PERSON PERCEPTION AND SELF-PRESENTATION: IDENTIFYING THE

BEHAVIORAL UNDERPINNINGS

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Person Perception and Self-Presentation: Identifying the Behavioral Underpinnings

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The current study utilized an integrated model of personality judgment and self-presentation in order to uncover the behavioral underpinnings of these processes. One element of this model is Presentational Payoff- the degree to which the impression one desires to make aligns with the impression formed by others. A second element of this model is Perceived Payoff- the degree to which one believes that he or she has made a desired impression on others. Aims 1 and 2 of this study sought to identify behaviors associated with Presentational Payoff and Perceived Payoff. Participants (N=60) and (N=98), respective to Aims 1 and 2, completed self and other personality surveys before and after engaging in a brief ‘getting to know you’ interaction. Direct behavioral observation data from the interactions were coded and correlated with Presentational Payoff and Perceived Payoff. Another element of the model is Correspondence- the degree to which one’s true self is in alignment with how one desires to be perceived by others. Correlations were run between Correspondence and Presentational Payoff to meet Aim 3 (N=58), which sought to determine whether alignment between one’s actual self and one’s desired self was related to one’s success in making a desired impression on others. Concerning Aim 1, findings show that, regarding extraversion, certain behaviors
are significantly related to making a desired impression on an interaction partner. Concerning Aim 2, findings indicate that, regarding agreeableness, certain behaviors on the part of the judge are significantly related to the target’s perception of making a desired impression. Regarding Aim 3, results show a significant positive association between Correspondence and Presentational Payoff at an aggregate level as well as regarding the trait domain of honesty/humility. The current research is valuable in underscoring the necessity of including self-presentational goals in models of personality judgment and in uncovering the often obscured behavioral underpinnings of self-presentation. Further extensions of this research may be useful in practical applications geared toward helping people to modify their behavior to more effectively meet social and interpersonal goals in various settings.
Introduction

When engaging in social interaction people are not always as they appear to be. The self that one presents to others in an interaction may be markedly different from one’s true self. In fact, sociologist Erving Goffman (1959) likened people to actors playing various roles in their daily lives, only coming out of character when off of the social stage. This playacting does not necessarily involve deception, but it speaks to the fact that people seek to be perceived by others in certain ways. The desire to make particular impressions on others underlies many if not all social interactions (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Although the desire to make certain impressions on others varies across individuals (Leary & Allen, 2011), people generally care about what others think of them at least some of the time. This is because people are interdependent. One’s ability to attain relational and professional goals, to maintain a sense of self-esteem, and to develop an identity is largely dependent on one’s standing with other people (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Depending on the context, people may desire to make divergent impressions on others, but nevertheless the desire to make some impression remains. Because the presence of motivation to make some impression on others is ubiquitous, and because it is undoubtedly a driving force behind human behavior (Baumeister, 1982), a more sustained look at this aspect of social interaction is warranted.

The current study examines the behavioral underpinnings of making a desired impression on others during social interaction as well as the behavioral patterns associated with perceiving that one has been successful at making one’s desired impression. In addition, the correspondence between one’s “true” self and one’s desired self is examined. The aims of this research are as follows: (1) To explore what behaviors on the part of the target (i.e., the person being judged) in an interaction
are associated with *Presentational Payoff* (i.e., effectively making a desired impression on the judge). (2) To explore what behaviors on the part of the judge (i.e., the person judging the target) in an interaction are associated with *Perceived Payoff* (i.e., target’s perception that he/she has made the desired impression on the judge). (3) To examine the degree to which *Correspondence* (i.e., alignment between one’s “true” self and one’s desired self) relates to *Presentational Payoff* (i.e., effectively making a desired impression on the judge).

**Person Perception**

The current study extends previous research by incorporating motives and goals into the person perception framework. Person perception refers to the processes by which people form impressions of other people (Biesanz, 2010; Kenny, 2004). Early research on person perception took a social cognitive approach, placing focus on the cognitive processes and situational factors influencing impression formation. Asch (1946) and Heider (1958) focused on the cognitive strategies people used when attributing traits and personality dispositions to others. For example, Asch (1946) found that the primacy of a trait term in a list of terms guided the development of an impression differently than if that trait term was shown later in the list. The primary focus on cognitive strategies utilized during person perception did little to differentiate the process from *object* perception. In effect, this served to remove person perception from its interpersonal context and to de-emphasize the behavioral accompaniments of the cognitive processes (Swann, 1984). Later, person perception research centered on uncovering the systematic errors and biases that commonly plague human judgment and mar its accuracy (Jones, 1979; Kahneman & Tversky, 1973).
In contrast to earlier work in social cognition that focused on the prevalence of human error in making judgments, subsequent research sought to understand the conditions underlying accurate personality judgments. The Realistic Accuracy Model (RAM) (Funder, 1995) is a notable example of this shift in focus. This model traces the pathway between behavior and accurate personality judgments. It is valuable because it re-situates person perception in an interpersonal context. Further, RAM recognizes that impressions of others are formed through behavioral observations and are not solely the product of isolated cognitive processes (Funder, 1995).

RAM asserts the potential of a direct path between one’s personality traits and an accurate assessment of those personality traits. In order for accurate personality judgments to take place, four conditions must be met: relevance, availability, detection, and utilization (Funder, 1995). First, behaviors relevant to some trait must be exhibited. For example, to determine if someone is extraverted, it is necessary to observe him/her talking frequently, socializing, or displaying some other behavior indicative of extraversion. Second, the trait-relevant behavior must be made available to the judge. A judge cannot make an accurate assessment of extraversion unless the extraverted behavior is carried out within the judge’s view. Third, the judge must detect the target’s trait-relevant, available behavior. For instance, even if a target is being quite talkative in view of the judge, if the judge is distracted by something else going on in the room, an accurate judgment of extraversion will not be made. Fourth, the trait-relevant behavior that has been made available, and has been detected by the judge, must be effectively utilized (Funder, 1995). In other words, the judge must make proper inferences about the target’s personality based on the observed behaviors.
Various person perception models have been put forth. For example, the Social Accuracy Model (SAM) focuses primarily on the accuracy of judges and targets in respectively perceiving and expressing personality traits (Biesanz, 2010), paying no attention to the ways in which self-presentation goals and motives may influence personality and its judgment. In addition, the Social Relations Model (SRM) calls attention to the fact that personality judgments may be broken down into three components: general tendencies of the perceiver (e.g., the perceiver tends to view others favorably), general reactions to the target (e.g., others usually view the target favorably), and by the particularities of their relationship (i.e., how the perceiver uniquely views the target) (Kenny, 1994). However, this model also does not account for ways in which these three components might be influenced by the goals and motives of the interaction partners.

Although the previously cited models have advanced the study of person perception, they fall short of adequately incorporating goals and motivations into their frameworks. For instance, RAM posits a direct path between one’s true personality and an accurate assessment of that personality. Of course one’s true personality is reflected by his/her behavior, and the true personality characteristics of social actors undoubtedly influence their behavior, but in many cases the influence of personality traits on behavior is mediated by the desire to make a particular impression. The particular impression one is motivated to make may be a function of his/her “true” personality characteristics, but there is merit in studying desired impressions on their own because of their potential to influence behavior in ways that diverge from the influence of one’s “true” self. The
current study fills gaps in the literature by expanding the study of person perception to include self-presentational goals and motivations.

**Behavior**

The current study also fills gaps in the literature by placing focus on behavior. Although psychology has been referred to as the science of human behavior, it has been shown that psychological studies incorporating behavioral data are actually quite rare (Furr, 2009). Baumeister, Vohs, and Funder (2007) have argued that the underrepresentation of behavioral data has been detrimental to psychology, as it places undue emphasis on self-report measures that are potentially limited, misleading, and biased. Behavioral data may offer a relatively more objective, reliable, and realistic picture of psychological phenomena than self-report measures do; it is necessary to know how people actually behave in the world not simply how they report behaving.

Examining individuals’ abilities to make desired impressions on others through self-report alone would offer an incomplete understanding of this phenomenon. The addition of behavioral data, as seen in the current study, offers a more complete picture of how this process actually plays out; not only do we want to explore whether people are able to make desired impressions and how this affects their interactions, we want to know how they do it. Although this study utilizes findings from a laboratory setting, the interaction between participants was very close to naturalistic behavior. The ‘getting to know you’ situation that was enacted is basically indistinguishable from similar situations in life outside of the lab where strangers make small talk with each other. This allows for a sorely needed window into real world human behavior. The current study is particularly valuable because it answers previous calls (Funder, Furr, & Colvin, 2000; Baumeister,
Vohs, & Funder, 2007; Furr, 2009) for a renewed focus on behavior in personality and social psychology.

**Self-Presentation**

The current study’s incorporation of behavioral data is particularly valuable in extending the self-presentation literature, which has also utilized behavioral studies minimally. Self-presentation refers to processes by which people attempt to communicate information about themselves to others in order to make some impression on them (Baumeister, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990). People seek to communicate information about their personality traits as well as their attitudes, moods, roles, beliefs, status, etc. There is much variability concerning the degree to which people are motivated to make impressions on others, the types of impressions they seek to make, and their perceived effectiveness at making those impressions (Leary & Allen, 2011). Some of this variability can be attributed to situational factors (e.g., when being evaluated by supervisors at one’s job, one may be more motivated to make a certain impression than when socializing with friends). Personality constructs such as public self-consciousness, fear of negative evaluation, and approval motivation also account for some of the variability associated with self-presentation (Leary & Allen, 2011). For example, a socially anxious person with a pronounced fear of negative evaluation may be more motivated to make a certain impression on others than someone without this fear (Schlenker, & Leary, 1982). As mentioned earlier, the ability (or inability) to successfully make desirable impressions on others has important interpersonal consequences. The information that we communicate about ourselves has a large bearing on valued outcomes pertaining to whether others will hire us, befriend us, marry us, promote us, or help us in a time of need.
Self-presentation may occasionally take place on a conscious level. For example, before going into a job interview a job candidate may explicitly run through a list of qualities that she would like the interviewer to attribute to her and then consciously try to behave in ways consistent with these attributes. However, more often than not, self-presentation occurs at a non-conscious level (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Although people may only infrequently reflect on their self-presentational goals, it is entirely possible for people to do so. The current study utilizes individuals’ abilities to become aware of and even plan out their self-presentational goals when asked to do so.

Self-presentation occurs through various channels, including self-description, non-verbal behavior, public attributions, associations with other people, and physical appearance (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The self-presentation process can be separated into two discrete components: impression motivation and impression construction. Impression motivation refers to the degree to which people are motivated to control the impressions others form of them, while impression construction refers to the kinds of impressions that people try to construct (Leary & Kowalski, 1990).

The current study furthers self-presentation research by specifically examining the behavioral patterns associated with successfully meeting (or not meeting) self-presentational goals. This is useful because, while it is true that people have the ability to become aware of their self-presentational goals, they may be less aware of the ways in which their behavior functions to either advance or thwart these goals. Self-reports are perfectly viable when it comes to assessing self-presentational goals, because people have access to private, first-hand knowledge of these goals. However, self-reports regarding the self-presentational mechanisms or behaviors connected to these goals would be less
reliable, because these are publicly accessible and gain significance when viewed from an outside perspective. The incorporation of behavioral data provides access to that which the participants themselves may be unaware. In addition, there is a dearth of studies on self-presentation that make use of behavioral data. The current study fills this gap.

Successfully making a desired impression on others represents an ideal situation in which the goal of interaction has been met, at least from the target’s perspective. The ability to make a desired impression on others denotes social skill and contributes to enhanced social functioning (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The current study extends the existing literature by shedding light on the processes underlying person perception and self-presentation. More specifically, the current study fills gaps in the literature by focusing on the patterns of behavior that underlie these social phenomena, allowing for a more complete understanding of how self-presentation and person perception take shape during social interactions.

Self-Presentation and Personality Judgment Model

The proposed research will utilize the Self-Presentation and Personality Judgment (SPPJ) model (Nave, in preparation) (see Figure 1). The SPPJ model makes the important distinction between Self as is and Self’s desired impression. There are several links between the Self’s desired impression and other elements of the model. I have focused on the links between Self’s desired impression and Target as perceived, Self’s perception of other’s perception, and Self as is. Respectively, these links are referred to as Presentational Payoff, Perceived Payoff, and Correspondence. In the SPPJ model, the self and the target are the same person. However, the elements of the model containing self connote the perspective of one’s self and the elements containing target connote the
self as an object of perception/judgment by one’s interaction partner (i.e., the judge). In carrying out this study, an emphasis has been placed on the behavioral cues or patterns that may accompany these various points in the self-presentation and personality judgment process. The research questions pertaining to these links as well as their justification require further elaboration.

*Presentational Payoff* refers to the overlap between *Self’s desired impression* and *Target as perceived*. Being high in *Presentational Payoff* denotes a match between one’s desired impression and how one is perceived by another. Looking at things from the target’s perspective, *Presentational Payoff* represents success in making one’s desired impression. Concerning this link, it is important to explore what behaviors on the part of the target are associated with effectively instilling the impression one desires to instill. It is reasonable to suppose that behaviors associated with confidence and comfort will be more likely to appear in instances of high *Presentational Payoff*. However, a more nuanced understanding of the behavioral cues associated with *Presentational Payoff* is necessary. An investigation of this nature advances scientific understanding of human interaction in general, and, more specifically, sheds light on the behavioral cues that lead to certain judgments. It makes sense to think that people desire to make impressions that will advance their personal, social, and professional interests. When people are unable to make a desired impression on others, this will most likely affect them in a negative way. An understanding of the behaviors associated with successfully making an impression may be used to help people who are not socially adept interact more optimally with others.
At the same time that one is engaged in making an impression on others, one is also engaged in trying to discern how one is being perceived by others. The perception of how others perceive you is referred to as a meta-perception (Albright & Malloy, 1999; Kenny, 1994). Meta-perceptions are pivotally important in interpersonal interactions. Although it is impossible to truly get into someone else’s mind to know how he or she is perceiving you, estimating how others in the social world may be perceiving you is important and useful because it may help to predict how those others might behave towards you, which can allow you to modify your behavior accordingly.

Perceived Payoff refers to an overlap between Self’s desired impression and Self’s perception of other’s perception. Being high in Perceived Payoff means that one thinks he/she is being perceived in the way that he/she wants to be perceived. It is pertinent to
ask how behavior is associated with the target’s belief that he/she is being perceived in a way that is consistent with his/her desired impression. Answering these questions may advance scientific knowledge by shedding light on the ways in which behavior functions to aid the formation of meta-perceptions. This is particularly valuable because research on meta-perceptions is relatively minimal (Levesque, 1997). More practically, understanding the behaviors that lead to the target’s perception of making his/her desired impression could be useful in various interpersonal contexts. When people think that they are making their desired impression, they are more likely to be at ease and comfortable (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Putting people at ease by behaving in certain ways might be useful in certain clinical, educational, or personal settings.

*Correspondence* refers to the overlap between *Self as is* and *Self’s desired impression*. Being high in *correspondence* means that one’s desired impression is largely consistent with one’s “true” self. It is useful to examine the extent to which people’s desired impressions deviate from their true selves in order to get a more empirically based understanding of the role that self-presentational motives play in shaping behavior. Similarly, it will be important to ask whether those high in *Correspondence* are more or less likely to make their desired impressions on others. These inquiries advance scientific knowledge by uncovering the degree to which people are actually motivated to be different than they are and how these motivations are associated with meeting self-presentational goals.

The merits and value of the proposed study have been discussed and it has been contextualized in the literature. In summary, the proposed research has three aims: (1) To explore what behaviors on the part of the target (i.e., the person being judged) in an
interaction are associated with *Presentational Payoff*. (2) To explore what behaviors on the part of the judge (i.e., the person judging the target) in an interaction are associated with *Perceived Payoff*. (3) To examine the degree to which *Correspondence* relates to *Presentational Payoff*. This research fills gaps in the literature and increases scientific understanding of person perception and self-presentation by incorporating these two frameworks together, while accounting for motives and making use of behavioral data.
Method

Participants

Participants were undergraduate and graduate students at Rutgers University-Camden. They were compensated $20 for their participation in the study and were entered into a drawing for a $100 VISA gift card. Sample sizes vary by aim, due to human error during data collection but do not reflect any purposeful exclusion of particular participants based on their characteristics. Sample means regarding the six personality traits measured by the HEXACO-60 for Aims 1 and 3 were compared with the means of these traits found in the sample for Aim 2. The results of t-tests showed no statistically significant differences between sample means for any of the personality traits, suggesting that the samples do not reflect any systematic differences in personality (see Table 1). The sample used to carry out Aim 1 was comprised of 60 participants, and the sample used to carry out Aim 3 was comprised of 58 participants. The gender, age, and ethnic breakdown of these two samples is largely indistinguishable, because these samples share the same participants, save for missing data of two participants in Aim 3. Regarding Aims 1 and 3, 73% of participants were female. While ages of participants ranged between 18 and 56, the mean age was 24.1 (SD: 8.05, Med.: 21). Regarding racial composition, 36.8% of participants were White/Caucasian, 19.3% were Hispanic/Latino, 10.5% were Black/African American, 24.6% were Asian or Pacific Islander, 5.3% were Other, and 3.5% of participants preferred not to disclose their race and ethnicity. For Aim 2, 98 participants made up the sample, 70.4% of whom were female. Ages ranged between 18 and 56, and the mean age was 23.4 (SD: 7.12, Med.:21).This sample was 38.5% White/Caucasian, 15.6% Hispanic/Latino, 15.6% Black/African American, 21.9%
Asian or Pacific Islander, 4.2% Other, with 4.2% of participants preferring not to disclose their race or ethnicity.

**Table 1.**
Results of T-tests comparing personality traits between Aim 1 & 3 sample and Aim 2 sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Sample 1 &amp; 3 M(SD)</th>
<th>Sample 2 M(SD)</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honesty/Humility</td>
<td>2.40 (1.33)</td>
<td>2.38 (1.35)</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotionality</td>
<td>4.19 (1.55)</td>
<td>4.19 (1.51)</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraversion</td>
<td>4.58 (1.59)</td>
<td>4.55 (1.60)</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreeableness</td>
<td>3.61 (1.45)</td>
<td>3.72 (1.45)</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>3.25 (1.67)</td>
<td>3.20 (1.71)</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness</td>
<td>2.96 (1.71)</td>
<td>2.95 (1.62)</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p<.05
Responses range from 1= “strongly disagree” to 5= “strongly agree”.

**Procedure**

Data were collected from Spring, 2014 through Spring, 2015. Participants came to the Personality, Health, and Behavior lab for two sessions over the course of three to six weeks. After providing contact information and availability online, participants were brought into the lab in groups of four. During this first session, consent was obtained, and the participants verified that they were unacquainted with the other participants present. Participants also provided demographic information and completed a personality assessment. During the second session, participants who had previously indicated that they were unacquainted were randomly paired with each other. Before interacting with each other, participants completed a questionnaire to assess their self-presentational goals (i.e., the impression they desired to make on their partner). Upon completion, participants were seated at a table together and instructed to talk about whatever they wished in order
to get to know each other. This interaction lasted approximately 5 minutes. Participants were also informed that their interaction would be videotaped. After the interaction participants completed a personality questionnaire to assess how they thought they were perceived by their partner and a personality questionnaire to assess how they perceived their partner. (Due to the human error previously mentioned, some participants did not complete assessments of their perceptions of their partner).

Measures

HEXACO-60

The HEXACO-60 measures the six personality dimensions of Honesty-Humility (H), Emotionality (E), Extraversion (X), Agreeableness (A), Conscientiousness (C), and Openness to Experience (O). Each personality dimension is represented by 10 items. The HEXACO-60 is comprised of 60 statements that participants rate using a five-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1= “strongly disagree” to 5= “strongly agree”. The HEXACO-60 is a reliable measure, with internal consistency ranging from $\alpha = .77-.80$. Internal consistency refers to the correlations between items on the scale purporting to measure the same personality dimension (Ashton & Lee, 2009). The HEXACO-60 also demonstrates predictive validity, which refers to correlations between scores on this scale and other outcome measures. The HEXACO-60 has been shown to predict outcomes pertaining to sexual behavior (Strouts, Brase, & Dillon, 2017); risk taking (Weller & Thulin, 2012); happiness/well-being (Buca, Calin, & Mincu, 2016); and leadership (De Vries, 2012).
Riverside Behavioral Q-sort (RBQ)

The Riverside Behavioral Q-sort tool was used to code the behavior captured on video. The RBQ allows for the gathering of a wide range of behaviors in individuals in dyadic social interactions. The RBQ lists 68 mid-level behaviors common in many contexts (e.g., “offers advice”; “makes or approaches physical contact”) that must be grouped in terms of how characteristic or uncharacteristic they are of the participant being observed. The behavioral items are grouped into nine categories ranging from (1) extremely uncharacteristic to (9) extremely characteristic. The RBQ items, taken singly, have a mean inter-judge reliability of .53 (Funder, Furr, & Colvin, 2000). Inter-judge reliability refers to the correlations between judges’ ratings of particular behavioral items. The RBQ also displays convergent validity with personality assessments, which makes it useful in highlighting the behavioral manifestations or accompaniments of personality attributes. The RBQ has been shown to be predictive of certain personality traits. Using a college sample, sociable and dominant behaviors such as “initiates humor” and “dominates the interaction” were found to be significantly associated with extraversion in men and women (Funder et al., 2000). Conversely, insecure and anxious behaviors such as “expresses insecurity” and “expresses criticism” were found to be negatively associated with extraversion in women and men respectively. Self-pitying and insecure behaviors such as “says negative things about self” and “self-pity or feelings of victimization” were significantly associated with depression in women. Additionally, behaviors associated with verbal fluency and comfort (e.g., “speaksfluently and expresses ideas well” and “appears to be relaxed and comfortable”) were negatively associated with depression in women (Funder et al., 2000). These findings illustrate the
predictive validity of the RBQ. Utilizing this measure helps to uncover the behavioral accompaniments of personality traits.

**Data Analysis**

Difference scores were calculated for each pair of variables—*Self’s desired impression* and *Target as perceived; Self’s desired impression* and *Self as perceived;* and *Self as is* and *Self’s desired impression.* Respectively, the absolute values of these difference scores make up the three variables under consideration—*Presentational Payoff, Perceived Payoff,* and *Correspondence.* Absolute values were used because the direction of the difference score is irrelevant to answering the questions posed by this research; the focus is solely on the magnitude of the difference between the variables. To make the difference scores more intuitively meaningful, they were converted into percent of maximum possible scores (i.e., POMP scores). A POMP score is a percentage that shows an individual’s position on the scale as a percentage of the maximum possible score on that scale (Cohen, Cohen, Aiken, & West, 1999). An advantage of using POMP scores rather than difference scores is that the meaning of POMP scores is more easily interpreted. Many people are familiar with scaling that is done by comparing an individual score to the highest possible score in percentages, because this is the typical way that tests and other academic assignments are graded. Familiarity with this type of scale makes it easier for results to be meaningfully communicated to other scientists as well as those outside of the scientific community (Cohen et al., 1999). Once the POMP scores were calculated, they were subtracted from 100; this ensured that larger POMP scores coincided with smaller difference scores. For instance, a participant with a difference score of 1 between *Self’s desired impression* and *Target as perceived* will have
a higher POMP score representing their *Presentational Payoff* than would a participant with a difference score of 3. In this case, a smaller difference score denotes greater alignment between *Self’s desired impression* and *Target as perceived* and thus should be represented by a higher POMP score for *Presentational Payoff*. The switch in direction from lower difference scores to higher POMP scores was made simply to increase clarity and ease of interpretation.

Once the POMP scores were calculated for *Presentational Payoff*, *Perceived Payoff*, and *Correspondence*, correlations were run between these variables and the behavioral data coded using the Riverside Behavioral Q-sort. The behavioral data obtained from the participants was coded by research assistants. The composite of these ratings was calculated and represented each participant’s final behavioral rating. The behavior of each participant was coded by four research assistants in order to ensure reliability. To gauge the level of agreement between the behavioral coders, intraclass correlations were calculated for each participant. Calculations showed an average intraclass $r = 0.76$, which indicates high agreement between judges, according to accepted standards (Cicchetti, 1994).

Each of the 68 behaviors was correlated with the variables of interest. These correlations were run on both an aggregate level and a trait level. Investigating correlations between, for instance, *Presentational Payoff* and behavior by each of the six traits measured by the HEXACO-60 allows for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between behavior and forming a desired impression. More specifically, this fulfills *Aim 1* by uncovering the behaviors that are associated with effectively making a desired impression on another person, both when it comes to specific personality traits
and in general. Investigating correlations between *Perceived Payoff* and the 68 behaviors addresses *Aim 2* by providing a picture of the behaviors that are associated with one’s perception that one is making a desired impression on another person. Finally, running correlations between *Correspondence* and *Presentational Payoff* addresses *Aim 3* by examining whether wishing to be perceived similarly to how you truly are is associated with being able to effectively make a desired impression on others. Taken together, the fulfillment of these aims has shed light on behavioral manifestations of personality that shape how we present ourselves to others, how they perceive us, and how we gauge their perceptions.

Because of the high number of correlations computed, it was necessary to account for the possibility of finding statistically significant correlations by chance. In order to account for statistically significant correlations due to chance (and to prevent Type 1 errors) a randomization procedure was employed (Sherman & Funder, 2009). The randomization procedure utilizes a resampling process that is repeated 10,000 times to form an approximate chance sampling distribution (Sherman & Funder, 2009). This allows one to gauge the number of statistically significant correlates found on average and the number of significant findings above which only 5% of the pseudo samples (i.e., samples generated in resampling trials) achieved (Sherman & Funder, 2009). This randomization procedure provides a *p*-value that applies to the correlations as a group (Sherman & Funder, 2009). Thus, if 12 statistically significant correlations were found between *Presentational Payoff*-Extraversion and the 68 behaviors, the *p*-value provided by the randomization procedure would represent the probability of obtaining 12 statistically significant correlates. Concerning the 68 behaviors captured by the Riverside
Behavioral Q-sort, it has been shown that on average it can be expected that 3.5 statistically significant will be found by chance (Nave, Edmonds, Hampson, Murzyn, & Sauerberger, 2017). As the number of statistically significant correlations surpasses 3.5, confidence that the results are not simply due to chance grows. However, finding more than 3.5 statistically significant correlations does not ensure that results are not due to chance; if the $p$-value provided by the randomization procedure is at greater than chance levels (i.e., $p$’s > 0.20), results must be interpreted with caution (Nave et al., 2017).
Results

Aim 1*: To explore what behaviors on the part of the target in an interaction are associated with Presentational Payoff.

To examine the relationship between behavior and making a desired impression on an interaction partner (i.e., Presentational Payoff), correlations were run between Presentational Payoff and the 68 mid-level behaviors included in the Riverside Behavioral Q-sort. Findings show that, regarding extraversion, certain behaviors are significantly related to making a desired impression on an interaction partner.

Aggregate

The aggregate measure of Presentational Payoff is representative of the average score of Presentational Payoff across all six trait domains (i.e., the average score of Presentational Payoff regarding Humility/Honesty, Emotionality, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to Experience). Results show that there are significant negative correlations between Presentational Payoff-Aggregate and the following behaviors “Talks at rather than with others” ($r = -.27, p = .04$); “Says negative things about self” ($r = -.27, p = .04$); and “Makes or approaches physical contact with others” ($r = -.29, p = .03$). However, because the number of statistically significant correlations did not exceed the number expected on average by chance (i.e., 3.5), it is plausible that these significant correlations are simply due to chance.

Humility/Honesty

Regarding Presentational Payoff associated only with Humility/Honesty (i.e., successfully coming across as humble/honest as one desires to come off), there were

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1 Results are separated and discussed according to aim. When interpreting results, it is useful to note that typical effect sizes in personality and individual differences research are generally in the $r = .20$ range (Gignac & Szodorai, 2016).
significant correlations between Presentational Payoff and several behaviors. The following behaviors were significantly correlated with Presentational Payoff-Humility/Honesty: “Blames others (for anything)” \( (r = -.26, p = .04) \); “Offers advice” \( (r = .33, p = .01) \); and “Makes or approaches physical contact” \( (r = -.39, p = .002) \). However, as with the correlations for the aggregate level of Presentational Payoff, the number of significant correlations did not exceed the number necessary to make it likely that significant correlations were not simply due to chance.

**Emotionality**

Regarding Presentational Payoff-Emotionality, there was a statistically significant correlation between Presentational Payoff-Emotionality and the behavior “Seems likable” \( (r = .27, p = .04) \). The number of significant correlations did not meet the number necessary to rule out the possibility that significant correlations were due to chance.

**Extraversion**

Regarding Presentational Payoff-Extraversion, there were several statistically significant associations between Presentational Payoff-Extraversion and behaviors. Results showed that the following behaviors are positively correlated with Presentational Payoff-Extraversion: “Appears to be relaxed and comfortable” \( (r = .27, p = .04) \); “Shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level” \( (r = .27, p = .04) \); “Behaves in a cheerful manner” \( (r = .27, p = .04) \). In addition, results showed that there were also several statistically significant negative correlations between Presentational Payoff-Extraversion and behaviors. The following behaviors were negatively correlated with Presentational Payoff-Extraversion: “Shows physical signs of tension or anxiety” \( (r = -.27, p = .04) \); “Acts irritated” \( (r = -.31, p = .02) \); “Keeps others at a distance; avoids development of any
sort of interpersonal relationship” ($r = -.39, p = .002$). Because the number of significant correlations for this trait domain did exceed the number expected on average, and because having 6 statistically significant correlations falls below chance levels (i.e., $p = .20$) these results can be interpreted as suggesting reliable findings.

**Agreeableness**

The following behaviors were negatively associated with *Presentational Payoff-Agreeableness*: “Blames others” ($r = -.34, p = .01$); “Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization” ($r = -.27, p = .04$); “Engages in physical activity (works up a sweat)” ($r = -.30, p = .02$); and “Acts in a self-indulgent manner” ($r = -.27, p = .04$). The number of significant correlations exceeds that of those expected on average. However, because the likelihood of having 4 significant correlations does not fall below chance levels, results must be interpreted with caution.

**Conscientiousness**

Regarding *Presentational Payoff-Conscientiousness*, there was a statistically significant correlation between it and the behavior “Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization” ($r = -.27, p = .04$). However, because of the low number of significant correlations in this trait domain, it is plausible that these significant correlations are the result of chance.

**Openness to Experience**

Statistically significant correlations were found between *Presentational Payoff-Openness to Experience* and the following behaviors: “Compares self to others” ($r = -.29, p = .02$); “Is talkative” ($r = .27, p = .04$); and “Expresses interest in fantasy or daydreams” ($r = .34, p = .01$). Again, because the number of statistically significant correlations in this
trait domain did not exceed the number of significant expected on average, it is plausible that these correlations are the result of chance.

**Table 2. Presentational Payoff Correlated With Direct Observations of Behavior**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riverside Behavioral Q-sort item</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aggregate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58--Makes or approaches physical contact with others</td>
<td>-.29*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17--Talks at rather than with others</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44--Says negative things about self</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humility/Honesty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52--Offers advice</td>
<td>.33*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58--Makes or approaches physical contact</td>
<td>-.39**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46--Blames others (for anything)</td>
<td>-.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotionality</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28--Seems likable</td>
<td>.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40--Keeps others at a distance</td>
<td>-.39**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31--Acts irritated</td>
<td>-.31*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22--Shows physical signs of tension of anxiety</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extraversion</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6--Appears to be relaxed &amp; comfortable</td>
<td>.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15--Shows high enthusiasm &amp; a high energy level</td>
<td>.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49--Behaves in a cheerful manner</td>
<td>.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46--Blames others</td>
<td>-.34**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65--Engages in physical activity (works up a sweat)</td>
<td>-.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47--Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66--Acts in a self-indulgent manner</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agreeableness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46--Blames others</td>
<td>-.34**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65--Engages in physical activity (works up a sweat)</td>
<td>-.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47--Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66--Acts in a self-indulgent manner</td>
<td>-.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conscientiousness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
47--Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization  -.27*

**Openness to Experience**

*Positive*

38--Expresses interest in fantasy or daydreams  .34**
20--Is talkative  .27*

*Negative*

14--Compares self to others  -.29*

*Note:*

N=60

* *p < .05.

** **p < .01.

**Aim 2: To explore what behaviors on the part of the judge in an interaction are associated with Perceived Payoff.**

To examine the relationship between the judge’s behavior and the target’s perception that he/she has made a desired impression on the judge (i.e., *Perceived Payoff*), correlations were run between *Perceived Payoff* and the 68 mid-level behaviors that are captured by the Riverside Behavioral Q-sort. Findings indicate that, regarding agreeableness, certain behaviors on the part of the judge are significantly related to the target’s perception of making a desired impression.

**Aggregate**

The aggregate measure of *Perceived Payoff* is representative of the average score of *Perceived Payoff* across all six trait domains (i.e., the average score of *Perceived Payoff* regarding Humility/Honesty, Emotionality, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to Experience). Results show that there are significant positive correlations between *Perceived Payoff*-Aggregate and the following behaviors: “Expresses insecurity” (r = .23, p = .03); “Seems likable” (r = .23, p = .03); “Expresses...”
warmth” \((r = .29, p = .00)\). A significant negative correlation exists between Perceived Payoff-Aggregate and the behavior “Gives up when faced with obstacles” \((r = -.21, p = .04)\). The number of significant correlations exceeds that of those expected on average (i.e., 3.5). However, because the likelihood of having 4 significant correlations does not fall below chance levels, results must be interpreted with caution.

**Humility/Honesty**

There were significant negative correlations between Perceived Payoff-Humility/Honesty and the following behaviors “Tries to undermine, sabotage or obstruct” \((r = -.25, p = .01)\) and “Expresses hostility (no matter toward whom or what)” \((r = -.25, p = .01)\). However, because the number of significant correlations in this trait domain did not exceed the number of significant expected on average, it is plausible that these correlations are the result of chance.

**Emotionality**

There were significant negative correlations between Perceived Payoff-Emotionality and the following behaviors: “Shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level” \((r = -.28, p = .01)\) and “Speaks quickly” \((r = -.22, p = .03)\). The number of significant correlations did not exceed the number of significant correlations expected on average, making it impossible to rule out the possibility that these significant correlations were due to chance.

**Extraversion**

The following behaviors were shown to be significantly correlated with Perceived Payoff-Extraversion: “Emphasizes accomplishments of self, family, or acquaintances” \((r = -.20, p = .05)\) and “Other(s) seek advice from P” \((r = .22, p = .03)\). Again, because the
number of significant correlations in this trait domain did not exceed the number of significant expected on average, it is plausible that these correlations are the result of chance.

**Agreeableness**

Regarding *Perceived Payoff*-Agreeableness, there were several significant correlations with the behaviors. Results showed that the following behaviors were positively correlated with *Perceived Payoff*-Agreeableness: “Expresses insecurity” \((r = .27, p = .01)\) and “Seeks advice” \((r = .28, p = .01)\). The following behaviors were negatively correlated with *Perceived Payoff*-Agreeableness: “Expresses criticism” \((r = -.22, p = .03)\); “Blames others” \((r = -.20, p = .05)\); “Makes or approaches physical contact with other(s)” \((r = -.23, p = .03)\); and “Engages in physical activity” \((r = -.20, p = .05)\). Because the number of significant correlations for this trait domain *did* exceed the number expected on average, and because having 6 statistically significant correlations falls below chance levels (i.e., \(p = .20\)) these results can be interpreted as suggesting reliable findings.

**Conscientiousness**

Regarding *Perceived Payoff*-Conscientiousness, there was a significant correlation between it and the behavior “Initiates humor” \((r = .21, p = .04)\). However, because of the low number of significant correlations in this trait domain, it is uncertain whether these correlations are the result of chance.

**Openness to Experience**

Significant correlations were found between *Perceived Payoff*-Openness to Experience and the following behaviors: “Seeks advice” \((r = .22, p = .03)\) and “Blames
others” \((r = -.22, p = .03)\). Again, because of the low number of significant correlations in this trait domain, it is plausible that these correlations are the result of chance.

**Table 3. Perceived Payoff Correlated With Direct Observations of Behavior**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Riverside Behavioral Q-sort item</th>
<th>(r)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aggregate</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32--Expresses warmth</td>
<td>.29**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21--Expresses insecurity</td>
<td>.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28--Seems likable</td>
<td>.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50--Gives up when faced with obstacles</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humility/Honesty</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33-- Tries to undermine, sabotage or obstruct</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-- Expresses hostility. (no matter toward whom or what)</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emotionality</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15--Shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61--Speaks quickly</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Extraversion</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63--Other(s) seeks advice from P</td>
<td>.22*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54--Emphasizes accomplishments of self, family or acquaintances</td>
<td>-.20*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agreeableness</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29--Seeks advice</td>
<td>.28**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21--Expresses insecurity</td>
<td>.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58--Makes or approaches physical contact with other(s)</td>
<td>-.23*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19--Expresses criticism</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To examine the degree to which Correspondence relates to Presentational Payoff,
correlations were run between Correspondence and Presentational Payoff, both at the
aggregate and trait levels. Results showed a significant positive correlation between
Correspondence-Aggregate and Presentational Payoff-Aggregate ($r = .33$, $p = .01$). There
was also a significant positive correlation between Correspondence- Honesty/Humility
and Presentational Payoff-Honesty/Humility ($r = .28$, $p = .03$).

Table 4. Correspondence Correlated With Presentational Payoff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>$r$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggregate</td>
<td>.33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humility/Honesty</td>
<td>.28*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note:
N=58
* $p < .05$.
** $p < .01$. 
Discussion

Examining the behavioral patterns exhibited in social interaction allows for a more robust understanding of how personality judgment takes place and how this process is influenced by self-presentational goals. The integration of person perception and self-presentation has rarely been present in the existing literature. The current research is valuable because it integrates these two complementary aspects of social interaction in order to get a more complete picture of how these processes play out through human behavior.

A better understanding of the connections between self-presentation, person perception, and their behavioral accompaniments is fundamentally important because the impressions made on others and the judgments those impressions foster have considerable weight in our social world. Whether or not one makes her desired impression on another is often the factor determining whether one is hired for the job, gets asked on a second date, or is befriended by others. Understanding the behavioral accompaniments of self-presentation and how they relate to person perception could potentially be used to help people meet their various social and interpersonal goals.

The current study advances the existing literature in person perception and self-presentation fields by integrating the two and by focusing primarily on their behavioral underpinnings. Results of this study show that there are certain behavioral patterns that are associated with getting others to view you in a desired way, at least when it comes to particular personality traits. Similarly, it has been found that certain behaviors on the judge’s part are more likely to persuade one’s interaction partner that she is making a desired impression, regarding some personality traits. Findings also suggest that
Correspondence between one’s “true” self and one’s desired self make it more likely for one to make a desired impression on others.

Furthermore, the current study highlights the importance of behavior as a bridge between self-presentational goals and person perception, adding to a field that has recently suffered from a lack of behavioral data. By showing that discrepancies between one’s true self and one’s desired self affect the way one is perceived by others, the current research lends support to the idea that self-presentational goals and motives are an important component of social interaction and personality judgment. This advances previous person perception models that excluded self-presentational goals and motives from consideration (Kenny, 1994; Funder, 1995; Biesanz, 2010).

Regarding Aim 1, the results of this study show that there are certain behaviors associated with making a desired impression on others during social interaction. This was especially true for the personality trait of extraversion. Participants were more effective in making a desired impression on their interaction partner, concerning their level of extraversion, when they exhibited behaviors commonly associated with extraversion and agreeableness. Not surprisingly, participants were less effective in making a desired impression on their interaction partner, concerning their level of extraversion, when they exhibited behaviors commonly associated with neuroticism. More specifically, participants in whom the behaviors “appears to be relaxed and comfortable”, “shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level”, and “behaves in a cheerful manner” were ranked by observers as more prominent were more likely to be perceived as being as extraverted as they desired to be perceived. Conversely, participants who were ranked as prominently displaying behaviors such as “shows physical signs of tension or anxiety”, “acts
irritated”, and “keeps others at a distance; avoids development of any sort of interpersonal relationship” were less likely to be perceived as being as extraverted as they desired to be perceived.

The results make intuitive sense. Because the majority of people wish to be perceived in socially desirable ways, and because extraversion is a socially desirable trait (Hudson & Roberts, 2014), it stands to reason that behaviors associated with extraversion would be helpful in fostering the desired impression, when it comes to that specific trait. Likewise, it is no surprise that behaviors that are at odds with social ease and connection were associated with failing to make one’s desired impression, when it comes to extraversion. The results are in alignment with previous research that has identified extraversion as a relatively visible trait (Sherman & Funder, 2009). In other words, it is likely that behavior is particularly important when it comes to conveying one’s extraversion to others because this trait is manifested by behaviors that are externally directed, whereas a trait like neuroticism might be manifested in a more internalized manner (e.g., feelings of sadness or anxiety).

Regarding Aim 2, results show that there are certain behaviors exhibited by the judge in an interaction that are more likely to be associated with the target in an interaction thinking that he or she is making his or her desired impression, at least concerning certain personality traits. Results show that, regarding the personality trait of agreeableness, certain behaviors on the part of the judge were significantly associated with the judge’s interaction partner thinking that he or she came off as agreeable as she desired to come off as. Specifically, when judges were ranked by observers as frequently displaying behaviors such as “seeks advice” and “expresses insecurity” their interaction
partners were more likely to believe that they were being perceived as being as agreeable as they desired to be perceived. When judges were ranked as displaying behaviors such as “expresses criticism”, “blames others”, “makes or approaches physical contact with others”, and “engages in physical activity” frequently, their interaction partners were less likely to think that they had instilled the desired impression of agreeableness in the judge.

The results concerning Aim 2 are not as intuitively understandable as those of Aim 1. It does makes sense that judges’ behavior of seeking advice would lead the interaction partner to think she was coming off as agreeable as she desired to come off, because asking someone for advice may be associated with a tacit admission that one likes and trusts that person, which may imply a perception of agreeableness in one’s interaction partner. (It is again assumed that most people desire to be perceived as agreeable, because agreeableness is a socially desirable trait.) It is less clear why judges expressing insecurity would lead the interaction partner to think that she has come off as agreeable as desired. One could speculate that the expression of insecurity is more likely to happen in the presence of one whom is admired or respected. Therefore, if an interaction partner expresses insecurity, one may infer that he or she is liked by that person (i.e., perceived as agreeable).

Concerning the negative associations between behavior and Perceived Payoff, the results are difficult to interpret. It does make sense that judges who more frequently express criticism and blame others would lead their interaction partners to doubt whether they had made the desired impression of agreeableness, because these behaviors suggest disliking of one’s partner, which seems inconsistent with viewing one’s partner as agreeable. It is unclear why a judge making or approaching physical contact with others
and engaging in physical activity would lead the interaction partner to think he was not making the desired impression of agreeableness. It is possible that when the physical contact is perceived as negative or aggressive this may lead the interaction partner to think that he has not come off as agreeable as desired, because it would seem odd for agreeableness to incite aggression or negative physical contact (at least in most contexts). More research is required to understand the connections between behavior and meta-perceptions and how these connections might vary depending on situational context.

Regarding Aim 3, results show that there is a significant positive relationship between one’s level of Correspondence and one’s level of Presentational Payoff. In other words, alignment between one’s “true” self and one’s desired self is associated with one’s ability to be perceived by another in a desired way. The association between Correspondence and Presentational Payoff was statistically significant at both an aggregate level and a singular trait level. The current study shows that if one desires to be perceived in a way that matches up with his or her true self, he or she is more likely to make a desired impression on an interaction partner than if there is great discrepancy between the “true” self and desired self. This is true at the aggregate level of Correspondence and Presentational Payoff and concerning the specific trait of honesty/humility. For example, if John is relatively high in the trait of honesty/humility and he desires to be perceived as high in this trait (as most people would, because it is socially desirable), it is likely that he will be perceived this way by those with whom he interacts. On the other hand, if Sally is relatively low on the trait of honesty/humility but desires to be perceived as high in this trait, it will be less likely that those with whom she interacts will view her in this desired way.
Results suggest that it is easier to make a desired impression when you do not want to be viewed as very different from how you actually are. This makes sense, because desiring to come off as very different from your true self would require more work to effect that impression in others and thus would leave more possibility for falling short at that task. It is uncertain why this may be particularly true for the trait domain of Honesty/Humility. One may speculate that it is easier for interaction partners to pick up deception in regard to this trait rather than other traits because the attempt to feign one’s level of honesty/humility has a direct bearing on how one is assessed regarding this particular trait domain. Generally, the finding that self-presentational goals influence whether one is likely to be perceived by another in a desired way lends credence to the idea that self-presentational goals and motives are important components in the process of person perception. While previous models of personality judgment focused primarily on the accuracy of these judgments (i.e., how closely a judge’s perception of a target’s personality matched up with that target’s actual personality) (Funder, 1995; Biesanz, 2010), the findings of this study show that self-presentational goals in concert with actual personality traits function to shape personality judgment.

The current research has several limitations. Firstly, the sample size, especially for Aims 1 and 3 was rather small. As previously mentioned, this reduced sample size was the result of human error during data collection. Some participants did not complete the post-interaction measure assessing how they perceived their interaction partner. The small sample size limits the statistical power of the study and leaves doubts as to whether all significant effects were detected and whether or not the effects that were detected would in fact be replicated in further research. The composition of the sample may also
be considered a limitation. The sample was entirely composed of Rutgers University, Camden students, which may limit generalizability of these results to more diverse, non-student populations. Further, the sample utilized was predominantly female. The dearth of males in the already small sample size may limit inferences that can be drawn from the results and may obscure relevant gender differences relating to self-presentation, person perception, and behavior. The current study is also limited by its lack of situational variables. It is possible that situational context has an important effect on the connections between self-presentational goals, behavior, and personality judgment (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2010; Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2012). For instance, the types of behaviors conducive to making a desired impression of extraversion may be quite different depending on whether one is in an office context or a party context. The lack of situational variables examined in this study may limit the possibility of generalizing the results across different contexts.

While the current study has added weight to the claim that self-presentational goals are an essential component of the process of person perception and has uncovered some of the behavioral patterns related to this process, further research is needed to solidify and extend the conclusions that have been suggested by the findings of this study. Future research on the behavioral underpinnings of self-presentation and person perception should utilize larger and more diverse samples to strengthen the reliability of the findings. Future research in these areas may also investigate the behavioral patterns associated with effective self-presentation in different contexts in order to determine the generalizability of the findings. Finally, future research on self-presentation and person perception may have participants rate their partners’ behavior in the same way that the
observers do. By finding out what behaviors participants were honing in on, this would further clarify the process by which people form certain impressions of others during social interaction.

Although the current study has several limitations and must be extended further, it is valuable in underscoring the necessity of including self-presentational goals in models of personality judgment and in uncovering the often obscured behavioral underpinnings of self-presentation. The current study is also of value because the findings suggest that personality judgment and self-presentation are complementary aspects of human interaction, connected by behavior. This research may serve as a starting point for the continued integration of the personality judgment and self-presentation fields, as well as the increased utilization of behavior, in subsequent personality research.
Appendix A

HEXACO-60

Kibeom Lee, Ph.D., & Michael C. Ashton, Ph.D.

On the following pages you will find a series of statements about you. Please read each statement and decide how much you agree or disagree with that statement. Then write your response in the space next to the statement using the following scale:

5 = strongly agree
4 = agree
3 = neutral (neither agree nor disagree)
2 = disagree
1 = strongly disagree

Please answer every statement, even if you are not completely sure of your response.
I would be quite bored by a visit to an art gallery.

I plan ahead and organize things, to avoid scrambling at the last minute.

I rarely hold a grudge, even against people who have badly wronged me.

I feel reasonably satisfied with myself overall.

I would feel afraid if I had to travel in bad weather conditions.

I wouldn't use flattery to get a raise or promotion at work, even if I thought it would succeed.

I'm interested in learning about the history and politics of other countries.

I often push myself very hard when trying to achieve a goal.

People sometimes tell me that I am too critical of others.

I rarely express my opinions in group meetings.

I sometimes can't help worrying about little things.

If I knew that I could never get caught, I would be willing to steal a million dollars.

I would enjoy creating a work of art, such as a novel, a song, or a painting.

When working on something, I don't pay much attention to small details.

People sometimes tell me that I'm too stubborn.

I prefer jobs that involve active social interaction to those that involve working alone.

When I suffer from a painful experience, I need someone to make me feel comfortable.

Having a lot of money is not especially important to me.

I think that paying attention to radical ideas is a waste of time.

I make decisions based on the feeling of the moment rather than on careful thought.

People think of me as someone who has a quick temper.

On most days, I feel cheerful and optimistic.

I feel like crying when I see other people crying.

I think that I am entitled to more respect than the average person is.

If I had the opportunity, I would like to attend a classical music concert.

When working, I sometimes have difficulties due to being disorganized.

My attitude toward people who have treated me badly is “forgive and forget”.

I feel that I am an unpopular person.

When it comes to physical danger, I am very fearful.

If I want something from someone, I will laugh at that person's worst jokes.
I’ve never really enjoyed looking through an encyclopedia.

I do only the minimum amount of work needed to get by.

I tend to be lenient in judging other people.

In social situations, I’m usually the one who makes the first move.

I worry a lot less than most people do.

I would never accept a bribe, even if it were very large.

People have often told me that I have a good imagination.

I always try to be accurate in my work, even at the expense of time.

I am usually quite flexible in my opinions when people disagree with me.

The first thing that I always do in a new place is to make friends.

I can handle difficult situations without needing emotional support from anyone else.

I would get a lot of pleasure from owning expensive luxury goods.

I like people who have unconventional views.

I make a lot of mistakes because I don’t think before I act.

Most people tend to get angry more quickly than I do.

Most people are more upbeat and dynamic than I generally am.

I feel strong emotions when someone close to me is going away for a long time.

I want people to know that I am an important person of high status.

I don’t think of myself as the artistic or creative type.

People often call me a perfectionist.

Even when people make a lot of mistakes, I rarely say anything negative.

I sometimes feel that I am a worthless person.

Even in an emergency I wouldn’t feel like panicking.

I wouldn’t pretend to like someone just to get that person to do favors for me.

I find it boring to discuss philosophy.

I prefer to do whatever comes to mind, rather than stick to a plan.

When people tell me that I’m wrong, my first reaction is to argue with them.

When I’m in a group of people, I’m often the one who speaks on behalf of the group.

I remain unemotional even in situations where most people get very sentimental.

I’d be tempted to use counterfeit money, if I were sure I could get away with it.
Appendix B

The Riverside Behavioral Q-set (RBQ) Version 3.11


1. Interviews others (if present). (e.g., asks a series of questions)

2. Volunteers a large amount of information about self.

3. Seems interested in what someone had to say.

4. Tries to control the situation. (Disregard whether attempts at control succeed or not.)

5. Dominates the situation. (Disregard intention, e.g., if P dominates the situation by default because other(s) present does very little, this item should receive high placement.)

6. Appears to be relaxed and comfortable.

7. Exhibits social skills. (e.g., makes other(s) comfortable, keeps conversation moving, entertains or charms other(s))

8. Is reserved and unexpressive. (e.g., expresses little affect; acts in a stiff, formal manner)

9. Laughs frequently. (Disregard whether laughter appears to be nervous or genuine.)

10. Smiles frequently.

11. Is physically animated; moves around.

12. Seems to like other(s) present. (e.g., would probably like to be friends with them)

13. Exhibits an awkward interpersonal style. (e.g., seems to have difficulty knowing
what to say, mumbles, fails to respond to conversational advances

14. Compares self to other(s). (whether others are present or not)

15. Shows high enthusiasm and a high energy level.

16. Shows a wide range of interests. (e.g., talks about many topics)

17. Talks at rather than with other(s). (e.g., conducts a monologue, ignores what other(s) says)

18. Expresses agreement frequently. (High placement = agreement is expressed unusually often, e.g., in response to each and every statement partner(s) makes. Low placement = unusual lack of expression of agreement.)

19. Expresses criticism. (of anybody or anything) (Low placement = expresses praise.)

20. Is talkative. (as observed in this situation)

21. Expresses insecurity. (e.g., seems touchy or overly sensitive)

22. Show physical signs of tension or anxiety. (e.g., fidgets nervously, voice wavers) (Middle placement = lack of signs of anxiety. Low placement = lack of signs under circumstances where you would expect them.)

23. Exhibits a high degree of intelligence (Give this item high placement only if P actually says or does something of high intelligence. Low placement = exhibition of low intelligence. Medium placement = no information one way or another.)

24. Expresses sympathy. (to anyone, i.e., including conversational references) (Low placement = unusual lack of sympathy.)

25. Initiates humor.

26. Seeks reassurance. (e.g., asks for agreement, fishes for praise)
27. Exhibits condescending behavior. (e.g., acts as if self is superior to other(s) present, or otherwise) (Low placement = acting inferior.)

28. Seems likable. (to other(s) present)

29. Seeks advice.

30. Appears to regard self as physically attractive.


32. Expresses warmth. (to anyone, e.g., including affectionate references to close friends, etc.)

33. Tries to undermine, sabotage or obstruct.

34. Expresses hostility. (no matter toward whom or what)

35. Is unusual or unconventional in appearance.

36. Behaves in a fearful or timid manner.

37. Is expressive in face, voice or gestures.

38. Expresses interest in fantasy or daydreams. (Low placement only if such interest is explicitly disavowed.)

39. Expresses guilt. (about anything)

40. Keeps other(s) at a distance; avoids development of any sort of interpersonal relationship. (Low placement = behavior to get close to other(s).)

41. Shows interest in intellectual or cognitive matters. (discusses an intellectual idea in detail or with enthusiasm)

42. Seems to enjoy the situation.

43. Says or does something interesting.

44. Says negative things about self. (e.g., is self-critical; expresses feelings of
inadequacy)

45. Displays ambition. (e.g., passionate discussion of career plans, course grades, opportunities to make money)

46. Blames others. (for anything)

47. Expresses self-pity or feelings of victimization.

48. Expresses sexual interest. (e.g., acts attracted to someone present; expresses interest in dating or sexual matters in general)

49. Behaves in a cheerful manner.

50. Gives up when faced with obstacles. (Low placement implies unusual persistence.)

51. Behaves in a stereotypically masculine style or manner.

52. Offers advice.

53. Speaks fluently and expresses ideas well.

54. Emphasizes accomplishments of self, family or acquaintances. (Low placement = emphasizes failures of these individuals.)

55. Behaves in a competitive manner. (Low placement = cooperation.)

56. Speaks in a loud voice.

57. Speaks sarcastically. (e.g., says things (s)he does not mean; makes facetious comments that are not necessarily funny)

58. Makes or approaches physical contact with other(s). (of any sort, including sitting unusually close without touching) (Low placement = unusual avoidance of physical contact, such as large interpersonal distance.)

59. Engages in constant eye contact with someone. (Low placement = unusual lack
of eye contact.)

60. Seems detached from the situation.

61. Speaks quickly. (Low placement = speaks slowly.)


63. Other(s) seeks advice from P.

64. Concentrates on or works hard at a task.

65. Engages in physical activity. (e.g., works up a sweat) (Low placement = almost completely sedentary.)

66. Acts in a self-indulgent manner. (e.g., spending, eating, or drinking) (Low placement implies self-denial.)

67. Exhibits physical discomfort or pain. (High placement = excess of what seems proportionate. Low placement implies lack of these signs where expected.)

68. Behaves in a stereotypically feminine style or manner.
References


