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The Impact of Prior Information on Personality Judgment Accuracy

by

Jacob Ralph Gibson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Science

in the Department of Psychology

Idaho State University

Summer 2019

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To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of Jacob Ralph Gibson find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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RE: regarding study number IRB-FY2019-73: The impact of prior information on personality judgment accuracy

Dear Mr. Gibson:

I have reviewed your request for expedited approval of the new study listed above. This is to confirm that I have approved your application.

Notify the HSC of any adverse events. Serious, unexpected adverse events must be reported in writing within 10 business days.

You may conduct your study as described in your application effective immediately. The study is subject to renewal on or before October 10, 2019, unless closed before that date.

Please note that any changes to the study as approved must be promptly reported and approved. Some changes may be approved by expedited review; others require full board review. Contact Tom Bailey (208-282-2179; email: humsubj@isu.edu) if you have any questions or require further information.

Sincerely,

Ralph Baergen, PhD, MPH, CIP

Human Subjects Chair

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The Impact of Prior Information on Personality Judgment Accuracy

Thesis Abstract – Idaho State University (2019)

Most accuracy research relies on situations where judges have no information about a target before the initial personality judgment. In this study judges were given either true, false, or no information about a target prior to watching a recorded interview of the target and then making personality judgments. Giving judges true prior information led to greater distinctive accuracy, but not greater normativity, compared to a control group (no prior information); and giving false prior information led to less distinctive accuracy and normativity compared to a control group. When accuracy was broken down by trait, the true condition led to no better accuracy than the control condition for most traits, and the false condition led to decreases in both normativity and distinctive accuracy for most traits. These results highlight the importance of using reliable and accurate sources when trying to form accurate impressions of others.

Key Words: Psychology, Personality, Judgment, Accuracy, Social, Prior information

Literature Review

A large part of human life is based around social relationships. This makes it vital for individuals to represent themselves in a way that is advantageous to their ultimate goals.

Whether those goals are as simple as making friends or as large as landing a dream job, the path to success often starts with lasting positive first impressions and accurate personality judgments (Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2013; Sunnafrank & Ramirez, 2004). Sometimes those personality judgments begin at the moment of the first contact, but often they start even before the initial encounter. For example, people are often informed about the personality of another person by a mutual acquaintance who tells them about the individual. When looking to hire a new employee, employers often utilize formal applications or resumes before deciding who to interview, and information from the resume can influence personality perceptions that are then used to make hiring decisions, even if these personality perceptions are not correct (Cole, Feild, Giles, & Harris, 2009). In today's ever-connected world, the role of social media, cell phones, and online websites play a pivotal role in helping to form initial personality perceptions.

Researchers are still working to understand the accuracy of social media-based personality impressions, and these impressions are likely to influence personality perceptions made after meeting the person. These initial impressions form the foundation of others' judgments in ways that may be beneficial (i.e., an employer reads a resume and is impressed by it and so they approach the interview with enthusiasm) or detrimental (i.e., an employer reads a resume and is not impressed by it and so they approach the interview with skepticism). For this reason, it is imperative to understand the impact that prior information (information that is gained before the first encounter, whether via live or recorded means) may have on how accurately someone is perceived following the first encounter.

In 1946, Solomon Asch conducted a study that demonstrated the impact of first impressions (Asch, 1946). Participants were given a list of target words that they used to write brief descriptions of a person. Asch found that the first word on the list was particularly important in the personality impression that was formed. This simple study helped ignite a plethora of research on the primacy effect (e.g., Anderson, 1965; Anderson & Barrios, 1961; Berkowitz, 1960) which posits that in a list of words used to describe an individual, the initial words are more easily remembered, and they tend to skew the interpretation of the remaining words and of the overall impression that is formed. Asch and those that followed him showed the power that a simple word placed at the beginning of a word-list can have, and that this initial word can influence the final impression that is formed.

Similarly, information given early in an encounter with a new person, or even before an encounter, can have important life consequences. Unsurprisingly, the type of information in a resume impacts the likelihood of being invited for an interview (Thoms, McMasters, Roberts, & Dombkowski, 1999) and being hired (Chen, Huang, & Lee, 2011; Rasmussen, 1984). When a first impression is more accurate, it leads to greater liking and interaction; and if the first impression is positive, it strongly predicts both initial and long-term relationship development (Human et al., 2013). Following the general methods of Asch, in which lists of words are used to describe a person, impression formation researchers have examined the impact of primacy effects on personality judgments and found that the initial words on a list tended to inform the personality impression of a judge more than that of later words. They did this by creating lists of adjectives and having subjects rate each adjective on a scale for favorability. They then created various word lists so that the first three words were favorable and the last three were unfavorable, and vice versa. They also created word lists that either increased or decreased in

favorability. Participants would then rate fictitious individuals based on these lists of words. They found that the primacy effect was often significant, while the recency effect (relying on the last words in a list) was not (Anderson, 1965; Anderson & Barrios, 1961). Although this research implies that the first information that is learned about a person has important implications for the first impressions that are formed, outside of the laboratory environment people do not usually receive a simple word list to describe another individual. Most often, if there is any information received before an initial encounter, it comes in the form of a resume, website, social media profile, or verbal or written description of what a person is like. Based on the primacy effect, it is likely that people will rely heavily on this initial information and that this initial information will strongly impact the accuracy of the personality impression that is formed after observing the behavior of the same person.

The history of personality research and the Realistic Accuracy Model

Personality accuracy research existed in the early 1900's and for a time was a main area of research within psychology (Adams, 1927; Allport, 1937; Taft, 1955). Many of these researchers investigated the attributes that are indicative of a good judge of personality. Good judges of personality are those who consistently make accurate personality assessments of others. Adams (1927) found that good judges tended to be intelligent but also easily roused and sensitive. Allport (1937) and Taft (1955) added to the attributes identified by Adams and found artistic interest and social skills were also correlated with making accurate personality judgments. In 1955, Cronbach published a critique of the accuracy literature and identified some methodological flaws. His main criticism was that accuracy scores were made up of multiple components and that the current practice of studying accuracy did not account for these different parts (Cronbach, 1955). He suggested that accuracy scores should be separated into several

components, two of which were stereotype accuracy (how accurately someone is judged to be like the average person) and differential accuracy (how accurately someone is judged to be different from the average person). Although there were ways to address this issue, many researchers found them too complex and instead choose to alter their area of focus (Funder, 1987). This helped lead to an exodus from accuracy research and into methodologies that were less complex than what Cronbach was advocating, such as the study of errors and biases in judgment (Kahneman, Slovic, & Tversky, 1982; Nisbett & Ross, 1980). Years later, during the late 1980's, researchers began calling for the study of accuracy to return (Funder, 1980; Hastie & Rasinski, 1988), and since that time accuracy research has greatly expanded and addressed the critiques leveled by Cronbach.

One event that significantly helped expand accuracy research was Funder's creation of the Realistic Accuracy Model (Funder, 1995, 2012), which was based on Brunswik's lens model (Brunswik, 1956). According to the Realistic Accuracy Model (RAM), the process of making more accurate judgments can be divided into four distinct stages: two stages that describe what the target must do and two that describe what the judge must do. These four stages will be explained using the example of a conscientiousness student. According to RAM, in order for any level of personality judgment accuracy to be achieved, a target must first act in a way that is *relevant* to the trait being judged. For example, a conscientious student is regularly in the library instead of cramming for an exam the night before. Second, the trait cues need to be *available* to the judge, so the conscientious student in the library needs to be visible to others and clearly working on a paper and not playing a game. Third, the actions need to be *detected* by the judge. The judge needs to pay attention and see the student in the library working on the paper, otherwise it will be difficult for them to accurately perceive a cue even if it is relevant and

available. Lastly, the trait cues must be *utilized* correctly by the judge. For example, the conscientious student in the library needs to be seen as studious instead of reclusive. When a target acts in a trait-relevant way that is available to the judge, and when the judge detects the cues and utilizes them correctly, then accuracy is increased. If the process is frustrated at any point, then the judge will make less accurate personality judgments.

Within this framework, there are four moderators identified by Funder that impact the accuracy process. A considerable amount of research has been conducted on these moderators and evidence suggests that they each play an important part in the process of personality judgment and in how accurately a judge perceives a target. The first moderator is the *good target*, which refers to the fact that some people are more easily judged than others (Human & Biesanz, 2013). These individuals tend to have actions that are more relevant to their personality and therefore more personality cues are available for the utilization and detection of the judge. Further research has shown that good targets are also more psychologically adjusted (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b; Human & Biesanz, 2013), have higher social status (Hall, Rosip, LeBeau, Horgan, & Carter, 2006; Human & Biesanz, 2013) and are more socialized (Human & Biesanz, 2013). It is still not clear whether good targets have higher status and are better adjusted because they are good targets, or if they are good targets because of their status and adjustment: it is likely a reciprocal relationship.

Just as there are differences in the judgability of different people, there are differences in the judgability of different traits. Some traits are considered *good traits*, meaning that they are often more accurately judged than other traits. As mentioned previously, one key aspect of accuracy is the availability of cues relevant to a trait. This means that traits that have cues that are more easily available to others are often rated with greater accuracy. A classic example is

that of extraversion. It is an outwardly expressed trait and is therefore easier to assess than neuroticism because the cues of extroversion are more readily available (Funder & Dobroth, 1987). John and Robins (1993) found that inter-judge agreement was impacted by which trait was being judged, how observable the behaviors were, and how evaluative or socially desirable the trait was. Traits that were more observable had higher inter-judge agreement, while the more evaluative traits had lower inter-judge agreement (inter-judge agreement on evaluative traits was particularly low when the self was considered one of the judges).

Some traits are more accurately judged by others, while some traits are more accurately judged by the self. According to the self-other knowledge asymmetry (SOKA) model (Vazire, 2010), those traits that are less visible will be judged more accurately by the self than by others. Visible traits are more easily seen and therefore have more cues available for a judge to detect and utilize. Inversely, if a trait is not easily seen, then it is difficult for others to judge because not many relevant cues are available to use in making judgments. Adding to the findings of John and Robins, Vazire also showed that traits that are highly evaluative were more accurately judged by others than by the self. Traits that are highly evaluative or socially desirable cause targets to be biased about themselves in the socially desirable direction, whereas others tend to be more objective with these types of traits and are able to judge them with greater accuracy.

The third moderator of RAM is *good information*. Good information comes in two forms: quantity, or the amount of information; and quality, or the relevance of information to the trait being judged. More information is usually better because it gives the judges more cues with which to make judgments (Blackman & Funder, 1998; Letzring, Wells, & Funder, 2006), which has been termed the *acquaintanceship effect*. The acquaintanceship effect is based on the finding that self-other agreement of personality judgments increase as judges become more familiar with

a target (Funder & Colvin, 1988). Funder and Colvin asked participants to describe their personalities using a modified version of the California Q-Set (Bem & Funder, 1978; Block, 1978). They also had participants recruit two close acquaintances who described the participant's personality. After the acquaintances watched a short get-to-know-you video of another participant, whom they had never met, they judged their personality. They found that strangers were not as accurate at personality judgments of a target compared to the targets' acquaintances. More recently, it has been found that greater acquaintanceship may be correlated with a decrease in stereotype accuracy (how accurately someone is judged to be like the average person; Biesanz, West, & Millevoi, 2007). Research on stereotype accuracy has found that as people gain more individuating information about a target (get to know the unique aspects of them better) they tend to rely less heavily on stereotypes (or their idea of what is normative for a group) and more on the unique aspects of a target (Crawford et al., 2011; Jussim, Crawford, & Rubinstein, 2015; Krueger & Rothbart, 1988). Even though the evidence suggests that more information is positively related to accuracy, zero acquaintanceship research (meeting someone for the first time with no prior information regarding that individual) has shown a surprising amount of accuracy on good traits even when the interactions are only a few minutes (Ambady, Hallahan, & Rosenthal, 1995; Sheherezade, McDonald, Colman, & Letzring, 2018) or even shorter (Carney, Colvin, & Hall, 2007).

Information that is more indicative of the trait in question, or higher quality, also causes more accurate judgments. Particularly, information about thoughts and feelings tends to be higher quality information, compared to information about hobbies and activities (Andersen, 1984). This is likely because discussion of these inner thoughts and feelings provides cues that are more directly relevant to the traits being judged, compared to hobbies or activities. Not

surprisingly, when individuals display more personality-relevant (therefore higher quality) information, they tend to be more accurately perceived (Letzring et al., 2006); and when individuals talk about thoughts and feelings or about behaviors, they are judged with greater distinctive accuracy compared to those who engaged in behaviors (i.e., reading a poem, telling a story, playing a competitive game; Letzring & Human, 2014). Again, this is likely because a discussion of thoughts, feelings, or behaviors provides cues that are more directly relevant to traits than does engaging in behaviors.

Although it is always good to have high-quality information, what is high-quality information for one trait may not be high-quality for another trait. If the information is not relevant to the trait being assessed, it will not provide high-quality cues that can be detected and correctly utilized to judge that trait. For example, when people talk about their values, it leads to higher accuracy for neuroticism; but when they talk about facts, it leads to higher accuracy for conscientiousness (Beer & Brooks, 2011). Those cues that are indicative of neuroticism may not help in judging conscientiousness.

As stated, what is high-quality information for one trait may not be high-quality for another trait, but it may still provide some cues that increase accuracy in different trait domains because many personality traits are correlated. Research has expounded on the acquaintanceship effect by examining the impact of increased exposure to, and more information about, a target on levels of self-other agreement (Beer & Watson, 2010). This research is particularly relevant to the current study because in the experimental condition participants received either high- or low-quality personality descriptions of targets before watching recording interviews. Beer and Watson had three separate conditions designed to manipulate information quantity and quality. In one condition, participant judges were simply shown a still photograph of a target. In the

second condition, they were again shown a still photograph but were also given a single sentence that gave valid trait information about the agreeableness of the target. In the third condition, judges were given both a still photograph and a recorded clip of the target. In all three conditions, the judges rated the personalities of the targets after receiving the stimuli. The results showed that increased exposure in both information quantity and quality tended to lead to greater accuracy. Interestingly, they also found that in the condition in which judges received agreeableness-related information, judges also tended to have increased accuracy in some of the other trait domains as well. This research helps show how an increase in information (both quantity and quality), even if it is not specifically related to a trait, can increase personality judgment accuracy overall.

The fourth and final moderator of RAM is the *good judge*. As previously mentioned, work on the good judge goes back to the early 1900s (Adams, 1927; Allport, 1931). As part of our normal social world, most people have to make judgments about others on a daily basis. It may not be that surprising then that some research finds only small individual differences in accuracy between people (Haselton & Funder, 2006), although other research has shown a significant amount of variability across judges (Colman, Letzring, & Biesanz, 2017). Funder (1995) proposed three components of a good judge. The first was knowledge of personality in general - those who know more about personality are better at assessing it in others. This has been supported in research showing that women have a better idea of what the average person is like and therefore obtain higher levels of normativity (Chan, Rogers, Parisotto, & Biesanz, 2011). Good judges also tend to have abilities like high IQ or other cognitive capacities that can lead to an increase in their accuracy (Christiansen, Wolcott-Burnam, Janovics, Burns, & Quirk, 2005; Hauenstein & Alexander, 1991). The third component is motivation. When judges are

motivated to make accurate personality assessments, they will likely pay more attention and attempt to make more accurate judgments. This is especially true if they perceive that social outcomes are dependent on their judgmental ability (Flink & Park, 1991). However, being motivated may not increase accuracy in all domains. Research suggests that if participants are explicitly told that it is important for them to be as accurate as possible in their judgments of others (in order to motivate them to be accurate), there is an increase in distinctive accuracy but a decrease in normativity (Biesanz & Human, 2010). A recent replication and extension may cast doubt on this finding because evidence was not found to support any difference in distinctive accuracy or normativity when participants were asked to make accurate judgments (Colman, 2015; Colman, Gibson, & Letzring, 2018). This suggests that motivation may not always help accuracy, but it also does not seem to hurt it.

In addition to the three components proposed by Funder, good judges also differ in their own personality characteristics. In general, more positive personality attributes (e.g., maturity, intelligence, warmth, empathy, agreeableness) are associated with greater accuracy (Adams, 1927; Allport, 1937; Colman et al., 2017; Letzring, 2008; Taft, 1955; Vogt & Randall Colvin, 2003), while more negative attributes (e.g., neuroticism, defensiveness, manipulativeness, vindictiveness) are associated with lower accuracy (Kolar, Funder, & Colvin, 1996; Vogt & Randall Colvin, 2003). In partial explanation of these findings, it has been found that good judges tended to elicit good information from targets. Specifically, accuracy is related to the social skills, agreeableness, and adjustment of the judges, suggesting that good judges created an environment where targets revealed more relevant personality cues (Letzring, 2008). Finally, good judges have also been shown to be higher in dispositional intelligence (Christiansen et al.,

2005). This means that they are better able to understand how personality is related to behavior and this connection allows them to more correctly utilize relevant personality cues.

Impression formation and the impact of positive and negative information

A plethora of research has shown that people treat positive and negative aspects of others differently. We tend to weigh negative information about others more heavily than positive information (Anderson, 1965; Anderson & Barrios, 1961; Birnbaum, 1973; Fiske, 1980; Hamilton & Zanna, 1972; Kanouse & Hanson Jr., 1987), and this negative information is often attributed to dispositional attributes while positive information is often attributed to situational forces (Reeder & Spores, 1983; Rothbart & Park, 1986; Ybarra, 2001; Ybarra, Schaberg, & Keiper, 1999). Negative information also tends to be more resistant to retroactive interference (mentally altering previously learned information based on newer information) compared to positive information when the latter information is inconsistent with what has been previously learned. (Ybarra, 2001). This means that if we first learn about something negative regarding a person, we are less likely to incorporate new contradictory information we learn about them into our schema of them, but if the previous information was positive we are more likely to disregard the previously learned information in favor of the new information. People also tend to be able to more easily recall initial negative impressions of others than they are able to recall positive impressions of others (Ybarra, 2001). This can be partially explained by the finding that negative information (or information about typically undesirable personality traits) often is processed more thoroughly compared to positive information (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001; Pratto & John, 1991). This means that when given negative information, individuals will likely retain it longer and have a more difficult time altering or discarding it.

The current study

Most of the accuracy research cited so far has looked at how we assess people when we first meet them (e.g., Ambady et al., 1995; Biesanz et al., 2011; Funder & Dobroth, 1987; Hall et al., 2006; Letzring et al., 2006; Shehrezade et al., 2018), typically based on zero-acquaintanceship interactions. However, there are many instances when we have already been told about or heard about someone before the initial encounter. When people are set up on a first date, they are often informed about various personality and physical attributes before they actually meet the date. Job interviews are usually given after a candidate has completed an application and submitted a resume or letters of recommendation. In today's world, many people use social media to form an impression of someone before they meet. Coming into an initial interaction with prior information will likely create a bias (either positive or negative) in the judgments that are reached. It is clear that there are many instances when we do not have a true "zero acquaintanceship" meeting with someone, but little is known about how this information impacts accuracy. Based on these ideas, it is likely that giving someone accurate information about another person before they watch a recorded interaction of them will increase their accuracy, specifically distinctive accuracy due to the advantage of having more information about the targets.

The current study will examine the impact of prior information on personality judgment accuracy and will test three hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. The good information aspect of RAM predicts that when judges are given both higher quantity and quality of information, it will increase their accuracy. Specifically, more information and longer acquaintanceships are associated with higher distinctive accuracy. Research has also shown that more individuating information leads to less reliance on

stereotypes or our idea about the normative aspects of a group (conceptually stereotype accuracy and normative accuracy or normativity are the same) . With this in mind, giving participants true information should lead to greater distinctive accuracy but less normativity for all traits relative to a control group with no prior information.

Hypothesis 2. The initial impressions people make tend to create a lens through which future information is interpreted. If the initial impressions are based on true information, then future interactions will confirm and build upon that initial interaction. If the initial impression are based on false information, future interactions will be seen through the lens of this false information and may be misinterpreted. When initial information is false, it is likely that future exposure to the target will result in contradictory information (i.e., I heard they were a very sociable person, but they are acting very quiet and reserved). Based on the ideas surrounding the primacy effect, it is expected that people will rely more on initial impressions over more recent interactions (i.e., I guess they are just feeling off today, I am sure they are usually more sociable). For this reason, it is predicted that prior false information will decrease both normativity and distinctive accuracy relative to the control group. It is also predicted that there will be a larger effect for false versus true information. This is because true information will be consistent with the target's personality and therefore when participants watch a recorded interaction, the new information will mostly be confirmatory with what was described in the paragraphs. False information, on the other hand, will be inconsistent with the target's personality and information gained from the video recordings could be misinterpreted based on the previous false information or be discarded because of these inconsistencies. This is predicted to lead to a modest increase in accuracy with true information but a large decrease in accuracy with false information.

Hypothesis 3. The good trait moderator of RAM (Funder & Dobroth, 1987; John & Robins, 1993) and the SOKA model (Vazire, 2010) predict that traits that are more visible will be judged more accurately by others, and therefore additional information about less visible traits should have a larger impact on accuracy than additional information about more visible traits. Additionally, research has found that trait visibility, and therefore trait accuracy, are dependent on the situation. For example, a situation that is anxiety provoking can make a typically less visible trait like neuroticism more visible, and therefore be judged with greater accuracy (Hirschmüller, Egloff, Schmukle, Nestler, & Back, 2015). In the current study, the specific situation that targets were recorded in was accounted for (as described in the methods section), and when the situation's impact on trait visibility was taken into account, it was predicted that both true and false information would have a greater effect on less visible traits compared to more visible traits, and that false information would have a larger effect than true information.

Method

Participants

Two hundred individuals were recruited using Idaho State University's Psychology Department participant pool. Fifty-three individuals did not pass attention*- checks or were under the age of 18, resulting in 153 usable participants (73% Female, 26% Male¹, 79% Caucasian, 12% Hispanic, 3% Mixed, 2% Asian, 1% Native American, 1% Pacific Islander, 2% Greek/ Black/African American/Other). Age of participants had a mean of 21.44 ($SD = 4.15$), with a range of 18–46 years. Participants were reimbursed with one unit of course credit per half hour of participation (the study took a little over an hour).

¹ One participant self-identified as Fluid and one as ale (this was most likely meant to be Male, but it is impossible to know for sure, so both were placed in the "other" category).

Statistical Power

G-power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) was utilized to calculate sample size using *Means: Difference between two dependent means (Matched Pairs)*, with two tails, an effect size of $d=0.50^2$, and a Type I error rate of $p = .05$. This resulted in a total sample size of 34 to obtain power = 0.80. G-power was also used to calculate *Means: Difference between two independent means (two groups)*, with two tails, an effect size of $d=0.50$, and a Type I error rate of $p = .05$. This resulted in a total sample size of 128 to obtain power = 0.80. The study utilized a multi-level model known as the Social Accuracy Model (SAM; see the analysis section). Typically, a sample size of 50 per condition will result in stable estimates of accuracy when using SAM. Participants in the experimental condition were simultaneously part of two groups because they received both true and false information. These conditions, plus the control condition, resulted in a total of three groups. Using 50 participants per group (50 for the control and 100 for the experimental condition) results in 150 participants needed to obtain stable estimates of accuracy from SAM and have a power level of about 0.80. The final sample size for this study was 152 participants.

Measures

Big Five Inventory-2 (see Appendix A). The BFI-2 is a newer 60-item version of the original Big Five Inventory that is designed to measure the Big Five personality trait dimensions of Open-mindedness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Negative Emotionality (Soto & John, 2017a). Short phrases made of basic vocabulary are rated using a

² The work by Beer and Watson (2010) compared the impression of a still photo to the impression of a still photo and a sentence that described a trait. They found a large difference between correlations of $z=6.45$. Based on this finding, and its relationship to the current study where multiple sentences about traits will be given to participants before watching a recorded interaction, we determined power using a medium effect size.

Likert scale that ranges from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*). The Cronbach's alpha reliabilities of each of the 12-item domain (trait) scales have been shown to range from .83 to .91 (Soto & John, 2017a). Within this study, the Cronbach's alpha reliabilities of each of the 12-item domain scales were highly reliable (Extraversion $r = .82$, Agreeableness $r = .82$, Conscientiousness $r = .86$, Emotional Stability $r = .90$, and Openness $r = .80$). This measure was used to collect self and acquaintance reports of the targets and to collect judge's self-ratings (for future analysis) and ratings of the targets.

Paragraph Believability. A question was created for the purpose of this study that asked participants in the experimental condition to rate how believable the information in the paragraphs was on a 5-point scale from 1 (*Extremely believable*) to 5 (*Extremely unbelievable*).

Paragraph and Video Usage. A question was created for the purpose of this study that asked participants in the experimental condition if they relied more heavily on the paragraph descriptions or on the videos when making judgments using a 5-point scale with 1 representing "*I relied mostly on the videos,*" 3 representing "*I used the videos and paragraphs equally,*" and 5 representing "*I relied mostly on the paragraphs.*"

General Demographics questionnaire. The general demographics questionnaire asked about age, ethnicity, gender, education level, religious affiliation, and marital status.³

Target Selection and Accuracy Criteria

The purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of providing judges with true, false, or no information about a target before they watched a video recorded interaction of them

³ This study also used a growth and fixed mindset measure looking at both personality and intelligence, but it was not part of this study and the results will not be reported here.

and made a judgment of the target's personality. In order to do this, the first step was to find targets whose personalities would be assessed by judges. It was determined beforehand that target selection would be limited to good targets (individuals who are consistently more accurately assessed compared to other targets) because previous work has shown that good targets provide higher quality personality information and utilizing them makes differences between judges easier to identify (Rogers & Biesanz, 2018). This means that by limiting target selection to good targets, the possible confounds of having bad targets within this study would be diminished. In addition to using good targets, it was decided that target selection should be further refined so that two groups of six targets each (for a total of 12 targets) could be formed with judges being assigned to one of the two target groups (judges watched the videos and rated the personality of the targets within their assigned target group). Target groups were also designed to represent a cross section of trait levels with individuals who were high, medium, and low relative to other targets. This helped to create a more representative sample of targets at various trait levels while using a manageable number of targets.

In order to accomplish these goals, the current study utilized targets from a previous study conducted in the same lab. McDonald and Letzring (2018) recruited participants from the Idaho State University participant pool to be targets who were video recorded while answering questions about their lives. Targets came to the lab and provided self-reports on the BFI-2. Targets' acquaintances (people who had known the target for at least 6 months) were also contacted to provide reports of the target's personality using the BFI-2. These acquaintances either came into the lab with the target or were contacted via email. These ratings were then used to create a personality accuracy criterion for each target. The accuracy criterion is a representation of a target's personality that a judge rating is compared against in order to

determine how accurately a judge rated a target. The accuracy criterion was calculated by taking the mean of a target's acquaintance ratings on each item and averaging it with the targets' self-ratings (in order to include the acquaintance ratings but give equal weight to those ratings and the targets' self-ratings). This creates a mean score, or accuracy criterion, for each target on each item. After targets' self BFI-2 ratings were collected, targets were given a copy of interview questions to review and then were asked to not share anything they would be uncomfortable with others hearing. Using two counterbalanced sets of questions (balanced for positivity/negativity and adult vs. childhood focus; see Appendix B) targets were interviewed for 3-5 minutes and asked to answer each question in about one minute. Targets were also asked to share only mildly negative events. Not all targets were able to answer each question within a minute and so the videos were edited by the PI of the project and a trained RA so that they began when the participant first started speaking and ended after 50-80 seconds into the answer of each question. This process resulted in a total of 212 target videos.

As part of the same study, another set of participants were then brought into the lab to provide ratings of targets on the BFI-2 after watching a video of a target. The ratings from these judges were utilized as part of the current study in order to identify targets who could be classified as good targets. The 212 targets from the previous study were sorted by their average distinctive accuracy estimate (a measure of how distinctively accurate on average judges in the previous study rated a given target) and the top 60 good targets were selected for possible inclusion in the current study. The BFI-2 scores of each of the 212 targets (based on the accuracy criterion) were then scored providing an average trait level rating of each target. Each target was then ranked relative to all other targets as either being high, medium, or low on a given trait. These ranking were then extracted for the 60 selected targets and pasted to an excel document.

Using an excel program, 6 of the 60 targets were randomly selected for possible inclusion and then a table was calculated that showed each target's relative ranking (high, medium, low) on each trait. The purpose of this process was to make a heterogeneous sample with each level of each trait being represented in each target group, and also with an equal number of males and females (the final breakdown of each target group can be found in Table 1). In order for this to work, each level (high, medium, low) of each trait needed to be represented by at least one but no more than three targets per trait in each target group. This program was run multiple times until an output was received that met all the target inclusion criterion for each target group.

Table 1

Breakdown of Targets by Trait Level

Trait Level	Openness	Conscientiousness	Extraversion	Agreeableness	Neuroticism
Target Group 1					
Low	1	3	2	3	3
Med	3	2	2	1	2
High	2	1	2	2	1
Target Group 2					
Low	2	2	2	2	2
Med	3	2	2	1	3
High	1	2	2	3	1

Note. There are six targets represented in each trait. This output was computed by Excel until at least one target was in each target group and no more than three targets were in any one group.

Creation of True and False Target Descriptions

After target selection was complete, the next step was to create both true and false paragraph personality descriptions of targets that could be given to some judges prior to them watching a video of the target and rating their personality (See Appendix C for true and false target personality descriptions and targets' mean BFI-2 scores for the items on which the paragraphs were based). This was done by utilizing the targets accuracy criteria previously described. In order to create a paragraph personality description of a target, it was decided that items would be chosen from the BFI 2 and reworded to represent a targets average rating on that item. This would create a personality description similar to the BFI-2 but different enough so that judges would not be rereading the same phrases in paragraphs descriptions that they read when rating the target on the BFI-2. In order to have variability in target descriptions and to be able to cover aspects of every trait, 10 items from the BFI-2 were selected for use in each target's personality paragraph description, with two items from each trait. This would provide some basic information to each judge about each target's standing on each trait, without overwhelming the judge with too much information or too long of a description.

In order to represent a target's personality as fully as possible, items were selected based on their rating from the accuracy criterion so that each target had three high items (with a mean rating above 3.666; on a 1-5 scale), four medium items (with a mean rating between a 3.666 and a 2.333) and three low items (with a mean rating below 2.333; if an item was reverse coded, low values of that item were considered high, while high values were considered low). To represent the trait the target was rated highest on, two high items were randomly selected for that trait. For the target's second-highest trait, a high and a medium item were randomly selected for that trait. For the target's third-highest or medium-level trait, two medium items were randomly selected.

For the target's second-lowest trait, a medium item and a low item were randomly selected. For the target's lowest trait, two low items were randomly selected. If a target did not have an item that matched their trait level (i.e., their lowest trait was extraversion, but they did not score below a 2.666 on any extraverted items) a replacement item was selected. To do this, first the PI attempted to choose an item that was as close as possible to the inclusion criterion (i.e., an item with a 2.7 or 2.8 was selected). If there were multiple items of equal value close to the inclusion criterion, the PI would then consult the short form of the BFI-2 (Soto & John, 2017b) and whichever item was included there was also included in this study. If more than one item was on the BFI-2 short form, then one of the items was randomly selected.

Once 10 items, two per trait, were selected, items were reworded and fit into a paragraph description of a target's personality. Items were reworded because if paragraphs were created using the exact wording of the BFI-2, it could potentially introduce demand characteristics and be too redundant for judges. In order to avoid this, the order that items appear in each paragraph was randomized and then the wording of the items was slightly altered so that it would say something similar to the item but use mostly different words. For example, a target received a rating of 3.5 on the item "Often feels sad" and a 1.5 on the item "Is temperamental, gets emotional easily." These two items were combined and altered to form the sentence "It seems that a little more than half the time he is in a down mood, but he is rarely emotional." After creating a true paragraph description of a target based on the 10 selected items, the paragraph was altered so that it would reflect a false statement but be as close to the wording of the true paragraph as possible. For example, the earlier sentence was altered to say, "It seems that a little less than half the time he is in a down mood, and he is usually emotional.". Once all true and false paragraphs were created, three other individuals (the two authors of the previous study from

which the videos of the targets were made, and a third individual with a bachelor's degree in psychology but who was not a part of the lab) who knew the purpose of the study were then consulted and paragraphs were altered based on their feedback. Corrections typically were over specific wording (i.e., using the word "control" instead of "command") or were based on the feeling that a sentence did not accurately reflect the rating that a target was given (e.g., the sentence "he almost never is the type to be emotional" was changed to "he is rarely emotional"). All changes were minor and only impacted a few words or phrases in each paragraph.

Procedure

Part 1 (Main study)

Judges (participants) completed the survey using Qualtrics online survey software (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). Once brought into the lab, judges were placed in front of a laptop and asked to put on the headphones located next to it and turn off any electronic devices in their possession. Judges were shown a short introduction video that introduced them to the study. This study used a video description as opposed to the common practice of having a research assistant read a paragraph introduction in order to increase consistency and decrease variability (see Appendix D for video transcript). The introduction video included information about the purpose of the study and what will be required from judges. After being introduced to the experiment, judges were instructed to read and accept the consent form and then using Qualtrics' randomization process, judges were assigned to one of two different target groups (this determined which 6 of the 12 targets they would watch and rate) and then were assigned to either the experimental group (those given information about a target before watching the recorded interview) or the control group (those given no prior information about a target) and watched a total of six videos. Before watching any videos, judges were asked to fill out a self-report BFI-2

and then were shown an image of the targets in their target group and asked to confirm that they did not recognize any of them. If the judges did know a specific target, they were moved into the other target group. If they knew one of the targets in the new target group, they were asked to click on the picture they recognized, and that target was not be shown to the judge. If they knew more than one person in the new target group, they were still allowed to take the study and receive credit, but their results were not used (this happened to three Judges).

Before each video, judges in the experimental group read a single paragraph description of the target. Above each paragraph was a description that said, "Please read the personality description below. This paragraph contains important information needed to answer questions about the person. Please read it carefully before proceeding to the video." The judge was randomly assigned to receive three true paragraphs and three false paragraphs, one for each of the six targets. Those in the control group did not view any descriptions before watching the videos. There are technical limitations that make it difficult, time consuming, and in the end not feasible to program Qualtrics to randomly select three targets to be paired with their true paragraph descriptions and then select the remaining three targets to be paired with their false paragraph descriptions. For this reason, within each of the experimental conditions, six sub-conditions were created using an online latin square generator (<https://hamsterandwheel.com/grids/index2d.php>). Each of the six letters on the latin square were associated with a specific target (e.g. "A" represented target 37, "B" represented target 95) and columns represented whether true or false information would be provided for that target (e.g. column one was true, column two was false). This resulted in six separate sub-conditions with each target being represented once per condition and six times between all-sub conditions, with three true and three false representations per target and per sub-condition, and no sub-condition

being shown the same combination of true and false target paragraphs (Table 2 shows the results from this process). Using Qualtrics, a judge was randomly assigned to each condition and targets in each sub-condition were presented in a random order. After reading the paragraph and watching the target video, or only watching the video in the case of the control condition, judges rated the target using the BFI-2, and then they moved on to the next target. After watching and rating all six targets, judges completed additional self-report measures⁴ and a demographics questionnaire. For those in the experimental group, two additional questions were asked immediately following the last self-report questionnaire but before the demographic questions. These two questions asked judges to rate how believable the information in the paragraphs was on a 5-point scale from 1 (*Extremely believable*) to 5 (*Extremely unbelievable*) and asked if they relied more heavily on the paragraph descriptions or on the videos when making judgments using a 5-point scale with 1 representing *I relied mostly on the videos*, 3 representing *I used the videos and paragraphs equally* and 5 representing *I relied mostly on the paragraphs*. Judges were then thanked and given research credit for their participation. Throughout the experiment, there were simple attention checks embedded into questions that asked judges to select a specific answer, used to gauge whether judges were paying attention. There were a total of seven and judges needed to get 80% correct in order for their data to be used in the analyses.

⁴ Described in footnote 2

Table 2

Breakdown of Experimental Sub-Conditions

Target Group 1						
Condition 1	37T	108F	208T	99F	123T	95F
Condition 2	208T	95F	123T	108F	99T	37F
Condition 3	95T	208F	37T	123F	108T	99F
Condition 4	123T	37F	99T	95F	208T	108F
Condition 5	99T	123F	108T	37F	95T	208F
Condition 6	108T	99F	95T	208F	37T	123F

Target Group 2						
Condition 1	59T	154F	204T	105F	184T	100F
Condition 2	204T	100F	184T	154F	105T	59F
Condition 3	100T	204F	59T	184F	154T	105F
Condition 4	184T	59F	105T	100F	204T	154F
Condition 5	105T	184F	154T	59F	100T	204F
Condition 6	154T	105F	100T	204F	59T	184F

Note. The numbers in each condition represent the target ID and the letter following the number represents whether the judge will be shown true or false information about that target.

Part 2 (Rating of Paragraph Favorability)

Accuracy research has shown that the normative (average personality) profile is correlated with more positive feelings and favorability towards an individual (Biesanz, 2016;

Biesanz & Human, 2010), and person perception research has found that negative information (or information about typically undesirable personality traits) often is processed more thoroughly than positive information (Baumeister et al., 2001; Pratto & John, 1991). For this reason, it is necessary to assess how favorable (positive or negative) the target description paragraphs are to understand if this could explain the obtained results. If the true paragraphs describe targets more favorably than false paragraphs, the results of this study may be partially attributed to favorability instead of fully to the information being true or false. To help account for this, a short study was conducted utilizing Amazon's Mechanical Turk⁵ and Qualtrics online survey software (Qualtrics, Provo, UT). Because of the limited statistical analysis conducted in this sample, no power analysis was computed for this portion of the study. Instead, it was decided prior to the study that twenty useable participants (passing all attention checks) would be collected and then reliability estimates would be calculated using Cronbach's alpha. A score lower than $\alpha=0.7$ was considered unreliable and would result in having more participants provide these ratings.

Fifty-four participants were recruited for part one of the study using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Out of the 54, 20 did not complete the study and 14 did not pass at least 80% of the attention checks, resulting in 20 usable participants (75% Female, 60% Caucasian, 15% Black/African American, 10% Hispanic, 5% Indian, 10% Other, $Mean_{Age} = 29.65$, $SD_{Age} = 9.33$, $range_{age} = 19-52$ years). There were not significant differences in gender ($\chi^2(1) = .31, p = .579$) or age ($t(35.186) = .943, p = .35$) between useable and non-useable participants. Within the usable Mturk sample, both group one ($\alpha = .83$) and group two ($\alpha = .93$) passed the reliability

⁵ Mechanical Turk (Mturk) is an online workbase where workers can complete various tasks for compensation.

threshold ($\alpha = 0.7$), and therefore no more participants were required. Participants who completed the study and passed 80% of the attention checks were reimbursed for their time with \$1. The 20 participants were divided into two groups of 10 each and were assigned 12 of the 24 paragraphs (six true and six false paragraphs) one from each target counterbalanced by the other group (i.e., if group one saw target 37's true paragraph, group 2 saw target 37's false paragraph). After reading a paragraph, the participants rated the paragraph on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*very unfavorable*) to 5 (*very favorable*) and on the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI; Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann Jr., 2003), which assesses the same traits as the BFI-2 but with only 10 items. Each group was also given three sham paragraphs that were similar to the target description paragraphs but had an additional sentence placed randomly in the paragraph. This sentence asked the participant to select a set of answers on the TIPI and the favorability scale to prove they are paying attention (participants were required to get all three attention checks correct in order to be paid and for their data to be used). The TIPI was used and compared to the accuracy criterion to see if the paragraph descriptions elicit trait ratings similar to the targets' accuracy criteria.

Part 3 (Analysis of Trait visibility)

This study predicted that false information would have a larger impact on less visible traits compared to more visible traits. Hirschmüller et al. (2015) found that neuroticism was judged more accurately when targets were in a trait-relevant situation (e.g., public and socially evaluative) because the cues for neuroticism were more easily accessible. This implies the importance of keeping in mind situational factors when assessing trait visibility because different situations will alter the visibility of trait-relevant cues. In order to account for this, a panel of five individuals knowledgeable about the hypothesis of the current study and who either helped in the

target collection of the stimulus videos or were informed by McDonald about the target collection process, were recruited to provide ratings of visibility of the traits based on the situation of the interviews. It was decided that a panel, rather than just the PI, should rate trait visibility so that there would be a larger consensus and so that those who were intimately involved in the original collection of targets could be consulted. To do this, McDonald explained the target collection process to the panel and shared the interview questions with the panel. The panel viewed a target video so that all individuals would have a basic idea of what targets said and what the situation was like. The panel then dispersed and individually rated every item of the BFI-2 by answering the question “How visible do you think each item would be within this situation” This was answered on a five-point scale (Very Low, Low, Neutral, High, Very High). The purpose of this was to rate each trait’s visibility while taking into account the unique situational factors that may have impacted the visibility of trait-relevant cues in the situation in which the videos were created. This process resulted in high inter-rater reliability ($\alpha = .81$). These ratings were used to rank each trait relative to the others on visibility.

Analyses

The Social Accuracy Model

The Social Accuracy Model (SAM) allows for the division of accuracy into several components. One component of SAM is called *perceptive accuracy* and estimates how well, on average, a judge accurately assesses a set of targets⁶. Perceptive accuracy can be further subdivided into normativity and distinctive accuracy. *Normativity* is a measure of how much someone is judged to be like the average person. The normative profile is also highly favorable

⁶ Other aspects of SAM, such as expressive accuracy and dyadic accuracy, are not relevant to the hypothesis investigated as part of this study and therefore are not addressed.

and so people who are judged more normatively also tend to be judged more favorably. For this study, normativity was calculated using an average composite of each item-level rating of each target from the original McDonald (2018) study using their accuracy criterion (self-reports and acquaintance reports). These composite ratings were then averaged across all targets to create a normative profile that represents the average item-level rating across all targets. This normative profile was then compared to each judge's rating of each target in order to estimate a judge's normative accuracy. This is done to get as accurate of a picture as possible about a sample's normativity in relation to the larger population. There were only 12 targets used in the current study, but they were from the previous study and so the previous study's normative profile was used because it was more representative of the population. One potential drawback of using such a large sample for the normative profile instead of creating a normative profile from only the 12 targets is that it does not give us a clear picture of how normatively each target was rated compared to the other 11 targets. This study was interested in a larger population than just the 12 targets and so a normative profile with more targets was used.

Distinctive accuracy is a measure of how much a person is accurately judged to deviate from the average person and from other people. A distinctive profile is created by subtracting the normative profile from each target's accuracy criterion. This leaves only the unique or distinctive aspects of each target as part of the distinctive profile. Like the normative profile, the distinctive profile is used as a predictor of the judge's ratings to determine a judge's level of Distinctive accuracy. With SAM, it is possible to examine all traits at once by including judgments for all items of the BFI-2 in the analysis, and to examine traits separately by including only items that assess a specific trait.

SAM is calculated using a multilevel modeling approach and examines the relationship between a judge's perception and a target's distinctive and normative profiles. Using this model accounts for the nesting of judges within targets and targets within judges, across multiple items. The model is represented in this unstandardized regression equation:

$$Y_{jti} = \beta_{0jt} + \beta_{1jt}TCrit_{ti} + \beta_{2jt}Norm_i + \varepsilon_{jti} \quad 1.1$$

$$\beta_{0jt} = \beta_{00} + u_{0j} + u_{0t} + u_{0(jt)} \quad 1.2$$

$$\beta_{1jt} = \beta_{10} + u_{1j} + u_{1t} + u_{1(jt)}$$

$$\beta_{2jt} = \beta_{20} + u_{2j} + u_{2t} + u_{2(jt)}$$

Using this model, Y_{jti} is judge j 's rating of target t (the judge-target pair) on item i of the BFI-2. $TCrit_{ti}$ is the accuracy criterion of target t on item i (described in the Accuracy Criteria and Creation of Target Descriptions section). $Norm_i$ is an estimate of the average level for item i . This normative estimate was created by averaging the accuracy criterion scores on item i of the BFI-2 across all targets used in the study from which the videos are taken. Prior to analysis, $Norm_i$ was subtracted from $TCrit_{ti}$ (this matches $TCrit_{ti}$ with the definition of Distinctive accuracy), and then both were grand-mean centered⁷.

Using this model, the average predicted value of judge j 's rating of target t on item i when $TCrit_{ti}$ and $Norm_i$ are at their mean levels is equal to β_{0jt} , which is the intercept of the level-1 model. The estimate of Distinctive accuracy is represented by β_{1jt} , as this coefficient is the mean level change in judge j 's rating of target t on item i for a one unit increase to target t 's criterion value on item i , while holding the $Norm_i$ estimate on item i at the mean value. Lastly,

⁷ It was originally planned that another predictor variable, β_{3fav} , would be added if there was a significant difference between the favorability of true and false paragraphs and if favorability predicted accuracy. However, the control condition did not receive any prior information and so favorability could only be controlled for when comparing the true and false conditions. Therefore β_{3fav} was only used when true was compared directly to false.

β_{2jt} is the estimate of normativity, and is equal to the average change in judge j 's rating of target t on item i for a one unit increase in the normative profile on item i , while holding $TCrit_{ti}$ at the mean value. Within the second level of this equation (1.2), the random intercepts of the judge, the target, and the judge-target pair are represented by u_{0j} , u_{0t} , and $u_{0(jt)}$. Random slopes that represent the residual variance for the judge on distinctive and normativity are the error terms u_{1j} and u_{2j} , while the error terms u_{1t} and u_{2t} represent the residual variance for the target on distinctive accuracy and normativity, respectively. Lastly, $u_{1(jt)}$ and $u_{2(jt)}$ represent the residual variance for the judge-target pair on distinctive accuracy and normativity.

The framework of SAM allows for the testing of moderators that can be entered into the model within the level 2 equations. This study used dummy coding to represent the various groups in the experiment. This made it possible to interpret the regression coefficient as an average for a single group when compared to the control condition.

$$Y_{jti} = \beta_{0jt} + \beta_{1jt}TCrit_{ti} + \beta_{2jt}Norm_i + \varepsilon_{jti} \quad 2.1$$

$$\beta_{0jt} = \beta_{00} + \beta_{01con} + u_{0j} + u_{0t} + u_{0(jt)} \quad 2.2$$

$$\beta_{1jt} = \beta_{10} + \beta_{11con} + u_{1j} + u_{1t} + u_{1(jt)}$$

$$\beta_{2jt} = \beta_{20} + \beta_{21con} + u_{2j} + u_{2t} + u_{2(jt)}$$

Equations 2.1 and 2.2 represent SAM with the moderators included. This model is the same as equations 1.1 and 1.2, but with the addition of the prior information condition entered in the second level of the equation. This study uses the no-information condition as a comparison group and a dummy coded variable to represent whether the judge-target pair was part of the true or false condition (con: 1- yes, 0-no). Utilizing dummy coding results in the interaction coefficient representing the difference in accuracy between the relevant group and the control condition. Using these dummy codes, the moderation of distinctive accuracy by experimental

condition is represented in the regression coefficients β_{11} for the comparison of the true paragraphs to the control condition or false paragraphs to the control condition. The moderation of normativity is represented in the regression coefficients β_{21} for the comparison of the true paragraphs to the control condition or false paragraphs to the control condition. When comparing the true or false information condition with the control condition, if the resulting coefficient is positive, it can be interpreted as the respective condition leading to greater distinctive accuracy or normativity compared to the no information condition. If the resulting coefficient is negative, it can be interpreted as the respective condition leading to less distinctive accuracy or normativity compared to the no information condition. Dummy coding was also used to compare true information directly to false information. The intercept was the average accuracy estimate across both conditions. In this code, 1 represents true information and 0 represents false information (in this analysis a positive coefficient can be interpreted as true information resulting in an increase in accuracy relative to the false condition).

The preceding set of analyses resulted in information about normativity and distinctive accuracy for overall judgments across all Big Five traits. Accuracy was also investigated at the trait level in order to see how accuracy changes for each individual trait based on trait visibility (as determined by the panel described previously). Therefore, the same analyses were also completed five more times (using only the items for each individual trait of the BFI-2) and results were correlated with trait visibility.

Results

Ratings of Paragraph Favorability

Each Mturk participant read and rated 12 of the 24 paragraphs (one for each target, 6 true and 6 false). Participants rated how favorably each paragraph described the target on a scale from

1 (*very unfavorable*) to 5 (*very favorable*). A paired-samples *t*-test showed that true paragraphs ($M = 3.76$ [3.44, 4.08]⁸, $SD = .507$) were rated more favorably than false paragraphs ($M = 2.64$ [2.26, 3.00], $SD = .584$; $t(11) = 3.80$, $p < .003$, $d = 1.10$).

Target paragraph BFI and TIPI ratings

Mturk participants also rated the target's personality using the TIPI scale. TIPI ratings were scored and averaged across participants to create one score per trait per target for both true and false paragraphs. The targets' accuracy criteria on the BFI-2 ratings was also scored to create a single score on each trait for each target. These scores were correlated across targets to examine the extent to which the TIPI ratings were related to the BFI-2 ratings. It was predicted that ratings based on true paragraphs would be positively related to the accuracy criterion and ratings based on false paragraphs would be negatively related (results are displayed in Table 3). Some TIPI ratings based on true paragraphs were negatively related to the accuracy criterion (Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Conscientiousness), while others were positively related (Neuroticism and Openness). Only the Neuroticism correlation was statistically significant. Some TIPI ratings based on false paragraphs were negatively related to the accuracy criterion (Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Openness), while others were positively related (Agreeableness and Conscientiousness). Again, only the Neuroticism correlation was significant. When true and false TIPI ratings were directly compared, all traits with the exception of openness were significantly negatively related. These results suggest that the judge ratings based on true and false paragraphs were not strongly correlated with the accuracy criterion, but that true and false paragraphs nudged individuals in the expected direction relative to the other.

Table 3

⁸ Values in brackets following the mean or *t*-value are the 95% confidence interval.

Correlation Between Target BFI Accuracy Criterion, True Mturk TIPI Ratings, and False Mturk TIPI Ratings

	BFI with True TIPI	BFI with False TIPI	True with False TIPI
Ext	-.31	-.03	-.61*
Agr	-.09	.41	-.74**
Con	-.33	.35	-.84***
Neu	.73**	-.67*	-.87***
Ope	.32	-.25	-.48

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Ext = Extraversion, Agr = Agreeableness, Con = Conscientiousness, Neu = Neuroticism/Negative emotionality, Ope = Openness to experiences. BFI= Big Five Inventory, TIPI = Ten Item Personality Inventory. TIPI ratings N = 20, BFI N = 12.

Trait visibility ratings

A panel (described earlier) rated each trait's visibility while taking into account the unique situational factors that may have impacted the targets in the videos. There was high interrater reliability on all items ($r = .81$) with extraversion rated the most visible ($M = 3.93$, $SD = .37$), followed by neuroticism ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .72$), agreeableness ($M = 2.88$, $SD = .41$), conscientiousness ($M = 2.55$, $SD = .43$), and lastly openness to experience ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .68$; see Table 5). These scores were correlated with the normativity and distinctive accuracy estimates obtained when the models were run at the trait level.

Paragraph believability and usage

When participants in the experimental condition were asked to rate how believable the information in the paragraphs was on a 5-point scale from 1 (*Extremely believable*) to 5 (*Extremely unbelievable*), the mean was on the more believable side ($M = 2.80$ [2.59, 2.99], $SD = 1.02$), but still fairly close to the midpoint of 3 (neither believable or unbelievable).

Participants were also asked if they relied more heavily on the paragraph descriptions or on the videos when making judgments using a 5-point scale with 1 representing *I relied mostly on the videos*, 3 representing *I used the videos and paragraphs equally* and 5 representing *I relied mostly on the paragraphs*. Most participants were between 1 and 3 meaning they reported using the videos more than the paragraphs ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 1.00$, 95% CI [1.85, 2.25]).

Main Study

All models were first computed without any dummy codes (overall accuracy) to examine the degree to which judges accurately assessed targets (see Table 4). Dummy codes for experimental group were then entered to see if there was a significant interaction of information type on level of accuracy (full model). The overall accuracy model was then compared to the full model in a one-way ANOVA as a test of the main effects of information type. Both true versus control and false versus control were significant, indicating a difference in accuracy between those who received prior information and the control group (see Table 4). When models were broken down by trait, all false versus control models were also significant while only conscientiousness was significant when true was compared to the control (see Table 5).

Hypothesis 1

It was predicted that giving judges true information would lead to greater distinctive accuracy but less normativity for all traits relative to the control group. This hypothesis was partially supported. When the true information condition was compared to the control group, both normativity and distinctive accuracy were in the expected direction, although only distinctive accuracy was significant (see Table 4).

Hypothesis 2

It was predicted that prior false information would decrease both normativity and distinctive accuracy relative to the control group. It was also predicted that because true information would enhance the interpretation of future judgments and false information would skew the interpretation of future judgments, there would be a larger effect for false than true information. The first part of this hypothesis was supported. When the false information condition was compared to the control group, both normativity and distinctive accuracy were significantly lower in the false information condition (see Table 4).

Table 4

Comparing the Base Model (All Conditions Together) and the Full Model (Dummy Coded by True or False Prior Information Versus Control Condition) for All Traits Combined

Conditions	Overall Accuracy <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)		Accuracy with interactions <i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>)		$\chi^2(3)$
	Norm.	Dist.	Norm.	Dist.	
True and Control	.65(.09)***	.31(.04)***	-.10(.06)	.07(.03)*	13.30**
False and Control	.34(.08)***	.18(.05)**	-.58(.07)***	-.16(.03)***	73.98***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients. *SE* = standard errors. Norm. = normativity, Dist. = distinctive accuracy. The χ^2 column represents an ANOVA comparing the overall accuracy model to a full model (with dummy codes). A significant result means the data better fit the model with dummy codes and therefore the experimental condition is a significant predictor of accuracy.

In order to account for the favorability of the paragraphs, the model was run again controlling for paragraph favorability and comparing the true condition directly to the false condition (excluding the control condition). Both normativity ($b = .36$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$) and distinctive accuracy ($b = .36$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$) were statistically significant in the overall

accuracy model. When dummy coding was added using the false information condition as a comparison group, both normativity ($b = .46$, $SE = .02$, $p < .001$) and distinctive accuracy ($b = .21$, $SE = .01$, $p < .001$) were significant and positive, indicating that true information led to greater accuracy even after controlling for paragraph favorability.

In order to see if false information has a larger impact over true information, accuracy beta weights were compared between conditions. The impact of false information on both normativity and distinctive accuracy was more extreme (farther from 0) when compared to the impact of true information on both normativity and distinctive accuracy. This suggests that prior false information has a larger impact on accuracy than prior true information, supporting hypothesis two.

Hypothesis 3

It was predicted that additional information (true or false) would have a greater effect (the same effects articulated in hypotheses 1 and 2) on less visible traits compared to more visible traits (as defined by the panel who rated trait visibility), and that false information would have a larger effect over true information. To test this, the impact of true and false information on accuracy was first examined by trait so that accuracy scores by trait could be correlated with trait visibility. Within the false information condition, when compared to the control group, normativity was significantly lower for all traits, and distinctive accuracy was significantly lower for all traits except agreeableness (see Table 5). Within the true information condition, when compared to the control group, normativity was only significant for conscientiousness, but it (and all other traits except for neuroticism) were in the expected direction (this is consistent to the overall finding from hypothesis one). Distinctive accuracy was not significant for any traits

(although conscientiousness approached significance, $p = .052$), but all coefficients except for extraversion were in the expected direction.

Returning to the hypothesis, if prior information indeed has a larger impact on less visible traits over more visible traits, the difference in accuracy between those who received prior information (experimental group) and those who did not (control group) would be larger for less visible traits than for more visible traits. The control condition was dummy coded as a 0, making all beta weights relative to the control condition. This means that if less visible traits have a larger effect than more visible traits, the beta weights for the less visible traits should be more extreme (farther from 0) than more visible traits. When accuracy beta weights for each trait are plotted and correlated (with trait visibility increasing from left to right; see Figure 1 for an example), the predicted results for the true versus control condition would be a negative relationship between distinctive accuracy and trait visibility (because there would be a larger increase in distinctive accuracy for the less visible traits than more visible traits), and a positive relationship between normativity and trait visibility (a larger decrease in accuracy for less visible traits compared to more visible traits). For the false versus control condition, the predicted results would also be negative relationship between both distinctive accuracy and trait visibility and between normativity and trait visibility.

This was supported by the finding that the impact of true information on distinctive accuracy was strongly negatively correlated with trait visibility ($r = -.74$; $N = 5$ because there are five traits and for that reason p -values are not reported; see Table 5 and Figure 1), and the impact of false information on distinctive accuracy was also strongly negatively correlated with trait visibility ($r = -.90$). The impact of true information on normativity was also in the expected direction and was strongly positively correlated with trait visibility ($r = .51$), but the results of

the impact of false information on normativity was opposite the expected direction and was moderately positively correlated with trait visibility ($r = .35$). These findings suggest that prior information has a larger impact on normativity when traits are more visible, but a larger impact on distinctive accuracy when traits are less visible. Although there were consistent (though relatively small) differences in scatterplots for normativity and distinctive accuracy (the differences in distinctive accuracy scores between traits were also small), there does not seem to be much difference between the true condition and the false condition. This goes against the second half of hypothesis 3 that predicted that false information would have a larger effect than true information.

Table 5

Interaction of True or False Prior Information Versus Control by Trait

Trait	Mean Visibility	Conditions	Overall Accuracy (<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>))		Accuracy with Interactions (<i>b</i> (<i>SE</i>))		$\chi^2(3)$
			Norm.	Dist.	Norm.	Dist.	
Ext	3.93	True	.54(.04)***	.47(.02)***	-.09(.08)	-.02(.05)	3.78
		False	.29(.05)***	.35(.03)***	-.46(.10)***	-.20(.05)***	30.65***
Agr	2.88	True	.86(.04)***	.18(.03)***	-.06(.07)	.03(.07)	3.45
		False	.43(.05)***	.10(.04)**	-.71(.09)***	-.10(.07)	61.82***
Con	2.55	True	.57(.04)***	.35(.03)***	-.24(.08)**	.11(.06)	11.13*
		False	.30(.05)***	.20(.03)***	-.64(.09)***	-.13(.05)*	52.47***
Neu	3.50	True	.85(.04)***	.49(.02)***	.01(.09)	.08(.05)	3.35
		False	.52(.06)***	.31(.03)***	-.52(.11)***	-.20(.05)***	32.01***
Ope	2.37	True	.37(.05)***	.13(.03)***	-.10(.10)	.09(.05)	6.47
		False	.14(.05)**	.02(.02)	-.46(.09)***	-.10(.04)*	24.79***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Norm. = normativity, Dist. = distinctive accuracy, *b* = unstandardized regression coefficients, SE = standard error. Ext = Extraversion, Agr = Agreeableness, Con = Conscientiousness, Neu = Neuroticism/ Negative emotionality, Ope = Openness to experiences. The χ^2 column represents an ANOVA comparing the overall accuracy model to a full model (with dummy codes). A significant result means the data better fit the model with dummy codes and therefore the experimental condition is a significant predictor of accuracy.

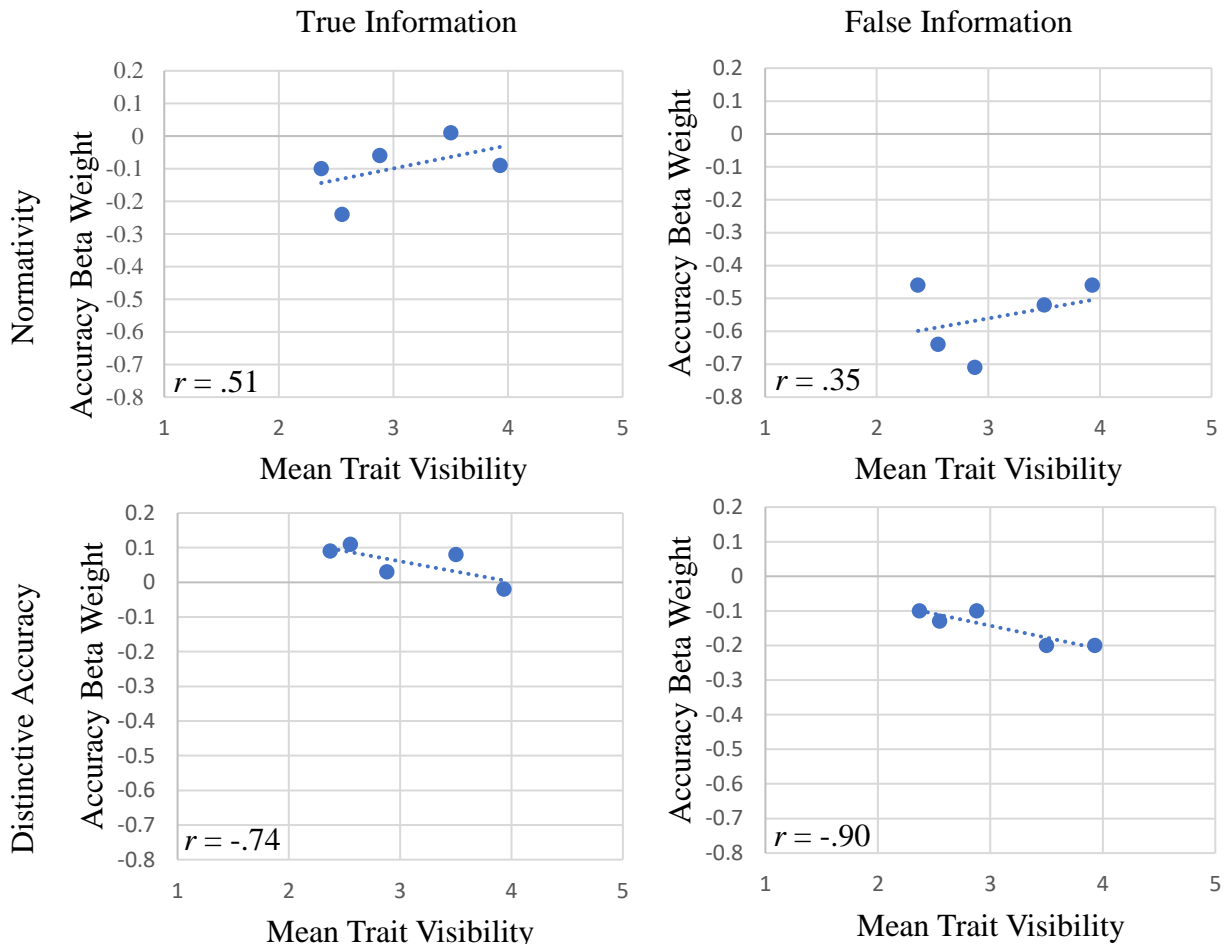


Figure 1. Scatterplots for Profile Correlations Between Accuracy and Mean Trait Visibility. From left to right the mean trait visibility is plotted with the far left dot representing Open-mindedness ($M = 2.37$), followed by Conscientiousness ($M = 2.55$), Agreeableness ($M = 2.88$), Neuroticism ($M = 3.50$), and finally Extraversion ($M = 3.93$). Accuracy beta weights are the increase or decrease in accuracy relative to the control condition.

Discussion

People often come into an interaction having already received some initial information about a target. Sometimes before an encounter a mutual acquaintance will inform a judge about a target, resumes are often consulted before a job interview, and the power of social media has made it possible to quickly gain information about another individual before even meeting them. This study investigated the impact of providing judges with either true, false, or no information about a target before watching a video interview and rating the target's personality. Overall, it seems that providing true information about a target helps increase distinctive accuracy while false information hurts both distinctive and normative accuracy. These findings should be kept in mind anytime someone receives information about a target prior to meeting the person. Information obtained in the past will impact how accurately someone is assessed in the present.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that giving judges true information would lead to greater distinctive accuracy but less normativity for all traits relative to the control group, and this was partially supported by the results. Distinctive accuracy was significant when the true condition was compared to the control group, indicating that giving individuals true information about someone before they observed videos of them led to an increase in distinctive accuracy. The findings for normativity were in the expected direction but were not significant. This indicates that true information did not help or hurt normativity.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that providing someone with false information about another individual's personality prior to a video observation would lead to decreases in both normativity and distinctive accuracy, which was supported. Hypothesis 2 also predicted that false information would have a larger effect over true information. All accuracy beta weights were

more extreme for the false information condition compared to the true information condition, which supports the second part of hypothesis 2.

These findings are in line with the RAM, which posits that good information moderates accuracy and so both higher quantity and quality of information should lead to better accuracy. The true paragraphs were designed to provide more information (quantity) about a target's personality and were developed directly from a target's accuracy profile so they should have provided high quality information as well. The finding that true prior information did not have a significant negative effect on normativity is surprising because typically more information about a target is associated with less normativity (Biesanz & Human, 2010; Biesanz et al., 2007). It may be that judges did not receive enough additional information for it to have a significant negative effect on the normativity of judgments. The paragraphs were short and typically only addressed each trait in a sentence or two (although the sentences were articulated to provide highly trait relevant information) and this may not have been enough to have a significant effect. True paragraphs were also rated more favorably and there is a strong association between favorability (or seeing someone positively) and normativity (Biesanz & Human, 2010). It may be that the positive aspects of the true paragraphs negated the typical decrease seen in normativity when additional personality information is available. This latter explanation may have also impacted the effects found in the false paragraph condition. False paragraphs were rated less favorably, and this may have been a driving force in some of the strongly negative normativity findings. However, this is likely not the whole story because when the true information condition was compared directly to the false information condition and favorability was controlled for, true paragraphs still led to greater normativity than false paragraphs.

These explanations do not, however, have any bearing on the negative impact that false information had on distinctive accuracy. As expected, when individuals were given false information about a target, it led to a decrease in distinctive accuracy compared to the control group. In order to fully understand these effects, future research should attempt to provide relatively neutral prior information in order to remove any effects that favorability may have. Regardless of this finding, it does seem that providing a judge with false prior information will lead to a decrease in overall distinctive accuracy and normativity. It also seems that false information has a larger effect on accuracy when compared to true information. Receiving true prior information only led to a significant increase in distinctive accuracy compared to a control group, while receiving prior false information led to a decrease in both normativity and distinctive accuracy compared to the control group.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that providing a judge with additional information would have a greater effect on less visible traits compared to more visible traits, and that false information would have a larger effect over true information. When the experimental groups were compared to the control condition, giving individuals true prior information only made accuracy significantly better for conscientiousness (which was rated second to last on visibility), and this effect was only significant for normativity (though distinctive accuracy approached significance). Giving individuals prior false information led to a significant decrease in normativity and distinctive accuracy across all traits (except for distinctive accuracy with agreeableness).

When looking at how trait visibility could moderate these effects, the results are difficult to determine. The effect sizes cannot be directly compared because some models were between-subjects comparisons (true or false versus control) and some were within-subjects comparisons

(true compared to false), and there were also differing numbers of judgments made by judges between the experimental conditions and in the control condition. This makes calculating any standardized effects misleading and impossible to interpret, so it is only possible to infer effects based on beta weights. When accuracy was correlated with trait visibility, normativity was positively correlated, while distinctive accuracy was negatively correlated, and the correlations were marginally larger for distinctive accuracy than normativity. This means that in general, as trait visibility increased, so did the effect of prior information on normativity, but its influence on distinctive accuracy decreased. This was seen in both the true and false versus control conditions. It is interesting that the correlation between prior information's impact on accuracy and trait visibility seemed to be impacted by type of accuracy more so than by the type of prior information (the correlations were in the opposite directions for normativity and distinctive accuracy). Future research should attempt to directly manipulate trait visibility to see if this observation can be replicated and if it has a causal relationship. For example, by creating various situations that make traits more or less visible (e.g., provoke anxiety to elicit more cues relevant to neuroticism).

Implications

Overall, many findings from this study are consistent with previous work. True information led to greater distinctive accuracy but not normativity compared to a control group, which is consistent with previous work that shows that more high quality information about a target leads to greater distinctive accuracy but not normativity (Biesanz & Human, 2010; Biesanz et al., 2007). What is surprising is that this effect disappeared when accuracy was looked at by individual traits and, in most cases, true information did not lead to any significant differences from the control condition. This may have been because of a decrease in variability when results

were broken down by trait and so future work may benefit from an increased sample size to increase the chances of finding an effect.

False information overall led to less distinctive accuracy and normativity compared to a control group and, when broken down by trait, still led to less accuracy for almost all traits in both normativity and distinctive accuracy. These results are consistent with research on the primacy effect (e.g., Anderson, 1965; Anderson & Barrios, 1961; Berkowitz, 1960) because judges seemed to rely more heavily on initial information over later information. Judges self-reported that they relied more heavily on the video than the paragraphs, but the results of the false information condition show that prior information had a strong impact on personality judgments. This suggests that the primacy effect was fairly implicit in the force it exerted on personality judgments. One interesting aspect of these results is that they run counter to some experiments that have found that when individuals have to immediately recall information, it is typically the recency effect that influences them, but when there is a delay in recall the primacy effect has a stronger influence (Knoedler, Hellwig, & Neath, 1999). Judges in this study had to immediately recall information, which suggests that the influence of the primacy and recency effect may be different than expected when making personality judgments. Future research should investigate these effects further to understand how and why they differ from other findings. For example, it would be informative to present videos first and paragraphs second to see if there is a similar effect on accuracy.

There are a number of real-world applications that can be extrapolated from the results of this study. First, in dating situations, making sure reliable sources are used when gaining information about a potential partner is important because false information may lead to false perceptions about their personality. This can happen when an individual purposely misinforms

someone about their potential date in order to skew their perception (either positively or negatively). This information may also apply to political campaigns and business strategies where candidates or businesses perpetuate false information in order to turn public opinion against their opponents. This research has demonstrated some of the damage that can come from the presentation of false information and the difficulty in overcoming that false information when the judge later observes the target. These things should be kept in mind when gathering and disseminating information about others.

Limitations and future directions

One major limitation of this study is that paragraph descriptions were created using the accuracy criterion and were mostly written by the lead author with editing and input from others familiar with the study. This was done as objectively as possible, but there is the possibility of bias in how targets were described. For example, descriptions were created by rewording items from the BFI, which may not accurately reflect how lay individuals would talk about someone else's personality. It would be beneficial to have future research create descriptions of targets from the targets themselves and their acquaintances. This would help paragraphs sound more natural and would increase the external validity of results by more accurately reflecting how lay individuals talk about personality.

Another limitation is that when Mturk judge's TIPI ratings based on true or false paragraph descriptions were correlated with the accuracy criterion, only neuroticism was significantly related and in the expected direction in both the true and false conditions. Three of the traits were opposite the expected direction for true paragraphs and two were opposite the expected direction for false paragraphs. These findings may be due to the small amount of information contained in each paragraph, the small sample size in each group, or the limits on

measuring the big five traits using the TIPI. Paragraph descriptions were short and were designed to give only a very broad view of each trait that would nudge participants in either the right or wrong direction regarding that trait. More information would likely have led to a stronger correlation with the accuracy criterion but would have also led to longer time investments for participants. Each paragraph was also only read and rated by 10 individuals, making it difficult to observe a significant correlation if it was there. Finally, the TIPI assesses each trait using only two items while the BFI-2 assesses each trait using 12 items. It may be that the paragraphs that were used did not give enough information to accurately assess personality using such a small number of items and so it is difficult to compare these ratings to BFI-2 ratings. Regardless of how (in)accurately Mturk participants rated a target's personality from the paragraph descriptions, when true TIPI ratings were directly correlated with false TIPI ratings, they were all negatively related (Openness was not significant) indicating that the paragraphs did indeed lead judges to rate targets in opposite directions. It may be that the paragraphs themselves would not lead to accurate personality judgments, but most of the remaining results of this study suggest that they did indeed nudge participants in the intended direction.

There was also a strong favorability difference between true and false paragraphs, and this may have driven some of the findings when true or false conditions were compared directly to the control, especially those for normativity. Although this was controlled for when the true condition was compared directly to the false condition, these results can only be interpreted relative to each other and not to the control group (i.e., we cannot tell if either group differs from the control group when favorability is controlled for). Future research should make paragraphs more neutral or have them contain both unfavorable and favorable information. This was difficult to do using the design of this study because paragraphs were based only on the items of

the BFI-2 and not on natural descriptions. Having targets and target acquaintances themselves deliberately state favorable and unfavorable, as well as true and false, information about a target may help provide the needed information.

This study also only utilized good targets (those who were consistently accurately perceived in a previous study) because they have been shown to provide higher quality information and makes it easier to see differences in accuracy across judges (Rogers & Biesanz, 2018). Good targets are those who provide more relevant and available cues for a judge to detect and utilize. These findings may look different if other (less good) targets were used because there would be less cues for judges to use, potentially forcing them to rely more heavily on paragraph descriptions in order to make personality judgments. Future research should investigate the possible differential impact that prior information may have on good targets versus targets who are more difficult to judge accurately.

In line with much of the current research investigating personality judgment accuracy, this study utilized short videos of targets talking about their life in a laboratory setting. Although this makes it easy to rapidly collect judgments and increases internal validity by exposing all judges to the same information, it is at the cost of some external validity and does not reflect common day-to-day interactions with others. Future research should utilize face-to-face interactions between judges and targets in order to examine whether there is still an effect when judgments are based on interactions between judges and targets. It would also be beneficial to investigate differing situations (e.g., work, school, dating) to see if there are differences in how prior information can impact the judgments that are made. For example, personality judgments made in dating situations may influence the possibility of long-term relationships and so

individuals may make more critical evaluations and may rely more heavily on the opinions of others or on prior information.

As with many psychology studies, judges and targets for this sample were fairly homogeneous, consisting of college students who were mostly white and educated for judges and targets, and mostly female for judges, and so more research should be conducted using more diverse samples. Some research has suggested differences in how accurately women and men assess the personalities of others (Chan et al., 2011), but this was not done as part of the current study because it would have doubled the sample size that was needed. It has also been shown that those with better cognitive capacities are better judges of personality (Christiansen, Wolcott-Burnam, Janovics, Burns, & Quirk, 2005; Hauenstein & Alexander, 1991) which may be the case in an educated college sample, and so it is important to examine whether prior information will differentially impact other samples. For example, because some research has shown that women have a better idea of what the average person is like (Chan et al., 2011), a sample with more men as judges may have resulted in less normativity compared to women regardless of the type of prior information. It is also possible that those with less cognitive capacities tend to have a difficult time assessing the personalities of others and so they may rely more heavily on explicitly stated personality information (such as the paragraphs in this study), but future research should investigate this possibility.

Conclusion

Prior information impacted accuracy such that true information led to higher accuracy and false information led to lower accuracy. This was true even when favorability was controlled for when the true condition was compared directly to the false condition. This study helps to show the importance of receiving true descriptions and information about another individual

when forming personality impressions. In order to maximize accuracy trustworthy sources of information need to be used when making judgments of others. These findings bring to light the importance of obtaining proper information about an individual and the large impact that false information can have on perceptions that are reached. Current technology (e.g. social media, cell phones) makes it possible to often obtain a great deal of information about someone before interacting with them and if the source of this prior information is false it can lead to a decrease in personality judgment accuracy.

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Appendix A

The Big Five Inventory–2 (BFI-2)

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who *likes to spend time with others*? Please select a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

1 Disagree strongly	2 Disagree a little	3 Neutral; no opinion	4 Agree a little	5 Agree Strongly
<i>This person is someone who...</i>				
1. Is outgoing, sociable.				30. Has little creativity.
2. Is compassionate, has a soft heart.				31. Is sometimes shy, introverted.
3. Tends to be disorganized.				32. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
4. Is relaxed, handles stress well.				33. Keeps things neat and tidy.
5. Has few artistic interests.				34. Worries a lot.
6. Has an assertive personality.				35. Values art and beauty.
7. Is respectful, treats others with respect.				36. Finds it hard to influence people.
8. Tends to be lazy.				37. Is sometimes rude to others.
9. Stays optimistic after experiencing a setback.				38. Is efficient, gets things done.
10. Is curious about many different things.				39. Often feels sad.
11. Rarely feels excited or eager.				40. Is complex, a deep thinker.
12. Tends to find fault with others.				41. Is full of energy.
13. Is dependable, steady.				42. Is suspicious of others' intentions.
14. Is moody, has up and down mood swings.				43. Is reliable, can always be counted on.
15. Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.				44. Keeps their emotions under control.
16. Tends to be quiet.				45. Has difficulty imagining things.
17. Feels little sympathy for others.				46. Is talkative.
18. Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.				47. Can be cold and uncaring.
19. Can be tense.				48. Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up.
20. Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.				49. Rarely feels anxious or afraid.
21. Is dominant, acts as a leader.				50. Thinks poetry and plays are boring.
22. Starts arguments with others.				51. Prefers to have others take charge.
23. Has difficulty getting started on tasks.				52. Is polite, courteous to others.
24. Feels secure, comfortable with self.				53. Is persistent, works until the task is finished.
25. Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions.				54. Tends to feel depressed, blue.
26. Is less active than other people.				55. Has little interest in abstract ideas.
27. Has a forgiving nature.				56. Shows a lot of enthusiasm.
28. Can be somewhat careless.				57. Assumes the best about people.
29. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.				58. Sometimes behaves irresponsibly.
				59. Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.
				60. Is original, comes up with new idea

Item numbers for the BFI-2 domain and facet scales are listed below. Reverse-keyed items are denoted by “R.” For more information about the BFI-2, visit the Colby Personality Lab website (<http://www.colby.edu/psych/personality-lab/>).

Trait/Domain Scales

Extraversion: 1, 6, 11R, 16R, 21, 26R, 31R, 36R, 41, 46, 51R, 56

Agreeableness: 2, 7, 12R, 17R, 22R, 27, 32, 37R, 42R, 47R, 52, 57

Conscientiousness: 3R, 8R, 13, 18, 23R, 28R, 33, 38, 43, 48R, 53, 58R

Negative Emotionality: 4R, 9R, 14, 19, 24R, 29R, 34, 39, 44R, 49R, 54, 59

Open-Mindedness: 5R, 10, 15, 20, 25R, 30R, 35, 40, 45R, 50R, 55R, 60

Facet Scales

Sociability: 1, 16R, 31R, 46

Assertiveness: 6, 21, 36R, 51R

Energy Level: 11R, 26R, 41, 56

Compassion: 2, 17R, 32, 47R

Respectfulness: 7, 22R, 37R, 52

Trust: 12R, 27, 42R, 57

Organization: 3R, 18, 33, 48R

Productiveness: 8R, 23R, 38, 53

Responsibility: 13, 28R, 43, 58R

Anxiety: 4R, 19, 34, 49R

Depression: 9R, 24R, 39, 54

Emotional Volatility: 14, 29R, 44R, 59

Intellectual Curiosity: 10, 25R, 40, 55R

Aesthetic Sensitivity: 5R, 20, 35, 50R

Creative Imagination: 15, 30R, 45R, 60

Citation for the BFI-2

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Appendix B

Adapted from Interview Questions from The Life Story Interview

Dan P. McAdams, Northwestern University

Revised 2008

Introduction:

I would like you to focus in on a few key scenes that stand out in the story of your life. A key scene would be an event or specific incident that took place at a particular time and place. For a negative scene choose an event or memory that is mild, (such as a 1-3 on a scale of 1 being slightly bad to 10 being terrible). Consider a key scene to be a moment in your life story that stands out for a particular reason – perhaps because it was particularly vivid, important, or memorable. For each of the six key events we will consider, I ask that you describe in detail what happened, when and where it happened, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling in the event. In addition, I ask that you tell me why you think this particular scene is important or significant in your life. What does the scene say about you as a person? Please be specific.

Interview Set A

1. Positive Childhood Memory: The first scene is an early memory – from childhood or your teen-aged years – that stands out as especially positive in some way. This would be a very positive, happy memory from your early years. Please describe this good memory in detail. What happened, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you or about your life?

2. Low Point: The next scene is different from the first. Thinking back over your entire life, please identify a scene that stands out as a low point in your life story. Again this doesn't have to be the lowest point in your life, just a 1-3 on a scale of 1-10, with 10 being a very low point in your life. Even though this event is unpleasant, I would appreciate your providing as much detail as you can about it. What happened in the event, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was bad and what the scene may say about you or your life.

[Interviewer note: If the participants balks at doing this, tell him or her that the event does not really have to be the lowest point in the story but merely an unpleasant experience of some kind.]

3. Turning Point: In looking back over your life, it may be possible to identify certain key moments that stand out as turning points -- episodes that marked an important change in you or your life story. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point in your life. If you cannot identify a key turning point that stands out clearly, please describe some event in your life wherein you went through an important change of some kind. Again, for this event please describe what happened, where and when, who was involved, and what you were thinking and feeling. Also, please say a word or two about what you think this event says about you as a person or about your life.

Interview Set B

1. High Point: Please describe a scene, episode, or moment in your life that stands out as an especially positive experience. This might be the high point scene of your entire life, or else an especially happy, joyous, exciting, or wonderful moment in the story. Please describe this high point scene in detail. What happened, when and where, who was involved, and what were you

thinking and feeling? Also, please say a word or two about why you think this particular moment was so good and what the scene may say about who you are as a person.

2. Negative Childhood Memory: The next scene is an early memory – from childhood or your teen-aged years – that stands out as negative in some way. This would be a mildly negative, unhappy memory from your early years, perhaps entailing sadness, fear, or some other negative emotional experience. Again it doesn't have to be especially negative, but mildly unpleasant (1-3) on a scale of 1-10, with 10 being a very unpleasant memory. Please describe this bad memory in detail. What happened, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you or your life?

3. Wisdom Event: Now, please describe an event in your life in which you displayed wisdom. The episode might be one in which you acted or interacted in an especially wise way or provided wise counsel or advice, made a wise decision, or otherwise behaved in a particularly wise manner. What happened, where and when, who was involved, and what were you thinking and feeling? Also, what does this memory say about you and your life?

Appendix C
Group 1
Target # 37⁹
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
A	Can be cold and uncaring. (R) ¹⁰	High	1.5
A	Is respectful, treats others with respect.	High	5
N	Often feels sad.	Medium	3.5
N	Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.	Low	1.5
C	Has difficulty getting started on tasks. (R)	Medium	3.5
C	Is efficient, gets things done.	High	5
E	Is talkative	Medium	2.5
E	Is less active than other people. (R)	Low	1
O	Thinks poetry and plays are boring. (R)	Medium	3.5
O	Has few artistic interests. (R)	Medium	2.5

Altered True

Although occasionally he can be a little distant, apathetic or hard-hearted towards others, this is a rare event. He is always very considerate and polite to those around him. It seems that a little more than half the time he is in a down mood, but he is rarely emotional. He can have a hard time when he has to begin a new project, but once started he is well-organized and hard working. Although sometimes he is very chatty, it seems that more than half the time he is quiet and reserved. He does seem though to be significantly more energetic and lively than most people. He does not seem to enjoy the arts for the most part, but it is kind of hit and miss. Despite this, he does seem to have creative interests most of the time.

Altered False

Most of the time he can be a very distant and apathetic or hard-hearted towards others. He is never very considerate and polite to those around him. It seems that a little less than half the time he is in a down mood, and he is usually emotional. Most of the time he does not seem to have a hard time when he has to begin a new project, however, he does tend to be disorganized and not very hard working. Although sometimes is quiet and reserved, it seems that more than half the time he is very chatty. He does seem to be significantly less energetic and lively than most people. He seems to enjoy the arts for the most part, but it is kind of hit and miss. Despite this, he does not seem to have creative interests most of the time.

⁹ Target numbers in this appendix are the same as those assigned to these targets in the study in which they were collected. This was done to make it easy to compare across studies when desired.

¹⁰ Items with an (R) at the end are reverse coded when the inventory is scored.

Group 1
Target # 95
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
E	Tends to be quiet. (R)	High	1.5
E	Is outgoing, sociable.	High	5
N	Often feels sad.	Low	2
N	Worries a lot.	Low	2
A	Can be cold and uncaring. (R)	Medium	2.75
A	Feels little sympathy for others. (R)	Medium	2.5
O	Is original, comes up with new ideas.	High	4.25
O	Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions. (R)	Medium	2.5
C	Keeps things neat and tidy.	Medium	3
C	Has difficulty getting started on tasks. (R)	Medium	3

Altered True

When in a group of people, she is not the type to sit in the corner and be silent. She is always friendly and outgoing, and it is rare to see her anxious or down. Occasionally she can be a little bitter and unsympathetic, and she is not always the most compassionate person, but those moments don't happen too often. She can be a very inventive person who comes up with new ways of viewing things, and she sometimes likes to engage in scholarly or abstract discussions. She is definitely not a neat freak, but she also is not a slob. Sometimes it takes her a little while to begin her work, but other times she jumps right into her work without any hesitation.

Altered False

When in a group of people, she is the type to sit in the corner and be silent. She is not very friendly or outgoing, and it is common to see her anxious or down. She is often a little bitter and unsympathetic, and she is not always the most compassionate person, but she does have moments where this is not the case. She usually is not a very inventive person who comes up with new ways of viewing things, and it is uncommon for her to engage in scholarly or abstract discussions though she has been known to participate in them from time to time. She is definitely not a neat freak and can often be a slob. It almost always takes her a little while to begin her work and she rarely jumps right into her work without any hesitation.

Group 1
Target # 99
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
N	Often feels sad.	High	5
N	Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.	High	5
A	Assumes the best about people.	Medium	3.5
A	Can be cold and uncaring. (R)	Medium	2.5
C	Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.	Medium	2
C	Keeps things neat and tidy.	Low	1.5
O	Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.	High	5
O	Is original, comes up with new ideas.	Medium	3
E	Is full of energy.	Medium	2.5
E	Is dominant, acts as a leader.	Low	1.5

Altered True

She frequently feels down and is the type who gets moody easily and seems to have a lot of emotional swings. Although she does not always give others the benefit of the doubt, it happens more often than not. Sometimes she can be emotionless and hard-hearted towards others but not always. She often is very messy and jumbled and rarely organizes things. She is extremely into artistic activities and can sometimes be unique in her approach to things, but also sometimes has difficulty being innovative. Although she can be very energetic, it seems to be less common than with most people. She is not the type to take charge.

Altered False

She almost never feels down and is not the type who gets moody easily and rarely seems to have a lot of emotional swings. Although she usually does not give others the benefit of the doubt, it still happens quite regularly. Much of the time she can be emotionless and hard-hearted towards others, but this is not always the case. She is rarely messy or jumbled and usually organizes things. She is not interested in artistic activities but she is usually unique in her approach to things and can be very innovative. She can be very energetic, and it seems to happen more often than for most people. She is the type to take charge.

Group 1
Target # 108
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
N	Often feels sad.	Low	1.5
N	Rarely feels anxious or afraid. (R)	Low	2
A	Is helpful and unselfish with others.	High	5
A	Assumes the best about people.	High	4.5
C	Is dependable, steady.	High	5
C	Sometimes behaves irresponsibly. (R)	Medium	2.5
E	Is dominant, acts as a leader.	Medium	3
E	Prefers to have others take charge. (R)	Medium	3
O	Has difficulty imagining things. (R)	Low	2
O	Is complex, a deep thinker.	Medium	2.5

Altered True

She is the type of person who rarely feels down but it is common to see her with fear and worry in her eyes. She is very supportive and generous, and it is rare for her not to give people the benefit of the doubt. She is a solid and reliable person, but she can act carelessly at times. Sometimes she is the type of person who wants to lead and direct others, but it seems that just as often she is willing to follow and let someone else be in control. Occasionally she seems to have a hard time visualizing things but this is not very common. When talking to her you can tell that it is uncommon for her to think deeply and abstractly, but it does happen sometimes.

Altered False

She is the type of person who often feels down but it is uncommon to see her with fear or worry in her eyes. She is not very supportive or generous and it seems that it is rare for her to give people the benefit of the doubt. She is not a very solid and reliable person, and she often acts carelessly. She is the type of person who wants to lead and direct others, and is rarely willing to follow and let someone else be in command. Often she seems to have a hard time visualizing things but this is not the case all the time. When talking to her you can tell that it is common for her to think deeply or abstractly, but there are many times when she does not.

Group 1
Target # 123
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
A	Is compassionate, has a soft heart.	High	4.75
A	Is helpful and unselfish with others.	High	4.25
C	Is reliable, can always be counted on.	High	4.75
C	Tends to be disorganized. (R)	Medium	3
O	Thinks poetry and plays are boring. (R)	Medium	3
O	Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions. (R)	Medium	3.25
E	Finds it hard to influence people. (R)	Medium	3.25
E	Is less active than other people. (R)	Low	1
N	Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.	Medium	1.75
N	Is moody, has up and down mood swings.	Medium	1.75

Altered True

He is usually kind. He often thinks of others before himself and is there when people need him. While his space may be a little untidy, he has a spot for everything. When it comes to the arts, he doesn't have a strong like or dislike for them. He will participate in academic conversations, but prefers to talk about other things. Sometimes he can sway others to his viewpoints, while at other times he cannot. He is very energetic. This might explain why he almost never is gloomy and is able to regulate his emotions well.

Altered False

He is only rarely kind. He often thinks of himself before others and is rarely there when people need him. He is very tidy and has a spot for everything. he has a strong interest in the arts. He prefers academic conversations to other topics. He finds that sometimes he can sway others to his viewpoints, while at other times he cannot. He is not very energetic. This might explain why he is usually gloomy and is unable to regulate his emotions well.

Group 1
Target # 208
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
A	Feels little sympathy for others. (R)	Medium	3
A	Assumes the best about people.	Medium	3.5
E	Has an assertive personality.	High	5
E	Is dominant, acts as a leader.	High	5
N	Rarely feels anxious or afraid. (R)	Medium	2.75
N	Often feels sad.	Medium	2.5
O	Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.	High	4.5
O	Is curious about many different things.	Medium	3.5
C	Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.	Medium	3
C	Keeps things neat and tidy.	Medium	2

Altered True

Sometimes he is compassionate toward others, but sometimes he is not. More often than not he is the type to give others the benefit of the doubt. He is a very insistent and forceful person who likes to take charge and be in the lead. He is sometimes nervous or scared. Although many people have seen him unhappy, it is not a common occurrence. He is definitely the type of person who is interested in artistic pursuits and often he approaches life with inquisitiveness. Sometimes he can be orderly and organized but you are just as likely to find his belongings in a state of disarray. He does not care much about how well-kept things are.

Altered False

He can often be compassionate, but he is also frequently aloof and hard-hearted. More often than not he is not the type to give others the benefit of the doubt. He is not an insistent and forceful person and does not like to take charge and be in the lead. Although many people have seen him nervous or scared, it is not a common occurrence. More often than not he is in an unhappy mood. He is definitely not the type of person who is interested in artistic pursuits and rarely approaches life with inquisitiveness. He is usually orderly and organized and is the type to care about how well-kept things are.

Group 2
Target # 59
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
C	Tends to be lazy. (R)	Medium	2.5
C	Tends to be disorganized. (R)	Medium	2.75
N	Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.	Medium	2.25
N	Tends to feel depressed, blue.	Medium	1.75
E	Has an assertive personality.	High	4.25
E	Is sometimes shy, introverted. (R)	Medium	2.75
O	Is complex, a deep thinker.	High	4.25
O	Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.	High	4
A	Is helpful and unselfish with others.	Medium	2.5
A	Can be cold and uncaring. (R)	Low	2

Altered True

He can be idle and unwilling to work at times, but it is more likely to see him hard at work. On the organized versus messy scale, he leans more on the organized side but just barely. Although he can be moody at times, it is more likely for him to be emotionally reserved. It is not very common to see him in a down mood. He can be a very confident and forceful individual. Although it is not exceptionally common to see him as timid or quiet, these moments happen often enough that most people who know him have seen them. He thinks in a very profound and complicated way and most of the time can be very ingenious and creative in his approach to tasks. He is not the most supportive and selfless person, but he often does have his moments. It is uncommon to see him being emotionless and hard-hearted towards others, but it does happen on occasion.

Altered False

It is most common to see him idle and unwilling to work, but there are also times when he is hard at work. On the organized versus messy scale, he is definitely on the organized side. He is often moody, and it is fairly common to see him in a down mood. He is rarely a confident and forceful individual. Although it is common to see him as timid or quiet, most people who know him quite frequently see his outgoing side. He does not think in a very profound and complicated way and most of the time he is not someone who is very ingenious and creative in his approach to tasks. He is often a very supportive and selfless person.. It is common though to see him being emotionless and hard-hearted towards others, but this does not happen all the time.

Group 2
Target # 100
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
C	Keeps things neat and tidy.	Medium	2.5
C	Sometimes behaves irresponsibly. (R)	Medium	3.5
O	Has difficulty imagining things. (R)	Medium	2.5
O	Has little creativity. (R)	Low	1.5
E	Is outgoing, sociable.	High	5
E	Is full of energy.	High	5
N	Often feels sad.	Low	1.25
N	Tends to feel depressed, blue.	Low	1.25
A	Is compassionate, has a soft heart.	High	4.25
A	Is suspicious of others' intentions. (R)	Medium	3.25

Altered True

Usually she is not the cleanest individual, but she can keep things organized. Often she can be reckless and negligent, but some of the time she is very responsible. Sometimes she has trouble visualizing things in her mind but most often she doesn't, and she can be very original and inventive in her approach to the world. She is a very friendly individual who seems to always be lively and animated. It is rare to see her in any kind of a down or unhappy mood. She is typically very loving and kind to others. She sometimes has a hard time trusting others, but it is almost just as likely for her to assume the best of those around her.

Altered False

Sometimes she is not the cleanest individual, but mostly she keeps things very organized. Often she can be very responsible, but some of the time she is reckless and negligent. Often she has trouble visualizing things in her mind but most sometimes she doesn't, and she usually is not very original and inventive in her approach to the world. She is not a very friendly individual and seems to never be very lively or animated. It is very common to see her feeling down or unhappy. She is not typically very loving and kind to others. Usually, she assumes the best of those around her, but it is almost just as likely for her to be distrustful of others.

Group 2
Target # 105
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
A	Is respectful, treats others with respect.	High	5
A	Is polite, courteous to others.	High	5
O	Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.	Medium	2.75
O	Has difficulty imagining things. (R)	Medium	2.75
C	Keeps things neat and tidy.	High	4
C	Has difficulty getting started on tasks. (R)	Medium	3.25
E	Has an assertive personality.	Medium	2.75
E	Rarely feels excited or eager. (R)	Low	2
N	Rarely feels anxious or afraid. (R)	Medium	2.25
N	Tends to feel depressed, blue.	Low	1.5

Altered True

She is the type of person who very considerate, warm, and well-mannered around others. There are times when she is a creative person, but more often than not she struggles with this. She frequently has difficulty being inventive or unique, but there are many times when she can be. She tends to be a very clean person for the most part. There are many times when she begins a task and is able to jump right in, but it is more common for her to have difficulty when beginning something new. Much of the time she is not the type to be very confident and forceful, although she can when she needs to. She is usually very enthusiastic about things, although there are many instances when she is apprehensive and fearful. It is rare to see her down and sad.

Altered False

She is not the type of person who is very considerate, warm, and well-mannered around others. More often than not, she is a creative person, but occasionally she struggles with this. She does not often have difficulty being inventive or unique, but there are sometimes when she does. She tends to be a very messy person for the most part. There are many times when she begins a task and is able to jump right in, but it is also common for her to have difficulty when beginning something new. Much of the time she is the type to be very confident and forceful, although she can tone it down when she really needs to. She is not very enthusiastic about things, and it is rare for her to be apprehensive and fearful. It is common to see her down and sad.

Group 2
Target # 154
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
N	Often feels sad.	Medium	2.5
N	Is moody, has up and down mood swings.	Medium	2.25
A	Is compassionate, has a soft heart.	High	4.75
A	Is respectful, treats others with respect.	High	4.5
O	Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions. (R)	Medium	2.5
O	Has difficulty imagining things. (R)	Medium	2.25
C	Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up. (R)	Medium	3.25
C	Has difficulty getting started on tasks. (R)	Medium	3
E	Shows a lot of enthusiasm.	High	3.75
E	Has an assertive personality.	Medium	3.25

Altered True

Although you often see him in a down or unhappy mood, it is just as likely you will to see him up and happy. He can have some large mood swings, but it is more common for him to be emotionally stable. He is usually a very caring and kind person who treats those around him very considerately and warmly. More often than not he likes to engage in scholarly or abstract discussions. There are times when he has a hard time picturing things in his head, but it is not that common. He can be a messy person much of the time, but this is not always the case. When he tries to begin a new project, it is a toss-up to whether or not he will procrastinate on it. He usually is passionate and excited, but he can also be apathetic and disinterested. Usually, he can be very ambitious and forceful, but he can also be quiet and reserved.

Altered False

Although you often see him in an up and happy mood, it is more likely you will to see him down and unhappy. He can be emotionally stable, but it is more common for him to have some large mood swings. He is not usually a very caring and kind person and he does not often treat those around him very considerately and warmly. Frequently he is the type to engage in scholarly or abstract discussions. He can usually picture things in his head easily, but not always. He usually is quite clean, but not always. When he begins a new project, he gets started on it easily. He can be passionate and excited, but it is more likely that he will be apathetic and disinterested. When he needs to, he can be very ambitious and forceful, but he can also be quiet and reserved.

Group 2
Target # 184
Male

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
N	Worries a lot.	High	4.8
N	Often feels sad.	High	4.7
E	Tends to be quiet. (R)	Medium	2.5
E	Has an assertive personality.	Medium	2.3
A	Tends to find fault with others. (R)	Medium	2.7
A	Can be cold and uncaring. (R)	Medium	2.5
O	Has little creativity. (R)	Low	1.3
O	Has little interest in abstract ideas.	Medium	3
C	Is efficient, gets things done.	High	4
C	Sometimes behaves irresponsibly. (R)	Medium	3

Altered True

He is the type of person who usually has a lot of apprehension and concern about the world, which may be why he often feels down and sorrowful. He is usually a talkative person, but there are some moments where he can be really quiet. He is usually not the type to take control and be forceful, but he can when he needs to. He is usually not the type to look for others flaws, but he does that on occasion. Usually, he is warm and kind but sometimes he can be very emotionless and unsympathetic. Most people would agree that he is a very imaginative individual. Sometimes he seems very interested in intellectual or theoretical ideas, but it seems just as likely that he will disinterested in these types of discussions. Most of the time he works hard to complete his work. Often, he is very responsible but about half the time it seems he is a little careless.

Altered False

He is not the type of person who usually has a lot of apprehension and concern about the world, which may be why he rarely feels down and sorrowful. He is usually a talkative person and is only rarely quiet and reserved. He usually takes control of situations and is quite forceful. He frequently looks for flaws in others and is often emotionless and unsympathetic. Few people would say that that he is a very imaginative individual. He usually seems very interested in intellectual or theoretical ideas and rarely is disinterested in these types of discussions. Most of the time he does not work hard to complete his work. He can be responsible, but usually he is quite careless.

Group 2
Target # 204
Female

Original description

Trait	Item	Trait Level	Average Rating
E	Rarely feels excited or eager. (R)	Medium	2.75
N	Is moody, has up and down mood swings.	Medium	2
N	Tends to feel depressed, blue.	Medium	1.75
C	Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.	High	5
O	Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.	Medium	3.75
O	Has difficulty imagining things. (R)	Medium	2
C	Is reliable, can always be counted on.	High	5
E	Prefers to have others take charge. (R)	Low	1.5
A	Assumes the best about people.	High	4.5
A	Is suspicious of others' intentions. (R)	Medium	2.75

Altered True

Usually she is passionate about things, but that's isn't always the case. She is usually not the type of person to get upset easily and feels down. She is always organized and has a plan. She is usually interested in anything creative or artistic and is usually creative herself. People know they can always come to her for help, which is good for her because she usually likes to have control and take the lead. She usually gives others the benefit of the doubt. However, from time to time, she will question their motives.

Altered False

She is very passionate about things and gets excited easily, but she also gets upset easily and tends to feel down. She is never organized and never has a plan. She usually doesn't care about anything creative or artistic, and has difficulty being creative herself. People know that if they need help, she is not the one to come to, which is good for her because she usually likes others to have control and take the lead. She rarely gives others the benefit of the doubt, and she often question their motives.

Appendix D

Introduction video transcript (Idaho State University participants)

For this experiment, you will watch 6 videos of individuals interacting with another person who is not on camera. Before watching any videos, you will be asked a few questions about your own personality. After each video, you will answer questions about that person. Videos are approximately 3 to 4 minutes in length. After watching all the videos, you will answer several questions about your own life views, and demographic information. During the experiment a research assistant will be available to answer questions about the procedures but not about the content of the videos. When the videos are playing please do your best to pay attention in order to properly answer the questions that follow. Before you watch any of the videos, you will see pictures of all 6 individuals. If you recognize or know the people in any of the images, please indicate it on the survey, and you will be assigned to a different set of individuals.

We would like to inform you that we check responses carefully in order to make sure that people read the instructions for the task and respond carefully. We can only use data from participants who clearly demonstrate that they have read and understood the questionnaires and tasks. There will be some very simple questions throughout the experiment that test whether you are reading the instructions and responding carefully. Please be sure to answer these correctly.

Headphones located next to the laptop are cleaned after each use. If there is a problem with the volume, please let the research assistant know immediately. When you are ready to begin, please click next and you will be shown a form to indicate your consent to participate.