

**EXAMINING THE CONSISTENCY OF THE GOOD TARGET
ACROSS CONTEXTS AND DOMAINS OF PERSONALITY**

by

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Examining the Consistency of the Good Target across Contexts and Domains of Personality

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Abstract

Good targets are those individuals who are seen more accurately than others (e.g., Human & Biesanz, 2013). The present study examines the extent to which the good target is consistent across domains (i.e., traits and motives) and contexts (i.e., in-person and through writing) as well as how being perceived accurately across these facets is moderated by target well-being. Past research has shown that being seen accurately is related to enhanced well-being, increased social support, reduced loneliness, and person-environment fit (Human & Biesanz, 2013). This research which expands our understanding of how being seen accurately is related to well-being across domains and contexts is an important step.

N = 194 participants completed a round-robin forming first-impressions design and wrote short essays on five life domains (see Borkenau, Mosch, Tandler, & Wolf, 2016). Participants also completed a self-report including the following measures of well-being: satisfaction with life (Diener, Emmons, Larsen & Griffin, 1985), relationship satisfaction (Ryff, 1989), and self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965). An additional 199 participants each read 15 essays using a Latin square design to assess the author's personality. We used the social accuracy model (SAM; Biesanz, 2010) to allow for detailed analysis of individual differences among targets across traits and motives while maintaining both perceiver and target as random factors.

We found support for the theory that the good target generalizes across both contexts and domains and, interestingly, found evidence for a *positive* target with stronger correlations across all context and domain combinations. While we replicated past results showing the target well-being moderates being seen accurately for traits in person, the moderator effects of target well-being were not consistent for motivations or essays. However, again, we found that target well-being was a more consistent moderator for the positive target, particularly in the writing context.

Lay Summary

The present manuscript expands our knowledge of “good targets” – those individuals who are more easily understood by others during initial impressions. While many studies have looked at good targets in an in-person context in terms of their broad personality traits, there are many other ways of understanding people. Our study had perceivers rate the personalities of strangers after meeting them briefly in person or reading their short essays. Perceivers also rated the targets’ motivations as well as their traits. We examined whether the good target exists in each of these contexts (in person vs writing) and domains (traits vs motivations) as well as whether the good target is consistent across all possible combinations. In other words, is the good target in person also the good target in writing? Finally, we looked at the extent to which target well-being is associated with being perceived accurately in each context and domain.

Preface

Part of the introduction is based on the section I contributed to a chapter written with Dr. Jeremy Biesanz. The section “Measuring interpersonal accuracy: Breadth and depth” can be found in the following forthcoming publication:

Biesanz, J. C. & Stewart, J. D. (in press). Accuracy in Person Perception. *Handbook of Personality Psychology, 2nd Edition*. P. J. Corr & G. Matthews (Eds.), Cambridge University Press.

Data for the study was collected under the approval of the UBC Behavioural Research Ethics Board, through the following projects:

- Accuracy in Personality Perception: H06-03996.
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I assisted in designing the study, along with my supervisor Dr. Jeremy Biesanz, and his former graduate students Dr. Katherine Rogers and Carly Magee. I also conducted and/or supervised data collection for study session 1 and part of session 2. Former lab manager Kimberly Goh supervised the remaining data collection for session 2. I assisted Dr. Biesanz with cleaning and analyzing the data, and wrote the majority of the manuscript. The section on Data Analytic Strategy was originally drafted by Dr. Biesanz. My supervisory committee Dr. Anita DeLongis and Dr. Christiane Hoppmann offered insights on the overall project.

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To Margot Roslin Maple

1 Introduction

Imagine your first day at a new job. You've spent the day touring your new workplace, meeting colleagues in their cubicles and offices, and you've enjoyed the lunch hour in the staff room with several additional new colleagues. By the end of the day, you've formed impressions of some of your colleagues, and feel confident that you know a fair amount about who these individuals are. Your initial impressions based on this relatively scant amount of information are likely accurate to a certain degree as impressions based on very little observation are, remarkably, valid (e.g., Borkenau & Liebler, 1992). Based on thin slices of behavior from brief interactions, video, audio, and photographs the correlation between self- and stranger ratings of personality can be as high as $r = 0.43$ for more visible traits like extraversion in some studies (Watson, 1989; Penton-Voak, Pound, Little, & Perrett, 2006). For example, imagine your new boss is out for the day, but you're able to watch her at a news conference on the staff room TV. The impression you form of her from this indirect interpersonal source will also be accurate, but slightly less positive than if you'd met her in person (Biesanz, 2016). Even seeing photographs of other colleagues you haven't met yet, perhaps up on a staff bulletin board, will give you a better-than-chance impression of their personality traits (e.g., Penton-Voak, et al., 2006). More recent studies into personality perception have expanded beyond these interpersonal sources of information, uncovering additional sources such as residue, personal preferences, and text.

Research in interpersonal accuracy can be conceptualized in terms of two broad dimensions. The first dimension is that of the *breadth* of information available. That is, what sources of information are available to the perceiver? Returning to the example of your first day of work, you may meet and talk to someone briefly in the breakroom, hear a description of them from another new colleague, watch them give a professional presentation, or examine their online presence on various social media channels. In research contexts these sources of information can be isolated to examine even more specific sources of information, such as solely nonverbal or verbal information, in a manner that is rarely possible naturally. This enables a more precise examination of the components necessary to form accurate impressions. The second dimension to consider is *depth* of personality (see Biesanz & Stewart, in press, for an expanded discussion). That is, what are the domains or units of personality (e.g., see Emmons, 1995) examined in the context of interpersonal accuracy? These domains may be broad personality traits such as the Big Five personality inventory, goals or motivations, life narratives,

mood or affect, or various social attributes. There are several aspects of a person, then, ranging from relatively stable to transient, that are open to being perceived by others.

Together, breadth and depth represent the context, or source of information that a perceiver uses to form an impression of another, as well as *on what* the impression or judgment is formed. There are many combinations of breadth and depth that can be studied. However, in examining the personality perception matrix seen in Table 1.1, it is apparent that research on interpersonal accuracy has thus far focused primarily on a few combinations: *interpersonal × trait*, *interpersonal × affect*, and *interpersonal × deception*. Combinations like *text × trait* and *interpersonal × motivations* are starting to develop a nascent literature, and many combinations have not yet been examined at all (e.g., *residue × motivations*; *interpersonal × life stories*). Decades of interpersonal accuracy research have given us a solid understanding of how accurately we can perceive personality traits from interpersonal cues; however, much clearly remains to be studied. The various elements of the personality perception matrix will be discussed briefly below, including exemplar studies where available.

Table 1.1 Personality perception matrix

Personality Domain	Context			
	Interpersonal	Text	Residue	Preferences
Stable Disposition				
Traits	15	5	2	1
Motivations	0	0	0	0
Life Narrative	0	0	0	0
Current State				
Traits	0	0	0	0
Motivations	0	0	0	0
Affect/Emotion	53	3	1	0
Deception	15	1	1	0

Note: Number of meta-analyses examining questions of interpersonal accuracy from 1978 to spring of 2018 as a function of breadth (context) and depth (personality domain).

1.1 Breadth: Contexts for personality perception

1.1.1 Interpersonal

One of the most widely studied contexts in personality perception is that of interpersonal interactions, where previously unacquainted individuals assess each other's personalities after some means of brief encounter. Specific interpersonal contexts have included in-person interactions, video, audio, photographs, or combinations of these (e.g., Rogers & Biesanz, 2015; Human, Biesanz, Finseth, Pierce, & Le, 2014; Ambady, Hallahan, & Conner, 1999). Perceivers base their resulting personality assessments on a wide selection of cues, depending on the context: verbal content; behaviours; voice pitch, inflection and volume; and physical appearance (Biesanz & Stewart, in press). These interpersonal contexts have been used along the depth axis of the personality perception matrix, from traits to states. The level of accuracy varies depending on the study design and domain being perceived. Perceivers can form fairly accurate perceptions after half a minute of observing thin slices of behaviour for traits related to extraversion, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (e.g., Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993). Perceivers have rated targets on video either interacting with others (Rogers & Biesanz, 2015), reading out weather reports (e.g., Borkenau & Liebler, 1993); completing interviews (Gangestad, Simpson, DiGeronimo, & Biek, 1992), or answering personal questions (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012), which seems to result in accurate but less positive perceptions when compared to face-to-face interactions. We can perceive attributes such as sexual orientation surprisingly accurately from contexts as limited as still photographs (e.g., Ambady, et al., 1999). Various interpersonal contexts contain the cues required for perceivers to form surprisingly accurate perceptions of previously unacquainted others.

1.1.2 Text

Research has expanded to look at text-based contexts in recent years. Findings suggest that perceivers use not only the content of the textual information but also the style and structure, such as text length and level of detail to form their personality perceptions (Borkenau, Mosch, Tandler, & Wolf, 2016). Thus quite nuanced and accurate impressions can be formed from minimal textual information. In Borkenau et al., (2016) participants wrote short essays on five personal topics: hobbies, friends, family, academics, and future plans. A separate group of judges then read the essays and rated the targets' personality traits along the Big Five Inventory

(BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999). Overall, perceivers were approximately as accurate as those in other studies who rated targets from physical appearances or other thin sources of information. As targets averaged 75 words per essay, or 1.5 pages across the 5 essays, the perceivers were able to infer broad personality traits from a surprisingly small amount of textual information (Borkenau et al., 2016).

The textual context has only been used to perceive personality traits thus far, but results have been promising. A 2014 meta-analysis on perceiving personality from written and online contexts showed small to medium effect sizes for less visible trait to more visible traits, respectively (Tskhay & Rule, 2014). This parallels results for perceiving traits in interpersonal contexts. Textual contexts are becoming increasingly relevant as more individuals communicate online and through text-based channels. For example, the increasing number of remote business offices and the individuals using online dating platforms suggest we make a growing number of initial impressions through text before meeting someone face to face. Future research could expand along the depth axis of the personality matrix, examining the accuracy of using text to perceive targets' emotions, social attributes, and whether they're being deceitful. The present manuscript will include a replication of Borkenau et al.'s (2016) study, extending to the motivations domain.

1.1.3 Residue

Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli, and Morris's (2002) formative work revealed a new context for potential study: that of behavioral residue left behind by individuals that is relevant to their personalities. For example, someone high in conscientiousness may have a very clean and organized desk at work, while someone high in extraversion may have several group photos up in their office, thus providing others insight into their personalities. Gosling et al. (2002) found that perceivers were able to form accurate judgements of BFI traits based on behavioral residue from two types of locations: offices and dorm rooms. Indirect contexts do seem to hold relevant cues that can be used to form accurate impressions of individuals' personalities. Researchers have so far only examined the trait domain of personality within the residue context. Although it may prove difficult to use this source of information across the entire axis of personality domains, behavioral residue appears to be a valid context for perceiving various social attributes and potentially motivations, which suggests more extensive study is warranted.

1.1.4 Preferences

The broad context of personal preferences emerged after studies using still photographs as sources of information indicated that elements like clothing were valid cues for perceiving personality traits (Naumann, Vazire, Rentfrow, & Gosling, 2009). Recent studies have focused on these static elements as cues to examine whether a target's personal preference for a particular style of clothing or music allows perceivers to form accurate personality impressions. Specifically, studies have examined whether an individual's music preferences (Nave, et al., 2018), clothing (Naumann, et al., 2009), and shoes (Gillath, Bahns, Ge, & Crandall, 2012) can be valid sources of information for personality impressions. The few studies done in this context have looked at the domains of personality traits and social attributes. There are myriad ways this area of research can expand, including into the countless categories in which individuals can hold a preference, and along the domain axis into trait, state, and social attributes. For example, can perceivers accurately identify a target's current emotional state using their musical preference in the moment? Can a target's personality traits, motivations, or social attributes be accurately perceived from their lunch preferences? The opportunities for future study are countless and intriguing.

1.2 Depth: Expanding beyond personality traits

1.2.1 Traits, motivations, and life stories: Stable domains

The majority of personality perception research has focused on the trait domain, primarily using the Big Five or five-factor model (e.g., Wiggins, 1996). This assessment considers five broad dispositional traits: extraversion vs introversion; agreeableness vs. antagonism; conscientiousness vs. lack of direction; neuroticism vs. emotional stability; and openness vs. closedness to experience. These personality traits have been shown to predict one's behavior (e.g., Kenrick & Funder, 1988) and be quite stable over short periods of time, though they do change systematically over the life course (Conley, 1985; Roberts & DelVecchio, 2000; Roberts & Mroczek, 2008). Research has found that perceivers can also form accurate impressions of other relatively stable individual differences such as intelligence (e.g., Murphy, Hall, & Colvin, 2003), self-esteem (Kilianski, 2008), narcissism (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008), and aggressiveness (Kenny, et al., 2007). Studies examining the accurate perception of traits have used various sources of information including interpersonal, text, residue, and preferences.

While broad personality traits such as the Big Five are an integral and important aspect of understanding other individuals, they are not adequate to truly know a person. McAdams (1995) labelled the trait level of personality "psychology of the stranger," highlighting two potentially deeper personality domains: that of personal concerns, which includes individual goals, motivations, and similar constructs; and life stories, which bring an overall unity and purpose into an individual's identity. Thus, the trait level may be only the outer layer of personality, with deeper domains underneath. Emerging research has begun to examine whether the domain of personal concerns contains cues relevant for forming accurate impressions. Studies have shown that motivations can predict several behavioral outcomes, such as volunteering, breaking a bone, and seeing a relationship counselor (Neel, Kenrick, White, & Neuberg, 2015), indicating that this domain and behaviours are linked. One recent study found that motivations can be accurately perceived by close others, though less accurately than traits (Huelsenitz, Neel, & Human, 2019), and another found that lists of daily goals can be used as sources of information to accurately predict traits by unknown others (Dunlop, McCoy, & Staben, 2017). This suggests the different domains of personality may theoretically be linked. The broad domain of personal concerns is relatively understudied across the axis of contexts in terms of accuracy in personality perception. It seems possible that interpersonal and textual contexts may contain most relevant cues for this domain, although the potential exists to accurately perceive an individual's motivations from their behavioural residue or preferences as well. Research examining accuracy in perceiving motivations is just emerging and more systematic attention to this domain is warranted. The present manuscript will examine whether this domain can be perceived accurately in two contexts: in-person interactions and through text.

The question of whether perceivers can accurately understand a target from their life story has not yet been broached in interpersonal accuracy research. While this is a potential area of study, examining the life story context will require overcoming practical difficulties. The domain may be relevant only to adulthood, making average undergraduate students questionable as a fitting subject pool (McAdams, 1995). Personal life stories may as well be integral only in cultures that stress the importance of self-individuation (McAdams, 1995). While traits and motivations are dimensional and easy to quantify for accuracy, life stories may lose their inherent richness through coding and reducing to measurable dimensions. As well, life stories would likely rest solely on self-reports, as there is asymmetry in the knowledge of one's life narrative, making it not readily available even to some close others (see Vazire, 2010). Thus, while the life

story domain holds potential for research, thoughtful consideration of measurement will first be required.

1.2.2 Social attributes

The broad domain of social attributes contains relatively stable characteristics, including religious identity, political ideology, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, values, attitudes, and kinship. While perceptions in this domain may often contain biases, research has shown that individuals have nearly perfect accuracy when identifying a target's age, race, and sex (e.g., Macrae & Martin, 2006) and can accurately categorize ambiguous social groups at better than chance rates (Alaei & Rule, 2016). In one of the first studies examining interpersonal accuracy of social attributes, Ambady and colleagues (1999) found that individuals could accurately perceive targets' sexual orientation from short videos and still photographs. Overall, research suggests that the cognitive processes used to make perceptions about obvious discrete social groups are the same processes used to make perceptions about more ambiguous social groups (Alaei & Rule, 2016).

Much research into perceiving social attributes has focused on interpersonal contexts, examining the variables that make impressions more or less accurate. For example, culture, race, sex, political ideology, motivation level, and even birth order can impact how accurate perceivers are at judging others' social attributes (Alaei & Rule, 2016; Kaminski, Ravary, Graff, & Gentaz, 2010). It is likely that future research will expand to other moderators and may easily include all other contexts: text, residue, and preferences.

1.2.3 States: Affect, deception, traits, and motivations

Empathic accuracy has a relatively long history of research, examining whether individuals can accurately perceive what others are thinking and feeling at a particular moment (Ickes, 1997). Studies have found that individuals can accurately perceive the thoughts and feelings of an unknown other at well above chance rates (e.g., Stinson & Ickes, 1992). The two standard methods in empathic accuracy research use interpersonal sources of information: unstructured dyadic interactions, where two unacquainted others meet and then assess the thoughts and feelings of the other; and standard stimuli, where participants all watch a video of the same targets interacting, and assess their thoughts and feelings (Ickes, 2001; Mast & Ickes,

2007). There may be interesting opportunities for assessing empathic accuracy through other contexts. For example, can one perceive a target's thoughts and feelings from the current state of their bedroom? Or, as mentioned above, their current musical choice?

Deception is unique among the domain axis. This line of research examines whether perceivers are able to determine whether a target is telling the truth or lying. Interestingly, studies have found that, contrary to other domains with accuracy at well above chance levels, perceivers are notably poor at knowing whether a target is lying, with accuracy rates consistently only slightly above chance, even for professional perceivers such as police officers (e.g., Hartwig & Bond, 2011). Studies in this domain have found that several biases, such as the truth bias, make individuals poor at perceiving deception (Burgoon & Dunbar, 2016). Research shows that communication skills of the target, the perceiver's familiarity with the target, length of interaction, and level of interactivity all moderate accuracy in detecting deception (Bond & DePaulo, 2006; Burgoon, Buller, Floyd, & Grandpre, 1996; Buller, Strzyzewski, & Hunsaker, 1991). Most studies have focused on interpersonal contexts, but extending to text-based contexts seems warranted. Perhaps individuals might be better able to perceive deception from written contexts, and assisting professionals and laypeople detect deception is a valuable outcome of this area of research.

Traits and motivations are generally considered stable elements of personality; however, behavior is flexible and can change drastically over even short time periods (e.g., Magee & Biesanz, 2018; Biesanz & West, 2000; Fleeson, 2001). It is likely worthwhile, then, to examine accuracy in trait and motivation perception from a state perspective. Zaki, Bolger, and Ochsner (2008), for example, studied the accuracy of continuous perceptions of a target's affective state over a short time, while perceivers watched targets discuss emotional events. There were strong correlations between self- and other- ratings of affect on average. This method may be broadly adapted to study other domains and contexts at a state level. For example, an individual may be generally motivated primarily by achievement, but we can also assess what is motivating that individual *during a particular interaction*. That is, perhaps in one interaction, this individual is motivated more by affiliation or hope than achievement. Research may take a similar approach with personality traits. While a target may be high in extraversion and conscientiousness, a particular trait may stand out during one situation over another. Which trait is revealing itself prominently in a particular interaction? Has this target been more extraverted during this past day than they typically are? Can perceivers recognize changes in targets over time? In other

words, even the personality domains that have been extensively studied may be expanded upon in new ways. State perceptive accuracy has been relatively unexplored beyond the domain of affect.

Overall, while our understanding of the perception of traits is broad across contexts, our understanding of how accurately we perceive others across the different domains of personality is not as robust. More research is required to determine whether motivations themselves can also be perceived from initial impressions across contexts. The present manuscript is a next step into this comprehensive unknown, examining whether perceivers are able to form accurate initial impressions for both traits and motives both from interpersonal interactions as well as from textual sources. We will use the Unified Motive Scales (UMS; Schönbrodt & Gerstenberg, 2012) to measure motivations, a composite of 14 existing and seven new motive scales which achieves higher measurement precision with fewer items. The UMS measure the following motivations: achievement, power, affiliation, intimacy, and fear.

1.3 Accuracy as an individual difference: The good target

Returning to your first day on the new job: By the end of the day, you feel like you know some of your colleagues fairly well. And, again, substantial research would suggest that your impressions are accurate to a certain degree, whether you met these new colleagues in person or had access to other sources of information. Some other colleagues, however, you feel you were unable to get a reading on. This sense of accurately understanding a new acquaintance is, remarkably, associated with the accuracy of initial impressions (Biesanz et al., 2011). You might think the reason for understanding some individuals more than others is environmental: some of your colleagues were sitting further away during group conversations, or maybe they'd had boring mornings and nothing to talk about. Or perhaps you think the difference is trait based; that you've formed impressions of the extraverted colleagues but not the introverts. In reality, however, accuracy in personality perception varies across targets and is consistent with being a fundamental individual difference. That is, some people are seen more accurately than others (e.g., Human, et al., 2014; Human & Biesanz, 2013; Biesanz & West, 2000; Colvin, 1993a & 1993b; Human, Mignault, Biesanz, & Rogers, 2018), and you would have formed more accurate impressions of those colleagues who are consistently more expressively accurate across contexts and dimensions --- also known as *good targets*.

Individual differences in the tendency to be judged accurately by others depend mostly on whether the target emits relevant and available cues for the perceiver to detect and use in his or her judgment (RAM; Funder 1995, 1999). In other words, your new colleagues must provide relevant cues for you to use as you assess their personalities over the day. RAM separates accurate personality judgment into four cumulative and necessary stages: 1) a target produces a behavioral effect *relevant* to a trait; 2) the target makes this behavior *available* to the perceiver; here, you; 3) the perceiver *detects* this behavior; and 4) the perceiver correctly *utilizes* the behavior to make a judgment (Funder, 1995, 1999). In other words, good targets provide a greater number of more relevant personality cues than do poor targets.

Research has shown that these individual differences in being perceived accurately are found across various sources of information for stable personality traits: when making first impressions in person (Human & Biesanz, 2011; Human et al., 2014), on social media (Orehek & Human, 2017), and in text (Stewart & Biesanz, 2017) as well as in close relationships (Colvin, 1993b). Thus, the good target may be considered an additional layer to be examined along the matrix of contexts and domains. To what extent are there individual differences across both sources of information and domains of personality? Does the good target emerge in each cell? One next step will be to move beyond personality traits into motivations, and another will be to expand our knowledge of other contexts in which the good target exists.

Further, is the good target consistent across the breadth and depth of personality perception? Until recently, evidence on whether these good targets could be generalized across contexts has been scant. Is a good target in person also a good target in text or online? Several past findings lend support to this idea, including that expressive accuracy appears stable over time (Biesanz & West, 2000; Biesanz, West, & Graziano, 1998; Colvin, 1993a) and that judgeable individuals are more likely to align their behaviors with their personalities than less judgeable individuals (Human et al., 2014). This congruent pattern of behavior facilitates cue relevance, the first stage of accurate personality perception (RAM; Funder, 1995, 1999), in that the consistent cues are more relevant to an individual's personality. In the new job scenario, your colleagues who are good targets would likely behave and appear consistently whether you met them in a formal meeting, or during a casual conversation, for example. And, if our theory holds, this congruence would cross into their writing or personality residue in their offices. For example, your conscientious colleague might appear neatly dressed, suggest a plan to connect with you later in the day because she's preparing for a meeting that afternoon, and follow up with a

clearly-formatted email including a date and time to meet. The behavioural congruency evidence thus far suggests that, indeed, good targets may make it easier for you to form an impression of their personalities, providing fewer conflicting cues to unravel.

Recently Human, Rogers, & Biesanz (under review) provided support for the cross-contextually consistency of the good target. Specifically, psychological adjustment and socially desirable traits like extraversion predict greater expressive accuracy when forming first impressions in person and online, as well as in close relationships (Human, et al., under review; Human, et al., 2018). An initial examination of whether good targets were consistent across contexts found that, indeed, the same individuals who were more accurately perceived after brief in-person interactions were also more likely to be accurately perceived through their Facebook profiles and by their close peers (Human, et al., under review; Human, et al., 2018). Thus, although our knowledge of the breadth of personality perception is robust, individual differences across these various sources of information and into the depths of personality is in its nascent stages. The present manuscript examines whether the good target generalizes across both contexts (interpersonal interactions and textual information) as well as across traits and motives.

1.4 Normative accuracy and positivity

When determining how accurately individuals are perceived – how close to the validity measures perceivers ratings are – we hold the average personality ratings constant. These average ratings, however, are themselves useful measures of accuracy. Normative accuracy reveals how closely a target resembles the average person. Research shows there are substantial individual differences in terms of how closely to the average person's personality profile targets are perceived (Biesanz, 2010). The normative personality profile is notably positive. Studies consistently show that the normative personality profile is highly correlated with social desirability (e.g., $r(42) = .86, p < .0001$, Rogers & Biesanz, 2015). Although recent studies have teased apart social desirability and normative accuracy, demonstrating that they are separate constructs determined through unique processes (Rogers & Biesanz, 2015), it remains true that individuals who are seen as highly normative are necessarily also viewed positively (Wood & Furr, 2016; Wessels, Zimmermann, Biesanz, & Leising, 2018).

The relationship between being perceived positively and the social desirability bias of some traits is complex. Studies have shown that there is more agreement between self- and other- personality reports on the most neutral traits, and less agreement on traits that are highly evaluative (John & Robbins, 1992). Thus, it seems clear that two layers of judgement are in play when assigning various traits to new acquaintances: that of the trait's neutral meaning, and that of the perceiver's positive or negative evaluation of each trait itself. Researchers have debated for over a decade whether positivity itself is a substantial trait, worthy of measurement, or simply a statistical or methodological artifact (e.g., Anusic, Schimmack, Pinkus, & Lockwood, 2009; Biesanz & West, 2004; Irwing, 2013).

Using life history theory, several researchers argue that one heritable super-factor is at the apex of a hierarchy of personality traits (Rushton, 1985; Rushton, 1990; Figueredo, Vásquez, Brumbach, & Schneider, 2004). These positive personality traits were organized to support survival, growth, and reproduction (Rushton, 2009). Hofstee (2003) labelled this super-factor of socially desirable traits *p*, the Primordial One, determining social desirability was indeed a substantial construct. The General Factor of Personality (GFP; Musek, 2017), while not explicitly based on life history theory, also purports a heritable higher-order factor to explain the correlations among the BFI. The GFP is as well considered a measure of social effectiveness, or social desirability. While there is conflicting evidence as to whether the GFP should be considered substantive, recent thorough examinations conclude that GFP is partially a stable, self-evaluative trait and partially response bias (Musek, 2017).

A related perspective, the Halo-Alpha-Beta model (HAB; Anusic et al., 2009) provided evidence that positivity, while not a meta-trait, does hold the properties of a personality trait, with its stability over time and generalizability. A key feature of the Halo-Alpha-Beta model is the ability to recognize and control for evaluative biases in self- and other- ratings (Anusic et al., 2009). Indeed, much personality research aims to separate out and control for this evaluative nature of personality traits. Saucier (1994) rearranged the BFI to separate the evaluative content from the descriptive content, later providing evidence for a Big Six model, including an Honesty/ Humility domain high in social desirability (Saucier, 2009). However, important and useful information may be lost in by controlling for positivity bias. We examine levels of normative accuracy to determine how being seen positively is related to being seen accurately, and how each of these constructs impacts the target.

While distinctive accuracy and positivity, or normative accuracy, may seem mutually exclusive, evidence shows this is not the case. Rather accuracy and positivity are independent constructs that can exist in various combinations. That is, it is possible for a perceiver to understand the unique ordering of a target's traits while also viewing them as more or less positive (e.g., Funder & Colvin, 1997; Gagné & Lydon, 2004). For example, at your new office job, you may perceive one of your new colleagues as more helpful and intelligent than she actually is, but at the same time you may accurately perceive that she is less helpful and more intelligent than another colleague. Because the two constructs are independent, it is also therefore possible for being seen accurately and positively to benefit a target simultaneously. We will now provide a brief overview of the known associations between target well-being and being seen accurately and positively.

1.5 The pathway between good and positive targets and health

The relationship between well-being and good targets has emerged in both laboratory and naturalistic in-person contexts (Human & Biesanz, 2011; Human et al., 2014; Human, et al., under review; Colvin 1993b). Good targets in these situations are higher in both hedonic well-being, such as high levels of happiness and satisfaction with life, as well as eudemonic well-being, as measured through positive relationships and purpose in life (Human & Biesanz, 2013). A recent study examining the association between well-being and being seen accurately during initial in-person impressions found that behavioral congruence may be a key mediator in this relationship (Human, et al., 2018). That is, individuals higher in well-being behaved more in-line with their personality traits, thus making more relevant cues available for perceivers to detect and utilize (RAM; Funder, 1995, 1999). This was true during initial in-person interactions, as well as during daily life (Human, et al., 2018), suggesting that the association between well-being and being seen accurately may be consistent across contexts.

Individuals who are accurately understood by others likely experience a number of positive interpersonal outcomes related to well-being. For example, good targets are better liked by others (Colvin, 1993a; Human & Biesanz, 2011), and report greater marital satisfaction (Luo & Snider, 2009; Noller, 1980; Sabatelli, Buck, & Dreyer, 1982) and person-environment fit (Caplan, 1987; Walsh, Craik, & Price, 2000). Conversely, those who are less judgeable may experience negative consequences, such as loneliness (Human et al., 2014) and effects due to

emotional suppression, including worse physical health (Berry & Pennebaker, 1993; Pennebaker, 1997). Further, being seen accurately is a key mechanism through which we form positive social relationships with other individuals. Being a good target facilitates social relationships in several ways. First, regardless of how the good target is perceived, they're easier to read, which should evoke a greater sense of familiarity from others and may cause perceivers to like good targets more (Langlois & Roggman, 1990; Reber, Schwarz, & Winkielman, 2004). As well, because good targets may disclose more intimate information to others, they may experience more positive interactions and develop closer relationships with others (Collins & Miller, 1994). This tendency toward greater emotional expression and self-disclosure may also increase the quantity and quality of social support that good targets receive from others (Human & Biesanz, 2013). Finally, because good targets likely experience greater person-environment fit, they are prone to find sociocultural situations that better match their emotional states and personalities (Human & Biesanz, 2013; Walsh, Craik, & Price, 2000). Being a good target, then, is likely not only a positive consequence of being higher in well-being, but also reinforces this psychological adjustment, to some extent through higher quantity and quality of social relationships.

It seems intuitive that being viewed positively would have similar beneficial consequences for targets. That is, being liked by others should lead to a higher number of positive social relationships than being disliked. Several cross-sectional studies do indicate that positive initial impressions are associated with greater levels of liking (e.g., Human & Biesanz, 2011; Leising, Erbs, & Fritz, 2010). A longitudinal study directly examined the results of being seen both positively and accurately during initial impressions and found that, indeed, both constructs independently led to beneficial social outcomes for targets (Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2012). Positively-biased initial impressions predicted higher levels of initial liking and interest in future interactions immediately as well as months later. Forming positive initial impressions also led to higher levels of actual interaction throughout the following months (Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2012). This supports the theory that both accurate and positive initial impressions lead to an increase in social relationships.

Of further importance, social ties have consistently been linked to mental and physical health outcomes, health behaviors & mortality risk (Umberson & Montez, 2011). Studies have shown associations between low quantity or quality of social relationships and conditions such as cardiovascular disease, recurrent myocardial infarction, cancer, and high blood pressure (Ertel, Glymour, & Berkman 2009; Everson-Rose & Lewis, 2005; Uchino, 2004; Uchino, 2006).

Inflammatory biomarkers and impaired immune function, factors associated with mortality and poor health outcomes, have also been linked to a low quantity and quality of social relationships (Kiecolt-Glaser, McGuire, Robles, & Glaser, 2002; Robles & Kiecolt-Glaser, 2003). Thus, through facilitating the development of social ties, being perceived accurately during initial impressions can be viewed as one pathway to positive health outcomes.

Research suggests that it may be possible to manage how accurately we are seen by others. While psychologically adjusted individuals are higher in authenticity (e.g., Sheldon & Kasser, 1995), studies indicate that these individuals are also more likely to engage in self-presentation behavior (Block, 1965; Uziel, 2010). Importantly, managing the impression one makes on others does not negatively impact the accuracy of that impression. Well-adjusted individuals are likely to provide more positive than negative information about themselves, but this positive information is still likely to be relevant, enabling accurate impressions (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012). This suggests that we might have some control over how accurately we are understood by others during initial impressions. An experimental study found that when individuals were asked to “put their best face forward” during a video introduction, they were perceived more accurately in terms of IQ scores and personality traits than individuals in the control condition (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012; Murphy, 2007). The self-presenting participants were also rated more positively. Thus, being a good target may be a malleable individual difference, as those with less expressive accuracy can be encouraged to behave in ways that enable higher expressive accuracy.

Because of the potential for accurate and positive initial impressions to lead to social ties and downstream health outcomes, it is important to more fully understand the moderators of these initial impressions. While it is clear that well-being moderates being seen accurately during in-person interactions, what is not well known is whether well-being is as strong a moderator of being seen accurately in contexts beyond in-person interactions. That is, if the good target indeed emerges from text, social media, residue and preferences, are these individuals who are seen more accurately consistently high in well-being? Emerging research suggests that well-being predicts expressive accuracy, the mark of being a good target, not only in face-to-face initial impressions, but also with their close others, and on Facebook (Human, et al., under review). The present study will examine well-being as a moderator along two contexts and two personality domains to further our knowledge in this area. Specifically, this manuscript will look at the extent to which the good target is consistent across in-person and textual contexts for

both traits and motivations, as well as the extent to which well-being moderates being seen accurately across these cells.

1.6 Present study

Being seen accurately by others on basic personality traits such as the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999) is an individual difference that occurs across different contexts (Human, et al., under review; Human & Biesanz, 2011; Human et al., 2014). Recent research suggests that the good target may extend to additional domains of personality (Huelsenitz, et al., 2019). The present study extends work on the good target in two critical dimensions simultaneously: both across the breadth of sources of information and into the depth of personality domains. Specifically, the present study examines whether (a) initial impressions are accurate and (b) there are individual differences in being perceived accurately across two different contexts --- brief, in-person interactions, and writing samples on major life domains --- as well as through two domains of personality --- basic personality traits as measured by the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999) and personal motivations as measured by the Unified Motive Scales (UMS; Schönbrodt & Gerstenber, 2012). In other words, we are going beyond describing what people tend to do (their personality traits) to get an accurate understanding of why people do what they do (their motives).

Note that the present study also incorporates a fairly direct replication of Borkenau and colleagues' (2016) study on personality perception based on short personal essays. As the present study is a 2 x 2 repeated measures design (*context x domain*), the cell examining interpersonal accuracy for broad personality traits based on short essays provides the opportunity to replicate Borkenau and colleagues' (2016) finding that such short essays allow perceivers to accurately perceive another's personality on the Big Five domains of personality.

Finally, the present manuscript will examine the extent to which target well-being moderates the relationship between self- and other- personality measures across contexts and domains. That is, to what extent is being perceived accurately related to target well-being? Is target well-being a consistent moderator in person and through text, and for perceiving both personality traits and motivations? Expanding our knowledge of potential moderators of being seen accurately is an important step to understanding how we might encourage people to be seen more accurately and positively in initial interactions, which will facilitate the development

of positive social relationships. In sum, the present manuscript addresses the following questions:

- 1) Are perceivers able to form accurate initial impressions for both traits and motivations both from interpersonal interactions as well as from textual sources?
- 2) Are there individual differences in being seen accurately across both contexts and domains and, if so, does this good target generalize across contexts and domains? In other words, is the person who is accurately perceived in live interactions also the person who is accurately perceived through their essays for both traits and motivations?
- 3) To what extent is being perceived accurately across contexts and domains of personality related to target well-being?
- 4) Are there individual differences in being perceived with higher normative accuracy (i.e., positively) across contexts and domains and, if so, to what extent is this related to target well-being?

2 Methods

2.1 Participants and procedures

2.1.1 Session 1

A total of 208 undergraduates (165 female, 40 male, and 3 unknown, M age = 21.65 years, $SD = 5.17$) at the University of British Columbia were recruited to complete an online self-report of personality and well-being measures as well as provide contact information for two peers and a parent or guardian to serve as close informants. A total of $N = 197$ of these participants came to the lab for a round-robin getting-acquainted design in 29 groups, ranging in size from 3 to 11 participants ($Mdn = 7$) in exchange for \$20 or course credits. They interacted individually with every other participant in spans of three minutes. Dyads were told to “*just introduce yourself and try to get to know each other.*” After each interaction, participants would separate and provide their impressions of their interaction partner’s personality traits and motivations. As part of this impressions questionnaire, participants also indicated whether or not they previously knew their interaction partner. Only 14 interactions ($< 1\%$) involved previously acquainted individuals, and data from these interactions were removed from the dataset prior to analyses. The procedure was repeated until every participant had met with every other participant in the group.

All participants then individually wrote five short essays (3-5 sentences each) following Borkenau and colleagues’ (2016) procedures. The instructions for the essays were as follows:

On the following pages, please describe five domains of your life! Specifically, we are interested in your hobbies, friends, family, academic studies, and plans for the future... There are several lines to report about each of these domains that you should fill with relevant information. Please write whole sentences and utilize the available space completely!

A total of $N = 9$ participants did not show for the round-robin portion of the study and $N = 2$ participants provided written essays and validity data but did not complete the round-robin design given the small size of that group.

2.1.2 Session 2

After the round-robin design was completed an additional 211 undergraduates (156 female, 46 men, and 9 unknown, M age = 20.74 years, $SD = 2.95$) at the University of British

Columbia were recruited to read the 199 essays written by the participants recruited for the round-robin and provide their impressions of these original participants. See Appendix A for a study flow chart.

2.2 Measures

2.2.1 Personality

To measure personality traits, we used a modified 24-item abbreviated version of the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John & Srivastava, 1999; see Appendix B for a sample personality questionnaire) using a rating scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree Strongly*) to 7 (*Agree Strongly*). To measure motivations, we used a modified version of the 20-item Unified Motive Scales, with four items for each of the five subscales of power, achievement, affiliation, intimacy, and fear (UMS-3; Schönbrodt & Gerstenberg, 2012). We used a rating scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree Strongly*) to 7 (*Agree Strongly*).

2.2.2 Validity measures of personality

To create our validity measure of each target's personality, we used an average of their self-reports and respective informant reports. As part of the online self-reports, targets were asked to provide contact information for two peers and a parent or guardian who had previously consented to be contacted. All informants were emailed the same personality questionnaire as completed by round-robin and essay perceivers. Of the 199 participants who provided written essays, a total of 185 (93%) had complete self-reports, 91 (46%) complete parental-reports and 110 (55%) participants received at least one peer report with 49 (25%) participants receiving two peer reports. Combined, 132 (66%) participants had at least one informant report (one peer or parent) to be used in forming the composite score of self- and informant-reports. This self- and informant-report composite, available for N = 191 (96%) participants, was used as the accuracy benchmark against which other participants' BFI and UMS ratings were compared.

2.2.3 Well-being measures

Targets' well-being was measured using a series of questionnaires as part of the online self-report. These included the self-esteem scale (SE; Rosenberg, 1965); satisfaction with life

scale (SWL; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985); and the positive relations with others portion of the psychological well-being scale (PWB; Ryff, 1989; Ryff & Keyes, 1995). These measures have previously been used to show an association between accurate personality perceptions and well-being (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b; Human & Biesanz, 2011). All items on each scale were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*Disagree Strongly*) to 7 (*Agree Strongly*). See Appendix C for target self-report.

3 Data Analytic Strategy

The present manuscript employs the social accuracy model (SAM; Biesanz, 2010) to examine the accuracy of initial impressions and estimate individual differences in perceptive and expressive accuracy in two personality domains and two contexts. For additional examples of SAM see Rogers and Biesanz (2015). The SAM models perceivers' ratings of each target for each personality item from (a) the target validation measure, which is a composite of the self- and informant-reports, centered within item — and (b) the normative mean on that item, or the average rating for each item across targets. Note that items were not reverse coded prior to analysis to preserve the evaluative range across the items. This SAM analysis provides estimates of distinctive and normative accuracy, respectively. The specific analytical model is represented by Equation (1).

$$Y_{pti} = \gamma_{0pt} + \gamma_{1pt} V_{ti} + \gamma_{2pt} MV_i + e_{pti} \quad (1)$$

Here Y_{pti} is perceiver p 's rating of target t on item i . V_{ti} is target t 's validity measure on item i , and MV_i is the average validity measure on item i . V_{ti} is centered within item (i.e., $E(V_{ti}) = 0$ across targets for a given trait). The primary interests in the model are the two regression slope coefficients which represent distinctive and normative accuracy, respectively. Specifically, for each perceiver-target dyad:

- The coefficient γ_{1pt} is the level of distinctive accuracy for perceiver p with target t . This estimates the relationship between how the target t is different from the average person on the validity measures across a series of traits or motivations and perceiver p 's impressions of the target on those same traits or motivations. Distinctive accuracy measures the level at which a perceiver accurately recognizes the unique characteristics of the target.
- The coefficient γ_{2pt} is the level of normative accuracy for perceiver p with target t . This estimates the relationship between the average target assessed using the validity measures across a series of traits or motivations and the perceiver's impressions of each target on those same dimensions. Recall that as normative accuracy is highly related to the positivity of impressions (for more details see Rogers and Biesanz (2015), Wood and

Furr (2016), and Wessels, Zimmermann, Biesanz, and Leising (2018)), normative accuracy provides a reliable estimate of the positivity of the perceiver's impressions.

As our research design contains multiple perceivers and targets, SAM represents a crossed-random effects model in that each of the dyadic coefficients in Equation (1) is decomposed into main effects for perceiver, target, and the interaction (residual component) as illustrated in Equation (2).

$$\begin{aligned}\gamma_{0pt} &= \gamma_{00} + u_{0p} + u_{0t} + u_{0pt} \\ \gamma_{1pt} &= \gamma_{10} + u_{1p} + u_{1t} + u_{1pt} \\ \gamma_{2pt} &= \gamma_{20} + u_{2p} + u_{2t} + u_{2pt}\end{aligned}\tag{2}$$

The random effects in Equation (2), which represents the unconditional social accuracy model, are estimated for perceiver (u_p), target (u_t), and the interaction (residual dyadic components) (u_{pt}). These random effect estimates are presented as summary statistics in the model with (τ) as the estimated standard deviation of u . The random effects have a mean of 0 and the intercepts (γ) represent the average estimated effect across perceivers and targets.

3.1 Social accuracy model and ANOVA

The present study represents a factorial design (Domain: *Traits vs. Motivations*) \times (Context: *Live Interaction vs. Reading Essays*). To analyze this factorial design we first estimate and present the results of the SAM analyses conducted separately for each of the four cells. We then combine the data and use two effect codes and their interaction as Level 2 moderators in equation (2) to assess the main effects and interaction in the 2×2 ANOVA. For more details on group codes in the regression context and how effect codes provide the ANOVA decomposition in regression analyses see West, Aiken, and Krull (1996).

3.2 Examining the good target and positive target across domains and contexts

After estimating SAM for each cell separately, we extract the empirical Bayes estimates of the target distinctive accuracy random effects, denoted as u_{1t} . This represents the best linear unbiased predictors (BLUP) of the average distinctive expressive accuracy components for each target for that dimension and impression context combination. Note that these empirical Bayes estimates are grand mean centered such that $u_{1t} = u_{1t} = 0$. These good target and positive target estimates are then correlated across cells to examine the consistency of the good target and positive target across domains and contexts.

3.3 Assessing target well-being as a moderator

Including moderators as predictors is one of a number of extensions to the basic SAM analyses that one could make. Here we used target well-being to predict random effects in distinctive and normative accuracy as illustrated in Equation (3)

$$\begin{aligned}\gamma_{0pt} &= \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}M_t + u_{0p} + u_{0t} + u_{0pt} \\ \gamma_{1pt} &= \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}M_t + u_{1p} + u_{1t} + u_{1pt} \\ \gamma_{2pt} &= \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}M_t + u_{2p} + u_{2t} + u_{2pt}\end{aligned}\tag{3}$$

Interpreting the coefficients for distinctive and normative accuracy depends on the scaling of the moderator variable M_t . As above, γ_{10} and γ_{20} are the estimates of distinctive and normative accuracy, respectively, when $M_t = 0$. The coefficients γ_{11} and γ_{21} are the relationship between the target well-being and distinctive and normative accuracy, respectively. For example, a positive value of γ_{11} indicates that as the target well-being increases, so does the level of distinctive accuracy. We assessed the three measures of target well-being separately for moderator effects on distinctive and normative accuracy levels.

4 Results

4.1 Are perceivers able to form accurate initial impressions for both traits and motives both from interpersonal interactions as well as from textual sources?

Overall, we found that perceivers were able to form accurate impressions across both domains of personality for both sources of information. That is, individuals were able to perceive targets' unique orderings of traits and motives from both in-person interactions and writing samples. Levels of distinctive accuracy were quite similar for three of the four cells – $\gamma_{10} \sim .14$ – and lower but still significant for perceiving motivations from the essays (See Table 4.1). We were therefore able to replicate the findings of Borkenau and colleagues (2016) in terms of finding significant distinctive accuracy in impressions of traits formed from writing samples.

Unexpectedly, we found an interaction between domains and contexts, whereby motives were perceived with more distinctive accuracy from essays than in-person interactions, interaction $\gamma = .03$, $\chi^2 = 30.50$, $p < .0001$. This is different from the more expected results for trait accuracy, where in-person impressions were more accurate than those formed from writing. (See Figure 4.1)

4.2 Are there individual differences in being seen accurately across both contexts and domains?

Yes, we found reliable individual differences in being seen accurately across both contexts and domains. That is, the good target exists in terms of traits and motivations, and through both in-person and written contexts. As shown in Table 4.1, the good target emerges most clearly in person, for perceiving traits, and least clearly for perceiving motivations in person, but results are significant across all cells.

4.2.1 Does the good target generalize across contexts as well as across domains?

Our results suggest that the good target does generalize across both sources of information and domains of personality. That is, the individual who was accurately perceived in

live interactions was also the person who was accurately perceived through their essays. For consistency in being seen accurately, five of the six possible correlations were significant. The correlation between having traits perceived in the round robin and having motivations perceived in the essays, which crossed both domains and contexts, was not significant (See Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2). Correlations ranged from .30 - .50 for the good target across cells, which indicates a high degree of consistency in individual differences.

4.3 To what extent is being perceived accurately across contexts and domain of personality related to target well-being?

Somewhat surprisingly, well-being was not a consistent moderator across domains and contexts. As shown in Table 4.3, we replicated past findings that showed well-being is a moderator of being perceived accurately for traits in person for all three measures used. Note that these are partial correlations, controlling for normative accuracy, so the moderating effect of well-being for having traits accurately perceived in person is quite strong. However, this relationship was not consistent across domains and contexts. The moderator effects were not significant for having motives accurately perceived in person, or for either personality domains from the written essays.

Also note that there appears to be a significant negative relationship between well-being and having motives perceived in text, but this is due to a suppressor effect from controlling for normative accuracy. That is, without controlling for normative accuracy, the moderator effect for well-being is zero. (See Paulhus, Robins, Trzesniewski, and Tracy, 2004 for an explanation of the suppressor effect.) Overall, this suggests that well-being is not driving the good target effect across contexts and domains, and is part of a more complex picture.

4.4 Are there individual differences in being perceived with higher normative accuracy (i.e., positively) across contexts and domains?

Similar to distinctive accuracy, we found normative accuracy was significant for both domains and across both contexts. In other words, on average across perceivers and targets, there is a strong relationship between the average validity measures and the average impression of the average person. We also found that normative accuracy was higher, and therefore

impressions were more positive, for impressions formed during round robin interactions than for impressions formed from essays (see Figure 4.3), main effect $\gamma = .14$, $z = 7.47$, $p < .0001$, although this effect was qualified by a slight interaction, interaction $\gamma = .06$, $z = 52.39$, $p < .0001$. In terms of traits, this finding is consistent with research done on the observer vs converser effect (Biesanz, 2016). Motives were also seen with less normative accuracy, and thus less positivity, overall.

Indeed, a *positive* target did emerge across both domains and contexts. Rather than having their unique ordering of traits perceived accurately, we can consider the positive target an individual who is seen as more likeable than other individuals on average. The positive target was found more strongly in the written context than in-person, but similar to the good target, the positive target was weakest in terms of perceiving motivations in-person.

The positive target showed a higher rate of consistency across domains and targets, and all six correlations were significant (See Table 4.2 and Figure 4.4). This suggests a clearer picture: Perceivers liked the same targets across contexts and domains. If a target was likeable in person, they were likeable in their essays, in terms of both personality traits and motivations. It is worth noting that this holds across the two different sets of perceivers – one in-person and one for reading the essays.

4.4.1 To what extent is the positive target moderated by well-being?

For the positive target, the moderating effect of well-being was significant for all three measures in the writing context (See Table 4.4). As well, the measure of interpersonal relationships, positive relations with others, was a significant moderator across both domains and contexts. This suggests a stronger relationship between likeability and well-being, and highlights the self-reinforcing dynamic between well-being and positive social relationships. Still, however, there are clearly other moderators at play in terms of what leads to being seen both positively and accurately in initial impressions.

Table 4.1 Social accuracy model estimates for traits and motives from impressions formed during round robin interactions (in-person) and from reading essays.

Parameter	Round Robin		Written Essays	
	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)
Fixed Effects				
Intercept $\hat{\gamma}_{00}$	4.49 (0.03)***	4.44 (0.03)***	4.37 (0.02)***	4.34 (0.03)***
Distinctive Accuracy $\hat{\gamma}_{10}$	0.14 (0.02)***	0.08 (0.02)***	0.14 (0.02)***	0.14 (0.02)***
Normative Accuracy $\hat{\gamma}_{20}$	0.92 (0.03)***	0.65 (0.03)***	0.61 (0.04)***	0.43 (0.03)***
Random Effects				
Perceiver (Perceptive Accuracy)				
Intercept $\hat{\tau}_{0p}$	0.31***	0.35***	0.27***	0.31***
Distinctive Accuracy $\hat{\tau}_{1p}$	0.11***	0.12***	0.17***	0.16***
Normative Accuracy $\hat{\tau}_{2p}$	0.40***	0.35***	0.39***	0.35***
Correlation between $\hat{\tau}_{1p}$ and $\hat{\tau}_{2p}$	0.14	0.15	0.10	0.11
Target (Expressive Accuracy)				
Intercept $\hat{\tau}_{0t}$	0.13***	0.12***	0.19***	0.18***
Distinctive Accuracy $\hat{\tau}_{1t}$	0.25***	0.15***	0.20***	0.18***
Normative Accuracy $\hat{\tau}_{2t}$	0.22***	0.19***	0.32***	0.33***
Correlation between $\hat{\tau}_{1t}$ and $\hat{\tau}_{2t}$	-0.07	-0.14	-0.06	-0.07
Residual SD	1.13	1.03	1.08	1.20
Sample Sizes				
Perceivers	194	194	211	211
Targets	193	193	194	194
Dyads	1128	1128	3035	3035

Note: *** $p < .001$. Each of the four models presented were estimated separately and a random intercept for dyads was also estimated for each model. Random effect estimates (τ) are the estimated standard deviations across the is from Equation (2). All estimates are unstandardized and reflect the 1–7 point scales used in the present study.

Figure 4.1 Distinctive accuracy for traits and motives for round robin interaction and essay impressions with 95% confidence intervals.

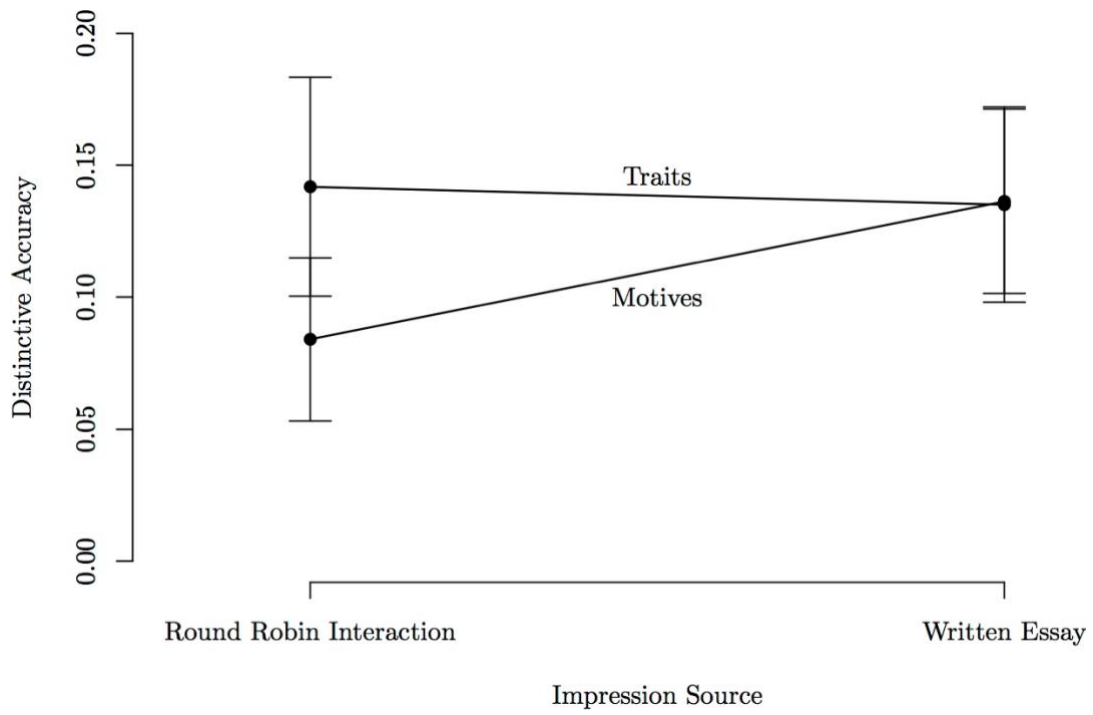


Table 4.2 Correlations between good target assessments for distinctive and normative accuracy across contexts and domains of personality

Good Target Assessment	Distinctive Accuracy		Normative Accuracy	
	<i>r</i>	95% CI	<i>r</i>	95% CI
Round Robin Traits with				
Round Robin Motives	0.48	[0.36, 0.58]	0.64	[0.54, 0.71]
Written Essay Traits	0.46	[0.34, 0.56]	0.32	[0.19, 0.44]
Written Essay Motives	0.02	[-0.12, 0.16]	0.18	[0.04, 0.31]
Round Robin Motives with				
Written Essay Traits	0.22	[0.08, 0.35]	0.26	[0.12, 0.39]
Written Essay Motives	0.27	[0.14, 0.40]	0.28	[0.15, 0.41]
Written Essay Traits with				
Written Essay Motives	0.32	[0.19, 0.44]	0.79	[0.73, 0.84]

Note: Correlations and confidence intervals were based on empirical Bayes estimates of the target random effects for distinctive and normative accuracy.

Figure 4.2 Good target consistency across contexts and domains

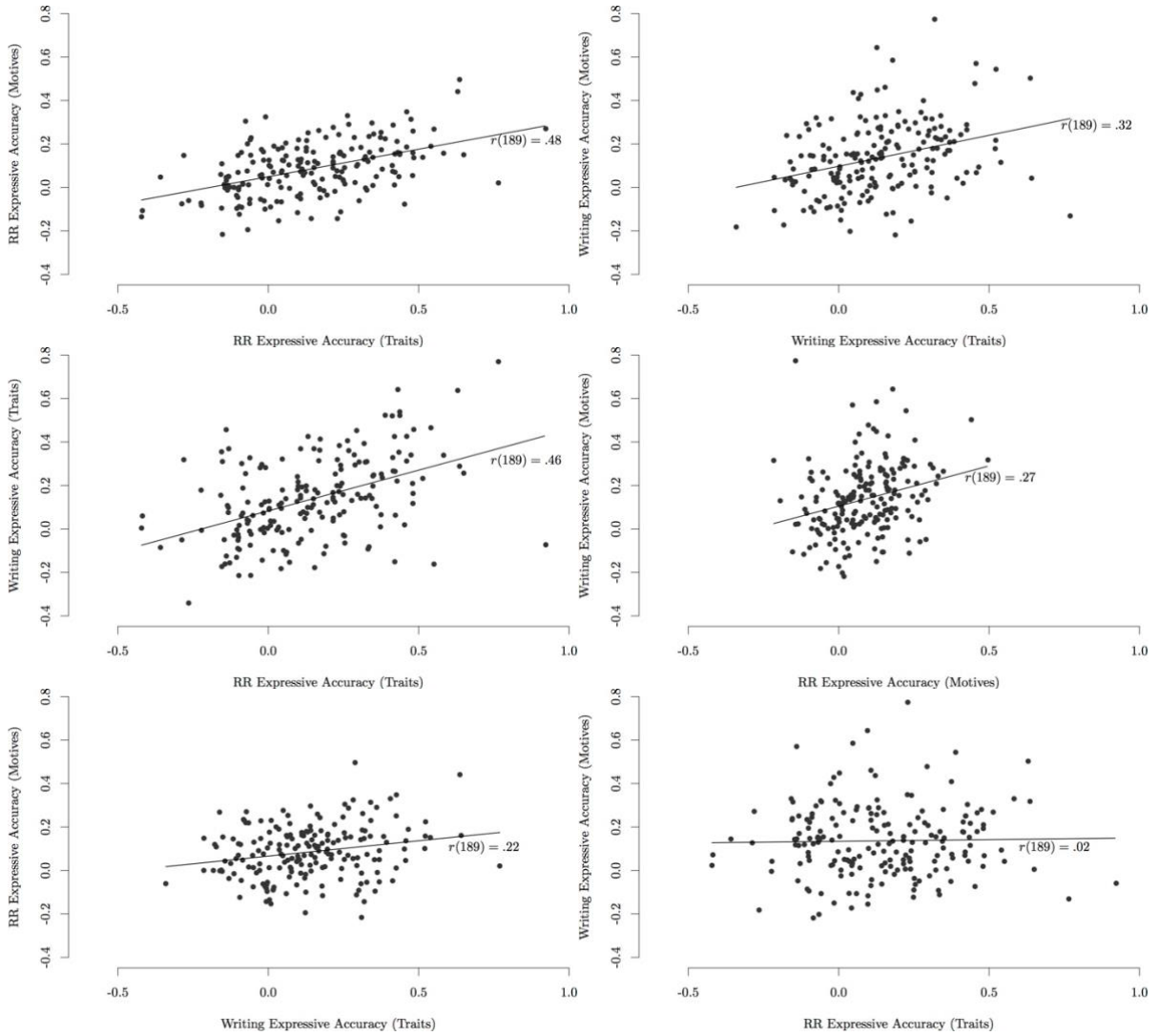


Table 4.3 Well-being moderator effects for distinctive accuracy across different contexts and personality domains.

Personality Measure	Round Robin		Written Essays	
	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	0.28 (0.08)***	0.08 (0.09)	0.06 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.08)*
Satisfaction with Life	0.28 (0.08)***	0.16 (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)
Positive Relations with Others	0.24 (0.08)**	0.11 (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.24 (0.08)**

Note: *** $p < .001$. Each of the 4 models presented were estimated separately and estimates are approximate standardized partial regression coefficients.

Figure 4.3 Normative accuracy for traits and motives for round robin interaction and essay impressions with 95% confidence intervals

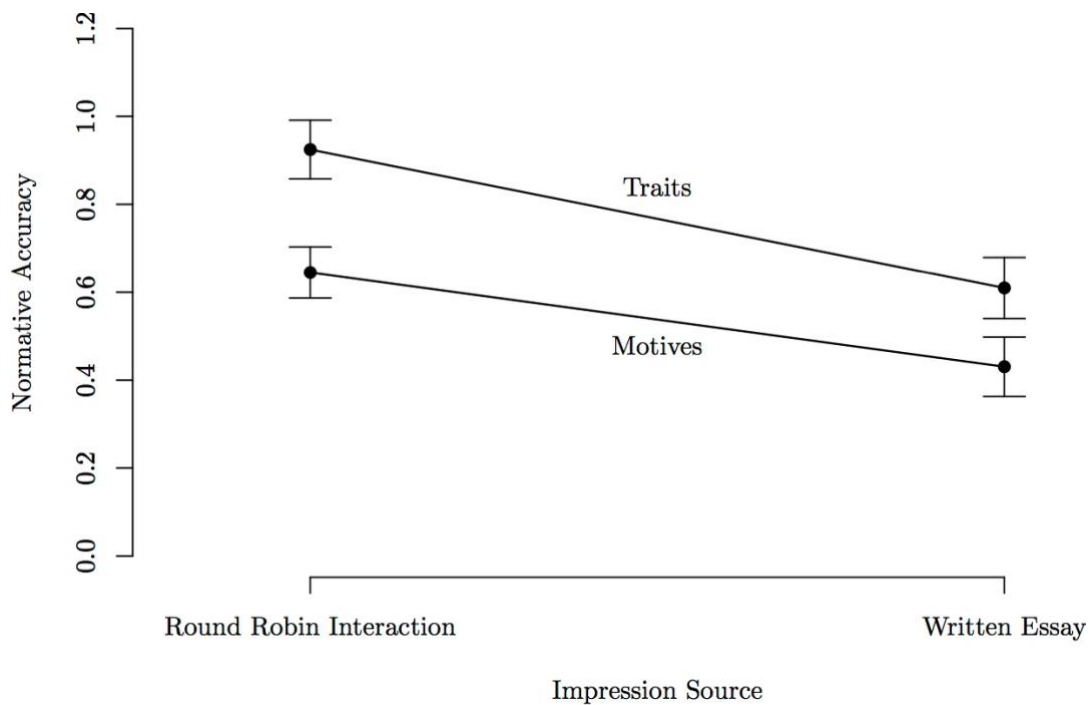
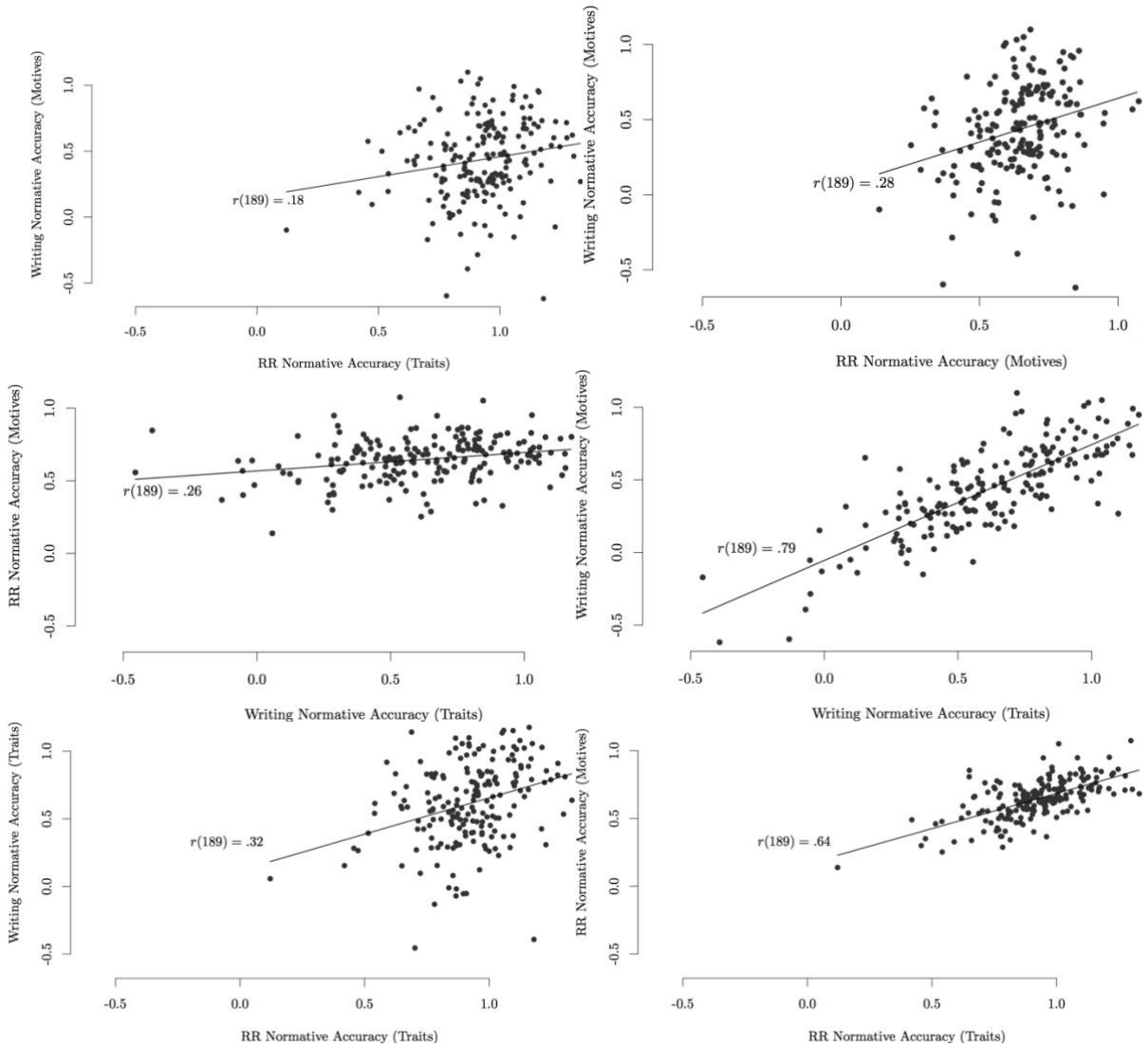


Table 4.4 Well-being moderator effects for normative accuracy across different contexts and personality domains

Personality Measure	Round Robin		Written Essays	
	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)	Traits Estimate (SE)	Motives Estimate (SE)
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	0.06 (0.09)	0.14 (0.09)	0.33 (0.07)***	0.39 (0.07)***
Satisfaction with Life	0.02 (0.09)	0.11 (0.10)	0.22 (0.07)**	0.26 (0.07)***
Positive Relations with Others	0.22 (0.09)*	0.26 (0.09)**	0.30 (0.07)***	0.31 (0.07)***

Note: *** $p < .001$. Each of the 4 models presented were estimated separately and estimates are approximate standardized partial regression coefficients.

Figure 4.4 Positive target consistency across contexts and domains



5 Discussion

Understanding what leads to accurate and positive initial impressions is a useful step to facilitating the development of social ties. Here, we examined the extent to which the good target exists and is consistent across two domains (personality traits and motivations) and two contexts (in-person interactions and through text). Only one of these combinations had previously been thoroughly researched: the good target in-person in terms of personality traits. We also looked at the relationship between target well-being and levels of accuracy across these domains and contexts. Here as well, only the personality traits in-person combination had been examined previously. Because of supporting evidence, such as the finding that expressive accuracy appears stable over time (e.g., Biesanz & West, 2000) and that good targets tend to align their behaviors with their personalities more so than poor targets (Human et al., 2014), it was hypothesized that we would find the good target among all possible combinations, and that the good target would generalize across domains and contexts.

We were able to replicate past findings that individuals can be perceived accurately in person (e.g., Human & Biesanz, 2011) and through short essays (Borkenau et al., 2016). Our findings also supported past work suggesting that the motivation domain is open to accurate perceptions, expanding beyond close others (Huelsenitz et al., 2019) to initial impressions. Regardless of the consistency of the good target, this finding alone supports the expansion of the personality perception matrix beyond personality traits as it seems possible that we can perceive not only what people tend to do (their traits) but also why people do what they do (their motives).

Our results do suggest that the good target is a broad individual difference consistent across domains and contexts. Thus, the present manuscript expands on previous work by demonstrating that expressive accuracy is not only stable over time (Biesanz & West, 2000), but also across two sources of information and two domains. Our findings also support the recent work showing consistency in the good target across in-person and social media contexts (Human et al., under review). As one of the six possible correlations was not significant, though, further investigation into generalizability of the good target is required, particularly for correlations that cross both domain and context. The overall trend toward consistency in the good target suggests that the nonsignificant correlation between having traits perceived in the

round robin and having motivations perceived in the essays may be due to low power. A future study should include a larger sample to better detect a correlation here.

Our analyses also revealed the consistency of a *positive* target. The levels of normative accuracy are regularly included as part of SAM analyses (e.g., Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012; Human & Biesanz, 2011) but the extent to which this is an individual difference, and whether these likeable targets are consistent across contexts and domains has not been deeply considered. Our results suggest the positive target is even more generalizable than the good target, with separate groups of perceivers rating the same individuals as likeable across two domains and contexts. As making a positive initial impression has long term impacts on forming relationships independently from making accurate initial impressions (Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2012), this area warrants further investigation.

Because well-being has been consistently linked to the good target in terms of perceiving traits in person (Human & Biesanz, 2013) and behavioral congruency has been shown to mediate the relationship between well-being and accuracy, it was hypothesized that target well-being would consistently moderate being perceived accurately across domains and contexts. However, while we were able to replicate past findings regarding well-being for traits in person, our results did not indicate target well-being is a consistent moderator of being perceived accurately. There was a stronger relationship between levels of normative accuracy – the positive target – and well-being, particularly in the essay context. This supports the theory that there are different processes behind being perceived accurately and positively across contexts and domains. Indeed, as shown in Table 4.1, there is almost no association between the good target and the positive target and thus these are two separate individual differences. Target well-being is likely part of a larger set of moderators that lead to being seen accurately and positively in initial impressions.

5.1 Unexpected interaction

Our analyses revealed an interaction between context and domain, in that motivations were perceived more accurately through writing while, as expected, traits were perceived more accurately through in-person impressions. What causes this interaction is unclear. It may be that motivations aren't as publicly observable as traits, and targets tend not to make as many cues relevant to their motivations available to perceivers as they do traits (RAM: Funder, 1995, 1999).

Past studies have shown that asymmetry exists in terms of trait observability (SOKA; Vazire, 2010). Motivations may be similar to traits like neuroticism which are less observable, and the essay context may have made motivations more accessible to perceivers.

It is important to note here a potential limitation of the present study. Replicating Borkenau and colleagues' (2016) study resulted in our two contexts – writing essays and in person interactions – not being parallel. That is, the guided essay topics used here were not the written equivalent of an unstructured, in-person getting to know you design, where topics may be taken in a variety of directions. These assigned topics likely encouraged targets to make more relevant cues available than a general “write about yourself” prompt would have. Future studies may want to examine whether the good target emerges as strongly in writing when no specific prompts are given.

5.2 Future research

5.2.1 Processes across domains and contexts

A new question that emerges from these results is whether initial impressions of various contexts and domains require different processes. Why is normative accuracy lower for motivations than for traits? Perhaps the relationship between liking and impressions is different for traits and motivations. Similarly, why was distinctive accuracy particularly low for motivations in person? It seems perceivers are not as able to distinguish how targets are different from the average person in some situations. Future research may examine the processes by which accurate and positive impressions are formed across domains and contexts to uncover similarities and differences between these two broad constructs.

Relatedly, as well-being was not a consistent moderator across contexts and domains, further research should examine additional potential moderators that lead to being seen accurately and positively in various domains and contexts. Exploratory analyses do not point to any consistent moderators. See Appendix D for a complete list of exploratory measures.

5.2.2 Motivations and social desirability

Our results showing that normative accuracy was higher during in-person interactions than from reading essays was expected in terms of traits, consistent with research done on the observer vs converser effect (Biesanz, 2016). However, motives were also seen with less

normative accuracy in both contexts, which was not expected. Why might motives be seen less positively than traits? Perhaps motives are subject to varying levels of social desirability which are, on average, not as desirable as traits. Past work has teased the normative profile apart from socially desirable traits (Rogers & Biesanz, 2015), revealing that the two are highly correlated, and thus, normative ratings can stand in for positive ratings. However, as research into the perception of motivations is in its nascent stages, the social desirability of motives has yet to be examined. Future studies should therefore examine and control for social desirability when assessing normative accuracy levels in perceiving motives.

5.2.3 The positive target

Although past studies using SAM regularly include the level of normative accuracy (e.g., Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2012; Human & Biesanz, 2011), a deep examination of the positive target has not been done. The good target has been researched extensively (see Human & Biesanz, 2013 for a review) but post hoc analyses here reveal that the good target and the positive target are not correlated (See Table 4.1). Thus, these likeable targets, who are consistent across domains and contexts and somewhat driven by well-being, warrant further study, particularly as being seen positively has long term effects on the development of social ties independent of being seen accurately (Human, Sandstrom, Biesanz, & Dunn 2012).

5.2.4 Linguistic analysis

Past studies have revealed that linguistic styles can be used as markers of personality as there are consistent individual differences in language use (Pennebaker & King, 1999). Borkenau and colleagues (2016) quantified 13 essay attributes to examine the cue validity and utilization of short essays. They found that various language elements predicted stranger personality ratings better than the accuracy criteria. In other words, cue utilization was stronger than cue validity. Next steps with the present data set include using the Linguistic Inquiry Word Count software (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan & Blackburn, 2015) to examine essays for cue validity and utilization and associations between linguistic styles and the good and positive target.

5.2.5 Potential interventions

As the good target and the positive target have been shown to be malleable, an important next step toward facilitating the development of social ties through positive and accurate initial impressions is to examine potential interventions. As noted previously, research has shown that when asked to present one's best self, individuals are perceived more accurately and better liked by others (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto & Dunn, 2012). It would be interesting to examine whether this effect crosses contexts and domains consistently. Does impression management lead to more accurate and positive impressions in text and for motivations as well?

Another approach to facilitating accurate and positive initial impressions, particularly in person due to our findings on moderator effects, may be through improving target well-being. One method that has consistently shown moderate improvements to well-being is expressive writing (See Kállay, 2015 and Frattaroli, 2006 for meta-analyses). Thus another next step will be to examine the potential benefits of an expressive writing intervention on being seen with increased accuracy and positivity during initial impressions.

5.2.6 The personality perception matrix

The present manuscript demonstrates how much is currently unknown in the area of personality perception. As noted, there are multiple contexts and domains that can be combined in perceiving another's personality, and each of these combinations may require unique processes of both target and perceiver. Future research may examine targets' motivations through contexts such as residue or preferences; as well as additional domains including states, social attributes, and life stories, in each of these contexts. Follow-up questions may include whether the broad individual differences of being seen accurately and positively exist in each cell, and to what extent these remain generalizable. Research has primarily centered thus far on one cell of the personality perception matrix, and evidence continues to accumulate that branching outward in both directions is worthwhile.

5.3 Summary

Given that the good target and positive target may be malleable (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012), understanding what leads to being seen accurately and positively in initial interactions is a necessary step to encouraging naturally poor targets to become better

targets. As we learn more about the mediators and moderators of being seen more accurately and positively, we can begin to examine experimentally whether these behaviors can be learned or strengthened. The present manuscript indicates that there are broad individual differences that lead individuals to be seen more positively and accurately than others, but that well-being is not a consistent moderator across domains and contexts. While target well-being moderates being seen accurately for traits in person, this is not generalizable to text or motivations. This leads to a broad question regarding the future study of initial impressions. Which combination of contexts and domains will have the most impact on downstream health outcomes? Is it more important to further understand the consistency of the good target and positive target across domains and contexts? Or is the *in-person* \times *trait* combination particularly important to developing social ties, warranting more attention? As individuals are more often forming their initial impressions of others through contexts such as social media and other remote contexts, the answer may not be a straightforward one.

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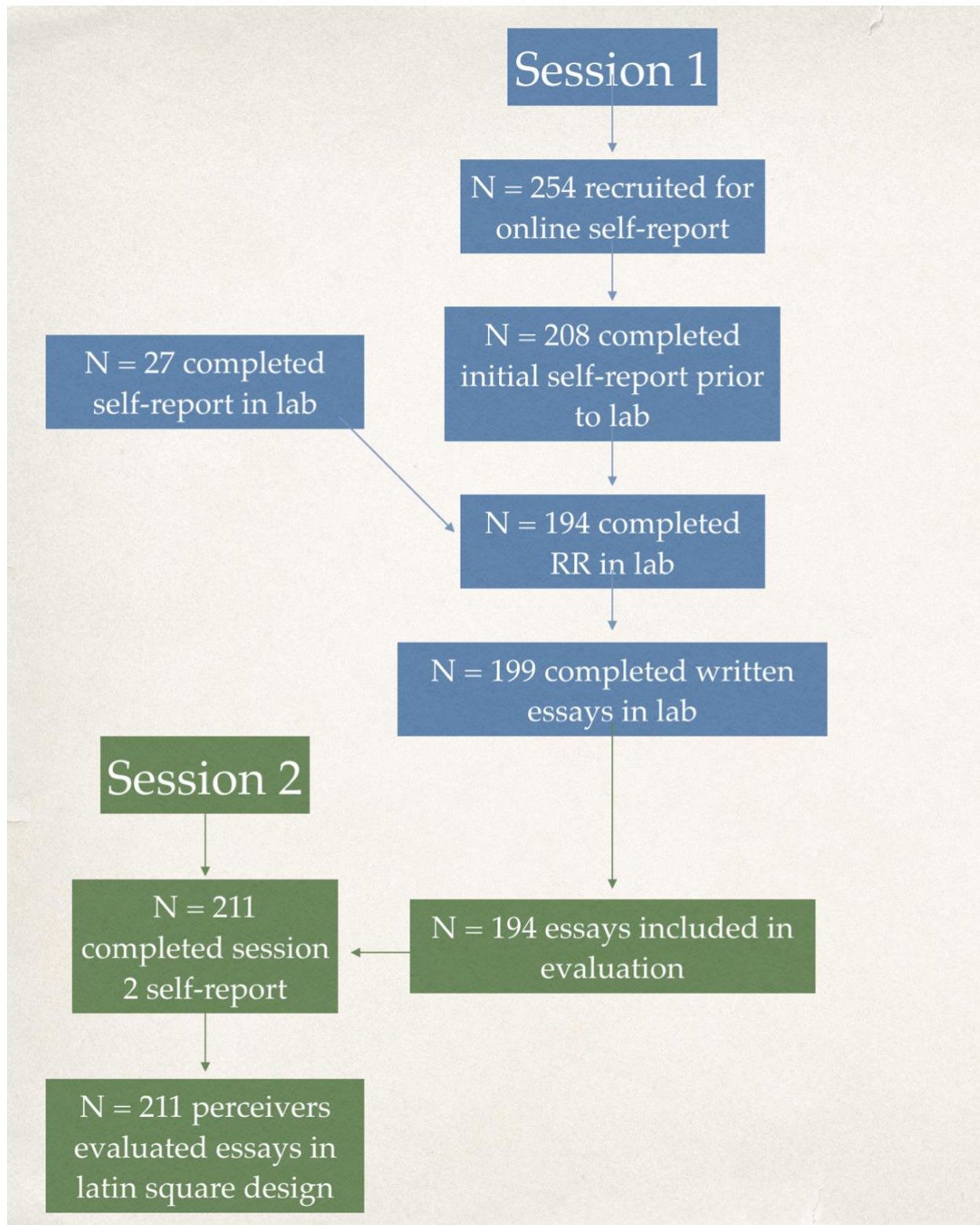
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Appendices

Appendix A: Study Flow Chart



* 1. Session number:

* 2. Your Participant ID:

☐ 01

☐ 02

☐ 03

☐ 04

☐ 05

☐ 06

☐ 07

☐ 08

☐ 09

☐ 10

☐ 11

☐ 12

* 3. Target ID:

- ☐ 01
- ☐ 02
- ☐ 03
- ☐ 04
- ☐ 05
- ☐ 06
- ☐ 07
- ☐ 08
- ☐ 09
- ☐ 10
- ☐ 11
- ☐ 12



* 4. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

I see this person as someone who:

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
Is full of energy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is intelligent.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Generates a lot of enthusiasm.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Remains calm in tense situations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tends to be quiet.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Makes plans and follows through with them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Has an assertive personality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is sometimes shy, inhibited.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is outgoing, sociable.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tends to find fault with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Does a thorough job.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is depressed, blue.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



* 5. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

I see this person as someone who:

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
Is original & comes up with new ideas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is helpful & unselfish with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be somewhat careless.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is relaxed & handles stress well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receives very good grades.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Starts quarrels with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is a reliable worker.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be tense.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is reserved.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is ingenious & a deep thinker.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Has a forgiving nature.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is bright.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



* 6. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

I see this person as someone who:

[illegible]

* 7. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

I see this person as someone who:

[illegible]

* 8. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Considering your last interaction:

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
This person was engaged in our conversation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This person held my attention.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This person understood me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I understood this person.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This interaction was pleasant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
This interaction was stressful.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would like to interact with this person again.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like this person overall.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I trust this person.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think this person likes me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was my true self.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt authentic in the way I acted.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt like I was really being me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



* 9. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

How do you believe the person in the last interaction views you?

[illegible]

* 10. Considering the ratings you just made:

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
How well do you think YOUR IMPRESSIONS WOULD AGREE with someone who knows this person very well?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
How well do you think THIS PERSON'S IMPRESSION OF YOU WOULD AGREE with how you and your close friends view your personality?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 11. Please choose the letter below that best shows you in relation to the person you just met:

- ☐ A
- ☐ B
- ☐ C
- ☐ D
- ☐ E
- ☐ F
- ☐ G

* 12. Would you want to be friends with this person on Facebook?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Already Facebook friends

* 13. Have you met this person before?

☐ Yes

☐ No

14. If yes, how do you know him/her?

1. Consent Form

Research Funded By: Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Introduction and Purpose: We are studying the process by which individuals form impressions and understand the personalities of other individuals.

Study Procedures: Accuracy in Personality Perception

Participants will be asked to fill out self-report questionnaires, to engage in a round-robin interaction with 7-9 other participants and rate their personalities. Participants are also asked to provide contact information for one parent/guardian and two friends so they can fill out a brief personality questionnaire about the participant, by mail or in the lab.

Study Procedures: Writing Perception

Participants will be asked to fill out self-report questionnaires and complete writing samples based on a series of prompts. The writing samples will be stripped of identifying information and used in future studies to examine the impressions of personality.

Confidentiality: Any identifying information resulting from your participation will be kept strictly confidential. Data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet or on a password-protected computer, and will be destroyed after the required storage period. You will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. Only the principal investigator, Dr. Jeremy Biesanz, his graduate students, and his research assistants will have access to any of the questionnaire information or complete writing samples.

Compensation: This study will take no more than 2 hours. If you are eligible for extra credit points in a UBC Psychology course through the Psychology Subject Pool, you will receive 2 credits even if you choose to withdraw from the study. If you are participating for pay, you will receive \$20 for your time.

Contact for information about the study: If you have any questions or would like further information about this study, please contact Dr. Jeremy Biesanz at (604) 822-6493, or via email at jbiesanz@psych.ubc.ca.

Contact for concerns about the rights of research subjects: If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Ethics at 604-822-8598 or if long distance e-mail RSIL@ors.ubc.ca or call toll free 1-877-822-8598.

Consent: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. You will not be penalized in any way should you choose not to participate or withdraw. Your affirmative response below indicates that you consent to participate in the study and for your writing samples to be used anonymously in future studies to examine the impressions of personality.

☐ Yes

☐ No

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
Is outgoing, sociable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tends to find fault with others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Does a thorough job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is depressed, blue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is original, comes up with new ideas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is helpful and unselfish with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be somewhat careless	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is relaxed, handles stress well	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Receives very good grades	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Starts quarrels with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is a reliable worker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be tense	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is reserved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is ingenious, a deep thinker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Has a forgiving nature	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is bright	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3. BFI (V47)

* 5. I see myself as someone who ...

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
Is emotionally stable, not easily upset	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is inventive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is talkative	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be cold and aloof	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perseveres until the task is finished	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Can be moody	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Values artistic, aesthetic experience	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is curious about many different things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is considerate and kind to almost everyone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Does things efficiently	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tends to be lazy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prefers work that is routine	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tends to be disorganized	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is sometimes rude to others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Worries a lot	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gets nervous easily	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Likes to reflect, play with ideas	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Has few artistic interests	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Likes to cooperate with others	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is easily distracted	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Has an active imagination	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is generally trusting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 6. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
I have little interest in leading others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am afraid of failing in somewhat difficult situations when a lot depends on me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I get to know new people, I often fear being rejected by them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I become scared when I lose control over things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am absolutely devastated if a good friend breaks of contact with me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

5. [SE]

7. [RWB]

* 9. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

I often feel ...

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
I get embarrassed very easily.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm self-conscious about the way I look.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't find it hard to talk to strangers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm generally attentive to my inner feelings.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I usually worry about making a good impression.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm constantly examining my motives.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel anxious when I speak in front of a group.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The last thing I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off somewhere watching myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm concerned about what other people think of me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm alert to changes in my mood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm usually aware of my appearance.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm aware of the way my mind works when I work through a problem.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Groups make me nervous.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

12. Rate how emotionally close you are to each person you listed.

[illegible]

11. [ISEL]

* 13. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
It would be difficult to find someone who would lend me their car for a few hours.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If a family crisis arose, it would be difficult to find someone who could give me good advice about how to handle it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am closer to my friends than most other people are to theirs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is at least one person I know whose advice I really trust.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I needed some help in moving to a new house or apartment, I would have a hard time finding someone to help me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a hard time keeping pace with my friends.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. [AS]

* 15. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
I think it is better to be yourself than to be popular.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I don't know how I really feel inside.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I usually do what other people tell me to do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I always feel I need to do what others expect me to do.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other people influence me greatly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel as if I don't know myself very well.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I always stand by what I believe in.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am true to myself in most situations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel out of touch with the 'real me.'	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel alienated from myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

14. [PILS]

* 16. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

15. [SCC]

* 17. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
On one day I might have one opinion of myself and on another day I might have a different opinion.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of person I really am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes I feel that I am not really the person I appear to be.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When I think about the kind of person I have been in the past, I'm not sure what I was really like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I seldom experience conflict between the different aspects of my personality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sometimes I think I know other people better than I know myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I were asked to describe my personality, my description might end up being different from one day to another day.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Even if I wanted to, I don't think I would tell someone what I'm really like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is often hard for me to make up my mind about things because I don't really know what I want.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 18. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

[illegible]

18. [SIAS]

* 20. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
I am unsure whether to greet someone I know only slightly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

19. [ECR-SF]

* 21. Are you currently in or have you ever been in a romantic relationship?

☐ Yes

☐ No

20. [ECR-SF]

The following statements concern how you feel in romantic relationships.

We are interested in how you generally experience relationships, not just in what is happening in a current relationship.

* 22. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I need a lot of reassurance that I am loved by my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want to get close to my partner, but I keep pulling back.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find that my partner(s) don't want to get as close as I would like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I turn to my partner for many things, including comfort and reassurance.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I try to avoid getting too close to my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I do not often worry about being abandoned.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I get frustrated if romantic partners are not available when I need them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am nervous when partners get too close to me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

21. [RSQ-SF]

Each of the items below describes things college students sometimes ask of other people. Please imagine that you are in each situation. You will be asked the answer the following questions:

a) How concerned or anxious would you be about how the other person would respond?

b) How do you think the other person would be likely to respond?

23. You ask your parents for help in deciding what programs to apply to.

a) How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your parents would want to help you?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

24. b) How likely do you think it would be that they'd help you?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

22. [RSQ-SF]

25. You approach a close friend to talk after doing or saying something that seriously upset him/her.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your friend would want to talk to you?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

26. b) How likely do you think it would be that he/she would want to talk with you to work things out?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

23. [RSQ-SF]

27. After graduation, you can't find a job and ask your parents if you can live at home for a while.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your parents would want you to come home?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

28. b) How likely do you think it would be that you'd be welcome at home?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

24. [RSQ-SF]

29. You call your boyfriend/girlfriend after a bitter argument and tell him/her you want to see him/her.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your partner would want to see you?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

30. b) How likely do you think it would be that he/she would want to see you?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

25. [RSQ-SF]

31. You ask your parents to come to an occasion important to you.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your parents would want to come?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

32. b) How likely do you think it would be that your parents would want to come?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

33. You ask a friend to do you a big favour.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your friend would do this favour?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

34. b) How likely do you think it would be that they'd be willing to do this favour for you?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

27. [RSQ-SF]

35. You ask your boyfriend/girlfriend if he/she really loves you.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not your partner would say yes?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

36. b) How likely do you think it would be that he/she would answer yes sincerely?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

28. [RSQ-SF]

Just checking in! Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions, we appreciate your thoughtful responses. You're half way there!

37. You go to a party and note someone on the other side of the room and then you ask them to dance.

a. How concerned or anxious would you be over whether or not the person would want to dance with you?

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Quite concerned
- ☐ A bit concerned
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not really concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

38. b) How likely do you think it would be that he/she would want to dance with you?

- ☐ Very unlikely
- ☐ Quite unlikely
- ☐ A bit unlikely
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Pretty likely
- ☐ Quite likely
- ☐ Extremely likely

29. [SNI]

These questions are concerned with how many people you see or talk to on a regular basis including family, friends, workmates, and neighbours.

Please read and answer each question carefully. Answer follow-up questions where appropriate.

39. Which of the following best describes your marital status?

- ☐ Currently married & living together, or living with someone in marital-like relationship
- ☐ Never married & never lived with someone in a marital-like relationship
- ☐ Separated
- ☐ Divorced or formerly lived with someone in a marital-like relationship
- ☐ Widowed

40. How many children do you have?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5+

30. [SNI]

41. How many of your children do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5+

31. [SNI]

* 42. Are your parents living?

- ☐ Yes, both are living.
- ☐ Mother only.
- ☐ Father only.
- ☐ Neither parent is living.

32. [SNI]

43. Do you interact with either of your parents (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ Yes, both parents.
- ☐ Mother only.
- ☐ Father only.
- ☐ No, neither parent.

33. [SNI]

* 44. Besides your spouse, parents, and children, how many other relatives do you feel close to?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8+

34. [SNI]

45. How many of these relatives do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8+

35. [SNI]

* 46. How many close friends do you have?

Close friends are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private things, and can call on for help.

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8+

36. [SNI]

47. How many of these friends do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8+

37. [SNI]

* 48. Do you belong to a church, temple, or other religious group?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

38. [SNI]

49. How many members of your church or religious group do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

This includes at group meetings and services.

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8+

39. [SNI]

* 50. Do you attend any classes (school, university, technical training, or adult education) on a regular basis?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

40. [SNI]

51. How many fellow students or teachers do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

This includes at class meetings.

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

41. [SNI]

* 52. Are you currently employed either full or part-time?

- ☐ Yes, I'm self-employed.
- ☐ Yes, I'm employed by someone else.
- ☐ No.

42. [SNI]

53. How many people do you supervise?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

54. How many people at work (other than those you supervise) do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

43. [SNI]

* 55. How many of your neighbours do you interact with (through reciprocal text messaging, email, Skype, phone, or in person) at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

* 56. Are you currently involved in regular volunteer work?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

44. [SNI]

57. How many people involved in this volunteer work do you talk to about volunteering-related issues at least once every 2 weeks?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

45. [SNI]

* 58. Do you belong to any groups in which you talk to one or more members of the group about group-related issues at least once every 2 weeks?

Examples include social clubs, recreational groups, trade unions, commercial groups, professional organizations, or groups concerned with community service.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

46. [SNI]

59. Consider those groups in which you talk to a fellow group member at least once every 2 weeks.

Please provide the following information for each such group: the name or type of group and the total number of members in that group that you talk to at least once every 2 weeks.

Name of group:

1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>
4	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>
6	<input type="text"/>
7	<input type="text"/>

60. How many members of the group(s) you listed do you talk to at least once every 2 weeks?

1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>
4	<input type="text"/>
5	<input type="text"/>
6	<input type="text"/>
7	<input type="text"/>

47. [DIAMONDS]

As part of this study, you will be engaging in brief, one-on-one conversations with a number of other people. For the following questions, please rate how much each characteristic is present in this situation that you will be participating in.

Respond to show how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

* 61. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
A job needs to be done.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will be criticized, directly or indirectly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Potential romantic partners could be present.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation is playful.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Things happen quickly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation is potentially anxiety-inducing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone else in this situation might be deceitful.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social interaction is possible.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation is humorous or potentially humorous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation affords an opportunity to demonstrate my intellectual capacity.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Minor details are important.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Someone will attempt to dominate or boss me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation is potentially enjoyable.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The situation entails frustration.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is possible for me to deceive someone in this situation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Close personal relationships are present or have the potential to develop.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

62. Please choose the response that shows how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

[illegible]

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Disagree a little	Neutral	Agree a little	Agree	Agree strongly
Situation evokes values concerning lifestyles or politics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am counted on to do something.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

49. Demographics

* 63. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other

* 64. What is your age?

50. Demographics

* 65. What is your major ethnic background?

- ☐ European/Caucasian
- ☐ East Asian
- ☐ Southeast Asian
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ Middle Eastern
- ☐ Other

Other (please specify)

* 66. What is your mother's major ethnic background?

- ☐ European/Caucasian
- ☐ East Asian
- ☐ Southeast Asian
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ Middle Eastern
- ☐ Other

Other (please specify)

* 67. What is your father's major ethnic background?

- ☐ European/Caucasian
- ☐ East Asian
- ☐ Southeast Asian
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ Middle Eastern
- ☐ Other

Other (please specify)

51. Demographics

* 68. What language do you speak most often at home?

- ☐ English
- ☐ Cantonese
- ☐ Mandarin
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Arabic
- ☐ Farsi
- ☐ Spanish

Other (please specify)

* 69. What language do you most often speak with your friends?

- ☐ English
- ☐ Cantonese
- ☐ Mandarin
- ☐ Korean
- ☐ Arabic
- ☐ Farsi
- ☐ Spanish

Other (please specify)

52. Demographics

* 70. Were you born in North America?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

53. Demographics

71. How many years have you lived in North America?

- ☐ Less than one
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7+

54. Demographics

* 72. What is your major?

* 73. What is your religion?

- ☐ Christianity (Catholic)
- ☐ Christianity (Other)
- ☐ Buddhism
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Muslim
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ None

Other (please specify)

55. Demographics

74. How important is your religion in your daily life?

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ A little
- ☐ Somewhat
- ☐ Quite a bit
- ☐ Very

56. Demographics

* 75. How often do you meditate?

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ Less than once per week
- ☐ 1 - 2 times per week
- ☐ 3 - 4 times per week
- ☐ More than 5 times per week

* 76. How would you describe your political beliefs?

Conservative	Neutral				Liberal	
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 77. How often do you use Facebook?

- ☐ Multiple times per day
- ☐ Once a day
- ☐ A few times per week
- ☐ Once a week
- ☐ Monthly or less

57. Contact information

Please enter contact information for three people who know you well. Ideally, this would be a parent and two peers.

* 78. Please enter contact information for the following:

Parent Name	<input type="text"/>
Parent Email Address	<input type="text"/>
Friend 1 Name	<input type="text"/>
Friend 1 Email Address	<input type="text"/>
Friend 2 Name	<input type="text"/>
Friend 2 Email Address	<input type="text"/>

58. HSP ID

79. What is your HSP ID?

If you don't know the date of your mother or father's birth, enter 99.

Enter the month of your
birth in digits.

Enter the date of your
birth.

Enter the month of your
mother's birth in digits.

Enter the month of your
father's birth in digits.

Enter all 6 digits together
to form your HSP ID.

Appendix D: Complete List of Exploratory Measures

Label	Measure	Reference
SCC	Self-Concept Clarity	Campbell et al., 1996
ISEL-12	The Interpersonal Support Evaluation List	Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, & Hoberman, 1985
SFCN	Public-Private Self-Consciousness Scale	Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975
SIAS	Social Interaction Anxiety	Mattick, Clarke, 1998
DIAMONDS	The Situational Eight DIAMONDS	Rauthmann, et al., 2014
PIL	Purpose in Life	Robbins & Francis, 2000
UCLA Loneliness	Revised UCLA Loneliness Scale	Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980
SOC	Spheres of Control	Spittal, Siegert, McClure, & Walkey, 2002
ECR-S	Relationship Structures – Partner	Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2007
AS	Authenticity Scale	Wood, Maltby, Baliousis, Linley, & Joseph, 2008

Exploratory analyses for distinctive accuracy: Moderator effects across contexts and personality domains.

Personality Measure	Round Robin		Written Essays	
	Traits	Motives	Traits	Motives
	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	0.28 (0.08)***	0.09 (0.09)	0.05 (0.08)	-0.17 (0.08)*
Satisfaction with Life	0.29 (0.08)***	0.15 (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
Positive Relations with Others	0.24 (0.08)**	0.11 (0.09)	0.07 (0.08)	-0.24 (0.08)**
Self Concept Clarity Scale	0.22 (0.08)**	-0.03 (0.09)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)
Purpose in Life Scale	0.22 (0.08)**	0.10 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.08)*
UCLA Loneliness Scale	-0.25 (0.08)**	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)
Social Anxiety	-0.30 (0.08)***	-0.15 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.08)	0.15 (0.08)
Authenticity Scale				
Authentic Living	0.24 (0.08)**	-0.04 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.27 (0.08)***
External Influences	-0.13 (0.08)	0.04 (0.09)	0.00 (0.08)	0.15 (0.08)
Self-Alienation	-0.21 (0.08)**	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)
Public Private Self Consciousness				
Private Self Consciousness	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)
Public Self Consciousness	-0.10 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
Social Anxiety	-0.26 (0.08)**	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.08)*	0.13 (0.08)
Interpersonal Support (ISEL)				
Appraisal	0.14 (0.08)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.20 (0.08)**
Tangible	0.20 (0.08)*	0.10 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)
Self-Esteem	0.27 (0.08)***	0.03 (0.09)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.34 (0.07)***
Belonging	0.23 (0.08)**	0.11 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.21 (0.08)**
Big Five (BFI)				
Extraversion	0.27 (0.08)***	0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.20 (0.08)**
Agreeableness	0.21 (0.08)**	0.13 (0.09)	0.09 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
Conscientiousness	0.21 (0.08)**	0.03 (0.09)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
Neuroticism	-0.53 (0.07)***	-0.17 (0.09)	-0.23 (0.07)**	0.12 (0.08)
Openness	0.15 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.21 (0.08)**
Unified Motive Scale				
Power	0.09 (0.08)	-0.19 (0.08)*	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.26 (0.07)***
Achievement	0.11 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)
Affiliation	0.18 (0.08)*	0.20 (0.08)*	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)
Intimacy	0.01 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.23 (0.07)**	-0.17 (0.08)*
Fear	-0.30 (0.08)***	-0.22 (0.09)*	-0.13 (0.08)	0.10 (0.08)
Relationship Structures (ECR)				
Anxiety	-0.19 (0.09)*	-0.25 (0.10)*	-0.19 (0.08)*	-0.07 (0.08)
Avoidance	0.00 (0.09)	-0.17 (0.10)	0.05 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)
Spheres of Control				
Personal	0.31 (0.08)***	0.21 (0.09)*	0.04 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.08)*
Interpersonal	0.32 (0.08)***	0.13 (0.09)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.20 (0.08)**
Social-Political	0.16 (0.08)*	0.07 (0.09)	0.08 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)
DIAMONDS Appraisal				
Duty	0.01 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)
Intellect	0.18 (0.09)*	0.11 (0.10)	0.12 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
Adversity	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)
Mating	-0.04 (0.09)	-0.04 (0.10)	0.00 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)
pOsitivity	0.03 (0.09)	0.06 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.08)
Negativity	-0.14 (0.09)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.08)	0.07 (0.08)
Deception	-0.06 (0.09)	-0.06 (0.10)	0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)
Sociality	0.14 (0.09)	0.13 (0.10)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. Each of the 4 models presented were estimated separately and estimates are approximate standardized partial regression coefficients.

Exploratory analyses for normative accuracy: Moderator effects across contexts and personality domains.

Personality Measure	Round Robin		Written Essays	
	Traits	Motives	Traits	Motives
	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)	Estimate (SE)
Rosenberg Self-Esteem	0.06 (0.09)	0.14 (0.10)	0.33 (0.07)***	0.39 (0.07)***
Satisfaction with Life	0.02 (0.09)	0.12 (0.10)	0.23 (0.07)**	0.27 (0.07)***
Positive Relations with Others	0.22 (0.09)*	0.26 (0.10)**	0.31 (0.07)***	0.32 (0.07)***
Self Concept Clarity Scale	0.03 (0.09)	0.14 (0.10)	0.25 (0.07)***	0.30 (0.07)***
Purpose in Life Scale	0.11 (0.09)	0.01 (0.10)	0.31 (0.07)***	0.28 (0.07)***
UCLA Loneliness Scale	-0.25 (0.09)**	-0.30 (0.10)**	-0.41 (0.07)***	-0.38 (0.07)***
Social Anxiety	-0.11 (0.09)	-0.36 (0.10)***	-0.24 (0.07)**	-0.26 (0.07)***
Authenticity Scale				
Authentic Living	0.03 (0.09)	0.05 (0.10)	0.10 (0.07)	0.18 (0.07)*
External Influences	0.02 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)
Self-Alienation	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.10)	-0.28 (0.07)***	-0.28 (0.07)***
Public Private Self Consciousness				
Private Self Consciousness	0.07 (0.09)	0.08 (0.10)	0.04 (0.08)	0.03 (0.07)
Public Self Consciousness	0.01 (0.09)	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)
Social Anxiety	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.32 (0.10)***	-0.12 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
Interpersonal Support (ISEL)				
Appraisal	0.18 (0.09)*	0.20 (0.09)*	0.33 (0.07)***	0.32 (0.07)***
Tangible	0.21 (0.09)*	0.20 (0.10)*	0.34 (0.07)***	0.32 (0.07)***
Self-Esteem	0.15 (0.09)	0.23 (0.10)*	0.33 (0.07)***	0.34 (0.07)***
Belonging	0.22 (0.09)*	0.25 (0.10)**	0.31 (0.07)***	0.30 (0.07)***
Big Five (BFI)				
Extraversion	0.27 (0.09)**	0.54 (0.09)***	0.14 (0.08)	0.22 (0.07)**
Agreeableness	-0.01 (0.09)	0.18 (0.10)	0.20 (0.07)**	0.25 (0.07)***
Conscientiousness	0.09 (0.09)	0.18 (0.10)	0.28 (0.07)***	0.25 (0.07)***
Neuroticism	0.13 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.21 (0.07)**
Openness	0.03 (0.09)	0.17 (0.10)	0.10 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)
Unified Motive Scale				
Power	0.11 (0.09)	0.20 (0.10)*	0.16 (0.07)*	0.15 (0.07)*
Achievement	0.32 (0.09)***	0.40 (0.10)***	0.17 (0.08)*	0.14 (0.08)
Affiliation	0.18 (0.09)*	0.20 (0.10)*	0.14 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)
Intimacy	0.16 (0.09)	0.18 (0.10)	0.24 (0.07)**	0.15 (0.08)*
Fear	0.15 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.15 (0.07)*	-0.20 (0.07)**
Relationship Structures (ECR)				
Anxiety	-0.06 (0.10)	0.02 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.11 (0.08)
Avoidance	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.22 (0.08)**	-0.24 (0.08)**
Spheres of Control				
Personal	0.05 (0.10)	0.19 (0.10)	0.28 (0.07)***	0.31 (0.07)***
Interpersonal	0.18 (0.09)*	0.30 (0.10)**	0.28 (0.07)***	0.31 (0.07)***
Social-Political	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.10)	0.06 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)
DIAMONDS Appraisal				
Duty	0.12 (0.10)	0.12 (0.11)	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.08)
Intellect	0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)
Adversity	0.00 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)
Mating	-0.21 (0.10)*	-0.14 (0.11)	0.03 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
Positivity	0.00 (0.10)	0.13 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.12 (0.08)
Negativity	0.05 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.11)	0.01 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.08)
Deception	-0.14 (0.10)	-0.09 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)
Sociality	0.07 (0.10)	0.00 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. Each of the 4 models presented were estimated separately and estimates are approximate standardized partial regression coefficients.