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Relying on LinkedIn Profiles for Personality Impressions

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Abstract

The present research explored the extent to which a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of personality. Two studies were conducted in which the level of consensus and the level of accuracy among raters, five psychology students, regarding profile owners' scores on personality traits were attained. In the first study, the profile owners were students and raters were able to accurately predict profile owners' scores on extraversion and core self-evaluation. In the second study profile owners were employees and raters were able to accurately predict profile owners' scores on openness to experience, agreeableness, Machiavellianism, and extraversion. The studies show that the extent to which a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of personality depends on the extensiveness of the profile. It is found that an extensive LinkedIn profile can be used as pre-selection tool and recruiters should think about implementing this tool into their selection process to achieve efficiency gains in the process.

Keywords: LinkedIn, profiles, impressions, personality, consensus, accuracy, selection

Relying on LinkedIn Profiles for Personality Impressions

Over the past years, organizations use social media (e.g. Facebook and Twitter) more and more in their competitive strategies. Therefore, social media evolved to live up to the demands of organizations and in 2002 LinkedIn, a business-oriented Online Social Networking (OSN) site, emerged. Ten years later, LinkedIn operates the world's largest professional network on the Internet with 161 million members in over 200 countries and territories (<http://press.linkedin.com/about>).

Anyone with an e-mail address can create a personal page, which consists of a profile that summarizes the professional expertise and accomplishments of that person. Organizations can use LinkedIn for a number of reasons, for example for networking activities, for advertisement, but even more important in the context of this research, for recruiting activities. According to the website, LinkedIn was used for nearly 4.2 billion professionally-oriented searches in 2011 and is on pace to surpass 5.3 billion in 2012. Furthermore, as of March 2012, hundreds of thousands of job applications have been submitted using Apply With LinkedIn (<http://press.linkedin.com/about>).

Consistent with these developments, recruiters are now using LinkedIn increasingly often as an important new tool to pre-select applicants. Pre-selecting applicants is necessary to reduce the volume of initial applications to a manageable number (Keenan, 1987). By means of pre-selecting applicants, organizations hope to be more efficient by not investing time and money in applicants who are not suitable as job candidates. In a study by Keenan (1987), 30 per cent of the sample (a wide diversity of organizations in both the private and the public sector providing a variety of products and services) rejected less than one in three applicants by pre-selection and 15 per cent of organizations rejected more than seven out of every ten applicants. So, pre-

selection can be of vital importance in the selection process and, if conducted inadequately, it can result in an ineffective selection system (Keenan, 1987).

Now, what determines whether the pre-selection is conducted adequately and thus whether the selection system is more effective? The manner by which recruiters use LinkedIn profiles for pre-selection is by searching for elements in the profile that the recruiter can use to form an impression of that applicant. In view of that, we were in this research particularly interested in the quality of the impression of personality based on a LinkedIn profile. Therefore, the research question of this research is: To what extent can a LinkedIn profile be used as predictor of personality?

Researchers on personality impressions based on OSN sites (e.g. Back, Stopfer, Vazire, Gaddis, Schmukle, Egloff, & Gosling, 2010; Gosling, Augustine, Vazire, Holtzman, & Gaddis, 2011; Gosling, Gaddis, & Vazire, 2007; Vazire & Gosling, 2004) studied informal OSN sites like Facebook. They found that raters generally agreed about profile owners' personalities and found particularly strong consensus for extraversion. Moreover, raters were generally accurate in their assessments of profile owners' personalities, with the exception of emotional stability.

However, we think that personality impression based on a business-oriented OSN site is, nevertheless, contextually different from personality impression based on an informal OSN site. Personality impression based on a LinkedIn profile by recruiters serves to predict future aspects of organizational behavior for an applicant, whereas personality impression based on informal OSN sites serves to socially get to know others and become acquainted (Gosling et al., 2007).

The advantage of using LinkedIn for recruiting activities over informal OSN sites is that it is more context specific, professional expertise and accomplishments of a profile owner are the primary information on these sites. Another advantage is that information on LinkedIn is more

publicly accessible. The information on someone's profile can be viewed by all the people who are interested in the profile, this is different from informal OSN sites on which information can only be viewed by friends.

Although this more specific context and public accessibility make it on the one hand easier for recruiters to make predictions for future aspects of organizational behavior; profile owners know, on the other hand, that recruiters look at their personal information. For this reason, profile owners want to appear competent and are perhaps more likely to put socially desirable information on their personal profiles. This disadvantage of using LinkedIn for recruiting activities can also result in different findings for personality impression based on informal and formal OSN sites.

To study whether the differences in personality impression based on informal and formal OSN sites end up in different results, the quality of a LinkedIn profile as predictor of personality is studied by assessing the level of consensus and the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on multiple personality traits. This is done in two different studies, one conducted among students and the other conducted among employees.

This research is conducted mainly because the quality of personality impression based on a LinkedIn profile has not been researched yet and, considering the widespread use of LinkedIn for recruiting activities, this is a serious gap in literature. Furthermore, for organizations, this quality is very important. When the organization already discovers, based on a LinkedIn profile, that an applicant is not a suitable job candidate, then costly personality inventories or interviews to gain insight in the competencies and behavior patterns of that candidate are no longer necessary. This makes the selection process more efficient and more suitable applicants are selected for assessments or interviews. However, when the personality impression based on a

LinkedIn profile is not adequate, then these benefits of LinkedIn profiles as pre-selection tool are absent. In an even worse scenario, using LinkedIn profiles as pre-selection tool can harm the effectiveness of an organization, when for example high potentials are overlooked.

The two variables that determine whether a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of personality, level of consensus and level of accuracy, are further explained in the next section. Thereafter, the personality traits that were, in our view, relevant to look for in LinkedIn profiles for recruiters and thus for this research, are given and it is explained why these are relevant. Then, the studies that were conducted in this research are clarified. Next, the methods of data collection and data analysis are described. Afterwards, the results of data analysis are given. Finally, a discussion of the results of this research is provided.

Consensus and accuracy

According to previous literature on personality impressions based on informal OSN sites (e.g. Gosling et al., 2007; Vazire & Gosling, 2004), the extent to which a personal website can be used as predictor of personality depends on two variables. The first variable, level of consensus, is defined as the degree to which raters form similar impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile. A high consensus level means that the LinkedIn profile provides a coherent and interpretable message (Vazire & Gosling, 2004). It is valuable for recruiters to research whether LinkedIn profiles provide a coherent, interpretable message, because this determines whether a LinkedIn profile can be used as pre-selection tool. Therefore, the first purpose of this research is to study the degree to which raters form similar impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile.

The second variable, level of accuracy, is defined as the degree to which the perceived personality matches the actual personality of a profile owner. A high accuracy level means that

raters can correctly identify what profile owners are like. The actual personality is the real personality of a profile owner and is in this research measured by personality inventories. Kenny (1994) stated that in an ideal world, behavioral measures of personality are the best criterion for accuracy, however he also acknowledged that obtaining behavioral measures is very impractical. Therefore, in this research is chosen for personality inventories because self-reports are the best practical alternatives (Vazire & Gosling, 2004). The perceived personality is the attribution of certain personality traits to a profile owner based on a LinkedIn profile.

The level of accuracy is important for recruiters to avoid detrimental effects for the organization in the long run. For example, when an organization does not proceed with a selection procedure owing to a misinterpretation of the personality of the applicant, this can cause the overlooking of high potentials. Moreover, when an organization proceeds with a selection procedure, but the applicant actually does not fit in the organization, this causes avoidable costs for the organization. In other words, when level of accuracy among recruiters regarding profile owner's personality is high, the selection process will be more effective. So, the second purpose of this research is to study the degree to which raters form accurate impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile.

Since the type of personality traits that recruiters look for in LinkedIn profiles is also important in assessing the quality of a LinkedIn profile, in the next section the relevant personality traits to look for in a LinkedIn profile to predict personality are further elaborated.

Relevant personality traits

As stated in the introduction, the advantage of using LinkedIn for recruiting activities over informal OSN sites is that it is more context specific, professional expertise and accomplishments of a profile owner are the primary information on these sites. However, the

disadvantage is that profile owners know that recruiters look at their personal information. For this reason, profile owners want to appear competent and are perhaps more likely to put socially desirable information on their personal profiles.

This makes the ambiguity of traits for different contexts or jobs a relevant aspect of useful traits for assessing the quality of a LinkedIn profile, because this will cause less social desirability in the profiles of applicants. In one situation scoring high on these traits is desirable, but in another it is not. Therefore, relevant personality traits that predict aspects of organizational behavior, but which themselves are ideally not seen as strongly positive or negative, were included in this research.

Personality traits have been found to predict various aspects of organizational behavior (e.g. Barrick & Mount, 1991; Erdheim, Wang, & Zickar, 2006; Hogan & Holland, 2003; Judge, Heller, & Mount, 2002; Ozer & Benet-Martinez, 2005). If the impressions of relevant personality traits based on a LinkedIn profile turn out to be high in level of consensus and high in level of accuracy, this can help a recruiter select the right person for the right job. Recruiters can do this by deciding which aspects of organizational behavior they value for a particular job and then select the applicant who scores high or low on a certain trait that is relevant for the specific aspect of organizational behavior.

In the next part of this section, personality traits that predict various aspects of organizational behavior are cited and positive and negative outcomes for organizations of scoring high or low on each personality trait are mentioned. In our view, these personality traits are the dimensions of the Big Five, core self-evaluation, Machiavellianism, and self-monitoring. Below, these traits are elaborated and it is clarified why these are relevant for recruiters to predict aspects of organizational behavior.

Big Five

The first personality traits discussed are the dimensions of the Big Five (McCrae and Costa, 1985). The Big Five are chosen for this research because Gosling and colleagues (2007) and Vazire and Gosling (2004) discovered that this framework is useful for basing personality impressions on when looking at informal OSN sites. Furthermore, all dimensions of the Big Five have valuable positive and negative outcomes for organizations.

Conscientiousness. The first dimension of the Big Five is conscientiousness, this includes organization, persistence, scrupulousness, and need for achievement (McCrae & Costa, 1995). Highly conscientious people develop more job knowledge, exert greater effort, and have better performance. They also tend to be more involved in organizational citizenship behavior (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). However, they can also become perfectionists and are in this way less efficient and more vulnerable for developing burn out symptoms (Zellars, Perrewé, & Hochwarter, 2000).

Whether individuals high in conscientiousness are better employees than individuals low in conscientiousness depends on the type of job and which aspects of organizational behavior are valued for a particular job. People high in conscientiousness perform generally better than people low in conscientiousness. However, people low in conscientiousness can outperform individuals high in conscientiousness on stressful tasks and on tasks for which it is difficult to maintain an overview.

Emotional stability. The second dimension of the Big Five is emotional stability, this includes the extent to which a person is calm and stable (McCrae & Costa, 1995). It is related to job satisfaction, but not to job performance. This might be true because some aspects of negative emotional stability, or in other words neuroticism, such as nervousness, actually help job performance (Judge, Van Vianen, & De Pater, 2004).

People who score high on emotional stability are generally better than people who score low on emotional stability in jobs in which interests are high, for example for surgeons. However, people low in emotional stability can outperform individuals high in emotional stability because their worrying assists in the planning and regulation of behavior, but cognitive ability plays an important moderating role in this relationship (Perkins & Corr, 2005). In other words, according to Perkins and Corr (2005), worrying correlates positively with managerial performance, but only amongst managers high on cognitive ability.

Extraversion. The third dimension of the framework is extraversion. This includes sociability, activity, dominance, and the tendency to experience positive emotions (McCrae & Costa, 1995). According to Spirling and Persaud (2003), extraverts tend to be happier in their jobs than introverts and have good social skills, they outperform introverts in managerial and sales positions, but they also appear to be more impulsive (are more likely to be absent from work and engage in risky behavior).

Whether extraverts are better employees than introverts depends again on the type of job. Extraverts perform better in social jobs like social worker. However, introverts can outperform extraverts in jobs like firefighter, where impulsiveness and risky behavior can result in disasters. So, positive and negative outcomes can be the result of selecting extraverts or introverts.

Openness to experience. The fourth dimension of the Big Five is openness to experience, this is seen in imaginativeness, aesthetic sensitivity, depth of feeling, curiosity, and need for variety (McCrae & Costa, 1995). People who score high on openness to experience are better performers in creative tasks and put a lot of emphasis on personal growth and training. However, they feel both good feelings, like satisfaction, and bad, like emotional exhaustion, more deeply (Barrick & Mount, 1991; DeNeve & Cooper, 1998; Feist, 1998).

Whether people who score high on openness to experience are better employees than individuals who score low on openness to experience depends on the type of job and which aspects of organizational behavior are valued for a particular job. People high in openness to experience generally perform better in creative jobs, like photographer or musician, but they perform worse in jobs with strict schemes and no, or little, variety.

Agreeableness. The last dimension of the framework is agreeableness. This covers sympathy, trust, cooperation, and altruism (McCrae & Costa, 1995). Agreeable people are good in social settings, but do not tend to question other people's motives and ideas and do not tend to be critical (Laursen, Pulkkinen, & Adams, 2002).

People who score high on agreeableness generally outperform people who score low on agreeableness in jobs in which teamwork and communication is very important. Employees that score low on agreeableness are generally better performers in jobs that involve important decision making. In history, a lot of examples can be found in which no individual in a decision making process spoke up and in this way group think occurred, which in the end resulted in ineffective decision making (Janis, 1972).

Other relevant personality traits

Besides the Big Five other personality traits relevant for predicting aspects of organizational behavior are, in our view, core self-evaluation, Machiavellianism, and self-monitoring. In the next paragraphs, relevance of the personality traits for predicting aspects of organizational behavior and positive and negative outcomes for organizations of scoring high on each of the personality traits are described.

Core self-evaluation. First, core self-evaluation is the degree to which people like or dislike themselves, whether they see themselves as capable and effective, and whether they feel

they are in control of their environment (Judge et al., 2004). Core self-evaluation is believed to be the most useful personality trait, along with conscientiousness, in the prediction of human performance (Judge et al., 2004). Since human performance is one of the most important aspects of organizational behavior and core self-evaluation predicts human performance, core self-evaluation is included in this research. According to Judge and colleagues (2004), an individual's core self-evaluation is determined by two main elements. First, self-esteem: individuals' degree of liking or disliking themselves and the degree to which they think they are worthy or unworthy as a person. Second, locus of control: the degree to which people believe that they are masters of their own fate.

People with positive core self-evaluations have higher job satisfaction and also perceive themselves as having control over their jobs and attribute positive outcomes to their own actions. They perform better because they set ambitious goals, are more committed to their goals, and persist longer in striving to reach these goals than people with negative core self-evaluations (Judge, Bono, & Locke, 2000). However, according to Robbins and Judge (2007), an inflated view of oneself can be bad when this leads to bad decisions due to overconfidence.

Whether individuals with positive core self-evaluations are better employees than individuals with negative core self-evaluations depends on the type of job. People with positive core self-evaluations are generally better performers than people with negative core self-evaluations. However, people with negative core self-evaluations can be better in decision making tasks.

Machiavellianism. Second, Machiavellianism is the degree to which an individual is pragmatic, emotionally distant, and believes that ends justify the means (Christie & Geis, 1970). Machiavellianism is included in this research because it is a valid predictor of outcomes as job

satisfaction and task performance (Vleeming, 1979). Job satisfaction and task performance are some of the most researched aspects of organizational behavior and valuable predictors of effective organizations (e.g. Brooke, Russell, & Price, 1988). These are important aspects of organizational behavior for recruiters to keep in mind during a selection procedure.

Moreover, Machiavellianism scores are associated with aspects of narcissism which indicate maladjustment (McHoskey, 1995). Narcissism is the tendency to be arrogant, have a grandiose sense of self-importance, require excessive admiration, and have a sense of entitlement (Brown & Zeigler-Hall, 2004). According to Robbins and Judge (2007) people who score high on narcissism are less effective in their jobs while they think they are more effective. So, Machiavellianism is an important personality trait for recruiters to keep in mind when selecting an employee.

People high in Machiavellianism are manipulative, win more often, and persuade more than they are persuaded (Christie & Geis, 1970). Whether individuals high in Machiavellianism are better employees than individuals low in Machiavellianism depends on the type of job and whether you consider ethical implications in evaluating performance (Christie & Geis, 1970). People high in Machiavellianism are, for example, better in negotiating tasks but worse in social work (Christie & Geis, 1970; Vleeming, 1979).

Self-monitoring. Third, self-monitoring is the ability to adjust behavior to meet external, situational factors (Snyder, 1974). Day, Schleicher, Unckless, and Hiller (2002) discovered that self-monitoring is related to important job attitudes like organizational commitment.

Organizational commitment is a state in which an employee identifies with a particular organization and its goals and wishes to maintain membership in the organization (Blau, 1986). Organizational commitment is a predictor of turnover and absenteeism (Somers, 1995). Since

turnover and absenteeism are expensive for an organization, these are essential aspects of organizational behavior that recruiters want to predict. This suggests that recruiters want to look at an applicant's score on self-monitoring when selecting an applicant.

As stated before, self-monitoring is related to organizational commitment. High self-monitors are less committed to their organizations (Day et al., 2002). However, high self-monitors conform more and are also more likely to become leaders, they tend to be more mobile in their careers, receive more promotions, and are more likely to occupy central positions in an organization (Kilduff & Day, 1994; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 2001).

Whether individuals high in self-monitoring are better employees than individuals low in self-monitoring depends again on the type of job and also on the trends in the labor market. People high in self-monitoring are, for example, better for managerial positions, but not in turbulent times with a lot of turnover. Thus, again, there are positive as well as negative outcomes for organizations when they select applicants who score high on this personality trait.

In conclusion, in this section an overview is provided of the relevant personality traits for recruiters to look for in a LinkedIn profile to select employees. All personality traits can have positive as well as negative outcomes for organizations when they select applicants who score high or low on the specific traits. These personality traits are used in this research when assessing the quality of a LinkedIn profile as predictor of personality. In the next section the studies conducted in this research are clarified.

Current studies

Now it is clear which personality traits are important for recruiters to concentrate on, the studies that were conducted in this research can be clarified. In the current research is examined to what extent a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of that profile owner's personality.

Two studies were conducted to attain the level of consensus and the level of accuracy among the raters regarding profile owners' scores on the multiple personality traits. In these two studies, different raters were used, but in both studies they were psychology students. Furthermore, in the first study the profile owners were students, but in the second study the profile owners were employees.

The most important reason for this distinction between students and employees as profile owners is that in our opinion students and employees use their profile for different purposes and also have different LinkedIn profiles. That is, students are possibly not that active in formal OSN sites because they do not have a job yet for which they have to maintain a professional network. Besides, they do not have a lot of relevant information to put on their profile because they probably lack a lot of job experience. The result of this can be that the LinkedIn profiles of students are concise and only the minimum required information about the student can be found in the profile.

Employees, on the other hand, use their LinkedIn profile for networking activities and already have more relevant information from job experiences to put on their profile. This results in a more extensive profile. More extensive profiles enable raters to base their impression of personality on more information, and this will probably lead to a higher quality of LinkedIn as predictor of personality. So, the quality of LinkedIn as a predictor of personality is expected to be higher for employees than for students.

Study 1

Procedure

In this study, the profile owners were 62 students (35 women and 27 men, mean age 23.11 years) at Tilburg University. They were recruited by means of dispersing flyers at the

campus, mailings, and putting invitations in social media (Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn).

Profile owners were asked to join a LinkedIn group developed for this study; they were told that they participated in a study on personality traits. As soon as they entered the LinkedIn group, a print of their profile was made so that any changes in the profile after joining the group would not influence the raters.

Then, the profile owners were asked to fill out multiple personality questionnaires and they were told that when they did this, they granted permission to use the profiles and answers on the questionnaires for this study. These questionnaires were inquired by one survey (Appendix A). They were told that in order to give them valuable feedback on their personality scores it is important for them to fill out the survey truthfully. As compensation, they received individual feedback on their personality scores.

In the next stage of this study, five psychology students (3 women and 2 men, mean age 23.40 years) independently rated all 62 profile owners based solely on the profile owners' LinkedIn profiles. The LinkedIn profiles were de-identified in name, but a profile picture was still visible. Raters were asked to take a look at the LinkedIn profiles and rate without time restrictions how well each personality trait described the profile owner by the use of a slider scale. In Appendix B, the survey the raters filled out for each profile can be found. Raters were asked to identify any targets with whom they were acquainted but this was not the case for any of the raters in this study. In order to reduce the risk of order effects, systematic variation is applied to the order in which the raters viewed the profiles. To counter the effects of fatigue, raters were told not to continue rating when they experienced symptoms of exhaustion. As compensation, the raters received course credits.

Instruments

Actual personality. Actual personality of profile owners is the real personality of a profile owner and this is measured by multiple personality questionnaires in one survey. As already mentioned, behavioral measures of personality are the best criterion for accuracy, but these are impractical. Therefore, in this research is chosen for personality inventories.

First, profile owners were asked to fill out the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI; Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003), which measures the Big Five personality dimensions with two seven point Likert-type scale items tapping each dimension. The TIPI has shown high levels of convergence with the commonly used Big Five Inventory, so is a good, shorter, alternative (Gosling et al., 2011). The TIPI can be found in Appendix C.

Moreover, profile owners were asked to fill out the Core Self-Evaluations Scale (CSES; Judge, Erez, Bono, & Thoresen, 2003), a valid test to directly measure core self-evaluation, consisting of twelve five-point Likert scale items (Appendix D).

Third, profile owners were asked to fill out the Machiavellianism Scale (MACH-IV; Christie and Geis, 1970), a valid test to evaluate Machiavellianism, consisting of twenty seven-point Likert scale items (Appendix E).

Finally, profile owners were asked to fill out the Self-Monitoring Scale (SMS; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986), an eighteen-item seven-point Likert-type scale measure assessing individuals' sensitivity to the expressive behaviors of others and ability to modify self-presentation (Appendix F).

Perceived personality. Perceived personality of profile owners is the attribution of certain personality traits to a profile owner based on a LinkedIn profile. Raters were asked to take a look at LinkedIn profiles. Then, they were asked to rate without time restrictions how well each personality trait describes the profile owner by the use of a slider scale for each personality trait.

Detailed descriptions of every personality trait were given in order to make sure that all raters know exactly what each personality trait means. These descriptions can be found in Appendix B.

Analyses

Level of consensus. The level of consensus is the degree to which raters form similar impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile. In this study it is measured by the degree to which independent raters show agreement in their personality impressions, so inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability is determined by using reliability analysis, using Cronbach's alpha.

Level of accuracy. The level of accuracy is the degree to which the perceived personality matches the actual personality of a person. Level of accuracy is determined by using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient.

Results

See table 1 for a complete overview of the results of this study. First, to measure the level of consensus among raters, inter-rater reliability is determined by using Cronbach's alpha. According to the classification scheme by George and Mallery (2003), the highest inter-rater reliability is found for core self-evaluation, extraversion, and Machiavellianism. Then, the inter-rater reliability of openness to experience, conscientiousness, and emotional stability can be classified as questionable. Finally, the lowest inter-rater reliability is found for agreeableness and self-monitoring.

Even though the level of consensus among raters is questionable for openness to experience, conscientiousness, and emotional stability and low for agreeableness and self-monitoring, these personality traits were still included for the remainder of the analyses for the completeness of this study. However, a lower level of consensus makes it harder to find a high

level of accuracy, since the perceived personality differs a lot for the different raters. So, not all raters can have the same accurate perception of personality.

The next step was to determine the average scores of the ratings on each personality trait for each profile. Thereafter, the relationship between these average scores and the scores retrieved from the personality questionnaires is investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. This correlation coefficient tells how accurate the raters were in rating the profile owners' scores on the personality traits. In this study, significant correlation coefficients were found for extraversion and core self-evaluation. So, the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on extraversion and core self-evaluation was high.

Last of all, the relationship between the individual ratings of every rater and the scores retrieved from the personality questionnaires is also investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. The reason for this was to check whether some raters were particularly accurate or on the other hand particularly inaccurate. The level of accuracy of rater 1 and rater 3 was higher than for the other raters because their ratings showed the only significant correlations with the real personality scores. Especially rater 1 was highly accurate, because the scores of rater 1 were highly correlated with the real personality scores for extraversion and self-monitoring.

Discussion

In this study, the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on core self-evaluation, extraversion, and Machiavellianism was high. Moreover, only the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on extraversion and core self-evaluation was high. These results can be attributed to the fact that profile owners were students. That is, as stated before, the LinkedIn profiles of students are probably more concise and only the minimum

required information about the student can be found in the profile. Therefore, another study is performed in which the profile owners were employees, the results of this second study assist in answering the research question.

Study 2

Procedure

In this study, profile owners were 116 employees (61 women and 55 men, mean age 36.81 years) at multiple companies. The remainder of the procedure for profile owners was alike study 1.

In the next stage of this study, five psychology students (3 women and 2 men, mean age 18.80 years) independently rated all 116 profile owners based solely on the profile owners' LinkedIn profiles. The remainder of the procedure for raters was again the same as in study 1. However, in this study, one rater was acquainted with one profile owner, so in this case the rater did not rate that profile.

Instruments

See study 1.

Analyses

See study 1.

Results

See table 2 for a complete overview of the results of this study. In this study, the level of consensus among raters, inter-rater reliability, is again measured by using Cronbach's alpha. First of all, the highest inter-rater reliability is found for Machiavellianism. Then, the inter-rater reliability of extraversion and agreeableness can be classified as questionable. Finally, the lowest

inter-rater reliability is found for openness to experience, emotional stability, core self-evaluation, conscientiousness, and self-monitoring.

Even though the level of consensus among raters is questionable for extraversion and agreeableness and low for openness to experience, emotional stability, core self-evaluation, conscientiousness, and self-monitoring, these personality traits are still included for the remainder of the analyses for the completeness of this study. However, as stated before, a lower level of consensus makes it harder to find a high level of accuracy, since the perceived personality differs a lot for the different raters. So, not all raters can have the same accurate perception of personality.

The next step was, like in study 1, to determine the average scores of the ratings on each personality trait for each profile. Thereafter, the relationship between these average scores and the scores retrieved from the personality questionnaires is also investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Significant correlation coefficients were found for openness to experience, agreeableness, Machiavellianism, and extraversion. So, the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on openness to experience, agreeableness, Machiavellianism, and extraversion was high.

Last of all, the relationship between the individual ratings of every rater and the scores retrieved from the personality questionnaires is, like in study 1, investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. The level of accuracy of all raters was high, because their scores all showed significant correlations with the real personality scores. However, the scores of rater 1 were only significantly correlated with the real personality scores for one personality trait, and the scores of the other raters were significantly correlated with multiple personality traits.

Discussion

This study is designed to verify the results of study 1. However, the profile owners in this study were employees instead of students. In this study, the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on Machiavellianism was high. Moreover, the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on openness to experience, agreeableness, Machiavellianism, and extraversion was high.

First of all, in contradiction to what we expected, lower inter-rater reliabilities were found in the second study. This means that the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on the personality traits was lower in the second study. Since we thought that the profiles of employees were more extensive than those of students, it is interesting to find a lower level of consensus.

Especially the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on core self-evaluation in this study compared to the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on core self-evaluation in the first study is interesting. In the first study the inter-rater reliability for core self-evaluation was the highest inter-rater reliability found. Raters' correlations with actual personality varied from .18 to .26, so they were all in the same range, and they predicted actual personality quite well. For the second study however, raters' correlations with actual personality varied from -.06 to .20. Hence, these ratings were not in the same range and most found correlations for this trait were in fact negative.

A possible explanation for these findings can be that profiles of students were easier to rate because the raters were also students, so the raters were more familiar with the language and experiences of the profile owners. The profiles of employees probably contained more difficult, job/work field related words. Another possible cause can be that even though they were asked to

stop rating when they experienced symptoms of exhaustion, the raters could have been more tired in the second study. That is, the raters had to look at more profiles than the raters in the first study, which could have led to a lower consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on the multiple personality traits.

However, the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on the personality traits was, like we expected, higher in the second study. This is surprising because the perceived personality differed a lot for the different raters in the second study. In other words, the raters in the first study did form a more similar impression of a profile owner's personality, but this impression was not that accurate, consequently, this did not lead to a higher level of accuracy. So, despite the lower level of consensus in the second study, raters were still more accurate regarding profile owners' scores on the personality traits. This is an important finding and suggests that the quality of LinkedIn as a predictor of personality is indeed higher for employees, and thus for more extensive profiles.

General discussion

The present research explored the extent to which a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of personality. The first purpose of this research was to study the degree to which raters form similar impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile. Moreover, the second purpose of this research was to study the degree to which raters form accurate impressions of a profile owner's personality based on a LinkedIn profile.

Therefore, the level of consensus and the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on conscientiousness, emotional stability, extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, core self-evaluation, Machiavellianism, and self-monitoring were attained by two studies. In the first study, the profile owners were students. In the second study, the profile

owners were employees. It is expected that the level of consensus and the level of accuracy were higher in the second study because LinkedIn profiles of employees are more extensive.

The results of the two studies suggest that individuals are able to use observable profile information to form accurate impressions of at least some personality traits, although some traits are manifested more clearly than others. Since the level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on extraversion was in both studies high, this trait can best be predicted by looking at a LinkedIn profile. This finding is consistent with Vazire's Self-Other Knowledge Asymmetry model (2010), which holds that observable traits like extraversion are easier to judge by others relative to unobservable traits like emotional stability. This finding can also be viewed within the framework of Funder's Realistic Accuracy Model (Funder, 1995), which holds that accurate personality judgments require that a target emits cues that are relevant and available and these cues are detected and appropriately utilized by an observer. Apparently, for judgments of extraversion, enough elements of the Realistic Accuracy Model are satisfied. Or in other words, the information profile owners put on their LinkedIn profile is enough for raters to accurately predict extraversion.

Furthermore, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and self-monitoring were seemingly hard to predict because the level of accuracy for these traits was low in both studies. So, this is also consistent with Vazire's Self-Other Knowledge Asymmetry model. Another reason for these findings can be that traits like conscientiousness, emotional stability, and self-monitoring are not that frequently discussed as a trait like extraversion and thus are also not part of everyday language and harder for raters to exactly understand (Furnham 1989). In view of the Realistic Accuracy Model, it can be stated that for judgments of conscientiousness, emotional stability, and self-monitoring, not enough elements of the Realistic Accuracy Model were satisfied.

Apparently raters cannot get enough information by looking at a LinkedIn profile to accurately predict the profile owner's score on these traits.

Like we expected, the results of the two studies indicate that the quality of LinkedIn as a predictor of personality is indeed higher for employees. The level of accuracy among raters regarding profile owners' scores on extraversion, openness to experience, agreeableness, and Machiavellianism was high in the second study, compared to a high level of accuracy for only extraversion and core self-evaluation in the first study. This suggests that the quality of LinkedIn as a predictor of personality is higher for more extensive profiles.

However, the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on the personality traits was in both studies not that high. In contradiction to what we expected, the inter-rater reliabilities in the second study were even lower than in the first study. Since we thought that the profiles of employees were more extensive than those of students, it is interesting to find a lower level of consensus among raters regarding employees' scores on the personality traits. We can explain this finding by the fact that the raters in the first study did indeed form a more similar impression of a profile owner's personality, but their impression was not that accurate, consequently, this did not lead to a higher level of accuracy. In the second study, the profile owners did not all form a similar impression of a profile owner's personality, but these different impressions were more accurate.

So, it is, maybe because of familiarity with language and experiences, on the one hand easier for student raters to form an impression of personality of students based on a LinkedIn profile. However, this impression is not that accurate because not enough information is available. On the other hand, maybe because of unfamiliarity with language and experiences, it is harder for student raters to form an impression of personality of employees based on a LinkedIn

profile. Though, more information is available, so this impression is more accurate.

Practical implications

The results of this research suggest that an extensive LinkedIn profile can be used as a predictor of personality. Although it is already found that personality impressions can be based on informal OSN sites, this finding is particularly valuable for recruiters. The disadvantage of using LinkedIn for recruiting activities (the possibility of socially desirable information on personal profiles) does not seem to impede the impression of personality based on a LinkedIn profile. Therefore, it can be stated that LinkedIn is more useful as a pre-selection tool than informal OSN sites like Facebook, because LinkedIn profiles are more publicly accessible and more relevant information for recruiters can be found in these profiles.

Nevertheless, we are not suggesting that LinkedIn can be used as replacement of the personality inventory. It is a valuable tool to pre-select job candidates and thus increase the effectiveness of the selection process. Recruiters can decide which aspects of organizational behavior they value for a particular job and then select the applicant who scores high or low on a certain trait that is relevant for the specific aspect of organizational behavior. They can do this by looking at cues in the LinkedIn profile.

This relatively fast and low-cost manner of pre-selection can lead to efficiency gains in selection processes. When you look at, for example, openness to experience in the second study, $r = .39$, you can thus conclude that a recruiter can predict someone's openness to experience 15 per cent ($R^2 = .15$) better after looking at a LinkedIn profile than without looking at a LinkedIn profile. So, recruiters should think about implementing it into their selection process.

For organizations to make sure that the quality of a LinkedIn profile as predictor of personality is as high as possible, organizations should achieve the highest possible level of

consensus and the highest possible level of accuracy. Therefore, it is perhaps sensible to have multiple recruiters rating one profile, because then a higher level of consensus will be reached. Furthermore it is also important, or perhaps even more important, to train recruiters in the impression of personality based on a LinkedIn profile, because then the level of accuracy will be higher.

Limitations

In this research, we have chosen for multiple personality traits. In our view, these personality traits were most relevant for recruiters to keep in mind when selecting employees. However, this does not mean that these personality traits are the only relevant personality traits. Since we did not ask recruiters which personality traits they find important in a selection procedure, there could have been other important personality traits we did not include in this research.

Another limitation of this research is that we did not research the extent to which the rater's characteristics, like age, gender or personality, influenced the manner in which they rated the profile owners. It could have been the case that for example a rater who scored high on extraversion also rated the profile owners higher on extraversion, due to the phenomenon of "assumed similarity" (Cook, 1979). This phenomenon holds that one assumes that others are like oneself. This could also be true for age or gender.

Future research

This study provides the first exploration of personality impressions based on LinkedIn, an increasingly often used OSN site. This study is different from previous studies since LinkedIn is a formal OSN site used for professional purposes and previous researchers only studied informal OSN sites. In this study is found that recruiters are able to use LinkedIn as pre-selection tool.

However, this is true for the personality traits included in this research. As stated before, there can be other relevant personality traits that recruiters look for during selection processes. So, a recommendation for future research is to investigate which personality traits recruiters find relevant during the selection process and then use these traits in future research.

Another important aspect researchers should keep in mind when conducting their research on personality impression based on OSN sites is the age, gender or personality of the raters. Future researchers should control for these characteristics in order to make sure that they do not influence the findings. By doing this, they can also investigate why some raters were more accurate in predicting personality than others.

Follow-up research could investigate whether recruiters are more accurate in the prediction of personality based on LinkedIn profiles than the student raters in this study. Then, the level of consensus will perhaps also be higher because the problems with unfamiliarity with language and experiences are no longer present.

Furthermore, it is interesting to research what characteristics of LinkedIn profiles raters use to base their impression of personality on. In this way, it will hopefully also be more obvious why some traits are easier to predict than others.

The last recommendation is to use more raters when conducting a research on personality impressions based on OSN sites. In this way, a higher level of consensus can be reached.

Conclusion

The present research explored the extent to which a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of that profile owner's personality. It is expected that more extensive profiles lead to a higher quality of LinkedIn as predictor of personality, since more extensive profiles enable raters to base their impression of personality on more information.

It is found that the level of consensus among raters regarding profile owners' scores on the personality traits was higher for students than for employees for most traits. However, the level of accuracy was still higher for employees, so raters were still more accurate in predicting personality based on an employee's, more extensive, LinkedIn profile than on a student's, more concise, LinkedIn profile.

So, the results of the two studies suggest that the extent to which a LinkedIn profile can be used as predictor of personality depends on the extensiveness of the profile. It is found that an extensive LinkedIn profile can be used as pre-selection tool and recruiters should think about implementing this tool into their selection process to achieve efficiency gains in the process.

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Table 1

Study 1: Level of Consensus among Raters Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits (α), Level of Accuracy among Raters Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits (r), and Level of Accuracy for One Single Rater Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits ($r1, r2, r3, r4, \text{ and } r5$)

	Level of consensus	Level of accuracy		Level of accuracy for single rater				
	α (N=62)	r (N=62)	p (N=62)	$r1$ (N=62)	$r2$ (N=62)	$r3$ (N=62)	$r4$ (N=62)	$r5$ (N=62)
Conscientiousness	.66	.21	.111	-.12	.20	.24	.19	.14
Emotional stability	.60	.18	.166	.19	-.11	.12	.23	.19
Extraversion	.74	.37	.003	.46**	.17	.30*	.13	.18
Openness to experience	.69	.13	.309	.05	.14	.10	-.02	.16
Agreeableness	.55	.14	.271	.10	.08	.19	.00	.01
Core self-evaluation	.85	.28	.030	.26*	.23	.20	.18	.22
Machiavellianism	.71	-.14	.281	-.17	-.08	-.09	-.21	.12
Self-monitoring	.29	.19	.140	.42**	-.06	.10	.06	-.11

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 2

Study 2: Level of Consensus among Raters Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits (α), Level of Accuracy among Raters Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits (r), and Level of Accuracy for One Single Rater Regarding Profile Owners' Scores on Personality Traits ($r1, r2, r3, r4, \text{ and } r5$)

	Level of consensus	Level of accuracy		Level of accuracy for single rater				
	α (N=115)	r (N=116)	p (N=116)	$r1$ (N=116)	$r2$ (N=116)	$r3$ (N=116)	$r4$ (N=115)	$r5$ (N=116)
Conscientiousness	.45	.06	.507	.01	.11	.13	-.01	-.09
Emotional stability	.57	-.05	.586	-.01	-.01	-.08	.02	-.08
Extraversion	.63	.24	.010	.14	.19*	.13	.23*	.07
Openness to experience	.59	.39	.000	.29**	.14	.30**	.20*	.25**
Agreeableness	.62	.29	.002	.11	.30**	-.01	.26**	.29**
Core self-evaluation	.54	.02	.844	-.03	-.06	.19*	-.01	-.02
Machiavellianism	.70	.29	.002	.10	.28**	.11	.14	.33**
Self-monitoring	.42	.04	.665	.02	.03	-.09	.06	.11

Note: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Appendix A

Figure 1: survey for respondents



Welkom bij deze vragenlijst.

Het beantwoorden van de vragen zal ongeveer een kwartier duren.

In het belang van het onderzoek wordt u verzocht eerst een aantal demografische vragen te beantwoorden.

Wat is uw naam (voor- en achternaam)?



Wat is uw geslacht?

- Vrouw
- Man

Wat is uw leeftijd?

Bent u op dit moment een voltijd student?

- Ja
- Nee

Wat is uw afstudeerrichting?

- Biologie
- Communicatie
- Economie
- Filosofie
- Geneeskunde
- Informatica
- Kunst en cultuur
- Natuurkunde
- Organisationswetenschappen
- Personeelwetenschappen
- Psychologie
- Rechten
- Scheikunde
- Sociologie
- Anders, namelijk:



In dit gedeelte van de vragenlijst staan een aantal eigenschappen die u wel of niet kunnen beschrijven. U wordt verzocht om voor elk paar eigenschappen aan te geven *hoe goed het paar eigenschappen u beschrijft*.

Het is de bedoeling dat u aangeeft hoe goed elk paar eigenschappen op u van toepassing is, ook als de ene eigenschap misschien meer van toepassing is dan de andere.

Er is geen goed of fout antwoord, het is belangrijk dat u zo dicht mogelijk bij uw ware voorkeur blijft.

	Beschrijft mij helemaal niet		Beschrijft mij een beetje		Beschrijft mij in redelijke mate		Beschrijft mij zeer goed
Extravert, enthousiast	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kritisch, ruziezoekend	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grondig, gedisciplineerd	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Angstig, makkelijk van streek te brengen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Open voor nieuwe ervaringen, levendige fantasie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gereserveerd, stil	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sympathiek, vriendelijk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lui, gemakzuchtig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kalm, emotioneel stabiel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Weinig artistieke interesse, weinig creatief	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



U bent toegekomen aan het gedeelte waarin u een aantal stellingen voorgelegd wordt. U wordt verzocht om voor elke stelling aan te geven in welke mate u het eens bent met de stelling.

Zoals al eerder gezegd is er geen goed of fout antwoord. Probeer bij uw eerste ingeving te blijven, vaak benadert dit het best uw ware voorkeur.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Neutraal	Eens	Helemaal eens
Ik heb er vertrouwen in dat ik in mijn leven het succes zal behalen dat ik verdien.	<input type="radio"/>				
Soms voel ik me depressief.	<input type="radio"/>				
Als ik mijn best doe, lukken de dingen die ik probeer te doen meestal.	<input type="radio"/>				
Soms voel ik me waardeloos als iets mislukt.	<input type="radio"/>				
Ik breng de dingen die ik doe tot een goed einde.	<input type="radio"/>				
Soms heb ik het gevoel dat ik geen controle heb over mijn werk/studie.	<input type="radio"/>				
Alles bij elkaar genomen ben ik tevreden met mezelf.	<input type="radio"/>				
Ik ben vol twijfel over mijn capaciteiten.	<input type="radio"/>				
Ik bepaal wat er gebeurt in mijn leven.	<input type="radio"/>				
Ik heb het gevoel dat ik geen controle heb over het succes in mijn werk/studie.	<input type="radio"/>				
Ik ben in staat om goed om te gaan met de meeste problemen.	<input type="radio"/>				
Er zijn momenten waarop de dingen mij nogal grauw en hopeloos lijken.	<input type="radio"/>				



Hieronder staan opnieuw een aantal stellingen. U wordt verzocht om voor elke stelling aan te geven in welke mate u het eens bent met de stelling.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Eerder oneens dan eens	Neutraal	Eerder eens dan oneens	Eens	Helemaal eens
In je eigen belang kan je maar het best steeds tegen anderen zeggen wat zij het liefst horen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Als je van iemand iets wilt bereiken, kan je maar het best vertellen wat hij/zij graag hoort.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Je mag slechts iets doen als je zeker weet dat het ethisch te verantwoorden is.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De meeste mensen zijn van nature goed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Het veiligste is te veronderstellen dat mensen van nature slecht zijn want dit blijkt elke keer als zij daartoe de kans krijgen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men moet in alle omstandigheden eerlijk zijn.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men mag onder geen enkel beding liegen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mensen zijn van nature lui en werken slechts als zij daartoe gedwongen worden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Liever arm maar eerlijk dan rijk maar oneerlijk.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Rechtuit zijn is altijd beter dan rond de pot draaien.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



In dit gedeelte staan opnieuw een aantal stellingen. U wordt verzocht om voor elke stelling aan te geven in welke mate u het eens bent met de stelling.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Eerder oneens dan eens	Neutraal	Eerder eens dan oneens	Eens	Helemaal eens
De meeste mensen die het gemaakt hebben, danken dit aan hun eerlijkheid en oprechtheid.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Als je een ander te veel vertrouwt, zul je bedrogen uitkomen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De meeste mensen zijn van goede wil.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Het verschil tussen diegenen die gepakt worden omdat zij de regels omzeilen en de andere burgers, is dat de eersten zo stom geweest zijn om zich te laten pakken.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Als je de juiste personen kent, bereik je veel meer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In alle mogelijke situaties moet men ernaar streven goed en eerlijk te zijn.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Elke minuut wordt er een sukkel geboren.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Men zal pas iets bereiken als men de regels weet te omzeilen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Euthanasie moet kunnen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De meeste mensen hechten meer belang aan hun materieel bezit dan aan de zorg voor anderen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Hieronder staan opnieuw een aantal stellingen. U wordt verzocht om voor elke stelling aan te geven in welke mate u het eens bent met de stelling.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Eerder oneens dan eens	Neutraal	Eerder eens dan oneens	Eens	Helemaal eens
Ik vind het moeilijk om het gedrag van andere mensen na te doen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Op feestjes en in gezelschap ga ik niet proberen dingen te doen of te zeggen die anderen leuk zullen vinden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik kan alleen pleiten voor ideeën waar ik zelf reeds in geloof.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik kan onvoorbereid een toespraak houden over een onderwerp waar ik bijna geen informatie over heb.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik geloof dat ik een show opvoer om mensen te imponeren en vermaken.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik zou waarschijnlijk een goede acteur zijn.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In een groep mensen sta ik zelden in het middelpunt van de belangstelling.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In verschillende situaties en met verschillende mensen gedraag ik me vaak als verschillende personen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben er niet zo goed in er voor te zorgen dat anderen me graag mogen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



U wordt verzocht om voor elke stelling hieronder aan te geven in welke mate u het eens bent met de stelling.

	Helemaal oneens	Oneens	Eerder oneens dan eens	Neutraal	Eerder eens dan oneens	Eens	Helemaal eens
Ik ben niet altijd de persoon die ik lijk te zijn.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik verander mijn opvattingen en mijn manier van doen niet om de gunst van een ander te winnen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik heb overwogen entertainer of artiest te worden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben nooit goed geweest in spelletjes als "Hints" of het meedoen aan een geïmproviseerd toneelstukje.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik heb er moeite mee mijn gedrag aan te passen aan verschillende mensen en verschillende situaties.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Op een feestje laat ik het grappen maken en verhalen vertellen aan anderen over.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik voel me een beetje opgelaten in het openbaar en presenteer mezelf niet zo goed als eigenlijk zou moeten.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik kan iemand recht in de ogen kijken en met een uitgestreken gezicht een leugen (om bestwil) vertellen.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ik ben in staat mensen te misleiden door vriendelijk te doen terwijl ik ze helemaal niet mag.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Dit is het einde van de vragenlijst.

Vul hieronder uw e-mailadres in als u een rapport van uw persoonlijkheidsscores wilt ontvangen.



Wij danken u voor de tijd die u aan deze enquête hebt besteed.
Uw reactie is opgeslagen.



Appendix B

Figure 2: Survey for raters



Wat is uw code?

A B C D E F G H I J

Wat is het nummer van het profiel dat u nu bekijkt?



Consciëntieusheid kan omschreven worden als de mate waarin iemand zich georganiseerd en doelgericht gedraagt.

Hoogscorers hebben een sterke 'drive' om zaken op orde, geregeld te hebben. Zij zijn ambitieus, betrouwbaar en gewetensvol.

Laagscorers hebben een meer flexibele houding en kunnen beter tegen chaos. Zij beginnen eerder met uitstellen en geven het eerder op.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op consciëntieusheid zou geven.



Emotionele stabiliteit is de mate waarin iemand veerkrachtig omgaat met stressvolle situaties. In hoeverre de persoon tevreden is met zichzelf, ontspannen is en weinig emotioneel is.

Hoogscorers maken zich niet snel zorgen en zijn moeilijk uit het lood te slaan.

Laagscorers zullen sneller boos, ongerust of uitgelaten zijn.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op emotionele stabiliteit zou geven.



Extraversie heeft betrekking op het nodig hebben van sociale prikkels.

Hoogscorers zijn sociale mensen, zij zijn graag in het gezelschap van anderen. Zij zijn vaak assertiever, optimistischer, spraakzamer en actiever dan introverten. Zij houden van opwindende en spannende acties en zijn opgewekt van aard.

Laagscorers zijn onafhankelijke, rustige en gereserveerde mensen. Introverte mensen zijn doorgaans niet verlegen, maar geven er vaak de voorkeur aan om alleen te zijn. Zij treden minder snel op de voorgrond.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op extraversie zou geven.



Openheid voor ervaringen kan omschreven worden als de mate waarin iemand op zoek is naar nieuwe ervaringen. Deze schaal heeft betrekking op originaliteit en intellectualiteit.

Hoogscorers treden graag buiten de betreden paden en zitten vol ideeën. Zij zijn nieuwsgierig en fantasievol.

Laagscorers hebben een meer praktische instelling, zij zijn down-to-earth, en houden zich het liefst bezig met de feiten van het hier en nu.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op openheid voor ervaringen zou geven.

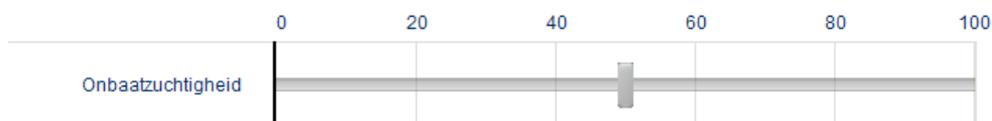


Onbaatzuchtigheid kan omschreven worden als de mate waarin iemand inschikkelijk is.

Hoogscorers staan meer open voor de belangen en wensen van anderen. Zij gedragen zich meestal meegaand, tolerant en hulpvaardig.

Laagscorers gaan meer uit van hun eigen belang. Zij zijn meer competitief en weinig medewerkend.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op onbaatzuchtigheid zou geven.



Persoonlijke inschatting is iemands beoordeling van de eigenwaarde, effectiviteit en capaciteiten.

Hoogscorers hebben een positief beeld van zichzelf en hun capaciteiten. Positieve uitkomsten schrijven zij toe aan hun eigen kunnen. Zij stellen hoge doelen voor zichzelf en geven niet snel op.

Laagscorers hebben een negatief beeld van zichzelf en hun capaciteiten. Positieve uitkomsten schrijven zij toe aan invloeden van buitenaf. Zij geven eerder op wanneer zij hun doelen niet kunnen bereiken en stellen over het algemeen lagere doelen voor zichzelf dan hoogscorers. Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op persoonlijke inschatting zou geven.

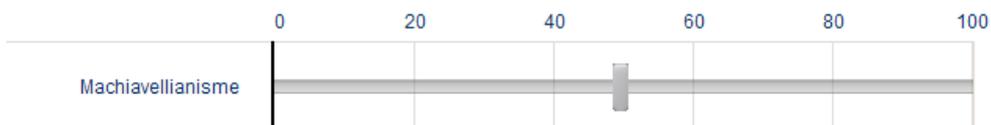


Machiavellianisme meet de mate waarin iemand pragmatisch en emotioneel afstandelijk is. Het heeft een relatie met de mate waarin iemand gelooft dat het doel de middelen heiligt en de mate waarin iemand manipuleert.

Hoogscorers bezitten een drive om te overtuigen en ze kunnen misleidende methoden gebruiken om hun doelstellingen te bereiken. Ze zijn getraind in het uitstippelen van overtuigingsstrategieën. Alle mogelijke middelen zijn toegestaan om het gewenste doel te bereiken.

Laagscorers houden rekening met de gevoelens, rechten en noden van anderen. Voor hun heiligt het doel de middelen niet.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op Machiavellianisme zou geven.

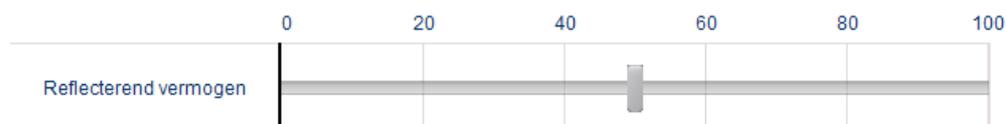


Reflecterend vermogen is de mate waarin iemand zijn/haar gedrag en aanwezigheid kan observeren, bijsturen en controleren.

Hoogscorers passen zich gemakkelijk aan situaties aan. Zij worden ook wel sociale kameleons genoemd, waarbij men zich af kan vragen wat de 'echte' authentieke kleur is.

Laagscores blijven meer trouw aan zichzelf, maar kunnen wel inflexibel overkomen.

Geef hieronder aan welke score u deze persoon op reflecterend vermogen zou geven.



Appendix C

Questionnaire 1: The Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI; Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003)

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

Disagree strongly	Disagree moderately	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree moderately	Agree strongly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I see myself as:

1. ____ Extraverted, enthusiastic.
2. ____ Critical, quarrelsome.
3. ____ Dependable, self-disciplined.
4. ____ Anxious, easily upset.
5. ____ Open to new experiences, complex.
6. ____ Reserved, quiet.
7. ____ Sympathetic, warm.
8. ____ Disorganized, careless.
9. ____ Calm, emotionally stable.
10. ____ Conventional, uncreative.

TIPI scale scoring (“R” denotes reverse-scored items): Extraversion: 1, 6R; Agreeableness: 2R, 7; Conscientiousness; 3, 8R; Emotional Stability: 4R, 9; Openness to Experiences: 5, 10R.

Appendix D

Questionnaire 2: The Core Self-Evaluations Scale (CSES; Judge, Erez, Bono, & Thoresen, 2003)

Instructions: Below are several statements about you with which you may agree or disagree.

Using the response scale below, indicate your agreement or disagreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. ____ I am confident I get the success I deserve in life.
2. ____ Sometimes I feel depressed. (r)
3. ____ When I try, I generally succeed.
4. ____ Sometimes when I fail I feel worthless. (r)
5. ____ I complete tasks successfully.
6. ____ Sometimes, I do not feel in control of my work. (r)
7. ____ Overall, I am satisfied with myself.
8. ____ I am filled with doubts about my competence. (r)
9. ____ I determine what will happen in my life.
10. ____ I do not feel in control of my success in my career. (r)
11. ____ I am capable of coping with most of my problems.
12. ____ There are times when things look pretty bleak and hopeless to me. (r)

Note: r=reverse-scored.

Appendix E

Questionnaire 3: The Machiavellianism Scale (MACH-IV; Christie and Geis, 1970)

Instructions: Below are several statements about you with which you may agree or disagree.

Using the response scale below, indicate your agreement or disagreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item.

Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Agree	Agree
strongly	moderately	a little	agree nor	a little	moderately	strongly
			disagree			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. ___ Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.
2. ___ The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.
3. ___ One should take action only when sure it is morally right. (r)
4. ___ Most people are basically good and kind. (r)
5. ___ It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.
6. ___ Honesty is the best policy in all cases. (r)
7. ___ There is no excuse for lying to someone else. (r)
8. ___ It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.
9. ___ All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than important and dishonest. (r)
10. ___ When you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons that carry more weight. (r)
11. ___ Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives. (r)

12. ___ Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.
13. ___ The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that criminals are stupid enough to get caught.
14. ___ Most men are brave. (r)
15. ___ It is wise to flatter important people.
16. ___ It is possible to be good in all respects. (r)
17. ___ Barnum was very wrong when he said that there's a sucker born every minute. (r)
18. ___ Generally speaking, men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so.
19. ___ People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death.
20. ___ Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.

Note: r=reverse-scored.

Appendix F

Questionnaire 4: The Self-Monitoring Scale (SMS; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986)

Instructions: Below are several statements about you with which you may agree or disagree.

Indicate whether you think the statement is true or false by placing a t (true) or f (false) in front of the statement.

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

15. ___At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going. (F)
16. ___I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should. (F)
17. ___I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end). (T)
18. ___I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them. (T)

Note: Keying is given by either T (true) or F (false) in parentheses following item. High self-monitoring individuals tend to answer in the keyed direction; low self-monitoring individuals tend to answer in the alternative direction.