To Thine Own Self Be True: Psychological Adjustment Promotes Judgeability via Personality–Behavior Congruence

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Well-adjusted individuals are highly judgeable in that their personalities tend to be seen more accurately than the personalities of less adjusted individuals (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b; Human & Biesanz, 2011a). The mechanisms behind this effect, however, are not well understood. How does adjustment facilitate judgeability? In the present video-perceptions study, we examined potential mechanisms through which adjustment could promote judgeability at 3 stages of the Realistic Accuracy Model (RAM; Funder, 1995): (a) cue relevance, (b) cue availability, and (c) cue detection. We found that well-adjusted individuals were more judgeable because they provided more relevant cues: Specifically, well-adjusted individuals behaved more in line with their distinctive personalities, which in turn led them to be seen more accurately. In contrast, neither cue availability nor detection could sufficiently account for the link between adjustment and judgeability. In sum, well-adjusted individuals are more judgeable because to their own selves, they are true.

Keywords: first impressions, accuracy, judgeability, psychological adjustment, personality–behavior congruence

Well-adjusted, happy individuals tend to be very easily understood, both by close friends (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b) and new acquaintances (Human & Biesanz, 2011a). But why are well-adjusted individuals such open books? Perhaps they are higher quality, more informative books, providing others with better information. Or it may be that they are longer books, providing others with more information. Finally, they might more interesting, attention-getting books, prompting others to pick up more of the information they provide. Given the potential benefits of being perceived accurately (e.g., Human, Sand-

strom, Biesanz, & Dunn, 2013; Lackenbauer, Campbell, Rubin, Fletcher, & Troister, 2010; Swann, De La Ronde, & Hixon, 1994), it is important to better understand the mechanisms through which target adjustment promotes accuracy. We examined several potential mechanisms using a video perception first impressions paradigm.

Defining Judgeability

Individuals whose personalities are generally accurately understood by others are considered to be judgeable (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b) or good targets (Funder, 1995). Judgeability is a temporally stable individual difference with demonstrated convergent validity among multiple indices of judgeability (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b). Judgeability requires some degree of expressive accuracy (Human & Biesanz, 2011a), the ability to accurately express oneself to others. In particular, in the present studies, we investigated *distinctive* expressive accuracy: the extent to which targets' unique, differentiating characteristics were accurately understood (Cronbach, 1955; Furr, 2008; Human & Biesanz, 2011a). That is, if Jane is able to tell that Joe is more reliable than talkative, and more reliable than other specific targets and the average person, Joe is being seen with distinctive accuracy. If most people are able to understand Joe's distinctive personality profile, he is high in distinctive expressive accuracy, or a judgeable person. In the current study, we measured distinctive accuracy by comparing perceivers' im-

pressions to self- and close-other (parents and friends) reports of the targets' personalities.

Distinctive expressive accuracy controls for normative expressive accuracy, which refers to being seen as similar to the average person (Cronbach, 1955; Furr, 2008).[1] Given that the normative personality profile is very positive on average (Borkenau & Zaltauskas, 2009; Edwards, 1957), being seen with normative accuracy also implies being seen positively. As well-adjusted individuals do tend to be more normative (D. Wood, Gosling, & Potter, 2007) and possess more positive personality traits (Emmons & Diener, 1985), it is important to disentangle whether well-adjusted individuals' expressive accuracy is derived from distinctive or normative expressive accuracy. Of note, previous work suggests that well-adjusted individuals' expressive accuracy is primarily a result of distinctive accuracy (Colvin, 1993b; Human & Biesanz, 2011a), making distinctive expressive accuracy the primary focus of the current study. Thus, throughout the article we use the general terms expressive accuracy and judgeability interchangeably with the more precise term distinctive expressive accuracy and will explicitly note when we are discussing normative expressive accuracy.

The Realistic Accuracy Model and Judgeability

Judgeability can be further understood by considering the role the target plays in the Realistic Accuracy Model (RAM; Funder, 1995, 1999), which outlines the stages that need to be met for accurate impressions to be achieved. Namely, (a) *relevant* cues must be made (b) *available* to perceivers, who must then (c) *detect* and (d) appropriately *utilize* these cues. The first two stages are primarily in the control of target, whereas the latter two stages are more the responsibility of the perceiver. Nevertheless, it is possible that the target could influence the latter two stages by influencing perceiver behavior, such as their attention and motivation, for example. As such, assuming the provision of at least some relevant information, judgeable people can be defined as those who facilitate one or more of the stages of RAM, thereby promoting the accuracy of impressions formed about them.

The Importance of Expressive Accuracy

There are large individual differences in distinctive expressive accuracy (Biesanz, 2010; Human & Biesanz, 2013) and such differences in turn have a strong impact on the accuracy of impressions (Gesn & Ickes, 1999; Marangoni, Garcia, Ickes, & Teng, 1995; Snodgrass, Hecht, & Ploutz-Snyder, 1998; Thomas & Maio, 2008; Zaki, Bolger, & Ochsner, 2008; but see Thomas & Fletcher, 2003). In contrast, there are much fewer individual differences in perceptive accuracy, the ability to accurately understand others' personalities (Biesanz, 2010; Human & Biesanz, 2011b, 2013). Thus, the target plays an important role in influencing the ultimate accuracy of impressions, perhaps even more so than the perceiver (Human & Biesanz, 2013; Kenny, 1994). Yet little is known about what factors promote expressive accuracy, and less still about the underlying mechanisms linking target characteristics to expressive accuracy.

Judgeability and Psychological Adjustment

One characteristic that has been consistently linked to judgeability is psychological adjustment, defined broadly as encompassing both hedonic well-being (e.g., happiness, a positive appraisal of one's life; Kahneman, Diener, & Schwartz, 1999) and eudaimonic well-being (e.g., a purposeful life and satisfying relationships; Keyes, Schmotkin, & Ryff, 2002; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Waterman, 1993). Well-adjusted individuals tend to be seen more accurately by close peers (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b) and by new acquaintances in face-to-face impressions (Human & Biesanz, 2011a). Further, adolescent psychological adjustment is a precursor to judgeability in young adulthood, suggesting that adjustment may play a causal role in promoting judgeability (Colvin, 1993a). Importantly, well-adjusted individuals do not appear to be more judgeable simply because they have greater self-knowledge, which could inflate self–other agreement (Human & Biesanz, 2011a). There is also less direct evidence that adjustment is associated with greater judgeability in zero-acquaintance situations (Ambady, Hallahan, & Rosenthal, 1995) and in nonverbal sending paradigms (Friedman, Riggio, & Casella, 1988; Larrance & Zuckerman, 1981; H. R. Riggio & Riggio, 2002; R. E. Riggio & Friedman, 1986). Thus, psychological adjustment appears to be a robust and consistent predictor of judgeability across different relationship contexts and impression domains.

Despite strong evidence that psychological adjustment is associated with greater judgeability, little is known about *why* psychological adjustment would promote judgeability. Drawing on the first three stages of the realistic accuracy model, the current study examined how target adjustment may facilitate judgeability via cue relevance, availability, and detection (see Figure 1 for an overview).

Cue Relevance

Personality–behavior congruence. Well-adjusted individuals may be particularly likely to provide more relevant cues to others because they behave more in line with their personalities in any given situation, termed personality–behavior congruence (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2012). Personality–behavior congruence likely derives from more general personality coherence, the extent to which one's personality follows a lawful organization or patterning within an individual (Allport, 1937; Cervone & Shoda, 1999). Various indicators of personality coherence, such as cross-situational consistency and temporal stability, have been linked to greater self-close other agreement (Baird, Le, & Lucas, 2006; Bem & Allen, 1974; Biesanz & West, 2000; Biesanz, West, & Graziano, 1998; Cheek, 1982; Colvin, 1993b; Kenrick & Stringfield, 1980; Zuckerman, Bernieri, Koestner, & Rosenthal, 1989; Zuckerman et

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[1] Note that if a person is perfectly normative it would not be possible to view them with distinctive accuracy. However, this is very rare: In our study, there were no targets whose personalities, as rated by the self and close others, perfectly matched our normative accuracy measure, the average self-report from a larger sample from the same population (the highest individual profile correlation was $r = .77$). Furthermore, even though well-adjusted individuals tend to have more normative personalities, including in the current sample, $b = .26$, $d = 1.07$, $t(114) = 6.72$, $p < .0001$, they are still seen with greater distinctive accuracy (Colvin, 1993b; Human & Biesanz, 2011a). Thus, similarity to the normative personality profile does not appear to hinder the tendency to be seen with distinctive accuracy.
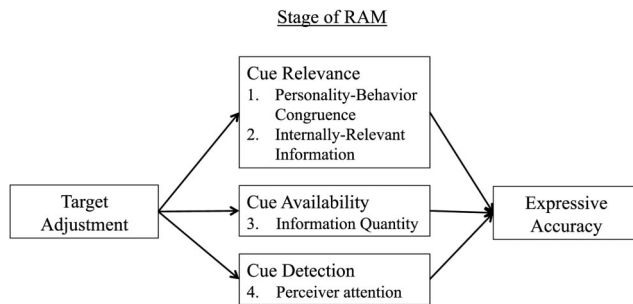
Stage of RAM

Cue Relevance
1. Personality-Behavior Congruence
2. Internally-Relevant Information

Cue Availability
3. Information Quantity

Cue Detection
4. Perceiver attention

Target Adjustment

Expressive Accuracy

Figure 1. Potential mechanisms linking target psychological adjustment and expressive accuracy based upon the Realistic Accuracy Model (RAM; Funder, 1995).

al., 1988; but see Chaplin & Goldberg, 1984; Paunonen & Jackson, 1985). However, no work appears to have examined whether personality coherence promotes judgeability in first impressions as well, nor has previous research examined the role of personality–behavior congruence specifically in judgeability.

Do well-adjusted individuals exhibit greater personality–behavior congruence? Having a coherent, well-integrated sense of self has long been considered a hallmark of being a mature and well-adjusted individual (Block, 1961; C. R. Rogers, 1961), and there is empirical evidence that psychological adjustment is associated with a variety of indicators of personality coherence (Block, 1961; Campbell, 1990; Clifton & Kuper, 2011; Diehl & Hay, 2007, 2010; Donahue, Robins, Roberts, & John, 1993; Erickson, Newman, & Pincus, 2009; Human, Biesanz, et al., 2013; McReynolds, Altrocchi, & House, 2000; Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997; Suh, 2002; but see Baird, Le, & Lucas, 2006), including personality–behavior congruence (Sherman, Nave, & Funder, 2010, 2012). However, recent work has found that although well-adjusted individuals tend to behave more in line with their personalities in different social situations, they do not necessarily behave more in line with their distinctive personality traits; instead, they are more likely to behave in line with the more normative personality profile (Sherman et al., 2012). People also tend to feel more authentic when they behave more in line with the normative (and positive) personality profile, than with their own distinctive traits (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). Thus, it remains unclear whether well-adjusted individuals do indeed exhibit greater distinctive personality–behavior congruence and, if so, whether this form of personality coherence is in turn responsible for their greater distinctive expressive accuracy in first impressions.

Internally relevant information. Well-adjusted individuals may also provide more relevant information by providing higher quality verbal information that is more revealing of their personalities. Indeed, some types of information are more diagnostic of one's personality (Letzring, Wells, & Funder, 2006), such as discussing one's thoughts and feelings rather than behaviors and actions (Andersen, 1984). Providing such information likely aids in the ability to form impressions about less observable traits (e.g., anxiety, thoughtfulness), which are typically more difficult to judge than more readily observable personality traits (e.g., talkativeness, intelligence; Funder & Dobroth, 1987; John & Robins, 1993; Kenrick & Stringfield, 1980).

Are well-adjusted individuals more likely to express their internal thoughts and feelings? There is some preliminary evidence that

this may be the case. Disclosure or expression of emotional or distressing experiences is related to better psychological and physical health (Pennebaker, 1997; Smyth, 1998). In particular, the use of more positive and negative emotion words and cognitive processing words, such as causal (because, reason) and insight (understand, realize) words, are associated with improving physical health (Pennebaker, Mayne, & Francis, 1997). It is possible that such emotion expression and cognitive processing not only promotes psychological and physical health but that well-adjusted individuals are also more likely to use such words and more generally discuss their thoughts and feelings in their daily lives. If so, well-adjusted individuals would likely be providing others with more relevant cues, enabling more accurate perceptions of their personalities.

Cue Availability

Information quantity. Target psychological adjustment may also promote expressive accuracy by enhancing the overall availability of cues. Psychological adjustment, particularly the positive affect component, is associated with greater extraversion (Lucas, Diener, Grob, Suh, & Shao, 2000). In turn, extraversion and greater social ease could lead well-adjusted individuals to provide others with more information (e.g., Letzring, 2008). In turn, greater information quantity enhances accuracy (Biesanz, West, & Millevoi, 2007; Blackman & Funder, 1998). Thus, well-adjusted individuals may provide perceivers with a greater quantity of information upon which to base their impressions, thereby enhancing accuracy.

Cue Detection

Perceiver attention. Well-adjusted individuals may also facilitate perceivers' cue detection and perhaps even utilization. Specifically, the social skills and likability of well-adjusted individuals may garner more attention from perceivers and motivate them to better understand such targets. Indeed, individuals who report more meaning in life, one indicator of psychological adjustment, are rated as more interpersonally appealing (Stillman, Lambert, Fincham, & Baumeister, 2011), which is likely to elicit more attention from others. Further, the more confident, positive, and involved behaviors of positive self-presenters (Human, Biesanz, Parisotto, & Dunn, 2012) are associated with receiving more attention; perhaps well-adjusted individuals are likely to behave in a similarly positive manner, thus also receiving greater attention. In turn, greater perceiver attention (Human et al., 2012; Lorenzo, Biesanz, & Human, 2010) and motivation (Biesanz & Human, 2010) result in more accurate impressions.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that negative characteristics can elicit more attention from others. In line with the "bad is stronger than good" argument (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001), negative information tends to be more salient and thereby receive more attention and processing than positive information (Skowronski & Carlston, 1989). Thus, to the extent that mal-adjusted individuals provide more negative information in social interactions than well-adjusted individuals, they may in fact receive more attention and processing, which could in turn facilitate accurate impressions. As a result, it is unclear what role perceiver attention, and thereby cue detection and possibly

utilization, play in the links between psychological adjustment and expressive accuracy.

Summary

Overall, there are theoretical reasons to believe that target psychological adjustment could promote accuracy at each of the first three stages of the Realistic Accuracy Model. That is, well-adjusted individuals may enhance accuracy (a) by providing others with more relevant cues, via greater personality–behavior congruence or by providing more internally relevant information, (b) by making more information available to others, such as by speaking more, and/or (c) by eliciting greater cue detection by being more attention-getting and engaging (see Figure 1). In a video perceptions study, utilizing two different samples of targets, we first examined whether well-adjusted individuals are perceived more accurately in this first impressions context, and then examined the role of each of these proposed mechanisms in linking psychological adjustment and distinctive expressive accuracy.

Study

Method

Targets. A total of 132 undergraduates served as potential targets in this video perceptions study ($n_{sample1} = 47$; $n_{sample2} = 85$). In both samples, targets were filmed while answering personal questions and then asked whether they would consent to having their video shown to future participants in personality assessment studies. Targets were given the option to have their video deleted without compensation loss. Three targets in Sample 1 and 13 targets in Sample 2 did not consent and had their video immediately deleted, resulting in 116 targets (89 female, 27 male; $M_{age} = 22$ years, $SD = 5.04$). The majority of targets reported being of primarily East Asian descent (53%) or European American descent (31%), with the remaining 14% reporting one of several other ethnic backgrounds (e.g., Middle Eastern, South American). Two targets did not report their ethnicity. The samples did not differ significantly from one another in age, gender, ethnic breakdown, or psychological adjustment (all $ps > .15$). The two samples followed very similar procedures and the general pattern of results was highly consistent within each sample; sample specific procedures and notable differences in the pattern of results are noted below, where applicable.[2]

Sample 1 specific procedures. All targets were interviewed by the same female research assistant for roughly 20 min. The interview began with a brief informal warm-up conversation that was not shown to perceivers. Targets were then asked to read a series of newspaper headlines from the *New York Times* aloud to the camera, which were shown to perceivers, as this task is diagnostic of personality in first impression contexts (Borkenau, Mauer, Riemann, Spinath, & Angleitner, 2004). Targets then engaged in a more structured interview session, answering a series of personal questions. Due to time constraints, two questions that were adapted from previous first impressions research (Andersen, 1984) were selected to be shown to perceivers: "Discuss some major decisions or choices you have faced in your life," and "Describe any major conflicts you have dealt with." Targets were aware that the videos

were being collected for the purpose of showing future participants and received $30 for their participation.

Sample 2 specific procedures. Alone in a laboratory testing room, targets were given 5 min to answer five basic getting-acquainted questions provided on cue cards while being video-taped by a webcam. The first question was a warm-up question ("What is your favorite course this semester and why?") and was not shown to perceivers. The remaining questions were based on previous research (Andersen, 1984) and on questions that appear on online dating websites (e.g., Match.com), in an effort to map on to a real-world getting acquainted scenario. Two questions derived from online dating sites were selected to be shown to perceivers: "List two or three interests," and "What are you passionate about?" While being videotaped, targets were unaware that their videos would be used as stimuli in future studies. All targets received either $10 or one extra course credit for their participation.[3]

Personality measures. All targets completed self-report personality ratings on the Big Five Inventory (BFI; Benet-Martínez & John, 1998; John & Srivastava, 1999), on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. We also added three items assessing perceived intelligence ("Is bright," "Is intelligent," "Receives good grades"), in order to further capture the intellect component of openness to experience. Targets were also asked to provide the contact information of two peers and a parent or guardian so that we could obtain personality assessments of the participants by close informants. All informants were mailed or e-mailed the same personality questionnaire as completed by participants. At least one informant report was available for 97 targets (84%). All available informant reports were combined with the targets' own self-reports to serve as a composite accuracy validation measure.

Adjustment. Target adjustment was measured with Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.02$), the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985; $M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.15$), and the Positive Relations with Others Scale (Ryff, 1989; $M = 5.22$, $SD = 0.82$), all on 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scales. Targets also completed the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression scale (CES-D; Radloff, 1977) on a 0 (*rarely or never*) to 3 (*most of the time or always*) scale, summed ($M = 14.82$, $SD = 9.34$). In line with recent findings that the different components of well-being (e.g., hedonic and eudaimonic) tend to be indistinguishable in empirical research (Kashdan, Biswas-Diener, & King, 2008; Nave, Sherman, & Funder, 2008) and that they show highly consistent associations with expressive accuracy (Human & Biesanz, 2011a), we examined a standardized composite adjustment measure ($\alpha = .86$) for ease of presentation. In general, the results with each individual component of well-being were very consistent with the composite, although notable exceptions will be discussed below.

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[2] There were several significant mean level differences between samples for several of the proposed mechanisms (e.g., information quantity and attention). We therefore reran all analyses after standardizing within sample, and the results were consistent, indicating that these mean level differences did not substantially influence the results presented below.

[3] This study also involved an experimental manipulation, such that targets were randomly assigned to one of two self-presentation conditions or a control condition. This experimental manipulation had no effect on the presented results.

Perceivers. A total of 296 undergraduates ($n_{Sample1} = 165$; $n_{Sample2} = 131$) participated as perceivers in exchange for two extra course credits (197 female, 97 male, two unknown; $M_{age} = 21.56$ years, $SD = 5.77$). In groups of 11–18, perceivers viewed the videoclips of a subset of targets from either Sample 1 ($n_{targets}$ per perceiver = 11) or 2 ($n_{targets}$ per perceiver = 18). A randomization procedure, whereby each target appeared in two different sets of videos, ensured that each target was viewed by two groups of participants; each target was therefore viewed by 22–36 perceivers.

Personality ratings. Perceivers rated each target's personality on an abbreviated 21-item version of the BFI plus the three intelligence items discussed above, on 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scales (see Appendix A for a full list of items used in this 24-item version of the BFI).

Proposed mechanisms.

Cue relevance.

Personality-behavior congruence. In order to assess personality–behavior congruence, separate groups of coders ($n_{Sample1} = 50$; $n_{Sample2} = 120$) rated the extent to which a variety of behaviors were characteristic of subsets of the targets. Behavior coders rated a different segment of the longer videotaped interviews than perceivers who rated personality, in order to help distinguish personality perceptions from behavior perceptions. Specifically, coders in Sample 1 viewed the targets answering two other questions adapted from Andersen (1984): "Could you tell me a little more about the important relationships (e.g., family, friends, romantic partner) in your life?" and "What major event(s) do you feel have shaped you as a person?" Coders in Sample 2 viewed the targets answering the questions "What are the three things for which you are the most thankful for and why?" (adapted from online dating websites) and "Discuss some major decisions or choices you have faced in your life" (adapted from Andersen, 1984). One target in Sample 2 did not answer these two questions prior to the 5-min time limit and was therefore not included in the personality–behavior congruence analyses.

Coders rated behaviors on a 24-item behavioral questionnaire designed to map on to the 24-item version of the BFI that perceivers used for personality ratings. The behavioral questionnaire was modeled after the Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort (RBQ; Funder, Furr, & Colvin, 2000), which was designed for coding global behaviors rather than molecular behaviors during dyadic interactions. For example, we matched the following BFI items with the corresponding behavioral items: "Is full of energy" with "Was energetic during the interview"; "Tends to find fault with others" with "Discussed others' faults and shortcomings" (see Appendix A for the full list of behavior items). All ratings were made on a 1 (*not at all or negatively characteristic*) to 7 (*highly characteristic*) scale.

When rating behaviors, coders were explicitly told:

> We are trying to characterize fairly directly the behavior that can be seen on the videotape. So, as much as possible, avoid drawing inferences about the characteristics or intentions of the subjects that are not directly visible. Direct statements of feelings such as forgiveness, anxiety, or confidence should be taken at face value, and such feelings should not be inferred in the absence of direct statements or other visible evidence.

Coders' ratings of targets' behaviors were averaged to index each target's behavior on each of the 24 items. We assessed targets'

personality–behavior congruence by examining the extent to which targets' personalities (as reported by the self and, where possible, informant reports) predicted their behaviors, as rated by coders.

Internally relevant information. The extent to which targets provided internal information was assessed by having coders rate the degree to which targets "discussed their thoughts and feelings" on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.09$). In Sample 1, a separate set of 52 coders made these ratings after viewing the same segment of the videos that perceivers who rated personality viewed. In Sample 2, the perceivers who made the personality ratings also made the thoughts and feelings ratings. For both samples, we computed each target's average thoughts and feelings rating across all of the coders or perceivers who rated this characteristic.

To supplement the more subjective thoughts and behaviors ratings, we also assessed the provision of internally relevant information with concrete word counts using the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count program (LIWC; Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007). Specifically, LIWC coded for the percentage of positive ($M = 7.78$, $SD = 4.31$) and negative $SD = 0.64$, $SD = 0.81$) emotion words, as indicators of discussion of feelings, and the percentage of causation words (e.g., because, effect; $M = 1.59$, $SD = 1.12$) and insight words (e.g., think, know; $M = 2.51$, $SD = 1.95$), as indicators of discussion of thoughts. Global ratings of the extent to which targets discussed their thoughts and feelings were significantly correlated with speaking more negative emotion words ($r = .28$), insight words ($r = .23$), and causal words ($r = .18$), but with speaking fewer positive emotion words ($r = -.51$, all $ps < .05$). Overall, it appears that the global and concrete ratings are tapping similar yet distinct indicators of information quality and therefore each indicator was examined separately in the analyses below.

Cue availability.

Information quantity. Information quantity was coded for by using LIWC to assess the total number of words ($M = 250.80$, $SD = 234.62$), words per sentence ($M = 20.15$, $SD = 7.89$), and the percentage of dictionary words ($M = 94.99$, $SD = 2.47$).

Cue detection.

Attention. To assess attention, perceivers rated the extent to which each target "held my attention throughout most of the clip" ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 0.71$) and "was engaging and interesting" ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 0.94$), both on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale. These ratings were highly correlated ($r = .71$, $p < .0001$) and therefore combined to form a composite attention indicator. To examine whether target adjustment was associated with being more attention getting, we averaged all available perceiver ratings of how attention-getting each target was (i.e., assessing target main effects). However, when examining the extent to which perceiver attention was associated with distinctive accuracy in the multilevel model framework, we subtracted perceiver and target main effects from the raw ratings, creating a unique dyadic indicator of attention that varied across perceivers and targets.[4]

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[4] Note that the associations between distinctive accuracy and perceiver and target attention main effects were generally consistent with the effects of unique dyadic attention. That is, each form of attention (generally paying attention to others, being generally paid attention to, or paying attention to a specific target) were each associated with distinctive accuracy in a similar manner.

Analytical model and approach. Distinctive and normative accuracy were estimated with a multilevel model utilizing R's *lme4* package (Bates & Sarkar, 2007; R Development Core Team, 2009) following the social accuracy modeling (SAM) procedures outlined by Biesanz (2010; see also Biesanz & Human, 2010; Human & Biesanz, 2011a, for empirical examples). Briefly, using SAM (see Equation A1.1, Figure 2A, Table 1), in the within-perceiver part of the model (Level 1), we predicted perceivers' ratings of each target on each personality item simultaneously from (a) the target personality validation measure (self- and informant-reports) on that item after subtracting the normative mean for that item (*distinctive accuracy*; path a, Figure 2A) and (b) the normative mean on that item (*normative accuracy;* path b, Figure 2A). The normative means were derived from the mean self-report from a larger sample of participants, $n = 380$, from the same population, which included 32 targets from Sample 1 (who were recruited from this larger study). Items were not reverse coded prior to analysis. Perceiver and target effects were allowed to vary randomly. The full equations are presented in Appendix B. In the results section and Tables, we subscript the reported coefficients in line with these equations to help link the results to the analytical model.

We examined whether target psychological adjustment was associated with distinctive and normative accuracy by including target adjustment as a moderator of the distinctive and normative accuracy slopes (e.g., does adjustment moderate paths a and b, Figure 2A?). A
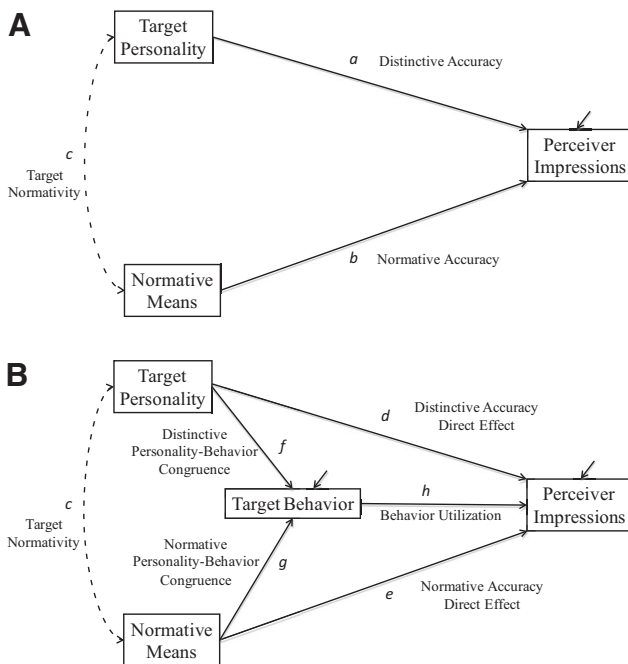

Figure 2. A. The social accuracy model of interpersonal perception. See Table 1 for pathway definitions. B. The social accuracy model of interpersonal perception extended to include target behaviors. For a single perceiver-target dyad, Distinctive Accuracy in Figure 2A equals the sum of the direct and indirect effects of Target Personality on Perceiver Impressions in Figure 2B, i.e., $a = d + f^*h$. Similarly, Normative Accuracy in Figure 2A equals the sum of the direct and indirect effects of Normative Means on Perceiver Impressions in Figure 2B, i.e., $b = e + g^*h$. See Table 1 for pathway definitions.

positive interaction between target adjustment and targets' personality validation measure predicting perceiver personality ratings would indicate that well-adjusted individuals are seen more in line with their distinctive personality traits; that is, that they are more judgeable. We examined the associations between the majority of the proposed mechanisms and distinctive accuracy in the same fashion, with the exception of Mechanism 1 (personality–behavior congruence), which we examined by building on the social accuracy model as depicted in Figure 2B (see Table 1), and elaborated upon in the results section (see also Appendix B).

To examine how Mechanisms 2–4 were associated with psychological adjustment, we conducted regular regression analyses with target adjustment as a predictor of the proposed mechanisms, as these are all person-level variables. All variables were grand-mean centered prior to analyses. We report effect size estimates, ds, for all interaction effects and for the associations between psychological adjustment and Mechanisms 2–4, calculated as the change in standard deviations in the dependent variable for a two standard deviation change in the independent variable, in order to make these effect size estimates comparable to effect sizes for binary independent variables (e.g., Cohen's d; see Gelman, 2008).

Results

On average, perceivers viewed targets with significant levels of distinctive accuracy, $b_{10} = .18$, $z = 8.58$, $p < .0001$ (path a, Figure 2A; see Table 1), and normative accuracy, $b_{20} = .50$, $z = 14.76$, $p < .0001$ (path b, Figure 2A; see Table 1). Furthermore, targets who scored higher on the composite standardized adjustment measure were seen more accurately than less adjusted individuals, interaction $b_{11} = .08$, $d = 0.68$, $z = 3.79$, $p < .001$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A; see Table 2). Well-adjusted individuals were not seen with greater normative accuracy, interaction $b_{21} = -.03$, $d = -0.17$, $z = -.89$, $p = .37$ (moderating path b, Figure 2A; see Table 2). Thus, replicating findings with face-to-face first impressions (Human & Biesanz, 2011a), well-adjusted individuals were

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[5] In separate analyses, we also examined the role of perceiver and target gender and ethnicity. In line with previous research, women were not more judgeable than men in this personality perception context (Chan et al., 2011; Colvin, 1993b). There was, however, a gender difference among perceivers, such that female perceivers were marginally higher in distinctive accuracy compared with men, $b_{11} = .03$, $d = 0.13$, $z = 1.93$, $p < .10$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A), consistent with findings that women tend to be more interpersonally sensitive (e.g., Ickes, Gesn, & Graham, 2000; Klein & Hodges, 2001; Murphy, Hall, & Colvin, 2003; but see Chan et al., 2011). Nevertheless, the results reported below were consistent when controlling for perceiver gender. There was a significant cultural difference such that targets from East Asian cultures were seen with significantly lower distinctive accuracy than targets from European American cultures, interaction $b_{11} = -.15$, $d = -0.42$, $z = -2.01$, $p < .05$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A). East Asian targets were not, however, significantly lower in psychological adjustment than European American targets, $d = -0.31$, $t(113) = -1.55$, $p = .12$, and all effects reported below held controlling for target ethnicity, indicating that East Asians' lower judgeability was independent of well-adjusted individuals' greater judgeability. Of note, East Asian targets' were significantly lower in distinctive personality–behavior congruence than Caucasian targets and were also rated as less attention-getting by perceivers (all $ps < .05$). In turn, both processes helped to account for East Asian targets' lower judgeability (see K. H. Rogers & Biesanz, 2013, for further information on the relationships between accuracy and ethnicity in personality impressions).

Table 1

Social Accuracy Model Pathway Definitions, Coefficients, and Results for Figures 2A and 2B and Equations A1.1, A2.1, and A3.1

Pathway	Coefficient	Term	Definition	*b*	*SE*
a	β_{10}	Distinctive Accuracy	Extent to which perceivers on average view the target in line with the targets' own unique characteristics. $a = d + fh$	.18***	.021
b	β_{20}	Normative Accuracy	Extent to which perceivers on average view the target as being similar to the normative profile. $b = e + gh$.	.50***	.034
d	β_{70}	Distinctive Accuracy Direct Effect	Distinctive accuracy not mediated through distinctive personality-behavior congruence.	.11***	.017
e	β_{80}	Normative Accuracy Direct Effect	Normative accuracy not mediated through normative personality-behavior congruence.	.72***	.035
f	β_{40}	Distinctive Personality-Behavior Congruence	Extent to which the target's distinctive personality profile predicts the target's behavior.	.22***	.029
g	β_{50}	Normative Personality-Behavior Congruence	Extent to which the average personality profile predicts the target's behavior.	.24***	.040
h	β_{90}	Behavior Utilization	Extent to which the target's behavior predicts perceivers' impressions of the target.	.27***	.021

Note. These definitions apply for targets on average being rated by perceivers on average, holding target adjustment constant at the mean, in a video-perceptions design. Path *c*, not included in the table, refers to target normativity or the degree of similarity between a target's personality and the normative profile. The correlation between the average target's personality validity measure and the average self-report from a larger set of participants was close to zero, $r = .03$, because we are centering within item.
*** $p < .0001$.

also seen with greater distinctive but not normative accuracy in video-based first impressions.[5]

Potential mechanisms.

Personality-behavior congruence. Are well-adjusted individuals seen more accurately because they behave more in line with their personalities than less adjusted individuals? To address this question, we first examined the potential mediating role of target behavior in impression formation. That is, we examined whether targets' distinctive personalities predicted their behaviors during the video clip (path *f*, Figure 2B), which in turn predicted perceivers' impressions (path *h*, Figure 2B), thereby potentially partially accounting for overall distinctive accuracy (path *a*, Figure 2A). Although this is correlational research, and therefore mediation cannot be established definitively, as an initial step we examined whether the data are consistent with mediation. In all analyses, we also controlled for normative congruence and accuracy by including the normative means on each item in all applicable models (paths *c*, *g*, and *e*, Figure 2B). Thus, we are focusing on the impact that distinctive personality–behavior congruence has on distinctive accuracy.

The mediating role of behavior. Do perceivers' impressions correspond with targets' personalities because perceivers rely on targets' personality-relevant behaviors to form impressions? On average, targets' distinctive personality traits significantly predicted their behaviors during the video clip, $b_{40} = .22$, $z = 7.76$, $p < .0001$ (path *f*, Figure 2B; see Table 1). In turn, targets' behaviors significantly predicted perceivers' impressions when controlling for the direct effect of targets' personalities on impressions, $b_{90} = .27$, $z = 12.72$, $p < .0001$ (path *h*, Figure 2B). Further, the direct effect from targets' personalities to perceivers' impressions was reduced when controlling for targets' behaviors, $b_{70} = .11$, $z = 6.86$, $p < .0001$ (path *d*, Figure 2B). Indeed, reliance on targets' behaviors did partially mediate the effect from targets' personalities to perceivers' impressions, indirect effect partial posterior $p < .001$ (path *f*h, Figure 2B; see Biesanz, Falk, & Savalei, 2010; Falk & Biesanz, 2013).[6] Thus, if well-adjusted individuals

do behave more in line with their personalities than less adjusted individuals, this would help to account for why well-adjusted individuals are in turn seen more in line with their personalities.

Distinctive personality-behavior congruence and adjustment. To examine whether well-adjusted individuals are seen more in line with their distinctive personalities because they behave more in line with their distinctive personalities, we examined whether the strength of the mediating role of behavior is conditional upon the target's level of psychological adjustment (for more detail on conditional indirect effects and moderated mediation see Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Specifically, we examined whether well-adjusted individuals exhibit greater distinctive personality–behavior congruence by including target psychological adjustment as a moderator of the association between target personalities predicting target behaviors (i.e., does target adjustment moderate path *f*, Figure 2B?).

Well-adjusted individuals did behave significantly more in line with their personalities than less adjusted individuals, interaction $b_{41} = .09$, $d = 0.59$, $z = 3.19$, $p < .001$ (moderating path *f*, Figure 2B; see Table 2, Figure 3). Further, target adjustment did not as strongly moderate the direct relationship between target personality and perceiver impressions (distinctive accuracy direct effect) when target personality–behavior congruence was accounted for, interaction $b_{71} = .06$, $d = 0.50$, $z = 3.38$, $p < .05$ (moderating path *d*, Figure 2B). Thus, on average, achieving accurate person-

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[6] In multilevel models the covariance between the random slopes across targets for path *f* and path *h* influences the distribution of the indirect effect (e.g., see Kenny, Korchmaros, & Bolger, 2003). As this correlation was very small in the present study ($r = .04$), we considered this sufficiently small to warrant the use of the partial posterior *p*-value, which assumes, under current implementations, that this correlation is 0. Note that (a) Kenny and Bolger's (2003) approach represents a multilevel model generalization of Sobel's test for mediation which has a substantially lower Type I error rate and consequently dramatically lower power than alternative methods for examining mediation, and (b) *all* inferential methods for examining mediation are approximations.

Table 2
Relationships Between Adjustment and Accuracy, Personality-Behavior Congruence, and Behavior Utilization

Pathway being moderated	Coefficient	Pathway term	b	SE	d
a	β_{11}	Distinctive accuracy	.08***	.020	0.68
b	β_{21}	Normative accuracy	−.03	.029	−0.17
f	β_{41}	Distinctive personality-behavior congruence	.09***	.029	0.59
g	β_{51}	Normative personality-behavior congruence	.03	.041	0.13
d	β_{71}	Distinctive Accuracy Direct Effect	.06*	.016	0.50
e	β_{81}	Normative Accuracy Direct Effect	−.03	.028	−0.22
h	β_{91}	Behavior Utilization	.005	.020	0.05

Note. Standardized effect sizes, *d*, were calculated as the change in standard deviations in the outcome variable for a 2 standard deviation change in the predictor variable (see Gelman, 2008).
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .0001$.

ality impressions is mediated through the use of behavioral information, but this effect is partially conditional on target adjustment such that well-adjusted individuals' behavioral cues are more diagnostic of their distinctive personality traits compared with less adjusted individuals, thereby contributing to why they are seen with greater distinctive accuracy.

Note that target adjustment did not significantly moderate the extent to which target behavior predicted personality impressions, interaction $b_{91} = .005$, $d = 0.05$, $z = .25$, $p = .81$ (moderating path *h*, Figure 2B; see Table 2). That is, perceivers were not significantly more likely to utilize well-adjusted individuals' behavioral cues than they were to utilize less adjusted individuals behavioral cues when forming personality impressions.

Overall then, these results are consistent with moderated mediation, such that the mediated pathway from targets' distinctive personalities to target behaviors to perceivers' impressions is stronger for well-adjusted individuals compared with less adjusted

individuals, thereby enhancing the overall agreement between targets' distinctive personalities and perceivers' impressions (see Figure 4). Specifically, the distinctive personalities of well-adjusted targets (1 *SD* above the mean in adjustment) significantly predicted their behaviors during the video clip, $b = .32$, $z = 7.79$, $p < .0001$ (path *f*, Figure 4), and these behaviors in turn significantly predicted perceivers' impressions, $b = .30$, $z = 9.93$, $p < .0001$ (path *h*, Figure 4). In contrast, the distinctive personalities of less adjusted targets (1 *SD* below the mean in adjustment) did not as strongly predict their behaviors during the video clip, $b = .13$, $z = 3.13$, $p < .01$ (path *f*, Figure 4), and yet these behaviors were still a strong predictor of perceivers' impressions, $b = .27$, $z = 8.78$, $p < .0001$ (path *h*, Figure 4). Thus, even though less adjusted individuals do not behave very much in line with their distinctive personality traits, perceivers still use these less relevant cues to a similar extent that they use well-adjusted individuals' highly relevant cues. Note that these effects held within each sample, internally replicating the finding that targets' distinctive expressive accuracy is partially a result of their greater distinctive personality–behavior congruence.[7]

Normative personality-behavior congruence and adjustment. What about the role of normative personality–behavior congruence? The normative personality profile did strongly and significantly predict targets' behaviors, $b_{50} = .24$, $z = 6.04$, $p < .0001$ (path *g*, Figure 2B; see Table 1). Thus, targets on average did tend
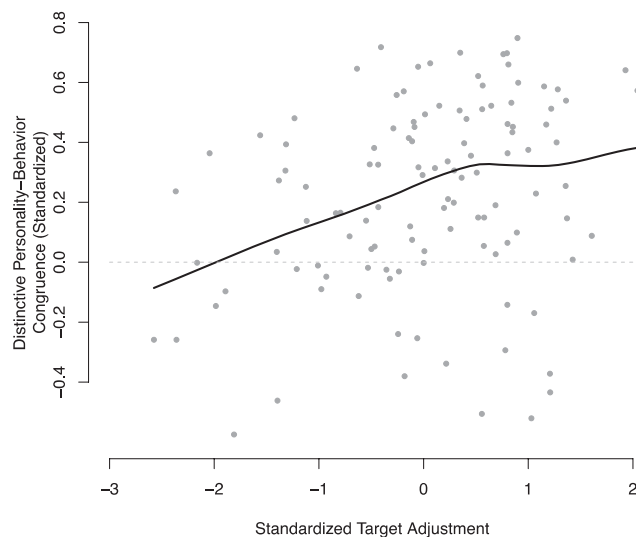

Figure 3. The association between target psychological adjustment and distinctive personality–behavior congruence ($N = 115$). A behavioral congruence score for each target was estimated by saving the standardized regression coefficient for each target's personality predicting their behavior in the video (path *f*, Figure 2B). The plotted curve is the nonparametric loess relationship (smoothing parameter = .85, polynomial = 1).

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[7] It is possible that the associations between personality–behavior congruence, accuracy, and adjustment may vary for different types of traits, such as traits that are highly observable (e.g., extraversion, intelligence) versus less observable (e.g., neuroticism, conscientiousness). We examined whether these relationships were moderated by trait observability, by including the mean observability rating for each of the 24 BFI items, based on 121 undergraduate students' ratings (see Human & Biesanz, 2011a, footnote 3). Targets were significantly more likely to behave in line with their more observable traits (moderating path *f*, Figure 2B), and perceivers' utilized significantly more behavioral information on high compared with low observability traits (moderating path *h*, Figure 2B; all *ps* < .0001). This effect was amplified for well-adjusted individuals, who were even more likely than less adjusted individuals to behave in line with their highly compared with less observable traits, three-way interaction $b = .06$, $z = 21.30$, $p < .0001$ (moderating path *f*, Figure 2B). Thus, well-adjusted individuals greater personality–behavior congruence may contribute more to their judgeability on more observable traits, perhaps because these types of traits have clearer behavioral manifestations and therefore are easier to behave in line with. No other meaningful differences across high and low observability traits emerged for the mechanisms discussed below.
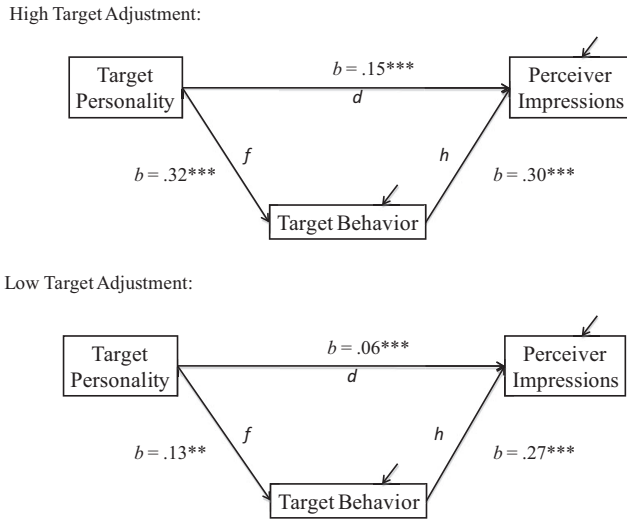
High Target Adjustment:

Low Target Adjustment:

Figure 4. Mediational model for targets high (+1 standard deviation) and low (–1 standard deviation) in psychological adjustment. Note that normative accuracy and congruence were controlled for in all analyses. Path d = distinctive accuracy direct effect; path f = distinctive personality–behavior congruence; path h = behavior utilization. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

to behave in line with the normative personality profile. However, well-adjusted individuals did not behave significantly more in line with the normative personality profile than less adjusted individuals, interaction $b_{51} = .03$, $d = 0.13$, $z = .66$, $p = .51$ (i.e., target adjustment did not moderate path g, Figure 2B; see Table 2). There was, however, a significant difference between samples such that well-adjusted targets in Sample 2 did in fact behave significantly more in line with the normative profile than less adjusted individuals, interaction $b = .12$, $d = 0.59$, $z = 2.41$, $p < .05$ (moderating path g, Figure 2B). Thus, in Sample 2, well-adjusted individuals behaved more in line with the normative profile and with their own distinctive personality traits compared with less adjusted individuals. It is unclear why well-adjusted individuals in Sample 2 were not therefore seen more normatively than less adjusted individuals.

Internally relevant information. In addition to greater personality–behavior congruence, did well-adjusted individuals provide higher quality verbal information? Specifically, did they reveal more information about their internal thoughts and feelings that would promote accuracy? Discussing one's thoughts and feelings was marginally associated with greater distinctive accuracy, interaction $b_{11} = .03$, $d = 0.31$, $z = 1.65$, $p = .10$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A; see Table 3). Furthermore, speaking more causal words was marginally associated with greater distinctive accuracy, interaction $b_{11} = .03$, $d = 0.35$, $z = 1.84$, $p < .10$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A). Thus, there is some support for the idea that providing more internally relevant information fosters more accurate impressions.

However, well-adjusted individuals were not significantly more likely to discuss their thoughts and feelings compared with less adjusted individuals, $b = -.04$, $d = -0.08$, $t(114) = -0.39$, $p = .70$, nor did they use significantly more positive emotion, negative emotion, causal, or insight words, all $ps > .33$ (see Table 3). However, the depression component of target adjustment was

significantly associated with using fewer causal words, $b = -.02$, $d = -0.37$, $t(114) = -2.01$, $p < .05$.

It is possible that targets who were less depressed were seen more accurately because they used more causal words. However, the association between depression and distinctive accuracy, interaction $b = -.008$, $d = -0.67$, $z = -3.68$, $p < .001$, reduced only very slightly when controlling for the use of causal words, interaction $b = -.007$, $d = -0.63$, $z = -3.40$, $p < .001$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A), whereas the association between causal words and distinctive accuracy became much weaker when controlling for depression, interaction $b = .02$, $d = 0.23$, $z = 1.25$, $p = .21$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A).[8] In sum, these results suggest that discussing one's thoughts and feelings and using more causal words promotes accuracy, but it does not seem that well-adjusted individuals are seen more accurately because they provide more of this type of information.

Information quantity. Were well-adjusted individuals seen more accurately because they provided more information? On average across samples, well-adjusted individuals did not provide significantly more information than less adjusted individuals, all $ps > .31$ (see Table 3). Speaking more words and more words per sentence were marginally and significantly associated with greater distinctive accuracy, respectively, all $ps < .10$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A; see Table 3). Thus, even though greater information quantity does promote accuracy, this does not appear to be well-adjusted individuals' route to judgeability.

Attention. Finally, were well-adjusted individuals seen more accurately because they elicited more attention from perceivers, in turn potentially promoting cue detection and utilization? Well-adjusted individuals were not rated as significantly more attention-getting than less adjusted individuals, $b = .03$, $d = 0.07$, $t(114) = 0.40$, $p = .69$ (see Table 3). However, unique dyadic attention to a given target did significantly predict more accurate impressions of that target, interaction $b_{11} = .03$, $d = 0.32$, $z = 9.79$, $p < .0001$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A), suggesting that greater attention does indeed promote greater cue detection and, in turn, accuracy.[9]

Of note, there was a significant positive interaction between adjustment and unique dyadic attention predicting distinctive accuracy, interaction $b = .03$, $z = 9.92$, $p < .0001$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A; see Figure 5). Specifically, if a perceiver paid more attention to a specific target, they perceived that target more accurately when the target was well-adjusted (target adjustment 1 SD above the mean), $b = .06$, $d = 0.63$, $z = 13.90$, $p < .0001$, than if that target was less adjusted (target adjustment 1 SD below the

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[8] The use of causal words was significantly associated with greater distinctive accuracy in Sample 1, interaction $b_{11} = .11$, $d = 0.90$, $z = 3.01$, $p < .01$ (moderating path a, Figure 2A) but did not account for the direct effect from depression to distinctive accuracy in this sample either.

[9] There were some sample specific differences in the relationships between psychological adjustment and the cue availability and detection mechanisms. Specifically, target psychological adjustment was significantly associated with speaking more words in Sample 1, $b = 61.91$, $d = 0.36$, $t(112) = 2.31$, $p < .05$, and with eliciting greater perceiver attention in Sample 2, $b = .21$, $d = 0.51$, $t(70) = 2.03$, $p < .05$. However, controlling for word count in Sample 1 and perceiver attention in Sample 2, did not greatly attenuate the relationship between psychological adjustment and distinctive accuracy in either Sample (Sample 1: interaction $b_{11} = .06$, $d = 0.54$, $z = 2.13$, $p < .05$; Sample 2: interaction $b_{11} = .08$, $d = 0.74$, $z = 2.85$, $p < .01$).

Table 3

Associations of Proposed Mechanisms 2–4 With Target Standardized Adjustment and Target Distinctive Accuracy Slopes

Mechanism	Target adjustment			Distinctive accuracy		
	b	SE	d	b_{11}	SE	d
Internally-relevant information						
Thoughts and feelings	−.04	.102	−0.08	.03[†]	.019	0.31
Positive emotion	.09	.403	0.04	−.00	.005	−0.12
Negative emotion	−.07	.076	−0.18	−.02	.026	−0.17
Insight	.03	.220	0.03	−.00	.011	−0.01
Causal	.09	.104	0.16	.03[†]	.019	0.35
Information quantity						
Word count	22.13	21.88	0.19	.0002[†]	.0001	0.35
Words per sentence	.54	.737	0.14	.01[*]	.003	0.38
Dictionary words	−.21	.231	−0.17	.01	.009	0.11
Attention	.03	.076	0.07	.03[**]	.003	0.32

Note. Standardized effect sizes, *d*, were calculated as the change in standard deviations in the outcome variable for a 2 standard deviation change in the predictor variable (see Gelman, 2008). Target adjustment was standardized and all other measures were grand-mean centered.
[†] $p < .10$. [*] $p < .05$. [**] $p < .01$.

mean), $b = .00$, $d = 0.05$, $z = 1.14$, $p = .25$ (moderating path *a*, Figure 2A). Indeed, paying more attention to a less adjusted target was not significantly associated with greater accuracy. Thus, the benefits to accuracy that come from paying more attention to a target are greater for well-adjusted relative to less adjusted targets.

Attention to behavioral information. Does paying more attention to well-adjusted individuals promote accuracy because it promotes the detection of more behavioral cues? Yes, greater dyadic perceiver attention did significantly moderate the extent to which targets' behaviors predicted perceivers' personality impressions, interaction $b_{91} = .04$, $d = 0.57$, $z = 10.50$, $p < .0001$ (moderating path *h*, Figure 2B). Thus, perceiver attention is related

Figure 5. The association between perceiver unique dyadic attention (standardized) and distinctive accuracy at high, mean, and low levels of target psychological adjustment. [***] $p < .001$.

to greater detection of behavioral information, helping to elucidate the nature of the interaction between adjustment and attention predicting greater distinctive accuracy: Because well-adjusted individuals provide more relevant behavioral cues, paying more attention to them enhances distinctive accuracy by enhancing the extent to which the perceiver then detects those behavioral cues. The fact that dyadic perceiver attention does not enhance distinctive accuracy for less adjusted targets nicely illustrates the multiplicative nature of the realistic accuracy model (Funder, 1995): paying more attention to targets, and thereby enhancing cue detection and potentially utilization, is only beneficial to the extent that the previous stages of RAM, cue relevance and availability, are met. Because less adjusted individuals provide less relevant cues, paying more attention to them is not as beneficial for distinctive accuracy.

General Discussion

Overall, in this video perceptions study of 116 targets and 4,000 dyadic impressions, well-adjusted individuals were seen more accurately than less adjusted individuals. This replicates and extends previous research that has found that well-adjusted individuals are seen more accurately by close others (Colvin, 1993a, 1993b) and new acquaintances in face-to-face interactions (Human & Biesanz, 2011a). Thus, well-adjusted individuals are easier to understand even when perceivers do not interact with them directly.

More important, however, this study sheds light on why well-adjusted individuals are so easy to understand. Specifically, well-adjusted individuals tend to behave more in line with their distinctive personality traits than less adjusted individuals. In turn, perceivers heavily rely on the behavioral information that targets' provide. As a result, well-adjusted individuals are seen much more in line with their distinctive personalities than less adjusted individuals. Thus, well-adjusted individuals are more judgeable because they facilitate the cue relevance stage of the realistic accuracy model (RAM; Funder, 1995). Well-adjusted individuals' judgeability is further amplified when perceivers pay attention to
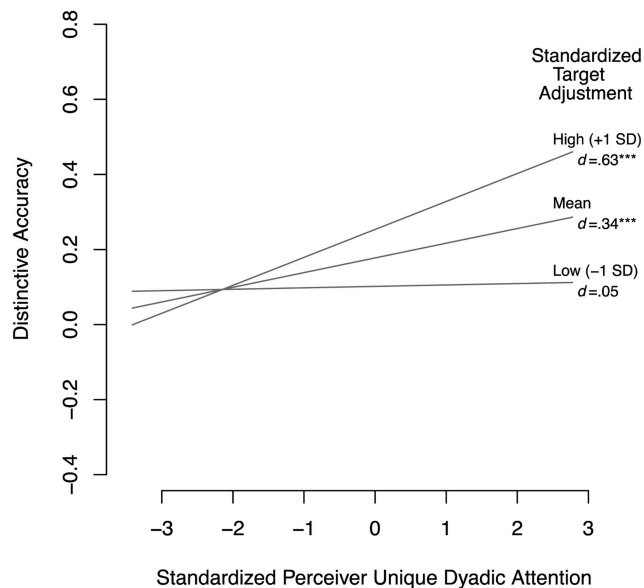
them, thereby facilitating the cue detection and utilization stages of RAM. Note that all of the primary effects held within each sample independently as well as combined, providing a nice internal replication of this pattern of results. These findings have implications not only for the role of psychological adjustment in impression formation but also for the nature of psychological adjustment and impression formation more generally.

Mechanisms

Personality-behavior congruence.   The finding that psychological adjustment is associated with greater personality–behavior congruence is in line with the long-standing idea that personality coherence is a critical feature of psychological adjustment and maturity (Block, 1961; C. R. Rogers, 1961), and with much related empirical research (Clifton & Kuper, 2011; Diehl & Hay, 2007, 2010; Donahue et al., 1993; Erickson et al., 2009; McReynolds et al., 2000; Sheldon et al., 1997; Sherman et al., 2010; but see Baird et al., 2006). However, this finding is less consistent with recent work finding that adjustment and authenticity are associated with behaving in a normative manner, rather than in line with one's distinctive personality profile (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Sherman et al., 2012). In Sample 2, we found that well-adjusted individuals were more likely to behave in line with the normative profile, but in both samples well-adjusted individuals were also more likely to behave in line with their distinctive personality traits than less adjusted individuals. It is unclear why previous research has not found similar effects, but it may be due to methodological differences: Our study examined personality–behavior congruence in a getting-acquainted situation and assessed behavior with outside observers, whereas previous research has focused on behavior in daily life assessed by self-report (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010; Sherman et al., 2012). A critical avenue for future research will be to examine the associations between adjustment and distinctive versus normative personality–behavior congruence in different types of situations and with different behavior ratings methods.

The fact that personality–behavior congruence was in turn linked to forming more accurate impressions is in line with previous research that has found other indices of personality coherence to be linked to more accurate impressions in close relationships (Baird et al., 2006; Bem & Allen, 1974; Biesanz & West, 2000; Biesanz et al., 1998; Cheek, 1982; Kenrick & Stringfield, 1980; Zuckerman et al., 1989; Zuckerman et al., 1988). However, to our knowledge, this is the first study to show that an indicator of personality coherence is associated with more accurate first impressions. This is interesting given that personality coherence, and the corresponding consistency and stability that go along with it, would seem most likely to promote accurate impressions where continued, long-term observation of behavior is possible (e.g., Colvin, 1993b). These findings suggest, then, that personality coherence, when indexed as personality–behavior congruence, can result in immediate benefits to the accuracy of impressions.

Furthermore, this is the first study to directly examine personality coherence as a mediating link between psychological adjustment and expressive accuracy. Although this is a correlational study, and therefore mediation cannot be definitively established, these results are consistent with the argument that greater psychological adjustment does indeed promote judgeability in first impressions via greater personality coherence, as indexed by personality–behavior congruence. It is likely, but remains to be empirically tested, that personality coherence also underlies the associations between psychological adjustment and greater judgeability in closer relationships.

It is important to note, however, the conceptual and methodological challenges involved in assessing personality–behavior congruence. The present study had separate coders rate personality and behavior, and these different sets of coders rated different portions of the videos, in an effort to cleanly separate the assessment of these constructs. Nevertheless, it can still be argued that ratings of personality traits and molar ratings of behaviors based upon on the same social context may overlap too much to fully disentangle these constructs. Behavior ratings could be made more distinct from personality ratings perhaps by being more concrete and/or if based upon a different situation or set of situations. Yet each of these approaches present challenges. Highly concrete behavioral measures require substantial data collection and aggregation to achieve adequate reliability (Moskowitz & Schwarz, 1982) for a single behavior, let alone a set of measures that capture a broad array of personality traits. Varying situational contexts for the assessments of personality and behavioral ratings introduces reliable variance associated with target culture that would attenuate observed relationships (English & Chen, 2007, 2011). In sum, although the current study took steps to separate out personality and behavior ratings as cleanly as possible, developing better measures of personality–behavior congruence is another important aim for future research.

Internally relevant information.   In line with previous research, the provision of more internally relevant information was also partially associated with greater accuracy (Andersen, 1984). Specifically, targets who discussed their thoughts and feelings to a greater extent and used more causal words were seen with marginally greater distinctive accuracy. However, well-adjusted individuals were not more likely to discuss their thoughts and feelings, and only the depression component of psychological adjustment was associated with the use of causal words. It remains possible that certain aspects of adjustment are associated with providing more internally relevant information, which in turn could contribute to well-adjusted individuals' judgeability, but the evidence for this hypothesis in this study was quite weak. This possibility would perhaps be best followed up in more emotionally relevant contexts, where emotional and cognitive expression would be greater and, in turn, individual differences in emotional expression and coherence would be more likely to emerge.

Information quantity.   In line with previous research (Biesanz et al., 2007; Blackman & Funder, 1998), several indicators of greater information quantity did promote distinctive accuracy in the current study. However, overall across samples, well-adjusted individuals did not tend to provide more information during the video clips. Thus, facilitating the cue availability stage of RAM does not appear to be well-adjusted individuals' primary route to judgeabilty.

Attention.   Paying more attention to targets was associated with forming more accurate impressions, in line with previous research (Human et al., 2012; Lorenzo et al., 2010). However, on average across samples, well-adjusted individuals did not tend to receive more attention from others, thereby failing to support the idea that target psychological adjustment promotes the cue detection stage of RAM.

Interestingly, examining the role of attention did further support the cue relevance explanation for well-adjusted individuals' judgeability. Specifically, on average across samples and within each sample, there was a significant positive interaction between adjustment and attention predicting distinctive accuracy, such that paying more attention to targets enhanced accuracy more for well-adjusted than mal-adjusted targets. This finding indicates that well-adjusted individuals do provide others with more relevant information that, if detected, promotes more accurate impressions. In contrast, paying more attention to less adjusted individuals does not buy perceivers any additional accuracy, suggesting that less adjusted individuals do not emit as relevant cues. These findings are in line with the multiplicative nature of RAM (Funder, 1995), highlighting that facilitating the cue detection stage of RAM is only useful if the earlier stages of RAM, such as cue relevance, are met.

Further, it appears that the more relevant information that highly attentive perceivers pick up is the greater personality–behavior congruence that well-adjusted targets exhibit. Indeed, we found that paying more attention to targets was associated with making greater use of their behavioral information when forming impressions. In turn, because well-adjusted individuals' behavioral cues are more in line with their distinctive personalities, perceivers were then able to form more distinctively accurate impressions. In sum, although well-adjusted individuals do not appear to be more judgeable because they receive more attention, when they do receive more attention, their judgeability is further enhanced. Nevertheless, it is possible that perceivers are not fully aware of whom they are paying more attention to, making it important for future research to examine alternative indicators of attention, such as eye trackers or observer ratings.

Integration and implications. Overall, the only consistent link between psychological adjustment and the proposed mechanisms underlying expressive accuracy was at the cue relevance stage of RAM, in the form of greater personality–behavior congruence. Note, however, that personality–behavior congruence did not fully account for the association between adjustment and expressive accuracy, indicating that future research should continue to examine the sources of well-adjusted individuals' greater expressive accuracy. The role of internally relevant information was less consistent, but there were some hints that this type of cue relevance could also play a role, making this another interesting topic for further research. In contrast, the cue availability and detection phases did not have strong or consistent enough associations with psychological adjustment to lend much support to those potential mechanisms.

Overall, however, the general RAM model was supported, as greater cue relevance, availability, and detection were all associated with more accurate impressions to some degree. Thus, just because well-adjusted individuals appear to be seen more accurately primarily because of greater personality–behavior congruence, it is still possible for people to enhance their judgeability through other means. Assuming the provision of at least some relevant information, providing more of it or eliciting others' attention are ways of enhancing one's judgeability. Interestingly, eliciting others' attention is not as hard as it may seem, as simply trying to make a good impression on others is one simple way to be seen as more engaging and in turn more accurately (Human et al., 2012). A fuller understanding of judgeability will require

understanding what other characteristics of a target facilitate each of these stages of accurate impressions (see Human & Biesanz, 2013).

Benefits of Judgeability

But why should people want to improve their judgeability? Being judgeable is now a well-established characteristic of psychologically adjusted individuals, but it is possible that judgeability also has benefits for psychological and interpersonal adjustment. For example, people strive to receive self-verifying information, or information that is in line with how one views the self (Swann & Hill, 1982), and receiving such information is associated with greater intimacy in romantic relationships (Swann et al., 1994) and promotes relationship satisfaction (Lackenbauer et al., 2010). Assuming at least some degree of self-knowledge, judgeable individuals are therefore more likely to receive such information and in turn enjoy the corresponding benefits. Being seen accurately may also improve one's sense of feeling understood, perhaps enhancing the perception of social support and reducing loneliness, which should both in turn promote individual and interpersonal functioning (e.g., Cohen & Willis, 1985; Hawkley & Cacioppo, 2010).

Perceivers may also better like judgeable targets because they are likely to experience greater processing fluency and familiarity when forming impressions about judgeable targets, which tend to promote liking (e.g., Langlois & Roggman, 1990; Reber, Schwarz, & Winkielman, 2004; Reis, Maniaci, Caprariello, Eastwick, & Finkel, 2011; but see Norton, Frost, & Ariely, 2007). Indeed, the more accurately a perceiver views a new classmate, the more they interact with that classmate throughout the semester and come to like them by the end of the semester (Human, Sandstrom, et al., 2013). Targets also better like perceivers who view them more accurately and sit with them more frequently in class (Human, Sandstrom, et al., 2013). Thus, it does seem as though it could be very beneficial to be seen accurately, both personally and interpersonally.

Nevertheless, the potential downsides of judgeability do need to be examined, as being accurately perceived may not be beneficial in all situations or for all individuals. For example, individuals with very negative self-views may not benefit from being perceived accurately if this further reinforces negative self-views (North & Swann, 2009). It is unclear, however, what the alternative, more preferable scenario would be for people with negative self-views, as individuals with negative self-views demonstrate more positive implicit and behavioral responses to negative compared with positive feedback (Ayduk, Gyurak, Akinola, & Mendes, 2013), and positive feedback can have negative implications for low self-esteem individuals' well-being (see J. V. Wood, Perunovic, & Lee, 2009).

Overall, well-adjusted individuals are likely to experience many positive consequences as a result of their judgeability, perhaps further reinforcing their well-being. By helping to delineate the processes through which well-adjusted targets are seen more accurately, the current studies potentially inform interventions to improve judgeability. For example, rather than trying to modify an individuals' well-being, which is possible but generally quite difficult (for review see Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005), one could instead attempt to improve judgeability by targeting

personality–behavior congruence. If successful, such interventions are in turn likely to have downstream positive consequences for targets.

Limitations

There are several additional limitations of the current study. First, it remains unclear how generalizable these findings are across cultures. Our sample included a large proportion of East Asian targets, who were seen with significantly lower levels of distinctive accuracy (see footnote 5). This is consistent with findings that individuals with more interdependent self-construals are less expressive (Ekman, 1972; Friesen, 1972; Matsumoto, 1990; Matsumoto & Kupperbusch, 2001). Furthermore, our East Asian targets were significantly lower in personality–behavior congruence, in line with evidence that individuals with more interdependent self-construals may have less consistent personalities across roles and situations (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003; English & Chen, 2007, 2011). This lower personality–behavior congruence and a tendency to be perceived as less attention-getting both contributed to East Asians' lower judgeability in first impressions. However, recent work has demonstrated that even though individuals from interdependent cultures show less consistency across social roles, they still exhibit high consistency within social roles over time, which is associated with positive functioning (English & Chen, 2007, 2011). Thus, it is possible that people from interdependent cultures could be just as judgeable within specific roles or the same relationship context, where interaction partners would have the opportunity to observe their behavior within the same role over time.

Of note, despite these cross-cultural differences in overall levels of judgeability and personality–behavior congruence, there was no evidence that the associations between target adjustment and judgeability differed as a function of target cultural background. That is, controlling for cultural background, well-adjusted individuals tended to exhibit greater personality–behavior congruence, which contributed to greater judgeability. However, our sample of East Asian targets were likely already quite acculturated to North American culture, making it important to examine whether these effects hold in more distinct cultural groups.

Another limitation of our study is that our sample of targets were predominantly female, who tend to be more judgeable, at least nonverbally (e.g., Hall, 1979). Although we did not find any gender differences in our study, in line with previous research on target personality judgeability (Chan, Rogers, Parisotto, & Biesanz, 2011; Colvin, 1993b), our small sample of male targets may have limited our ability to detect these effects. An important next step will be to examine these questions with a larger sample of male targets in order to better examine whether there exist gender differences in the links between adjustment and judgeability.

Conclusion

In summary, well-adjusted individuals are open books, even when the reader only has access to a brief excerpt. This is because the information provided on any given page appears to be very relevant to the overall story, or personality, of the individual. Specifically, well-adjusted individuals are more likely to behave in line with their distinctive personality traits than less adjusted individuals, demonstrating greater distinctive personality–behavior congruence. Furthermore, when their story is also more interesting and engaging, well-adjusted individuals are seen even more accurately because the more relevant information that they provide is more likely to be detected and potentially better utilized. In contrast, well-adjusted individuals do not appear to be more judgeable because they are generally more attention-getting or because they provide more information. Nevertheless, each pathway examined here—cue relevance, availability, and detection—did promote judgeability and could be utilized by those wishing to be more accurately perceived. Being seen accurately, in turn, is likely to carry individual and interpersonal benefits for the target. In sum, well-adjusted individuals are seen more accurately because to their own selves, they are true.

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(*Appendices follow*)

Appendix A

The Modified 24-Item Big Five Inventory With Corresponding Behavior Items

Personality Item	Behavior Item
1. Is full of energy.	1. Was energetic during the interview.
2. Is intelligent.	2. Exhibited a high degree of intelligence.
3. Generates a lot of enthusiasm.	3. Showed high enthusiasm.
4. Remains calm in tense situations.	4. Was calm during the interview.
5. Tends to be quiet.	5. Was quiet.
6. Makes plans and follows through with them.	6. Discussed concrete goals and plans.
7. Has an assertive personality.	7. Behaved in an assertive, dominant manner.
8. Is sometimes shy, inhibited.	8. Was shy, inhibited.
9. Is outgoing, sociable.	9. Was sociable and outgoing.
10. Tends to find fault with others.	10. Discussed others' faults and shortcomings.
11. Does a thorough job.	11. Answered the questions thoroughly.
12. Is depressed, blue.	12. Behaved in a blue or depressed manner.
13. Is original, comes up with new ideas.	13. Expressed original, new ideas.
14. Is helpful and unselfish with others.	14. Discussed times when they were helpful or unselfish with others.
15. Can be somewhat careless.	15. Expressed or displayed carelessness (no matter toward whom or what).
16. Is relaxed, handles stress well.	16. Was relaxed and comfortable.
17. Receives very good grades.	17. Discussed having good grades or academic success.
18. Starts quarrels with others.	18. Discussed past quarrels with others or acted argumentative.
19. Is a reliable worker.	19. Discussed being a reliable worker.
20. Can be tense.	20. Showed physical signs of tension or anxiety (e.g., fidgets nervously, voice wavers).
21. Is reserved.	21. Was reserved and unexpressive (e.g., expressed little emotion; was stiff).
22. Is ingenious, a deep thinker.	22. Had deep, insightful ideas.
23. Has a forgiving nature.	23. Expressed forgiveness towards others.
24. Is bright.	24. Said something bright or smart.

Note. Personality Items 2, 17, and 24 were added by the authors to the Big Five Inventory (BFI; Benet-Martínez & John, 1998; John & Srivastava, 1999) to assess intelligence. Behavior items were modeled after the Riverside Behavioral Q-Sort (RBQ; Funder, Furr, & Colvin, 2000); behavior Items 2, 3, 16, 20, 21 were directly adapted from the RBQ.

Appendix B

Full Social Accuracy Model Equations and Coefficients With Subscripts

Distinctive and normative accuracy were allowed to vary randomly across perceivers and targets as outlined in the following unstandardized regression equation:

$$Y_{ijk} = \beta_{0ij} + \beta_{1ij}TVal_{jk} + \beta_{2ij}Mean_k + \varepsilon_{ijk} \quad (A1.1)$$

$$\beta_{0ij} = \beta_{00} + \beta_{01}Adj_j + u_{0i} + u_{0j}$$
$$\beta_{1ij} = \beta_{10} + \beta_{11}Adj_j + u_{1i} + u_{1j}$$
$$\beta_{2ij} = \beta_{20} + \beta_{21}Adj_j + u_{2i} + u_{2j} \quad (A1.2)$$

In this model, Y_{ijk} corresponds to Perceiver i's rating of Target j on item k. $TVal_{jk}$ represents Target j's personality validation measure (the average of self-report and all available informant

reports) on item k after grand mean centering within item. The intercept is represented by β_{0ij}. β_{1ij} is the regression coefficient for the distinctive accuracy slope (path a, Figure 2A): the relationship between Target j's personality validation measure on item k predicting Perceiver i's rating of Target j on the same item k, with the normative profile (the mean self-report for item k; $Mean_k$) partialled out. β_{2ij} is the regression coefficient for the normative accuracy slope (path b, Figure 2A): the relationship between the mean target self-report for item k predicting Perceiver i's rating of the same item k. The average levels of distinctive and normative accuracy, holding target adjustment constant at the mean, are reflected by β_{10} and β_{20}, respectively (see Table 1).

(Appendices continue)

As outlined in Equation A1.2, to examine how target adjustment is associated with distinctive and normative accuracy, target standardized psychological adjustment was entered as a moderator of each accuracy slope (e.g., does adjustment moderate paths a and b, Figure 2A?). Within the equations, Adj_j is Target j's standardized adjustment score, combining across each standardized adjustment indicator. In the equation for β_{1ij}, β_{11} represents the regression coefficient for target adjustment moderating distinctive accuracy (moderating path a, Figure 2A). Likewise, in the equation for β_{2ij}, β_{21} represents the regression coefficient for target adjustment moderating normative accuracy (moderating path b, Figure 2A). A positive interaction between target adjustment and targets' personality validation measure predicting perceiver personality ratings, or a positive value for β_{11}, would indicate that well-adjusted individuals are seen more in line with their distinctive personality traits; that is, that they are more judgeable. A positive value for β_{21} would indicate that targets higher in psychological adjustment are seen with greater normative accuracy. In both equations, u_{1i} and u_{2i} represent perceiver random effects for distinctive and normative accuracy main effects, respectively, averaged across targets. Similarly, u_{1j} and u_{2j} represent target random effects for distinctive and normative accuracy main effects, respectively, averaged across perceivers.

We examined the associations between the majority of the proposed mechanisms and distinctive accuracy in the same fashion, by including each as a moderator of distinctive accuracy slopes. Thus, the associations between each proposed mechanism and distinctive accuracy are also be represented by β_{11} in the results section. The exception to this approach is for Mechanism 1 (personality–behavior congruence), which we examined by building on the social accuracy model as depicted in Figure 2B (see Table 1). First, to assess distinctive personality–behavior congruence, we estimate the following unstandardized regression equation:

$$BRating_{jk} = \beta_{3j} + \beta_{4j}TVal_{jk} + \beta_{5j}Mean_k + \varepsilon_{jk} \quad \text{(A2.1)}$$

$$\beta_{3ij} = \beta_{30} + \beta_{31}Adj_j + u_{3j}$$
$$\beta_{4ij} = \beta_{40} + \beta_{41}Adj_j + u_{4j}$$
$$\beta_{5ij} = \beta_{50} + \beta_{51}Adj_j + u_{5j} \quad \text{(A2.2)}$$

That is, rather than having the target's personality validation measure and the normative self-report predict perceiver personality ratings, they instead predict each target's average behavior ratings. Thus, β_{4j} represents distinctive personality–behavior congruence (path f, Figure 2B): the extent to which Target j's personality validation measure on item k, grand mean centered within item, predicts Target j's behavior on item k (indexed by the average of all coders' ratings of Target j on item k). Correspondingly, β_{5j} represents normative personality–behavior congruence

(path g, Figure 2B): the extent to which the mean self-report on item k predicts Target j's behavior on item k. Mean levels of distinctive and normative personality–behavior congruence, holding target adjustment constant at the mean, are represented by β_{40} and β_{50} (see Table 1).

To examine whether well-adjusted individuals are more likely to behave in line with their distinctive traits and/or the normative personality profile, we included standardized target adjustment as a moderator of distinctive and normative personality–behavior congruence in the Level 2 part of the model (moderating paths f and g, Figure 2B). Thus, positive values for β_{41} and β_{51} would indicate that targets who are higher in adjustment behave more in line with their distinctive and the normative personality traits, respectively.

Finally, to examine how behaviors impact personality ratings, we integrated target behaviors in the original SAM model (Equation A1.1), as follows:

$$Y_{ijk} = \beta_{6ij} + \beta_{7ij}TVal_{jk} + \beta_{8ij}Mean_k + \beta_{9ij}BRating_{jk} + \varepsilon_{ijk} \quad \text{(A3.1)}$$

$$\beta_{6ij} = \beta_{60} + \beta_{61}Adj_j + u_{6i} + u_{6j}$$
$$\beta_{7ij} = \beta_{70} + \beta_{71}Adj_j + u_{7i} + u_{7j}$$
$$\beta_{8ij} = \beta_{80} + \beta_{81}Adj_j + u_{8i} + u_{8j}$$
$$\beta_{9ij} = \beta_{90} + \beta_{91}Adj_j + u_{9i} + u_{9j} \quad \text{(A3.2)}$$

This enables an examination of the degree of behavior utilization by perceivers, β_{9ij} (path h, Figure 2B): the extent to which Target j's behavior on item k predicts Perceiver i's rating of Target j on item k. β_{7ij} represents the distinctive accuracy direct effect (path d, Figure 2B): distinctive accuracy not mediated by personality–behavior congruence. The coefficients β_{70} and β_{90} provide an estimate of the average levels of distinctive accuracy direct effect and behavior utilization, respectively, on average across perceivers and targets, holding target adjustment constant at the mean (see Table 1).

Once again, standardized target adjustment was included as a moderator of each slope at Level 2, enabling an examination of whether the association between adjustment and distinctive accuracy, β_{71}, reduces when accounting for personality–behavior congruence (adjustment moderating path d, Figure 2B) and also whether target adjustment moderates the extent to which perceivers' utilize a target's behavioral information, β_{91} (adjustment moderating path h, Figure 2B). To help clarify the results and link reported results to the analytical models we subscript unstandardized multilevel model coefficients when reporting results (i.e., the estimate of β_{10} is reported as b_{10}) in line with these equations.