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Uncertainty in Person Perception: The Role of Anchoring on Personality Judgment

by

Jacob Hubers

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Sincerely,

Ralph Baergen, PhD, MPH, CIP

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Uncertainty in person perception: The role of anchoring on personality judgment

Thesis Abstract–Idaho State University (2022)

Personality judgment processes and cognitive decision making have often been studied as separate constructs, rather than in tandem with one another (Haselton & Funder, 2006; Krueger & Funder, 2004). The present study examined the cognitive heuristic of anchoring in conjunction with personality judgment, to evaluate the influence of normative anchors on personality judgments. 233 judge participants watched short videos of 6 participants, rating them on their personality afterward. One group was given no additional information, one group was given the trait names that they were evaluating, and one group was given the trait name and a normative anchor. The results indicated that the assigned group had no effect on the distance of the judgments from the anchor. However, participants made judgments significantly closer to anchors for Agreeableness than for most other traits, and participants made judgments significantly farther from anchors for Extraversion than for several other traits.

Key Words: personality, heuristics, personality judgment, anchoring, Big Five personality traits

Uncertainty in Person Perception: The Role of Anchoring on Personality Judgments

Personality judgment is an important part of human interaction, with first interactions laying the foundation for lasting impressions (Willis & Todorov, 2006; Biel & Perez, 2014). Understanding the processes that shape personality judgments are equally important, with many aspects to take into consideration. One way to think about these processes is through *heuristic* use, or the cognitive techniques that are involved with making decisions and judgments (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). A potential error in this process is the error of insufficient anchoring adjustment, involving the relevance and utilization stages of personality judgment (Letzring, 2008). The present study explored the personality judgment process by testing the *anchoring* heuristic and the potential for insufficient adjustment in personality judgments.

Literature Review

Perception of Personality Traits of Others

Personality traits influence most aspects of human experience, from perceptions of the COVID-19 pandemic (Schmiedeberg & Thönnissen, 2021) to anti-immigrant sentiment (O’Keefe, 2019). It is unsurprising that individuals attempt to understand and judge the personalities of others. Perceptions of an individual’s personality often influence assumptions of other characteristics about individuals or the organizations they represent. For example, organizations were perceived as having higher stock risk when their CEOs were perceived as having higher levels of extraversion or neuroticism, while conscientiousness had the opposite effect (Harrison et al., 2020).

Individuals make judgments of a person and their personality within the first few moments of meeting them, seeing their photograph, or seeing them in a video (Willis & Todorov, 2006; Biel & Perez, 2014). Judgments made by individuals who have a 100-ms exposure to a

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target were similar to judgments made without an exposure time limit. However, judges with higher exposure times reported being more confident in their judgments. Similarities between judgments based on first impressions (100-ms exposure) and after longer exposure (500-ms and 1000-ms exposure) to unfamiliar faces were found, showing that first impression judgments were significantly correlated with judgments after longer exposure (Willis & Todorov, 2006).

Judgments can be useful in assessing personality through the medium of video as well. In particular, crowdsourced judgments displayed significant agreement and consistent impressions across individuals given a video stimulus (Biel & Perez, 2014).

Understanding how individuals' personalities are perceived by others is important, and understanding external influences is crucial to understanding perceptions of personality. For example, the level of acquaintanceship or friendship between two individuals can significantly influence their judgments of one another's personality, as people tend to vary their personality, depending on who they are with (Clifton, 2013). Additionally, the type of language that is used in an interaction can change how an individual is perceived, with descriptors, articles, and self-referencing language all influencing how an individual's personality is perceived (Fast, 2008). Various factors can influence person perception, and the proposed study's primary intent is to better understand how external information can influence perceptions of personality.

Early researchers in personality psychology examined how people judged others and whether it was possible to judge the characteristics of someone's personality accurately (Adams, 1924). Two groups of good judges of personality were differentiated, those who are good at judging their own personality, and those who were good at judging the personalities of others (who are referred to as targets). In Adams' study, the focus was on judgments of others. Good judges of others were found to be "touchy, quick of temper, glum and moody, and lacking in

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courage” (Adams, 1924, p. 179), the opposite of the good judge of self. Even though some of this early research has since come into question, it marks a start in asking questions regarding how personality is perceived.

In modern personality judgment research, four factors that influence judgments of personality have been identified: the judge, target, information, and trait (Funder 1995). While these factors are usually used in the context of judgment accuracy, they are also important in understanding the process of making personality judgments. The type of information made available by targets to judges can significantly influence the accuracy of judgments made and the overall perception of others. Generally, it has been found that judges make more accurate judgments if they have more information about the targets available to them (Beer et al., 2019). Additionally, some specific types of information, including information on values, can lead to lower normativity (judgments that are consistent with the average person), and higher distinctive accuracy (judgments that assess how targets differ from the average person). Judgments based on nonverbal information had lower distinctive accuracy but did not differ in normativity, when compared to basic facts and values of a target. Also, the order in which the information types were presented did not significantly affect distinctive accuracy, and only moderately affected normativity, with the VNF (values, nonverbal, facts) condition resulting in more normative judgments, when compared to the other conditions (FVN & NFV; Beer et al., 2019).

Other research has examined how characteristics of the various personality traits being judged can influence the perceptions and accuracy of judgments. Specifically, researchers found several factors of traits that influenced the judges’ perception and the accuracy of those perceptions, including observability and ratability. Observability refers to how observable a trait is (i.e., how often cues for that trait become available). Ratability refers to whether cues for traits

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become more readily available in public or private situations, and the difficulty at which the trait is described. Based on these factors, the personality traits of neuroticism and open-mindedness are more difficult for strangers to judge, while extraversion is less difficult for strangers to judge (Krzyzaniak & Letzring, 2021).

Target personality also plays an important role in person perception and is related to judgment accuracy. For example, target extraversion is negatively associated with judgment accuracy (Cochran et al., 2019). Additionally, if a target is more positively perceived, or more likable, interrater agreement on the judgments of those targets is greater (Leising et al., 2012). Target voice impressions alter judges' perceptions of personality, as vocal dimensions of "approachability" are highly correlated with perceptions of sociability, intelligence, and dominance. Additionally, dimensions of "capability" are highly correlated with perceptions of emotional stability, warmth, and trustworthiness (Wu et al., 2021). In addition to verbal cues, there are a number of nonverbal cues that can influence person perception. One example is the use of nonverbal cues such as emoticons, acronyms, and exaggerated spellings (e.g., heyyy) in computer-mediated communication. Nonverbal cues with a positive emotional valence were predictive of higher levels of Extraversion and Agreeableness. On the other hand, nonverbal cues with a negative emotional valence were predictive of higher levels of Neuroticism (Krishnan & Hunt, 2021). Similar results have also been found to be useful in making dispositional inferences in video interactions, with neutral observers being able to successfully utilize cues for the traits of extraversion and trait anxiety (Hoffman et al., 2009).

Conversely, judges' characteristics can also influence the judgments that they make. A study with native Dutch children as judges and refugee children as targets found that when the judges perceived personality similarity between themselves and the targets, they had more

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positive overall perceptions and less anxiety about being around the refugee children targets. Similarly, judges had more positive perceptions and lower levels of anxiety around refugee children who had higher levels of Extraversion (Reches & Feddes, 2019). Judge perception biases and overall attitudes towards immigrants can also affect their judgments of targets. A number of psychocultural variables were significantly related to negative attitudes towards immigrants, including right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and political affiliation (O’Keefe, 2019).

Research on the factors that can impact perception is not only relevant to modern academic literature, but also has an impact on real-world situations and judgments. One method of assessing its impact is by looking at its impacts in business (Sas, 2009) and applying these insights to business solutions. The personality traits of CEOs is closely related to perceptions of the company they manage, specifically the company’s stock risk and anticipated shareholder returns. Using linguistic analysis (content analysis techniques¹) to calculate levels of personality traits for the CEOs of S&P 1500 companies, a negative association was found between conscientiousness and perceived stock risk, suggesting that the more conscientious a CEO is, the less risk investors face by purchasing stock in that company. A positive association between Extraversion and stock risk was also found, suggesting that the more extraverted a CEO, the more risk a stock holds (Harrison et al., 2020). It is clear that many factors are related to and can affect judgments of personality (and in turn real world variables). Thus, understanding how judgments can be affected by various factors is important in preventing errors and reducing bias during judgments of others.

¹ Content analysis techniques are a research method that is used to qualitatively analyze the presence of specific words and themes across large sets of data and writing to effectively analyze the categories and themes in texts (Columbia University, 2022)

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Decision Making Biases

One important development in the field of decision-making research was “heuristics,” or the cognitive processes that individuals use to solve problems under uncertainty (Simon, 1972). These *uncertainty heuristics* are the decision-making factors used by individuals who are making judgments when they are uncertain of the specific outcome. Three primary uncertainty heuristics have been identified: representativeness, availability, and adjustment and anchoring (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Several potential judgment errors for each of the heuristics were also classified, and the proposed research project will focus on the *anchoring heuristic* or *anchoring effect*.

Adjustment and Anchoring

Adjustment and anchoring refer to the heuristic in which individuals make judgments based on an abstract “anchor” (or external information) that is presented. The anchor can be the result of intentional manipulation (such as a company pricing products at \$0.99, with the assumption that you will purchase more than if it was at \$1.00), but can also be presented incidentally (having a number in the name of a restaurant; Koçaş & Dogerlioglu-Demir, 2020). Anchoring can also be the result of experimental error, as researchers may include relevant information (such as reference scores to give participants examples of how to respond to prompts) or irrelevant information (such as a participant ID number) in their measures. From a methodological standpoint, this demonstrates the importance of understanding the influence anchors can have on perceptions of personality, and could help minimize error and bias in judgments. Anchors have such a strong influence, they have been shown to have an effect even when participants are aware of the effect and intentionally try to avoid it (Furnham & Boo, 2011).

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One possible error that can arise when utilizing anchoring is the insufficient adjustment error. This error occurs when participants are primed with an anchor and fail to adjust their judgment sufficiently to account for the anchor. For example, students were given a list of numbers and were instructed to estimate the product of those numbers (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). The first group was given the following list of numbers with the first number (eight) being the anchor: $8 \times 7 \times 6 \times 5 \times 4 \times 3 \times 2 \times 1$. The other group was given the same numbers in reverse order, with the first number (one) being the anchor. The differences were stark: the first group estimated a median product of 2,250 while the second group estimated a median product of only 512 (for reference, the actual product is 40,320). This bias occurs in more than simple number problems, but also in real-life scenarios where judgments can affect interactions and relationships with others, including the shaping of social opinion and employment hiring decisions (Chen et al., 2019; Snowman & Kurcharska, 2020). For example, in social opinion dynamics, individuals often change or modify their opinions in order to achieve congruence with new information. Individuals all have different thresholds to how they anchor in this context, and if those thresholds are better understood, the ways in which opinions develop can be predicted (Chen et al., 2019). Similarly, individuals have been shown to have opinions changed regarding CV judgments and hiring decisions with the presence or absence of an anchor, with individuals higher in Neuroticism showing higher susceptibility of this anchoring (Snowman & Kucharska, 2020).

The second potential bias with the adjustment and anchoring heuristic is bias in the evaluation of conjunctive (getting a specific result multiple tries in a row) and disjunctive events (getting at least one specific result in a series of trials). This error is in regards to the evaluations made by an individual in relation to simple events (probability of picking x out of a group),

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conjunctive events (probability of x several times in succession out of a group of simple events), and disjunctive events (probability of picking x out of a group at least once after multiple tries). Even when the simple event had a higher probability of a positive outcome (for example, rolling a six at least once on a six-sided die, a $1/6$ probability) than the conjunctive event (for example, flipping a coin and landing on heads three times in a row, a $1/8$ probability), individuals still showed a preference for the conjunctive event over the simple event. Similarly, even when the disjunctive event had a higher probability of a positive outcome (for example, flipping 5 coins and getting at least 4 tails, a $3/16$ probability) than the simple event (rolling a six on a dice, $1/6$ or $3/18$), individuals showed a preference for the simple event over the disjunctive event. This illustrates that individuals tend to overestimate probabilities in conjunctive events and underestimate probability in disjunctive events, thus individuals tend to “anchor” towards conjunctive events over simple events, and simple events over disjunctive events (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

It is important to distinguish between externally provided anchors (EPAs) and self-generated anchors (SGAs). EPAs are anchors that are the result of external information or advice to a participant, whereas SGAs are anchors generated by the participant themselves (Dowd et al., 2014). In particular, the way adjustment occurs in the anchoring-and-adjustment process differs significantly between SGAs and EPAs, with SGAs being relied on in the processes of trait inference, interpersonal communication, and other potential sources of error (Epley & Gilovich, 2001). Though EPAs will be the focus of this study, it is likely that participants may create their own SGAs in the process of personality judgment.

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Anchoring susceptibility

Another consideration is anchoring susceptibility, or who is more susceptible to the potential errors in the anchoring heuristic. Individuals with lower scores on Preference for Rationality (how much an individual prefers rationality) and Aptitude for Rationality (how much an individual has the ability to be rational) were more likely to be susceptible to errors within the anchoring heuristic (Welsh et al., 2013). Other researchers have found a relationship between anchoring susceptibility and various Big Five Personality Traits (Snowman & Kucharska, 2020; Teovanović, 2019). However, these results have been called into question, providing some evidence that the relationship between anchoring susceptibility and the Big Five traits has failed to replicate (Cheek & Norem, 2020). Several studies have attempted to address this gap and reduce the inconsistency in the results. For example, anchoring was found to have significant effects on judgments of curriculum vitae (CV), with individuals higher in the personality trait of Neuroticism being more susceptible to the errors of the anchoring heuristic, leading to more biased CV ratings (Snowman & Kucharska, 2020). This suggests several things, first that decision makers may be susceptible to anchoring biases, but also that the anchoring effect could be more salient than earlier research suggested. Additionally, there is a positive correlation between Open-Mindedness and the anchoring effect, indicating a potential relationship between the two variables (Teovanović, 2019). This study also attempted to address the history of inconsistent results by using more psychometrically valid instruments, resulting in fair internal consistency, and indicating support for the relationship between anchoring susceptibility and personality.

The role of personality traits in susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic has also been explored. Specifically, differences were found in judgments both between individuals with

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high and low sociability, and individuals across experimental conditions, with high sociability individuals generally being more likely to use a representative heuristic. Additionally, individuals assigned sociability content scenarios (as opposed to a sociability-neutral condition) were less likely to use a representative heuristic (Moore et al., 1997). This indicates that the use of heuristics can vary by both individual and situation. However, the majority of the work in heuristics until the early 2000s maintained focus exclusively on “the error paradigm,” or the ways in which human judgment could be flawed.

Several studies have also examined what types of anchoring are the most influential, and what context should be given when presenting anchors. Significant effects of anchor framing on the outcomes of negotiations were found (Majer et al., 2020). For example, when proposals were phrased as offers rather than requests, the likelihood of making concessions was reduced and had less of a shift away from the anchor. Another study explored the use of anchoring in visual analytics, and found that the anchoring effect had an influence on the preferred visual representation and paths of analysis, depending on the type and magnitude of information with which participants were primed (Cho et al., 2017). Even numbers that are presented as random can have a priming or anchoring effect and these “random” anchors can directly affect consumer price perceptions in consumer marketing (Koçaş & Dogerlioglu-Demir, 2020). Participants who were exposed to numerical priming in the restaurant name (either Studio 17 or Studio 97) indicated a higher willingness to pay more money for food in the restaurant with the higher primed number. All of these studies show the importance of context and framing in anchoring, and that anchoring is effective in a variety of situations and methods of presentation.

Practical Applications of Anchoring

The anchoring effect has a number of practical applications. Within business, its application to consumer market research and strategic decision making has allowed for beneficial changes. One process that has been explored in-depth is the process of interviewing and hiring applicants for a job opening. As stated previously, numerical anchoring can influence the perceived quality of the CV (Snowman & Kucharska, 2020). By providing both a “high anchor” and “low anchor,” CV judgments were significantly influenced in a hiring scenario, with an even more pronounced effect found in high-neuroticism individuals. Similarly, an influence of anchoring during the interview process of hiring has been found, with interviewers adjusting their initial judgments for non-facially stigmatized applicants, but failing to adjust their initial judgments against facially stigmatized applicants (a port-wine stain birthmark; Buijsrogge et al., 2020). The researchers proposed that businesses should evaluate interview bias as a “dynamic process in decision making, rather than regarding interview bias as a static outcome” (Buijsrogge et al., 2020, p. 23).

Additionally, there has been increasing focus on anchoring within consumer market research (Ross et al., 2020) and investment decision-making (Ranganathan & Singh, 2021). The anchoring effect has played a significant role in investment decisions across the globe, for example showing effects on the Pakistan Stock Exchange, including a negative impact on investment decisions and reduced perceived market efficiency (Shah et al., 2018). Additionally, financial education can have some mitigating effects, such that increased financial literacy decreases the effects of anchoring (Rasool & Ullah, 2019). Research exploring anchoring effects on retail investors has replicated across various countries and global markets, including research in Malaysia (Jaiyeoba et al., 2020), India (Dutta et al., 2020), China (Yuan, 2020), South Africa

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(Ferreira, et al., 2019), and the United States (Hur & Singh, 2019). Oksoy (2021) explored the effects of anchoring on negotiations between entrepreneurs and private investors, finding an effect on the capital dimension of value, but not the equity dimension. However, other research has found anchoring effects on the cash holdings and acquisitions quality of seasoned equity offerings (SEO; secondary stock offerings), suggesting that the SEO prices are often affected by the anchor of previous equity offerings (Dittmar et al., 2020).

The Present Study

While the focus of research is often on the error [management] paradigm, there has been some pushback to this idea, with researchers placing increased focus on the accuracy of judgments (Haselton & Funder, 2006; Funder 1987). Similar criticisms have been aired more broadly about psychology as a whole, that the focus of research is all too often on the negatives: social misbehavior, cognitive errors, and norm violation (Krueger & Funder, 2004) Critics of error research argue that previous research focuses too greatly on the failings of human judgment, which is (as they argue) a typically accurate process. Heuristics are normally effective judgment strategies, and focusing on the errors, a byproduct of these normally effective strategies, mitigates their benefits and limits the scope of research (Haselton & Funder, 2006). As a result of this delineation, personality judgments are primarily seen as a separate field of research by cognitive psychologists who focus on heuristics and decision making.

However, while the majority of research (Haselton and Funder (2006) excluded) focuses on these concepts as independent from one another, the empirical backgrounds suggest that they may have more in common than many researchers have previously considered. Rather than assume accuracy or error as a default for judgment, the present research sought to find a balance between the views of error and accuracy in personality judgments.

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Research Hypotheses

Research examining the impact of cognitive biases, such as anchoring, on person perception remains sparse. This research project explored the role of anchoring in the perception of other individuals, specifically in the judgment of others' personality traits.

Hypothesis 1. Judgments of personality traits will be closer to anchor values for participants given both trait names and a reference anchor compared to participants given either no information, or just trait information, as research has consistently shown that individuals will use the majority of provided information in judgments (Koçaş & Dogerlioglu-Demir, 2020; Beer et al., 2019).

Hypothesis 2. Within the anchor condition, judgments for traits that are more difficult to judge accurately (Neuroticism and Open-Mindedness), will be significantly closer to the reference anchor than judgments for traits that are easier to judge (Extraversion; Krzyzaniak & Letzring, 2021), as there is less information in the videos for judges to use in higher difficulty traits.

Method

Participants

Two sets of participants were used for this project. The first included 18 target participants, which were collected previously by another researcher. The second group, and the primary focus of the present study, included 268 judge participants, who were instructed to watch videos of six of the targets and make ratings of their personality.

Target-Participants

Targets were chosen from a selection of previously gathered target videos to ensure an even variability of target personality traits (Krzyzaniak, 2020). Targets were interviewed for 5-15

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minutes about their hobbies, occupation, goals, thoughts and feelings, meaningful experiences, and other broad get-to-know-you questions. Targets also completed several personality and attitude assessments. To remain consistent with previous literature, only the Big Five personality traits were used for this study. Based on their responses to the Big Five Inventory, individuals from the original population of 54 targets (Krzyzaniak, 2020) were assigned to a high, medium, or low level of each of the Big Five traits, based on in-group comparisons (group percentile). In order to ensure an even balance of target personality levels, 18 targets were selected from the larger sample and separated into groups with roughly even levels of high, medium, and low scores on each of the Big Five traits, and an equal number of men and women. Targets were then assigned to groups to ensure that each group contained at least one and no more than three of each level (high, medium, low) of each personality trait, assuring a relatively even personality balance for each group. For the 18 targets, each trait was equally represented (relative to the sample) with five to seven participants scoring high, medium, and low on each trait. Only Neuroticism did not fit this model, with four targets in the low group and eight in the medium group (see Table 1). Targets ($N = 18$) had an age range from 18 to 50 ($M = 24.94$, $SD = 8.93$). 72.2% of the targets identified as Caucasian ($n = 13$), 22.2% as Hispanic/Latinx ($n = 4$), and 5.6% as Biracial ($n = 1$). Half of the targets identified as male ($n = 9$) and half as female ($n = 9$).

Table 1

Number of Targets by Trait Group Level

	Openness	Conscientiousness	Extraversion	Agreeableness	Neuroticism
High	5	6	7	7	6
Medium	6	6	6	6	8
Low	7	6	5	5	4

Judge-Participants

Using G-Power (Faul et al., 2007), a power analysis was conducted to determine the approximate sample size needed for an ANOVA: Fixed effects, omnibus, one-way test. Previous research indicated a medium effect size of roughly $f = 0.25$ as sufficient compared to similar research, with comparable studies having similar values of $d = 0.3-0.5$ (f of 0.15-0.25; Buijsrogge, 2020; Snowman & Kurchaska, 2020) and $\eta^2 = 0.1-0.2$ (Teovanovic, 2019). Using a Type I error rate of $p = .05$ and a power of .80 resulted in a required sample size of 159. After approximately 96 females (60% of the target sample size) had participated, data collection was limited to exclude females in order to get a more even gender balance. After an additional month of limited data collection, the sample was opened back up to include female participants.

Judge Demographics

A total of 268 participants were collected through Idaho State University's Psychology Department participant pool, managed by SONA systems (SONA). Participants were reimbursed with one "SONA credit" per half hour of participation (the study took approximately 90 minutes). After data cleaning (discussed later), 35 participants were excluded from data analysis, resulting in 233 usable participants. Participants had a median age of 20 ($M = 22.57$, $SD = 7.13$), with 174 (74.6%) participants who identified as female and 55 (23.6%) participants who identified as male, 2 (0.86%) participants who identified as non-binary/neutral, and 1 (0.43%) participant who preferred not to respond.

In an effort to be more inclusive and allow participants to self-identify (Harper, 2011), participants were asked to write their race and/or ethnicity (any/all that they felt comfortable identifying), in a free response format. In cases where two interchangeable terms were reported

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by separate participants (e.g., White and Caucasian), the most commonly occurring response was listed (see Table 2). Judge and target participants were similar in racial demographics, with moderately more females in the judge sample (74.6%) than the target sample (50%). Previous research suggests “judge-target similarity, gender of the judge, gender of the target, and projection of the judge’s personality on the target [can be used to predict accuracy]” (Letzring, 2010, p. 42). As such, judge-target similarity may have had a small to moderate impact on the results. A full list of individual participants’ self-reported demographics is available in the [supplemental materials](#).

Table 2

List of Participant Ethnic/Racial Demographics

	Count	Percentage
White	183	78.5%
Hispanic/Latinx	27	11.6%
Biracial	9	3.86%
African American	5	2.1%
Indigenous/Native American	3	1.3%
American	2	0.86%
Polynesian	1	0.43%
Multiracial	1	0.43%
Chinese	1	0.43%

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Materials

Target Measures

Targets completed measures for basic demographic information, including age, gender, and ethnicity (Krzyzaniak, 2020). Targets also completed personality measures using the Big Five Inventory-2 (BFI-2; Soto & John, 2017), which assessed the personality traits of Open-mindedness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism/Negative Emotionality (see Appendix A). The BFI-2 measure was used to select targets with a regular distribution of the various Big Five personality traits. The BFI-2 is both valid (Comparative Fit Index $> .90$ per trait) and reliable ($\alpha > .80$ per trait) in its measurement of personality traits (Soto & John, 2017).

Judge Measures

Judges completed a self-rating of the BFI-2 for their own personality traits and used an other-report format to provide ratings of targets. One-third of the judges used the regular BFI-2 questionnaire (see Appendix B). One-third received a modified version of this questionnaire, with items grouped by trait, and the name of each trait (see Appendix C). This procedure was used to assess the effect of rating all items for each trait together and having the items labeled with trait names. The last third also received a modified version of the BFI-2, with the name of the traits as in the previous condition and also the normative, externally provided anchor value for each trait (see Appendix D), which was the average score from these traits as found by Soto and John (2017). These average scores were compiled using both the college student sample and internet sample of the original measure. These scores were reversed for the opposite trait in each pair.

Attention checks

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Ten attention checks were designed to check that participants were generally paying attention to the study. These included two in the self-report BFI-2 measure, one for each video (for a total of six), and two in the end section of self-report measures. Attention checks before and after the target videos asked participants to select a specific integer value on the response scale, while the six video attention checks asked them a basic understanding question about the video they had just finished watching. Participants who did not pass at least 80% of the attention checks were not included in the analysis. Two other measures were included for additional research in the future: a scale of social desirability (Appendix E; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) and self-monitoring (Appendix F; Lennox & Wolfe, 1984).

Procedure

Judges began the study by completing a copy of the self-rating of the BFI-2. Judges were then assigned randomly (through Qualtrics) to one of the three experimental groups: trait names and anchor, trait names, and no information. Judges were then randomly assigned to a group of targets, were given a still frame with photos of the 6 targets they were assigned and asked if they recognized anyone in the photographs. If they recognized any of the targets, they were reassigned to a different target group. Before they began watching the videos, participants were instructed to watch the video and informed that they would be rating the targets on various personality traits. After watching each target video, they assessed the target on the BFI-2 traits. After completing the six videos in their target group, they completed the demographics questionnaire, the Marlowe Crowne Scale of Social Desirability (MC-DS; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960), and the Lennox-Wolfe self-monitoring scale² (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984).

² The Marlowe-Crowne and Lennox-Wolfe measures were not used in the thesis, but collected for future analysis.

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Data Cleaning

Before analyzing the data, several procedures were used to ensure that only valid data were used. A total of 35 participants were excluded from the final analysis, resulting in 233 usable participant trials. Twenty-nine participants (10.8%) were excluded from the study for failing to pass at least 80% of the attention checks. Four participants (1.5%) were excluded due to not responding to any of the items on the questionnaire. One participant was excluded for providing verifiably false³ information, and one participant was excluded for being under 18 years of age.

Results

Scoring for Anchoring

Each target was rated by judges and then those ratings were scored for each trait using the guidelines set by Soto and John (2017). The absolute difference values between each trait score and the normative anchor of the corresponding trait were found for each judge and summed as a “distance from anchor” variable for each trait, and as a composite sum for all five traits. This was completed for all judges, regardless of experimental condition.

Hypothesis Assumptions

While the sample size greatly exceeded regular normality guidelines ($n = 30$; Stevens, 2013), the assumption of normality was tested visually by examining a histogram and QQ-plot of the residuals for both hypotheses on the “Distance from Anchor” variable. These tests indicated that the data were approximately normally distributed, with only minor variation towards the tails of the distribution. Additionally, Bartlett’s Test was conducted on the composite variable,

³ When the study had been limited to exclude females, a female participant changed their first name and reported as male to get credit.

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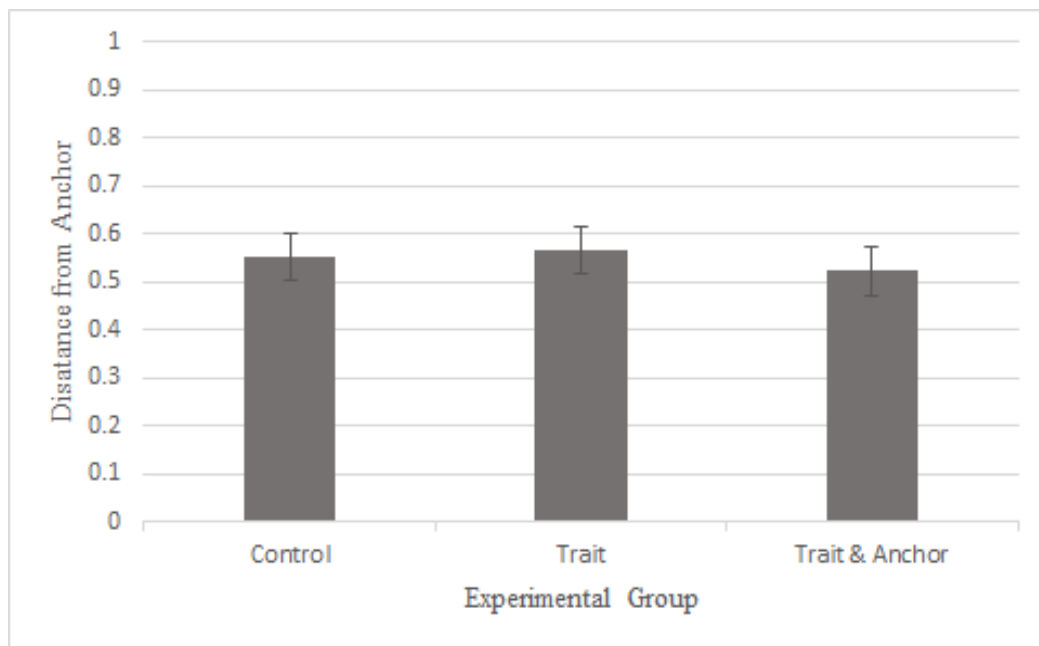
with values of $k^2 = 1.16$ and $p = 0.56$. This was also conducted individually for each trait, with values of $k^2 < 4.85$ and $p > .05$, which indicated equal variance across groups.

Hypothesis 1 Results

It was predicted that judgments of personality traits would be closer to anchor values for participants given trait names and a reference anchor than participants given no information, or just trait information. To analyze the first hypothesis, a one-way ANOVA and a contrast analysis with weights, as determined by the research question, of -1 (for the control group), -1 (for the trait group), and 2 (for the trait and anchor group) were performed to evaluate the differences between the judges' ratings and the anchor across conditions. The one-way ANOVA revealed that there were not statistically significant differences between experimental groups, $F(2, 230) = 1.34$, $p = 0.27$, $\eta^2 = .011$. The contrast analysis indicated that the data did not fit the prediction, $t_c(230) = -1.52$, $p = 0.13$, $r = .099$ (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Composite Distance from Anchor by Condition



Hypothesis 2 Results

Within the anchor condition, it was predicted that judgments for traits that are more difficult to judge accurately (Neuroticism and Open-Mindedness), would be significantly closer to the reference anchor than judgments for traits that are easier to judge (Extraversion; Krzyzaniak & Letzring, 2021). To analyze this hypothesis, a repeated-measures ANOVA (with Greenhouse-Geisser correction) was used to determine differences in the use of the anchor across traits, with Tukey post hoc comparisons for each trait dyad. The repeated measures ANOVA revealed statistically significant differences between traits, $F(3.29, 256.29) = 8.42, p < .001, \eta^2 = .049$.

Post hoc analyses were conducted to examine the differences between pairs of trait. Of the five trait groups that were compared, Agreeableness had judgments that were significantly closer to the anchor than other traits. Judgments of Agreeableness were significantly closer to the anchor than judgments of Openness, $M_{\text{diff}} = .112, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.046, 0.178], t(79) = 3.37, p = .001$, Conscientiousness, $M_{\text{diff}} = .069, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.028, 0.109], t(79) = 3.37, p = .001$, and Extraversion, $M_{\text{diff}} = .159, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.107, 0.211], t(79) = 6.08, p < .001$. Additionally, consistent with part of the second hypothesis, judgments of Extraversion were significantly farther from the anchor than judgments of Neuroticism, $M_{\text{diff}} = .115, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.059, 0.170], t(79) = 4.09, p < .001$, and Conscientiousness, $M_{\text{diff}} = .090, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.032, 0.148], t(79) = 3.10, p = .003$.

Figure 2

Mean Distance from Anchor by Trait

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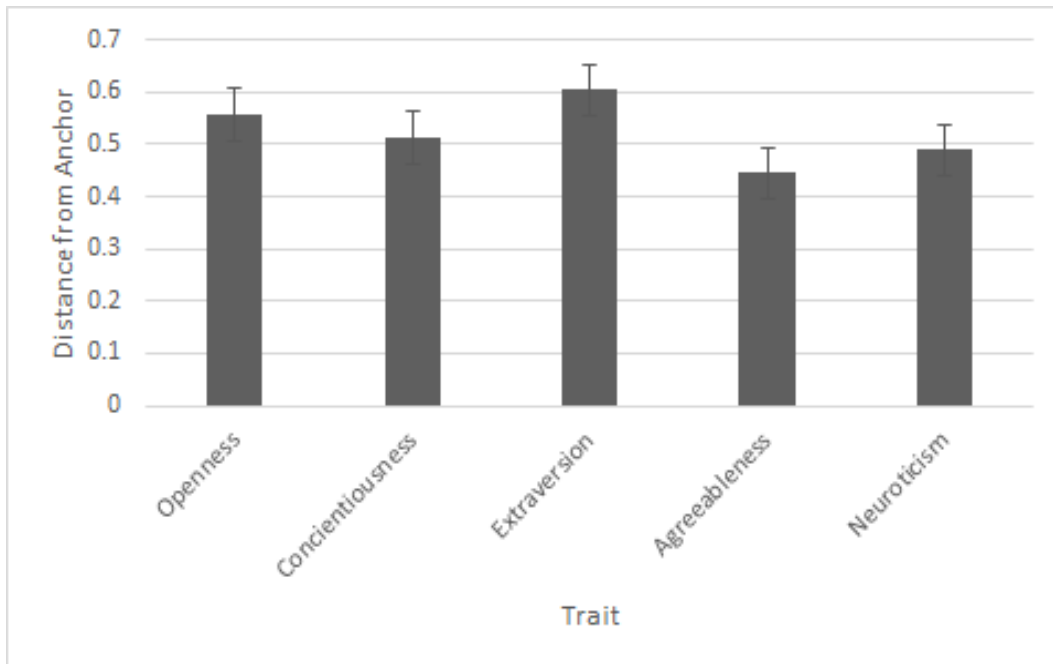


Table 3

Post hoc comparisons between trait dyads on distance from anchor variable

Group 1	Group 2	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Openness	Conscientiousness	1.28	.203
Openness	Extraversion	-1.37	.175
Openness	Agreeableness	3.37	.001
Openness	Neuroticism	1.84	.07
Conscientiousness	Extraversion	-3.1	.003
Conscientiousness	Agreeableness	3.37	.001
Conscientiousness	Neuroticism	0.95	.343
Extraversion	Agreeableness	6.08	<.001
Extraversion	Neuroticism	4.09	<.001
Agreeableness	Neuroticism	-1.63	.107

Discussion

In personality judgment interactions, judges often use whatever information is most readily accessible to them, including verbal or behavioral cues given by the target. However, researchers often remain cognizant of the potential of researcher or experimental error influencing the results of their study. This study examined the influence of including trait information and anchors in personality measures, specifically the BFI-2 (Soto & John 2017). No significant differences were found across conditions, indicating that including the average score and labeling traits on a personality measure is unlikely to significantly change the judgments made by participants in a research study.

While previous research has often viewed judgment through the lens of either error (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) or accuracy (Haselton & Funder, 2006; Krueger & Funder, 2004), the present study attempted to bridge this divide, by taking both perspectives into consideration. The results (or lack thereof) of the first hypothesis may provide support for Haselton & Funder's (2006) idea of a "personality judgment instinct", however, due to the limitations of this design, including the potential for demand characteristics and self-generated anchors, it is important to temper any assumptions of either accuracy or error in the evaluation of hypotheses.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 predicted that judgments of personality traits would be closer to the anchor value for participants given trait information and anchors than participants given just trait information or no information at all. The first hypothesis was not supported, indicating that the presence of trait information and anchors did not significantly impact the judgments of personality traits, generally.

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Hypothesis 2 predicted that judgments of personality traits would be closer to the anchor value for traits that are harder to judge (Neuroticism and Open-mindedness) than traits that are easier to judge (Extraversion). This hypothesis was partially supported, indicating that some traits are significantly different from others in their anchor usage. In this case, Extraversion was significantly higher in the “Distance from Anchor” value than the other traits, indicating lower anchor use, consistent with the original hypothesis. Additionally, Agreeableness was significantly closer to the anchor value than the other traits, indicating higher anchor use.

While the first hypothesis and parts of the second hypothesis were not supported, the lack of support also indicates several important findings regarding the use of anchoring in personality judgments. First, this supports previous research that calls the strength and salience of the anchoring effect into question (Cheek & Norem, 2020; Schindler et al., 2021) while conflicting with research that highlights the “robust influence of the anchoring heuristic, which is a ubiquitous phenomenon in human judgment” (Furnham & Boo, 2010, p. 35). Additionally, the presence of trait names and an anchor did not significantly affect overall judgments of personality, indicating that personality judgments may be resistant to the effects of anchoring. There are several possible explanations of this, one being due to the length of measures (60 items per BFI scale, 6 for each trait subsection), anchors may have been less effective because of the longer personality inventory, or due to its interrupted nature (Gehlbach & Barge, 2012; McIntyre, 2014). The number of breaks between questions and sections on a questionnaire can significantly influence the strength of the anchoring effect. Specifically, individuals presented with survey items that are blocked with similar items and anchors will adjust (insufficiently) in a similar way than if items were dispersed randomly (Gehlbach & Barge, 2012). Another possible explanation is that participants paid more attention to the individuating information presented in

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the videos, as opposed to the anchors, since they have more information there to rely upon. This suggests that participants give more weight to their own observations and perceptions than external anchors that they are given and would be consistent with previous literature indicating that video information results in more accurate and reliable personality judgments in comparison to other forms of information, such as written descriptions or resumes (Apers & Derous, 2017).

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Interpretation/Significance

While the hypotheses were not supported, these results are consistent with some studies in the literature that indicate that anchoring may be less salient than researchers initially believed (Schindler et al., 2021; Cheek & Norem, 2020). While it is unlikely that the debate between researchers on this topic will be resolved soon, these findings (or lack thereof) provide unique insights for researchers. First, this provides some evidence against the frequency and salience of heuristic use, specifically anchoring. While clear evidence for anchoring exists (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974; Snowman & Kucharska, 2020; Koçaş & Dogerlioglu-Demir, 2020), it still remains unclear exactly what situations and judgments anchoring can reliably affect.

Many factors contribute to the strength and salience of the anchoring effect. For example, more extreme anchors tend to have a greater strength, and among those, higher anchors tend to produce a greater effect (Jacowitz & Kahneman, 1995). Compared with the less extreme anchors used in this study, it likely influenced the lack of significant differences found. Additionally, while numerical anchors have been found to significantly influence the decision-making outcomes, visual anchors tend to influence the decision-making process (Cho et al., 2017). While this study focused exclusively on the numerical anchors and outcome differences, it would be worthwhile to examine visual anchors and the potential influences on the decision-making process related to personality judgments.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study had several limitations that are important to consider. The first is the generalizability of results. Due to the generally homogenous sample used, that is, the participants were primarily white, female, college-aged, and college-attending students from the Rocky Mountain region, it is difficult to determine how far the sample would generalize. Future

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research examining this relationship in a more diverse sample is recommended. While the anchoring effect is considered to be generalizable to many individuals across the world, including individuals in Pakistan (Shah et al., 2018), Malaysia (Jaiyeoba et al., 2020), India (Dutta et al., 2020), China (Yuan, 2020), and South Africa (Ferreira et al., 2019), the salience of specific anchoring situations is rarely tested beyond a single setting.

Social desirability and demand characteristics could have led to minor variation in the responses but were likely minimal and reflecting real-world differences. First, socially desirable responses could have occurred, but would likely be even across groups and reflect real world responding and interactions. Additionally, a measure of social desirability was included, and future research will examine whether there were any differences in responding based on levels of social desirability. Demand characteristics are another possible artifact from this research, however, due to the online format and unobtrusive manipulation that was used, it is unlikely to have had a significant influence on the results.

Additionally, there is a potential lack of external validity for the personality judgments that were made. In real life interactions, there is more back and forth between participants, and judges can ask direct (or indirect) questions regarding the target's personality. In addition to providing greater information (including nonverbal cues, body language, and direct questioning), this would allow for more naturalistic interactions and responding. Previous studies (Letzring & Human, 2013) have studied this direct interaction successfully, and this method is recommended, when possible, to improve the overall external validity and generalizability of results.

Another limitation of this design was the way the anchor was used. In previous research (Snowman & Kucharska, 2020; Teovanovic, 2019), a greater variety of anchors are usually tested, with a minimum of a high anchor, low anchor, and no anchor. In this case, only a

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normative (average score) was given, in order to use these results to examine accuracy in the future. Using a less extreme anchor likely made effects less detectable, due to lower variation in responses.

Additionally, a manipulation check would have been beneficial to ensure participants were observing and utilizing the anchors that were given. Though previous research (Koçaş & Dogerlioglu-Demir, 2020) suggests that even anchors that have no relation to the question can be influential, providing a manipulation check would better ensure that participants were aware of the anchors they were given.

Lastly, this study design focused exclusively on the aggregated distance that judgments were from the anchor. Future research would benefit from separating the effects of anchoring and adjustment, as participants could have either used the anchor differently, or adjusted differently. While the importance of separating adjustment from anchoring has been suggested previously (Epley & Gilovich, 2006), there remains a paucity of literature exploring how to separate both effectively.

Conclusion

The present study explored the potential discrepancies in trait-level anchoring for individuals presented with a normative anchor during the process of personality judgment. The results were mixed, with some support for trait level differences in anchoring. However, there was not support for the presence or absence of anchors significantly influencing personality judgments. While the presence of anchors may not be enough to influence judgments of personality, these results suggest that the types of trait judgments participants make may influence the degree to which they do or do not use the anchors that are given. While the present study provided some support for the perspective of accuracy, a balanced perspective integrating

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accuracy and error research is recommended when assessing judgments. Both perspectives provide unique additions to the literature, and contribute greatly to the understanding of judgments, both accurate and inaccurate.

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Appendix A

Judge 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 write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Neutral;	Agree	Agree
strongly	a little	No opinion	a little	strongly

I am someone who...

1. Is outgoing, sociable.
2. Is compassionate, has a soft heart.
3. Tends to be disorganized.
4. Is relaxed, handles stress well.
5. Has few artistic interests.
6. Has an assertive personality.
7. Is respectful, treats others with respect.
8. Tends to be lazy.
9. Stays optimistic after experiencing a setback.
10. Is curious about many different things.
11. Rarely feels excited or eager.
12. Tends to find fault with others.
13. Is dependable, steady.
14. Is moody, has up and down mood swings.
15. Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.
16. Tends to be quiet.
17. Feels little sympathy for others.
18. Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.
19. Can be tense.
20. Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.
21. Is dominant, acts as a leader.
22. Starts arguments with others.
23. Has difficulty getting started on tasks.

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24. Feels secure, comfortable with self.
25. Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions.
26. Is less active than other people.
27. Has a forgiving nature.
28. Can be somewhat careless.
29. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.
30. Has little creativity.
31. Is sometimes shy, introverted.
32. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
33. Keeps things neat and tidy.
34. Worries a lot.
35. Values art and beauty.
36. Finds it hard to influence people.
37. Is sometimes rude to others.
38. Is efficient, gets things done.
39. Often feels sad.
40. Is complex, a deep thinker.
41. Is full of energy.
42. Is suspicious of others' intentions.
43. Is reliable, can always be counted on.
44. Keeps their emotions under control.
45. Has difficulty imagining things.
46. Is talkative.
47. Can be cold and uncaring.
48. Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up.
49. Rarely feels anxious or afraid.
50. Thinks poetry and plays are boring.
51. Prefers to have others take charge.
52. Is polite, courteous to others.
53. Is persistent, works until the task is finished.
54. Tends to feel depressed, blue.
55. Has little interest in abstract ideas.
56. Shows a lot of enthusiasm.
57. Assumes the best about people.
58. Sometimes behaves irresponsibly.
59. Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.
60. Is original, comes up with new ideas.

Appendix B

Target Big Five Inventory-2 (BFI-2)

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to the individual in the previous video. For example, would you agree that they are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please select a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you think the target fits with that statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Neutral;	Agree	Agree
strongly	a little	No opinion	a little	strongly

This person is someone who...

1. Is outgoing, sociable.
2. Is compassionate, has a soft heart.
3. Tends to be disorganized.
4. Is relaxed, handles stress well.
5. Has few artistic interests.
6. Has an assertive personality.
7. Is respectful, treats others with respect.
8. Tends to be lazy.
9. Stays optimistic after experiencing a setback.
10. Is curious about many different things.
11. Rarely feels excited or eager.
12. Tends to find fault with others.
13. Is dependable, steady.
14. Is moody, has up and down mood swings.
15. Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.
16. Tends to be quiet.
17. Feels little sympathy for others.
18. Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.
19. Can be tense.
20. Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.
21. Is dominant, acts as a leader.
22. Starts arguments with others.
23. Has difficulty getting started on tasks.

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24. Feels secure, comfortable with self.
25. Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions.
26. Is less active than other people.
27. Has a forgiving nature.
28. Can be somewhat careless.
29. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.
30. Has little creativity.
31. Is sometimes shy, introverted.
32. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
33. Keeps things neat and tidy.
34. Worries a lot.
35. Values art and beauty.
36. Finds it hard to influence people.
37. Is sometimes rude to others.
38. Is efficient, gets things done.
39. Often feels sad.
40. Is complex, a deep thinker.
41. Is full of energy.
42. Is suspicious of others' intentions.
43. Is reliable, can always be counted on.
44. Keeps their emotions under control.
45. Has difficulty imagining things.
46. Is talkative.
47. Can be cold and uncaring.
48. Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up.
49. Rarely feels anxious or afraid.
50. Thinks poetry and plays are boring.
51. Prefers to have others take charge.
52. Is polite, courteous to others.
53. Is persistent, works until the task is finished.
54. Tends to feel depressed, blue.
55. Has little interest in abstract ideas.
56. Shows a lot of enthusiasm.
57. Assumes the best about people.
58. Sometimes behaves irresponsibly.
59. Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.
60. Is original, comes up with new ideas.

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Appendix C

Target Big Five Inventory-2 (BFI-2) with Trait Information

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to the individual in the previous video. For example, would you agree that they are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please select a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you think the target fits with that statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Neutral;	Agree	Agree
strongly	a little	No opinion	a little	strongly

This person is someone who...

Extraversion:

1. Is outgoing, sociable.
2. Has an assertive personality.
3. Is dominant, acts as a leader.
4. Is full of energy.
5. Is talkative.
6. Shows a lot of enthusiasm.

Introversion:

7. Rarely feels excited or eager.
8. Tends to be quiet.
9. Is less active than other people.
10. Is sometimes shy, introverted.
11. Finds it hard to influence people.
12. Prefers to have others take charge.

Agreeableness:

13. Is compassionate, has a soft heart.
14. Is respectful, treats others with respect.
15. Has a forgiving nature.
16. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
17. Is polite, courteous to others.
18. Assumes the best about people.

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Disagreeableness:

- 19. Tends to find fault with others.
- 20. Feels little sympathy for others.
- 21. Starts arguments with others.
- 22. Is sometimes rude to others.
- 23. Is suspicious of others' intentions.
- 24. Can be cold and uncaring.

Conscientiousness:

- 25. Is dependable, steady.
- 26. Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.
- 27. Keeps things neat and tidy.
- 28. Is efficient, gets things done.
- 29. Is reliable, can always be counted on.
- 30. Is persistent, works until the task is finished.

Disorganization/Irresponsibility:

- 31. Tends to be disorganized.
- 32. Tends to be lazy.
- 33. Has difficulty getting started on tasks.
- 34. Can be somewhat careless.
- 35. Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up.
- 36. Sometimes behaves irresponsibly.

Negative Emotionality:

- 37. Is moody, has up and down mood swings.
- 38. Can be tense.
- 39. Worries a lot.
- 40. Often feels sad.
- 41. Tends to feel depressed, blue.
- 42. Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.

Positive Emotionality:

- 43. Is relaxed, handles stress well.
- 44. Stays optimistic after experiencing a setback.
- 45. Feels secure, comfortable with self.
- 46. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.
- 47. Keeps their emotions under control.
- 48. Rarely feels anxious or afraid.

Open-Mindedness:

- 49. Is curious about many different things.
- 50. Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.
- 51. Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.
- 52. Values art and beauty.
- 53. Is complex, a deep thinker.

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54. Is original, comes up with new ideas.

Closed-Mindedness:

55. Has few artistic interests.

56. Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions.

57. Has little creativity.

58. Has difficulty imagining things.

59. Thinks poetry and plays are boring.

60. Has little interest in abstract ideas.

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Appendix D

Target Big Five Inventory-2 (BFI-2) with Trait Information and Normative Anchors

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to the individual in the previous video. For example, would you agree that they are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please select a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you think the target fits with that statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Neutral;	Agree	Agree
strongly	a little	No opinion	a little	strongly

This person is someone who...

Extraversion (For reference, the average person scores a 3.24 on this scale):

1. Is outgoing, sociable.
2. Has an assertive personality.
3. Is dominant, acts as a leader.
4. Is full of energy.
5. Is talkative.
6. Shows a lot of enthusiasm.

Introversion (For reference, the average person scores a 2.76 on this scale):

7. Rarely feels excited or eager.
8. Tends to be quiet.
9. Is less active than other people.
10. Is sometimes shy, introverted.
11. Finds it hard to influence people.
12. Prefers to have others take charge.

Agreeableness (For reference, the average person scores a 3.67 on this scale):

13. Is compassionate, has a soft heart.
14. Is respectful, treats others with respect.
15. Has a forgiving nature.
16. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
17. Is polite, courteous to others.
18. Assumes the best about people.

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Disagreeableness (For reference, the average person scores a 2.33 on this scale):

- 19. Tends to find fault with others.
- 20. Feels little sympathy for others.
- 21. Starts arguments with others.
- 22. Is sometimes rude to others.
- 23. Is suspicious of others' intentions.
- 24. Can be cold and uncaring.

Conscientiousness (For reference, the average person scores a 3.44 on this scale):

- 25. Is dependable, steady.
- 26. Is systematic, likes to keep things in order.
- 27. Keeps things neat and tidy.
- 28. Is efficient, gets things done.
- 29. Is reliable, can always be counted on.
- 30. Is persistent, works until the task is finished.

Disorganization/Irresponsibility: (For reference, the average person scores a 2.57 on this scale):

- 31. Tends to be disorganized.
- 32. Tends to be lazy.
- 33. Has difficulty getting started on tasks.
- 34. Can be somewhat careless.
- 35. Leaves a mess, doesn't clean up.
- 36. Sometimes behaves irresponsibly.

Negative Emotionality (For reference, the average person scores a 2.98 on this scale):

- 37. Is moody, has up and down mood swings.
- 38. Can be tense.
- 39. Worries a lot.
- 40. Often feels sad.
- 41. Tends to feel depressed, blue.
- 42. Is temperamental, gets emotional easily.

Positive Emotionality (For reference, the average person scores a 3.02 on this scale):

- 43. Is relaxed, handles stress well.
- 44. Stays optimistic after experiencing a setback.
- 45. Feels secure, comfortable with self.
- 46. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset.
- 47. Keeps their emotions under control.
- 48. Rarely feels anxious or afraid.

Open-Mindedness (For reference, the average person scores a 3.79 on this scale):

- 49. Is curious about many different things.
- 50. Is inventive, finds clever ways to do things.
- 51. Is fascinated by art, music, or literature.
- 52. Values art and beauty.
- 53. Is complex, a deep thinker.

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54. Is original, comes up with new ideas.

Closed-Mindedness (For reference, the average person scores a 2.21 on this scale):

55. Has few artistic interests.

56. Avoids intellectual, philosophical discussions.

57. Has little creativity.

58. Has difficulty imagining things.

59. Thinks poetry and plays are boring.

60. Has little interest in abstract ideas.

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Appendix E

Judge Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. I like to gossip at times.
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17. I always try to practice what I preach.
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

Appendix F

Judge Self-Monitoring Scale (Lennox & Wolfe, 1984)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and how you interact with others. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally.

1. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.
2. Although I know myself, I find that others do not know me.
3. Different people tend to have different impressions about the type of person I am.
4. I sometimes have the feeling that people don't know who I really am.
5. I'm not always the person I appear to be.
6. I tend to show different sides of myself to different people.
7. Different situations can make me behave like very different people.
8. I'm pretty good at entertaining people with jokes, anecdotes, and stories.
9. I would probably make a good actor.
10. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people.
11. I have considered being an entertainer.
12. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.
13. I have a quick wit.
14. Some of my friends consider me a show-off.
15. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.
16. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for the right end).
17. I usually express my opinions openly, without regard to the possibility of disagreement.
18. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.
19. Even when it might be to my advantage, I have difficulty putting up a good front.
20. I rarely need the advice of my friends to choose movies, books, or music.
21. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.
22. I usually keep up with clothing style changes by watching what others wear.
23. I try to pay attention to the reactions of others to my behavior in order to avoid being out of place.
24. My behavior often depends on how I feel others wish me to behave.
25. It is my feeling that if everyone else in a group is behaving in a certain manner, this must be the way to behave.
26. At parties I usually try to behave in a manner that makes me fit in.
27. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time.
28. If I make a joke and someone frowns, I immediately stop making that type of joke.
29. It's important to me to fit in to the group I'm with.
30. I actively avoid wearing clothes that are not in style.
31. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone.
32. My strategy for dealing with a social situation is to just be myself.
33. When I am in a social situation, I tend not to follow the crowd, but instead behave in a manner that suits my particular mood at the time.