Interacted with actor and OP audience			
10	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor	Reported impression of actor			

Table 2-4. Unfamiliar audiences, similar impressions procedure.

Table	2-4. Uniamiliai audiences, sim	iai impressions procedure				
Step	Actor	Occasionally parties audience	Occasionally enjoys a good book audience			
	3 participants arrive					
1	Answered personality questions	Received information				
2	Received instructions to convey occasionally parties	regarding interaction	Answered personality			
3	Interacted with OP audience	Interacted with actor	questions			
4	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor				
5	Received instructions to convey occasionally enjoys a good book impression	Answered personality	Received information regarding interaction			
6	Interacted with OB audience	questions	Interacted with actor			
7	Reported positive affect		Reported impression of actor			
	Original OP and OB au	diences leave and 2 nev	v audiences arrive			
8	Received instructions to convey OP and OB	Received information regarding interaction	Received information regarding interaction			
9	Interacted with both new audiences	Interacted with actor and OB audience	Interacted with actor and OP audience			
10	Reported positive affect	Reported impression of actor	Reported impression of actor			
11		Answered personality questions	Answered personality questions			

Table 2-5. Descriptive statistics of key variables

Measure	М	SD	Min	Max
Е	4.66	1.06	1.80	6.80
NFC	5.81	1.07	1.61	8.11
NTB	3.42	0.63	1.30	5.00
PSC	3.55	0.65	1.29	5.00
SM	1.55	0.19	1.11	1.94
SA	3.29	0.68	1.93	4.93
Success	-0.63	0.90	-2.71	1.93
PA	2.48	0.99	1.00	5.00

Note: E = Extraversion, NFC = Need for consistency, NTB = Need to belong, PSC = Public self-consciousness, SM = Self-monitoring, SA = Social anxiety, PA = Positive affect

### CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

### **Pretesting**

Before proceeding with the proposed study, I pretested the impression pairs to ensure they varied in discrepancy. I recruited 69 participants (33 men, 36 women) from the University of Florida Department of Psychology's human subjects pool and presented them with scenarios involving the desire to convey either the party animal and bookworm impressions or the occasionally parties and occasionally enjoys a good book impressions (see Appendix Q for a sample scenario). Thirty-six participants considered scenarios involving the similar impressions (i.e., occasionally parties and occasionally reads a good book), and 33 participants considered scenarios involving the discrepant impressions (i.e., party animal and bookworm). They then answered four questions regarding the perceived discrepancy of these impressions. In addition, participants answered seven questions regarding how strong of a party animal or bookworm impression they desired to convey to each audience in each scenario (see Appendix R).

I compared the similar and discrepant impression pairs to ensure they were significantly different according to the individual discrepancy items. The similar impressions were rated as significantly less different from each other than the discrepant impressions (Similar = 4.58 (SD = 1.44), Discrepant = 5.45 (SD = 1.25); t(67) = 2.67, p = .01, r = .31). In addition, the similar impressions scenario was rated as simpler (Similar = 3.94 (SD = 1.51), Discrepant = 3.15 (SD = 1.18); t(67) = 2.42, p = .02, r = .28) and less difficult (Similar = 3.82 (SD = 1.10), Discrepant = 4.31 (SD = 1.09); t(67) = 1.86, p = .07, r = .22) than the discrepant impressions scenario.

in the Measures section. These composites indicated the extent to which participants' desired to convey the party animal impression to the PA audience or the bookworm impression to the BW audience (i.e., the strength of the impression desired). Specifically, to obtain a measure of the actor's desire to come across as a party animal to the PA audience (PADesire), I averaged: 1) the ratings of how serious(-), outgoing, bookish(-), and sociable participants rated themselves; 2) participants' rating of how important attending parties and attending course lectures(-) was for them; and 3) to what degree participants rated schoolwork versus social life ( $\alpha = .79$ ). Then, to obtain a measure of the actor's desire to come across as a bookworm to the BW audience (BWDesire), I similarly averaged: 1) the ratings of how serious, outgoing(-), bookish, and sociable(-) participants rated themselves; 2) participants' rating of how important attending parties(-) and attending course lectures was for them; and 3) to what degree participants rated schoolwork versus social life(-) ( $\alpha$  = .85). The higher the number on each composite, the more participants desired to convey the impression to the corresponding audience.

I next created averaged composites similar to the success composites described

PADesire = (Serious(-) + Outgoing + Bookish(-) + Sociable + Parties + Lectures(-) + Social Life)

7

 $BWDesire = \underline{(Serious + Outgoing(-) + Bookish + Sociable(-) + Parties(-) + Lectures + Social \, Life(-))}$ 

7

Pretest participants' desired impressions differed significantly across impression conditions. Participants reported a desire to come across as less of a party animal (Similar = 4.52 (SD = 0.95), Discrepant = 4.95 (SD = 0.89); t(67) = 1.95, p = .06, r = .23) and bookworm (Similar = 4.06 (SD = 1.19), Discrepant = 4.58 (SD = 0.93); t(67) = 2.02,

p = .05, r = .24) in the similar impressions condition than the discrepant impressions condition. In all, the pretesting suggested that the impression pairs varied significantly in their discrepancy.

### **Preliminary Analyses**

Based on encouraging results from the pretesting, I proceeded with the proposed test of the IM Model of Health. Before testing my predictions, I first examined additional variables related to the situation. First, to ensure participants were adequately motivated to convey the instructed impressions, I asked participants to report how motivated they were to convey each impression, how important it was for them to convey each impression, and how hard they tried to convey each impression (see Appendix G). I then created a composite averaging these three questions to represent participants' motivation ( $\alpha$  = .80). Across all impressions and interactions, participants reported being motivated to convey the impressions (4.76 > M > 4.69, 1.20 > SD > 1.21), and all means were significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale (all ts > 6.31, ps < .01).

Next, I examined the perceived compatibility of the impressions used in the current research (see Appendix N). I averaged the answers to all three questions to create a composite reflecting actors' perceived compatibility of the impression pair ( $\alpha$  = .73); the higher the scores on the composite, the more compatible participants viewed the impressions. In general, participants reported that the impressions were incompatible (M = 3.76, SD = 1.35), and this incompatibility differed significantly from the scale midpoint (t(121) = 1.94, p = .05, r = .12). I next examined the difference in compatibility between the similar and discrepant impression pairs. As expected, and consistent with pretesting, participants reported that the similar impressions were significantly more

compatible than the discrepant impressions (Similar = 4.55 (SD = 0.94), Discrepant = 2.83 (SD = 1.16); t(120) = 9.02, p < .01, r = .63).

Finally, I examined participants' perceptions of their ability to convey both impressions to both audiences and their perceptions of the difficulty of each multiple audience problem. I measured perceived ability by asking participants how able they were to convey the impressions (see Appendix G) while a composite of four questions (see Appendix I) measured perceived difficulty (i.e., difficult, manageable(-), challenging, simple(-);  $\alpha$  = .91). Participants believed the situation was less difficult (Similar = 4.45 (SD = 1.43), Discrepant = 5.26 (SD = 1.43); t(120) = 3.13, p < .01, r = .01.27) and that they were more able (Similar = 4.17 (SD = 1.56), Discrepant = 3.54 (SD = 1.56) 1.65); t(120) = 2.16, p = .03, r = .19) when experimenters instructed them to convey similar impressions compared to discrepant impressions. The familiarity of the audiences also affected perceived ability and difficulty. Participants believed they were more able (Familiar = 4.41 (SD = 1.47), Unfamiliar = 3.19 (SD = 1.58); t(120) = 4.39, p < 1.00.01, r = .37) and that the situation was less difficult (Familiar = 4.38 (SD = 1.57), Unfamiliar = 5.40 (SD = 1.13); t(120) = 3.99, p < .01, r = .35) in the familiar audiences condition than in the unfamiliar audiences condition.

#### **Tests of Hypotheses**

To begin the primary analyses, I first examined actors' success in conveying the desired impressions in the original, single audience interactions. I performed an independent samples t-test with impression discrepancy (similar vs. discrepant) as the independent variable (IV) and self-presentational success as the dependent variable (DV). For the party animal impression (DV = SinglePA), audiences viewed actors as more of a party animal when actors conveyed the party animal (PA) impression than

when actors conveyed the occasionally parties (OP) impression (PA = 5.26 (SD = 0.91), OP = 4.43 (SD = 0.86); t(120) = 5.17, p < .01, r = .42). Regarding the bookworm impression (DV = SingleBW), audiences viewed actors as more of a bookworm when actors conveyed the bookworm (BW) impression than when actors conveyed the occasionally enjoys a good book (OB) impression (BW = 5.01 (SD = 0.82), OB = 4.53 (SD = 1.21); t(120) = 2.49, p = .01, r = .22). Therefore, actors appeared to convey sufficiently different levels of each impression based on the condition they were assigned (i.e., the impressions experimenters instructed them to convey).

I next tested the hypothesized links of the IM Model of Health in the multiple audience problem.

# Hypothesis A. Actors Will Be More Successful in the Multiple Audience Problem When They Are Familiar with the Audiences Than When They Are Unfamiliar with the Audiences

To begin examining the ability-related situational variables, I performed an independent samples t-test with audience familiarity (familiar vs. unfamiliar) as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV. Results suggested people had similar levels of success regardless of how familiar they were with the audiences (Familiar = -.65 (SD = 0.73), Unfamiliar = -.61 (SD = 1.09); t(120) = .24, p = .81, r = .02), therefore failing to support Hypothesis A.

# Hypothesis B. Actors Will Be More Successful in the Multiple Audience Problem When the Desired Impressions Are Similar Than When the Desired Impressions Are Discrepant

To examine the effect of impression discrepancy on success, I next performed an independent samples t-test with impression discrepancy (similar vs. discrepant) as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV. Results supported Hypothesis B—people were more successful when conveying similar impressions than when conveying

discrepant impressions (Similar = -.34 (SD = 0.87), Discrepant = -.98 (SD = 0.81); t(120) = 4.18, p < .01, r = .36).

# Hypothesis C. The Higher the Actors Are in the Ability-Related Personality Traits of Extraversion and Self-Monitoring, the More Successful They Will Be in the Multiple Audience Problem

To examine the direct effects of the ability-related traits of extraversion and self-monitoring on self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem, I performed two simple regressions (one with extraversion as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV and one with self-monitoring as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV). Results suggested neither extraversion ( $\beta$  = .08, p = .41) nor self-monitoring ( $\beta$  = .05, p = .61) significantly predicted success. Therefore, the data do not support Hypothesis C.

## Hypothesis D. The Lower the Actors Are in the Ability-Related Trait of Social Anxiety, the More Successful They Will Be in the Multiple Audience Problem

The final test of ability-related personality traits examined the effect of social anxiety on self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem. I performed a simple regression with social anxiety as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV. Although I hypothesized a negative relationship between social anxiety and success, no significant effect emerged ( $\beta$  = -.01, p = .90). In addition, I performed two ANOVAs: 1) one with social anxiety and audience familiarity as the IVs and self-presentational success as the DV, and 2) one with social anxiety and impression discrepancy as the IVs and self-presentational success as the DV. Results suggested the interactions between social anxiety and audience familiarity (F(1, 118) = .46, p = .50,  $\eta^2$  < .01) and between social anxiety and impression discrepancy were also

nonsignificant (F(1, 118) = .21, p = .65,  $\eta^2$  < .01). Therefore, the data also do not support Hypothesis D.

## Hypothesis E. The Higher the Actors Are in Motivation-Related Personality Traits, the More Successful They Will Be in the Multiple Audience Problem

To examine the direct effects of the motivation-related personality traits on self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem, I performed additional simple regressions with need for consistency (NFC) as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV, with need to belong (NTB) as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV, and with public self-consciousness (PSC) as the IV and self-presentational success as the DV. Results suggested no motivation-related trait significantly predicted success (NFC:  $\beta$  = -.05, p = .60; NTB:  $\beta$  = .01, p = .88; PSC:  $\beta$  = .05, p = .59). In addition, an ANOVA with need for consistency and audience familiarity as the IVs and self-presentational success as the DV resulted in a nonsignificant interaction between need for consistency and audience familiarity (F(1, 118) < .01, p = .95,  $\eta$ <sup>2</sup> < .01). Similar to Hypotheses A, C, and D, the data do not support Hypothesis E.

### **Exploratory Analyses**

To explore the interactions among the proposed ability and motivational factors, I next performed an ANOVA with extraversion, need for consistency, need to belong, public self-consciousness, self-monitoring, social anxiety, audience familiarity, impression discrepancy, and the interactions between both ability-related situational variables and all ability and motivation-related personality traits as the IVs and self-presentational success as the DV. A significant Audience Familiarity × Impression Discrepancy interaction emerged (F(1, 94) = 4.16, p = .04,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). Follow-up t-tests revealed participants were more successful when conveying similar impressions than

when conveying discrepant impressions across both familiarity conditions (see Figure 3-1). However, this effect was smaller in the familiar audiences situation (Similar = -.44 (SD = 0.69), Discrepant = -.85 (SD = 0.71); t(67) = 2.47, p = .02, r = .28) than in the unfamiliar audiences situation (Similar = -.23 (SD = 1.03), Discrepant = -1.18 (SD = 0.93); t(51) = 3.42, p < .01, r = .44).

A marginally significant Audience Familiarity × Impression Discrepancy × Social Anxiety interaction also emerged (F(1, 94) = 3.22, p = .08,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ). Although follow-up regressions demonstrated differing effects for social anxiety within each condition, none of these effects was significant. The pattern of results suggested that the higher the actors were in social anxiety, the less success they had when conveying discrepant impressions to unfamiliar audiences ( $\beta = -.29$ , p = .20). However, social anxiety did not predict success in the other conditions (all ps > .54).

## Hypothesis F. The More Successful the Actors Are in the Multiple Audience Problem, the More Positive Affect They Will Experience

To examine the effect of self-presentational success on positive affect, I conducted a simple regression with success as the IV and positive affect as the DV. A significant effect of success on positive affect emerged. However, contrary to Hypothesis F, the more success participants had in the multiple audience problem, the less positive affect they experienced ( $\beta$  = -.20, p = .02).

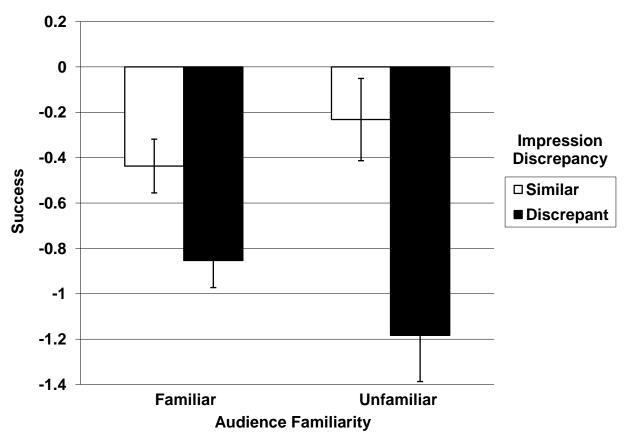


Figure 3-1. Interaction of impression discrepancy and audience familiarity on self-presentational success.

### CHAPTER 4 DISCUSSION

The link between self-presentational success and psychological well-being is important, yet understudied. This examination began with an inspection of the relationship between various ability- and motivation-related factors and selfpresentational success. Although I predicted that personality traits related to ability and motivation would predict self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem (i.e., conveying different desired impressions to different intended audiences), none of these traits significantly predicted self-presentational success. There are at least three possible causes of these nonsignificant relationships: 1) actors' personality does not predict success in the multiple audience problem, 2) personality traits other than those measured in the current research predict success in the multiple audience problem, or 3) a contrived lab setting does not allow personality traits to exert effects on selfpresentational success in the multiple audience problem. Past research also found no relationship between actor's personality and self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem (Nichols & Cottrell, 2010), yet only examined a subset of the traits I measured in the current research. Future research will need to examine additional traits and interactions outside of the lab to determine if other aspects of people's personality affect their self-presentational success.

I also hypothesized ability-related situational variables (i.e., the familiarity of the audiences and the discrepancy of the impressions) would predict self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem. Although the familiarity of the audiences did not, on its own, significantly affect how successful participants were, the discrepancy of the impressions did affect self-presentational success in the multiple audience

problem—participants were more successful when conveying similar impressions than when conveying discrepant impressions. In addition, the familiarity of the audiences and discrepancy of the impressions interacted to predict success. Participants were more successful, in both familiarity conditions, when conveying similar impressions than when conveying discrepant impressions, yet this effect was smaller with familiar audiences than with unfamiliar audiences. When actors conveyed impressions to familiar audiences, they were able to use information from the previous interactions to offset some of the difficulty of conveying discrepant impressions; actors facing unfamiliar audiences did not have this luxury.

More interestingly, situational and personality factors interacted to predict success in the multiple audience problem. When participants conveyed discrepant impressions to unfamiliar audiences, higher actor social anxiety predicted less success; social anxiety did not predict success in the other conditions. As the most difficult of the four situations, attempting to convey discrepant impressions to unfamiliar audiences may have increased social anxiety among highly socially anxious participants more than any other interaction (Duronto et al., 2005). This increased social anxiety most likely prevented these participants from being successful. However, these follow-up analyses must be interpreted with caution due to a lack of statistical power and significance.

The most important relationship within the model proposes self-presentational success affects actor's positive affect. Contrary to past research (Lyubomirsky et al., 2005) and my expectation that greater success predicts greater positive affect, greater success in the multiple audience problem predicted less positive affect. One explanation for this finding stems from the amount of effort required in this situation. To be

successful in the multiple audience problem, participants must expend many cognitive resources because success in this situation requires actors to simultaneously monitor and respond to verbal and nonverbal cues from two people. Due to this decrease in cognitive resources, successful actors in the multiple audience problem may feel exhausted and less happy. They may also be less able to regulate their responses to positive affect items (Baumeister, 2002). Allowing these negative effects to wear off before measuring positive affect may instead result in increased positive affect after success. Another possibility pertains to the duplicitous nature of the multiple audience problem. Successful actors may have felt bad about deceiving both audiences—the more able they were to deceive (i.e., the more successful they were), the worse they felt. However, one of the items within the PANAS assessed actors' guilt, and success did not significantly predict guilt after the multiple audience problem ( $\beta = .15$ , p = .10).

The IM Model of Health correctly predicted the path from ability and motivational factors to positive affect in the multiple audience problem (i.e., through self-presentational success). However, only ability-related factors (i.e., audience familiarity, impression discrepancy, social anxiety) predicted self-presentational success. In addition, while self-presentational success in the multiple audience problem predicted positive affect, this effect was not in the predicted direction. In all, the data provided some support for two of the three proposed paths when testing the model in the multiple audience problem. The data supported the proposed ability to success link, while results suggested a negative, rather than the originally proposed positive, relationship between success and positive affect. These results suggest possible implications for future health interventions, as discussed next.

### **Implications**

The current research demonstrates that success in the multiple audience problem influences positive affect. Because a large body of literature suggests that positive affect ultimately affects people's health (Pressman & Cohen, 2005), the current research provides additional considerations for future health intervention research. For example, decreased positive affect after social interactions may result in a variety of maladaptive behaviors (e.g., smoking, drinking, overeating). If true, interventions should focus on training people to avoid (or possibly be unsuccessful in) the multiple audience problem or finding ways to break the link from success to positive affect.

The current research also highlights the importance of considering self-presentational factors in health interventions. In addition to considering personality (Friedman 1990; 1991), the current research suggests situational factors (e.g., audience familiarity and impression discrepancy) also deserve attention. Therefore, researchers and practitioners must consider what self-presentational factors (both personality and situational) make people more likely to suffer from decreased positive affect. Future interventions aimed at increasing positive affect can use this information to design interventions targeted at breaking the harmful links from these factors to success and may be able to reduce people's likelihood of decreased positive affect.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Although this research provides a valid test of the various links of the IM Model of Health, one of the biggest limitations was the size of the sample. Due to this relatively small sample size, the interactive relationships between ability- and motivation-related variables may have been undetectable. Future research will want to reexamine these relationships with a larger sample.

Future research should also consider additional situational and personality factors to examine their relationship to self-presentational success. Past research suggests various verbal (Pontari & Schlenker, 2000) and nonverbal cues (Depaulo, 1992) often affect people's self-presentational success, and many of these may apply to the multiple audience problem.

One final consideration for future research pertains to the unexpected finding that success in the multiple audience problem leads to less positive affect. If my conjecture is correct, allowing more time to elapse before measuring positive affect will produce the opposite effect. However, people may not rebound from this resource depletion and may never enjoy the benefits of success. Future research will want to consider the various predictors of positive affect (Carver, & Scheier, 1990) to determine if the ultimate effect of success in these situations is lowered positive affect.

#### Conclusion

Researchers have not adequately studied the effects of social interactions on indicators of people's health. Therefore, the current research examined how self-presentational success resulting from these situations (specifically in the multiple audience problem) affects people's emotions. Understanding what factors affect people's self-presentational success in social interactions and how self-presentational success affects people's emotions will allow researchers to identify people and situations especially susceptible to the negative health consequences associated with low positive affect. The next step is to find ways to weaken this relationship by creating interventions to alleviate the negative effects of these self-presentational factors.

# APPENDIX A SELF-IMPRESSION QUESTIONS

How would you rate yourself along the following traits?

Serious	i					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly D	Describes Me
Outgoin	ng					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly D	Describes Me
Bookish	1					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly D	Describes Me
Sociabl	е					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Иe			Perfectly D	Describes Me
How wo	ould you descr	ibe your attitu	udes about the	e following?		
Attendir	ng parties					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Pri	ority				ŀ	High Priority

Attending co	urse lectures							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Low Priority					High	n Priority		
Schoolwork	Schoolwork versus social life							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

Social Life Most Important

Schoolwork Most Important

# APPENDIX B SELF-LIKABILITY QUESTIONS

How Agreeable would you rate yourself? Extremely Not At All How Pleasant would you rate yourself? Extremely Not At All How Likeable would you rate yourself? Extremely Not At All How Respectful would you rate yourself? 

Not At All

Extremely

### APPENDIX C SELF-AUTHENICITY QUESTIONS

How authentic would you rate yourself? Not At All Extremely How similar to your normal behavior do you normally act? Not At All Extremely

### APPENDIX D STATE-TRAIT ANXIETY INVENTORY

Using the following scale, please rate how each of the following describes how you feel right now, at this moment.

right now, at this moment.					
1 = Not At All					
2 = Somewhat					
3 = Moderately So					
4 = Very Much So					
1. I feel calm					
2. I feel secure					
3. I feel tense					
4. I feel strained					
5. I feel at ease					
6. I feel upset					
7. I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes					
8. I feel satisfied					
9. I feel frightened					
10. I feel comfortable					
11. I feel self-confident					
12. I feel nervous					
13. I feel jittery					
14. I feel indecisive					
15. I feel relaxed					

16. I feel content

- 17. I feel worried
- 18. I feel confused
- 19. I feel steady
- 20. I feel pleasant

### APPENDIX E ACTOR CONFIDENCE QUESTIONS

How did your discussion partner rate you along the following traits?

Serious						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly De	escribes Me
Outgoin	ng					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly De	escribes Me
Bookish	1					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly De	escribes Me
Sociabl	e					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	All Describes I	Me			Perfectly De	escribes Me
How did	d your interact	ion partner ra	ate your attitud	es about the	following?	
Attendir	ng parties					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Pri	ority				ŀ	High Priority
Attendir	na course lect	ures				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Prior	rity				ŀ	High Priority
Schoolwo	ork versus s	social life				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Schoolwo	ork Most Im	portant			Social L	ife Most
Importan	t					
How succ	cessful do y	ou think you w	vere at conve	ying the desire	ed impression(	(s)?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All	I				E	Extremely

### APPENDIX F ACTOR LIKABILITY QUESTIONS

How Agreeable will your discussion partner rate you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not At All						Extremely	
How Plea	sant will yo	ur discussion p	oartner rate yo	ou?			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not At All						Extremely	
How Like	able will yo	ur discussion p	oartner rate yo	ou?			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not At All						Extremely	
How Res	How Respectful will your discussion partner rate you?						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not At All						Extremely	

### APPENDIX G ACTOR MOTIVATION/ABILITY QUESTIONS

Single Audience Situations:

How Motiv	ated were	you to convey	the party ani	mal (bookwor	m) impressio	n?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely
How Able v	were you t	o convey the	party animal (l	oookworm) im	pression?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely
How Impor	tant was i	t for you to co	nvey the party	animal (book	worm) impre	ssion?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely
How Hard	did you try	to convey the	e party animal	(bookworm) i	mpression?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely
Multiple Au	ıdience Si	tuations:				
How Motiv	ated were	you to convey	the party ani	mal AND bool	kworm impre	ssions?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely

HOW ADIE	were you	to convey the p	arty ariimai <i>F</i>	AND DOOKWOLL	ii iiipressions	) <b>(</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All					E	Extremely
How Important was it for you to convey the party animal AND bookworm impressions?						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All						Extremely
How Hard	d did you tr	y to convey the	party animal	AND bookwo	orm impression	ns?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All					E	Extremely

# APPENDIX H ACTOR AUTHENTICITY QUESTIONS

How authentic did you act in the discussion? Extremely Not At All How similar to your normal behavior did you act in the discussion? Not At All Extremely

# APPENDIX I SITUATION DIFFICULTY QUESTIONS

Single Impression Situations:

Multiple Impression Situations:

•						
How difficult	t was it to con	vey the party	animal (bookv	vorm) impress	sion?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Difficult						Difficult
How manag	eable was it to	o convey the	party animal (	bookworm) im	pression	?
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Manageable	9					Manageable
How challer	nging was it to 2	convey the p	arty animal (b	ookworm) imp 5	oression?	7
Not at all						Extremely
Challenging						Challenging
How simple was it to convey the party animal (bookworm) impression?						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Simple						Simple

How difficult was it to convey the party animal AND bookworm impressions?							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Difficult						Difficult	
How manage	eable was it to	convey the p	arty animal A	ND bookworm	n impress	ions?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Manageable					N	Manageable	
How challen	ging was it to	convey the pa	arty animal AN	ID bookworm	impression	ons?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Challenging						Challenging	
How simple	How simple was it to convey the party animal AND bookworm impressions?						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Simple						Simple	

## APPENDIX J THE PANAS

This scale consists of a number of words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate to what extent you feel this way right now, that is, at the present moment. Use the following scale to record your answers.

- 1 = Very Slightly
- 2 = A little
- 3 = Moderately
- 4 = Quite a bit
- 5 = Extremely
- 1. interested
- 2. distressed
- 3. excited
- 4. upset
- 5. strong
- 6. guilty
- 7. scared
- 8. hostile
- 9. enthusiastic
- 10. proud
- 11. irritable
- 12. alert
- 13. ashamed

- 14. inspired
- 15. nervous
- 16. determined
- 17. attentive
- 18. jittery
- 19. active
- 20. afraid

### APPENDIX K AUDIENCE IMPRESSION QUESTIONS

How would you rate your discussion partner along the following traits?

Serious						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All D	escribes Him/l	Her			Perfectly Describes	Him/Her
Outgoing						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All D	escribes Him/l	Her			Perfectly Describes	Him/Her
Bookish						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All D	escribes Him/l	Her			Perfectly Describes	Him/Her
Sociable						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All D	escribes Him/l	Her			Perfectly Describes	Him/Her
How would	you describe y	our interactio	n partner's att	itude	s about the following?	•
Attending pa	arties					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Priority					High	Priority

Attending co	urse lectures					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Priority					Hig	h Priority
Schoolwork	versus social	life				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Social Life Most Important

Schoolwork Most Important

### APPENDIX L AUDIENCE LIKABILITY QUESTIONS

How Agreeable would you rate your discussion partner? Extremely Not At All How Pleasant would you rate your discussion partner? Extremely Not At All How Likeable would you rate your discussion partner? Extremely Not At All How Respectful would you rate your discussion partner? Not At All

Extremely

# APPENDIX M AUDIENCE AUTHENTICITY QUESTIONS

How authe	entic wou	ld you rate your	discussion pa	artner?		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All					E	Extremely
How simila	ar to his/h	er normal beha	vior did your	discussion par	tner act durin	g the
discussion	1?					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All					[	Extremely

# APPENDIX N IMPRESSION COMPATIBILITY QUESTIONS

How different are these impressions? 5 6 7 2 3 1 4 Extremely Not at all Different Different How compatible are these impressions? 7 2 3 1 4 5 6 Extremely Not at all Compatible Compatible How possible is it for someone to be both a party animal and a bookworm? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely Not at all Possible Possible

### APPENDIX O DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS

Please answer the following questions by circling the option that best fits how you would describe yourself. All answers will be kept <u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>.

Age:	_					
Gender:	Male	Female				
Which of the	e following et	hnic group(s) do yo	u consider yo	ourself a n	nembei	of?
White	e/Caucasian					
Blac	k/African Am	erican				
Hisp	anic/Latino					
Asia	n/South Paci	fic Islander				
Arab	/Middle East	ern				
Nativ	ve American					
Birad	cial/Multiethn	ic				
Othe	er:					
Classificatio	n: Freshm	an Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Gradi	uate
What part o	f the country	have you lived mos	t of your life?	? West		Midwest
				South	neast	Northeast

## APPENDIX P PERSONALITY MEASURES

#### Extraversion

Instructions: Please answer the following questions regarding yourself with the following scale.

- 1 = Disagree strongly
- 2 = Disagree somewhat
- 3 = Disagree a little
- 4 = Neutral
- 5 = Agree a little
- 6 = Agree somewhat
- 7 = Agree strongly
- 1. I am the life of the party.
- 2. I feel comfortable around people.
- 3. I start conversations.
- 4. I talk to a lot of different people at parties.
- 5. I don't mind being the center of attention.
- 6. I don't talk a lot.
- 7. I keep in the background.
- 8. I have little to say.
- 9. I don't like to draw attention to myself.
- 10. I am quiet around strangers.

#### Preference for Consistency Scale

Instructions: For each of the statements below, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Somewhat disagree
- 4 = Slightly disagree
- 5 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 6 = Slightly agree
- 7 = Somewhat agree
- 8 = Agree
- 9 = Strongly agree
- 1. I prefer to be around people whose reactions I can anticipate.
- 2. It is important to me that my actions are consistent with my beliefs.
- 3. Even if my attitudes and actions seemed consistent with one another to me, it would bother me if they did not seem consistent in the eyes of others.
- 4. It is important to me that people who know me can predict what I will do.
- 5. I want to be described by others as a stable, predictable person.
- 6. Admirable people are consistent and predictable.
- 7. The appearance of consistency is an important part of the image I present to the world.
- 8. It bothers me when someone I depend upon is unpredictable.
- 9. I don't like to appear as if I am inconsistent.

- 10. I get uncomfortable when I find my behavior contradicts my beliefs.
- 11. An important requirement for any friend of mine is personal consistency.
- 12. I typically prefer to do things the same way.
- 13. I dislike people who are constantly changing their opinions.
- 14. I want my close friends to be predictable.
- 15. It is important to me that others view me as a stable person.
- 16. I make an effort to appear consistent to others.
- 17. I'm uncomfortable holding two beliefs that are inconsistent.
- 18. It doesn't bother me much if my actions are inconsistent.

### Need to Belong Scale

Instructions: For each of the statements below, indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement by writing a number in the space beside the question using the scale below:

1 =	Strongly disagree
2 =	Moderately disagree
3 =	Neither agree nor disagree
4 =	Moderately agree
5 =	Strongly agree
1. If other	people don't seem to accept me, I don't let it bother me.
2. I try ha	rd not to do things that will make other people avoid or reject me.
3. I seldoi	m worry about whether other people care about me.
4. I need	to feel that there are people I can turn to in times of need.
5. I want o	other people to accept me.
6. I do no	t like being alone.
7. Being a	apart from my friends for long periods of time does not bother me.
8. I have	a strong need to belong.
9. It bothe	ers me a great deal when I am not included in other people's plans.
10 My fe	elings are easily hurt when I feel that others do not accept me

#### Public Self-Consciousness

Instructions: Indicate how characteristic each of the following statements is of you.

- 0 = Extremely uncharacteristic
- 1 = Somewhat uncharacteristic
- 2 = Neither uncharacteristic nor characteristic
- 3 = Somewhat characteristic
- 4 = Extremely characteristic
- 1. I'm concerned about my style of doing things.
- 2. I'm concerned about the way I present myself.
- 3. I'm self-conscious about the way I look.
- 4. I usually worry about making a good impression.
- 5. One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror.
- 6. I'm concerned about what other people think of me.
- 7. I'm usually aware of my appearance.

#### Self-Monitoring

Instructions: The statements below concern your personal reactions to a number of different situations. No two statements are exactly alike, so consider each statement carefully before answering. If a statement is true or mostly true as applied to you, choose true. If a statement is false or not usually true as applied to you, choose false.

0 = False

1 = True

- 1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.
- 2. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.
- 3. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.
- 4. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.
- 5. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.
- 6. I would probably make a good actor.
- 7. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.
- 8. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.
- 9. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.
- 10. I'm not always the person I appear to be.
- 11. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) to please someone or win their favor.
- 12. I have considered being an entertainer.
- I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.

- 14. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.
- 15. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.
- 16. I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should.
- 17. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).
- 18. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.

#### Interaction Anxiousness Scale

Instructions: Indicate how characteristic each of the following statements is of you.

- 1 = Not at all characteristic of me.
- 2 = Slightly characteristic of me.
- 3 = Moderately characteristic of me.
- 4 = Very characteristic of me.
- 5 = Extremely characteristic of me
- 1. I often feel nervous even in casual get-togethers.
- 2. I usually feel comfortable when I'm in a group of people I don't know.
- 3. I am usually at ease when speaking to a member of the other sex.
- 4. I get nervous when I must talk to a teacher or a boss.
- 5. Parties often make me feel anxious and uncomfortable.
- 6. I am probably less shy in social interactions than most people.
- 7. I sometimes feel tense when talking to people of my own sex if I don't know them very well.
- 8. I would be nervous if I was being interviewed for a job.
- 9. I wish I had more confidence in social situations.
- 10. I seldom feel anxious in social situations.
- 11. In general, I am a shy person.
- 12. I often feel nervous when talking to an attractive member of the opposite sex.
- 13. I often feel nervous when calling someone I don't know very well on the telephone.
- 14. I get nervous when I speak to someone in a position of authority.
- 15. I usually feel relaxed around other people, even people

## APPENDIX Q PRETESTING SCENARIO

We're interested in your impressions of social situations. You will now read a short description of one situation. We'd like you to take a few minutes to imagine yourself in this situation. Try to imagine yourself in this situation as vividly as possible. After imagining yourself in the situation, you will answer a few questions.

Imagine you are new to UF and enrolled in General Psychology. One of the requirements of the course is to do a small group presentation. Your instructor assigns you to a group with two other students, Elizabeth and Jen. You don't know either of them, and they also don't know each other. You all decide to meet at the library to make progress on your presentation. You do not have many friends here at UF, so you would very much like to make friends with both of them. You are the first to show up to the library. Minutes later, Jen and then Elizabeth show up. After a few minutes of talking, it is quite obvious that Elizabeth and Jen are very different from each other. Elizabeth is someone who likes to only sometimes party and have a good time and only occasionally lives life for the moment. However, Jen is someone who likes to only sometimes study and keep her nose to the grindstone and only occasionally thinks about and prepares for the future. From your Psychology course, you have learned that people tend to favor people who are more similar to them. Therefore, to make friends with each of them, you will want to act similar to each of them. To do this, you will have to convey to Elizabeth that you

are someone who sometimes likes to have fun while you convey to Jen that you are someone who occasionally enjoys a good book.

So, you have two impressions that you would now like to convey in this situation. You want to appear as someone who sometimes likes to have fun to Elizabeth, but you also want to appear as someone who occasionally enjoys a good book to Jen. Please take a few minutes now to imagine how you would behave in this situation, and how you would try to convey both of these impressions at the same time. Try to imagine yourself in this situation as clearly and vividly as possible. Think about what kinds of things you would do and how you would behave around both of these people to convey both of these impressions at the same time.

# APPENDIX R PRETESTING QUESTIONS

Keeping in mind the different impressions that you are trying to convey in the situation, please answer the following questions regarding the situation.

How difficul	t is it to conve	y both of thes	e impressions	s at the same	time?		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Difficult						Difficult	
How manag	jeable is it to d	convey both o	f these impres	ssions at the s	ame time	?	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Manageable	е					Manageable	
How challer	nging is it to co	onvey both of	these impress	sions at the sa	ame time?		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Challenging	l					Challenging	
How simple	How simple is it to convey both of these impressions at the same time?						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Not at all						Extremely	
Simple						Simple	

How differ	ent are the	ese impression	s?			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Different						Different
Imagine yo	ou are cor	nversing with El	izabeth (Jen)	. Answer the	following bas	ed on how
you would	want to a	ppear to Elizab	eth (Jen).			
How would	d you rate	yourself along	the following	traits?		
Serious						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All I	Describes	s Me			Perfectly	Describes Me
Outgoing						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All I	Describes	s Me			Perfectly	Describes Me
Bookish						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At All I	Describes	s Me			Perfectly	Describes Me
Sociable						

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not At A	II Describes	Me			Perfectly I	Describes Me
How wo	uld you desc	cribe your attitu	udes about the	following?		
Attendin	g parties					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Pric	ority					High Priority
Attendin	g course lec	tures				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Low Pric	ority					High Priority
Schoolw	ork versus s	social life				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Schoolw	ork Most Im	portant		Ş	Social Life Mo	ost Important

#### LIST OF REFERENCES

- Bandura, A. (1986). The explanatory and predictive scope of self-efficacy theory. Journal of Clinical and Social Psychology, 4, 359–373.
- Baumeister, R. F. (2002). Ego depletion and self-control failure: An energy model of the self's executive function. *Self and Identity*, 1(2), 129–136.
- Baumeister, R. F. & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *117*(3), 497–529.
- Bond, C. F., Jr., Thomas, B. J., & Paulson, R. M. (2004). Maintaining lies: The multiple-audience problem. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *40*, 29–40.
- Buss, A. H. (1980). Self-consciousness and social anxiety. San Francisco, CA: Freeman.
- Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1990). Origins and functions of positive and negative affect: A control-process view. *Psychological Review*, *97*(1), 19–35.
- Cialdini, R. B., Trost, M. R., & Newsom, J. T. (1995). Preference for consistency: The development of a valid measure and the discovery of surprising behavioral implications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(2), 318–328.
- Cohen, S., Doyle, W. J., Turner, R. B., Alper, C. M., & Skoner, D. P. (2003). Emotional style and susceptibility to the common cold. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *65*, 652–657.
- Costa, P. T., Jr. & McCrae, R. R. (1992). Revised NEO Personality Inventory (NEO-PI-R) and NEO Five-Factor Inventory (NEO-FFI) manual. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Cramer, K. M. (2000). Comparing the relative fit of various factor models of the Self-Consciousness Scale in two independent samples. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 75(2), 295–307.
- Danner, D. D., Snowdon, D. A., & Friesen, W. V. (2001). Positive emotions in early life and longevity: Findings from the nun study. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 80, 804–813.
- DePaulo, B. M. (1992). Nonverbal behavior and self-presentation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111(2), 203–243.
- Duronto, P. M., Nishida, T, & Nakayama, S. (2005). Uncertainty, anxiety, and avoidance in communication with strangers. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29(5), 549–560.

- Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M., (2006). Social identity and self-presentation at work: How attempts to hide a stigmatised identity affect emotional well-being, social inclusion and performance. *Netherlands Journal of Psychology*, 62(1), 51–57.
- Fenigstein, A., Scheier, M. F., & Buss, A. H. (1975). Public and private self-consciousness: Assessment and theory. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *43*(4), 522–527.
- Fleming, J. H. (1994). *Multiple audience problems, tactical communication, and social-interaction: A relational-regulation perspective*. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 26, pp. 215–292). New York: Academic Press.
- Fleming, J. H. & Darley, J. M. (1991). Mixed messages: The multiple audience problem and strategic communication. *Social Cognition*, *9*, 25–46.
- Fleming, J. H., Darley, J. M., Hilton, J. L., & Kojetin, B. A. (1990). The multiple audience problem: A strategic communication perspective on social perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*, 593–609.
- Friedman, H. S. (1991). Self-healing personality: Why some people achieve health and others succumb to illness. New York: Henry Holt.
- Friedman, H. S. (1990). (Ed.) Personality and disease. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons.
- Gergen, K. J. (1968). Personal consistency and the presentation of self. In C. Gordon & K. J. Gergen (Eds.), *The self in social interaction* (Vol. 1, pp. 299–308). New York: Wiley.
- Goldberg, L. R. (1992). The development of markers for the Big-Five factor structure. *Psychological Assessment, 4*, 26–42.
- Hatch, J. A. (1987). Impression management in kindergarten classrooms: An analysis of children's face-work in peer interactions. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 18(2), 100–115.
- Jackson, J. L. (1999). Psychometric considerations in self-monitoring assessment. *Psychological Assessment*, *11*(4), 439–447.
- Koivumaa-Honkanen, H., Honkanen, R., Viinamaeki, H., Heikkilae, K., Kaprio, J., & Koskenvuo, M. (2001). Life satisfaction and suicide: A 20-year follow-up study. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *158*, 433–439.
- Kvaal, S. A., & Patodia, S. (2000). Relations among positive, and negative affect, and somatic symptoms in a medically ill patient sample. *Psychological Reports*, 87, 227–233.

- Leary, M. R. (1983). Social anxiousness: The construct and its measurement. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *47*(1), 66–75.
- Leary, M. R. (1995). Self-presentation: Impression management and interpersonal behavior. Madison, WI: Brown & Benchmark.
- Leary, M. R., Kelly, K. M., Cottrell, C. A., & Schreindorfer, L. S. (2010). *Individual differences in the need to belong: Mapping the nomological network*. Unpublished manuscript, Duke University.
- Leary, M. R. & Kowalski, R. M. (1997) Social Anxiety. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Leary, M. R. & Kowalski, R. M. (1993). The Interaction Anxiousness Scale: Construct and criterion-related validity. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, *61*(1), 136–146.
- Leary, M. R., Tchividjian, L. R., & Kraxberger, B. E. (1994). Self-presentation can be hazardous to your health: Impression management and health risk. *Health Psychology*, *13*, 461–470.
- Lyubomirsky, S., King, L., & Diener, E. (2005). The Benefits of Frequent Positive Affect: Does Happiness Lead to Success? *Psychological Bulletin*, *131*(6), 803–855.
- Middleton, R. A., & Byrd, E. K. (1996). Psychosocial factors and hospital readmission status of older persons with cardiovascular disease. *Journal of Applied Rehabilitation Counseling*, 27, 3–10.
- Murray, G., Rawlings, D., Allen, N. B., & Trinder, J. (2003). NEO Five-Factor Inventory Scores: Psychometric Properties in a Community Sample. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development, 36*(3), 140–149.
- Nichols, A. L., & Cottrell, C. A. (2010). Underconfidence in the Multiple Audience Problem: Predicting Success and Confidence. Unpublished manuscript.
- Nichols, A. L., Cottrell, C. A., Richards, D. A. R., & Cook, C. L. (2010). A survey of people in the multiple audience problem. Unpublished data.
- Ostir, G. V., Markides, K. S., Peek, M. K., & Goodwin, J. S. (2001). The association between emotional well-being and the incidence of stroke in older adults. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, *63*, 210–215.
- Park, L. E., Crocker, J., & Kiefer, A. K. (2007). Contingencies of self-worth, academic failure, and goal pursuit. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*(11), 1503–1517.

- Pontari, B. A., & Schlenker, B. R. (2000). The Influence of Cognitive Load on Self-Presentation: Can Cognitive Busyness Help as Well as Harm Social Performance? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(6), 1092–1108.
- Pressman, S. D., & Cohen, S. (2005). Does Positive Affect Influence Health? *Psychological Bulletin*, 131(6), 925–971.
- Schlenker, B. R. (1980). *Impression management: The self-concept, social identity, and interpersonal relations*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole.
- Schlenker, B. R., & Britt, T. W. (1999). Beneficial impression management: Strategically controlling information to help friends. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *76*(4), 559–573.
- Schlenker, B. R., & Leary, M. R. (1982). Social Anxiety and Self-Presentation: A Conceptualization and Model. *Psychological Bulletin*, *92*(3), 641–669.
- Snyder, M. (1974). Self-monitoring of expressive behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *30*(4), 526–537.
- Snyder, M. & Gangestad, S. (1986). On the nature of self-monitoring: Matters of assessment, matters of validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*(1), 125–139.
- Van Boven, L., Kruger, J., Savitsky, K., & Gilovich, T. (2000). When social worlds collide: Overconfidence in the multiple audience dilemma. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 620–629.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and Validation of Brief Measures of Positive and Negative Affect: The PANAS Scales. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*(6), 1063–1070
- Wiese, B. S., & Freund, A. M. (2005). Goal progress makes one happy, or does it? Longitudinal findings from the work domain. *Journal of Occupational & Organizational Psychology*, 78, 287–304.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Austin Lee Nichols was born in 1984, in Palm Springs, California. An only child, he grew up mostly in New Jersey, where his mother and he moved after his parents divorced. When he was 12 years old, the two of them moved to Tennessee because of his mother's work. He graduated from Tullahoma High School in Tullahoma, TN in 2002.

He next moved to Tallahassee to attend Florida State University, where he earned his Bachelor of Science in psychology, graduating cum laude and completing an honors thesis. Upon graduation, Austin moved to Gainesville to attend the Social Psychology PhD Program at the University of Florida. He received his Master of Science in social psychology, Master of Science in Management, and Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Florida. Upon graduation, he accepted a Post Doctoral Associate position in the Warrington College of Business at the University of Florida. When the position concludes, he intends to pursue a faculty position in organizational behavior at a major research university.