	Running head: HEXACO PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS
1	The Six Dimensions of Personality (HEXACO) and their Associations with Network
2	Layer Size and Emotional Closeness to Network Members
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# Abstract

29	Previous work has examined how specific personality dimensions are associated with
30	social network characteristics. However, it is unclear how the full range of personality
31	traits relates to the quantity and quality of relationships at different network layers.
32	This study ( $N = 525$ ) investigates how the six HEXACO personality dimensions relate
33	to the size of support and sympathy groups, and to the level of emotional closeness to
34	network members. Extraversion was positively related to support group size, but did
35	not significantly relate to sympathy group size or emotional closeness. Openness to
36	Experience and Emotionality were positively related to support group size, but not to
37	the size of the sympathy group. Honesty-Humility, but not Agreeableness, was
38	positively related to emotional closeness to members of the sympathy group. Findings
39	suggest that personality effects vary across network layers and highlight the
40	importance of considering both emotional closeness and network size.
41	

42 *Keywords:* individual differences, HEXACO, social networks, emotional closeness

#### 43 **1. Introduction**

Personality is important for our understanding of individual patterns of 44 cognition, motivation, emotion, and behavior-what has been described as "a kind of 45 46 *thematic recurrence within the events of a life*" (Nettle, 2007, p. 12). Here, we focus on the effects of personality on characteristics of individuals' innermost network 47 layers, that is, on the number and emotional intimacy of close social relationships. 48 Individuals' social networks are hierarchically structured in successive layers 49 of increasing size and decreasing emotional intimacy (Dunbar, 1998; Hill & Dunbar, 50 51 2003; Sutcliffe et al., 2012). Recent work has examined the effects of personality on different network layers' size and intimacy, but has been limited to specific 52 53 dimensions, such as Extraversion and Neuroticism (Pollet et al., 2011; Roberts et al., 54 2008). Other studies, which examined a more exhaustive set of personality 55 dimensions, did not differentiate between network layers, such as support and sympathy groups (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Selfhout et al., 2010). In this study, 56 57 we attempt to address these limitations by investigating how the six HEXACO personality dimensions (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Lee & Ashton, 2004) relate both to the 58 59 size and relationship intensity of individuals' innermost network layers. 1.1. Social network characteristics 60 61 It is widely recognized that not all social relationships are of equal strength or 62 emotional intensity (Bernard et al., 1990; Granovetter, 1973; Milardo, 1992; Wellman & Wortley, 1990). Focusing on emotionally close ties, many studies have identified 63 two distinct groupings: a small number of emotionally close ties offering intense 64 65 emotional support and a larger number of less emotionally close, but still significant,

ties that provide more general support (Bernard et al. 1990; Binder et al., 2012; Boase

67 et al., 2006; Milardo, 1992; Wellman & Wortley, 1990).

68	Consistently, research suggests that social networks are organized in a series
69	of hierarchically inclusive layers (Hill & Dunbar, 2003; Sutcliffe et al., 2012; Zhou et
70	al., 2005). The innermost layers, corresponding to the two groupings identified above,
71	have been termed 'support groups' and 'sympathy groups'. Support groups consist of
72	individuals from whom one would seek support in times of severe emotional or
73	financial distress: they have an average size of 5 members (Binder et al., 2012;
74	Dunbar & Spoors, 1995). Sympathy groups consist of individuals whose sudden death
75	would be greatly upsetting (Buys & Larson, 1979): they have an average size of 12-15
76	members, including support group members (Binder et al., 2012; Dunbar & Spoors,
77	1995; Stiller & Dunbar, 2007).
78	Previous work has noted the importance of examining both the quantity and
79	quality of relationships within different network layers (Pollet et al., 2011), as there is
80	evidence of a trade-off between relationship quantity and quality (Roberts et al., 2009;
81	Binder et al., 2011). As the size of each network layer increases, relationship intensity
82	tends to decrease (Dunbar, 1998; Hill & Dunbar, 2003). Arguably, this is due to
83	constraints-related to time and cognitive effort-on the number of relationships one
84	can maintain at a certain level of emotional intensity (Roberts & Dunbar, 2011a;
85	Stiller & Dunbar, 2007; Sutcliffe et al., 2012; Zhou et al., 2005).
86	While upper bounds seem to exist in different network layers' size, previous
87	work has also documented substantial inter-individual variation in both their size and
88	composition. Such variation can be partly explained by demographic characteristics
89	such as sex, socioeconomic status, age, and relationship status (McPherson et al.,
90	2006; Roberts et al., 2009), but another important factor is personality (Nettle, 2007).
91	1.2. Personality and social networks

92	Research has examined how the Big Five or Five-Factor model personality
93	traits (McCrae & Costa, 1999) relate to network characteristics. Among adolescents
94	and young adults, Extraversion relates to larger networks and faster network growth,
95	whereas Agreeableness is associated with higher peer acceptance and less conflict
96	(Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002; Selfhout et al., 2010).
97	Although some studies have found no relation between Neuroticism and network size
98	(Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Roberts et al., 2008), higher Neuroticism is linked to
99	less perceived social support and more loneliness (Russell et al., 1997; Stokes, 1985).
100	Finally, Openness to Experience is linked to a larger number of new network contacts
101	(Zhu et al., 2013; cf. Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002).
102	Research explicitly differentiating the hierarchical structure within social
103	networks has focused on Extraversion. However, evidence on its relation with
104	network characteristics is mixed. Specifically, Roberts and colleagues (2008) showed
105	that Extraversion positively correlates with support group, but not sympathy group,
106	size. However, this relation was no longer significant after controlling for participant
107	age. Another study by Pollet and colleagues (2011) examined the relation of
108	Extraversion with both network quantity and quality: extraverts reported having larger
109	network layers (support group, sympathy group, outer layer), but did not feel
110	emotionally closer to members of any layer.
111	1.3. HEXACO personality and network characteristics
112	Recent theoretical and empirical work in personality psychology has supported
113	a six-dimensional framework of personality structure-the HEXACO-as a viable
114	alternative to the Big Five and Five-Factor models. Lexical studies of personality
115	structure in diverse languages consistently demonstrate the emergence of six (rather

than five) personality factors (Ashton & Lee, 2007): Honesty-Humility (H),

Emotionality (E), Extraversion (X), Agreeableness (A), Conscientiousness (C), andOpenness to Experience (O).

An important difference between the HEXACO model and five-factor models 119 120 is the addition of Honesty-Humility, which is defined by honesty, fairness, sincerity, modesty, and lack of greed. Further, in the HEXACO framework, the Emotionality 121 and Agreeableness factors result from a re-rotation of the Big Five factors of 122 Emotional Stability and Agreeableness. As a result, HEXACO Emotionality excludes 123 124 the anger facet that defines low Emotional Stability but includes the sentimentality 125 facet that defines Agreeableness. Conversely, HEXACO Agreeableness excludes sentimentality and includes lack of anger<sup>1</sup>. 126 For our research, the use of the HEXACO has two important advantages. First, 127 128 it allows us to examine the relations of both Agreeableness—i.e., the tendency to be flexible, forgiving, and tolerant-and Honesty-Humility-i.e., the tendency to 129 approach others with sincerity and fairness—with emotional closeness toward support 130 131 and sympathy group members. While we start from the explorative hypothesis that both Honesty-Humility and Agreeableness positively relate to emotional closeness, 132 we also consider the possibility that one characteristic is more important than the 133 other for building and maintaining close social relationships. Second, using the 134 HEXACO could clarify if Emotionality—including sentimentality, but excluding 135 136 anger content—relates to network layer size (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Roberts et al., 2008) and, in particular, whether it is indeed associated with less social support 137 (Russell et al., 1997; Stokes, 1985). 138 The HEXACO Extraversion, Conscientiousness, and Openness to Experience 139

140 dimensions are largely equivalent to the corresponding traits in the Big Five.

141 However, HEXACO Openness excludes intellect content—i.e., intelligence and

mental ability—that is part of some Big Five measures (e.g., Goldberg's IPIP scale,143 1999).

Based on previous examinations of the relation between Extraversion and network characteristics (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Pollet et al., 2011), we expect Extraversion to positively relate to the size of both support and sympathy groups, but not to emotional closeness. Given previous inconsistencies regarding the relation between Openness and network size (Jensen-Campbell et al., 2002; Selfhout et al., 2010), and the lack of evidence for a relation between Conscientiousness and network characteristics, we do not make specific predictions for these dimensions.

151 **2. Methods** 

#### 152 2.1. Participants

153 525 participants (63.4% women,  $M_{age} = 27$ ,  $SD_{age} = 10.09$ , range 18 to 83 years) completed an online survey in English or Dutch. Respondents were recruited 154 via the personal networks of more than 20 international and Dutch students. The 155 156 majority of respondents had a university degree (68.6%). Among participants, 29.3% reported Dutch as their native language, 20.4% reported English, and 50.3% another 157 language. Finally, 52.8% of participants reported having a partner (married or in a 158 relationship; 47.2% were single, divorced, or widowed; see also Supplementary 159 160 Materials 1-2). 161 2.2. Procedure and measures

Participants were first asked to list all people with whom losing contact forever would be upsetting (*"We would like you to think of the people who are most important to you, and to imagine not being able to speak or to see these people ever again"*). Next, they indicated which of these people they would turn to *"in times of severe emotional or financial distress"*. We defined the support group as individuals

167	to whom participants would turn in times of severe distress, and the sympathy group
168	as individuals with whom losing contact forever would be upsetting. These measures
169	are commonly used to elicit individuals' inner network layers (e.g., Binder et al.,
170	2012; Buys & Larson, 1979). Participants then reported how emotionally close they
171	felt to each network member on a 0 to 100 scale. Emotional closeness is considered
172	the most reliable indicator of tie strength (Marsden & Campbell, 1984) and is related
173	to the frequency of both mobile phone and face-to-face contact (Roberts & Dunbar,
174	2011b; Saramäki et al., 2014).
175	Subsequently, participants completed the 60-item version of the HEXACO
176	personality inventory (Ashton & Lee, 2009), using 5-point Likert scales (1 = strongly
177	<i>disagree</i> , 5 = <i>strongly agree</i> ). The HEXACO-60 consists of items representing a
178	broad range of content from all facets of the six HEXACO dimensions (Ashton &
179	Lee, 2009). Scales for all HEXACO dimensions showed adequate reliability:
180	Honesty-Humility, $a = .70$ ; Emotionality, $a = .76$ ; Extraversion, $a = .80$ ;
181	Agreeableness, $a = .73$ ; Conscientiousness, $a = .77$ ; Openness to Experience, $a = .76$ .
182	2.3. Analytical Techniques
183	Here, our interest was in examining support and sympathy group properties.

Following previous research (Roberts et al., 2008; Pollet et al., 2011), our sympathy
group measure excluded support group members to avoid including the same

individuals in two sets of analyses. Similarly, we calculated average emotional

187 closeness to individuals belonging only to the support group, and individuals

188 belonging only to the sympathy group, separately.

We report results from OLS regressions for support and sympathy group size, and for emotional closeness to support and sympathy group. For all regressions, we followed a hierarchical procedure. We first included all six HEXACO dimensions as

192	predictors in our model. We then kept only significant personality predictors and
193	added control variables as follows: sex ( $0 = male$ , $1 = female$ ), age, university degree
194	(0 = no, 1 = yes), native language (two dummy coded variables; $0 = Dutch$ and
195	<i>English</i> , $1 = other$ ; $0 = Dutch$ and <i>other</i> , $1 = English$ ), and relationship status ( $0 = no$
196	<i>committed partner</i> , 1 = <i>with committed partner</i> ). For analyses on emotional closeness
197	variables, we controlled for the corresponding layer size variables—given previous
198	evidence of a trade-off between layer size and emotional closeness (Roberts et al.,
199	2009). Finally, to test for the robustness of our results, we used a bootstrap procedure
200	(Bias-Corrected and Accelerated (BcA); 1,000 samples). We report results based on
201	parameter estimates and 95% confidence intervals from bootstrapped analyses.

- 202 **3. Results**
- 203 *3.1. Descriptives and bivariate correlations*

Descriptive statistics for the HEXACO dimensions, network layer size, and 204 emotional closeness can be found in Supplementary Materials 3. On average, the 205 206 support group consisted of 5 individuals (SD = 3) and the sympathy group, including support group members, consisted of 11 individuals (SD = 6). The mean size of both 207 layers is consistent with prior research (Binder et al., 2012; Dunbar & Spoors, 1995; 208 Stiller & Dunbar, 2007). Results from bivariate Pearson's correlations, after 209 210 performing BcA bootstrapping with 1,000 samples, between demographics, 211 HEXACO dimensions, and all network layer size and emotional closeness variables are presented in Supplementary Materials 4. 212 3.2. Personality and network layer size 213 Table 1 shows results from bootstrapped hierarchical regressions for network 214 layers' size. Consistent with predictions, higher Extraversion scores were associated 215

216 with larger support group size. Openness was also positively and significantly related

217 to support group size. In contrast to the claim that Emotionality relates negatively to social support (Russell et al., 1997; Stokes, 1985), there was a marginally significant, 218 positive relation between Emotionality and support group size. This model explained 219 4% of variance in support group size (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ , F(3, 513) = 7.60, p < .001). 220 Contrary to predictions and previous evidence indicating a positive relation 221 between Extraversion and sympathy group size (Pollet et al., 2011; cf. Roberts et al., 222 2008), none of the HEXACO dimensions significantly related to sympathy group size. 223 Of the control variables, only native language was significantly associated with 224 sympathy group size (adjusted  $R^2 = .03$ , F(2, 514) = 10.19, p < .001). Participants who 225 reported Dutch or English as their language indicated having larger sympathy groups, 226 227 compared to participants who reported another language.

### 228 *3.3. Personality and emotional closeness*

Table 2 shows results from bootstrapped hierarchical regressions for emotional 229 closeness variables. Emotionality positively and significantly related to emotional 230 231 closeness to support group members. However, this effect was no longer significant after controlling for participant sex: women felt emotionally closer to support group 232 members, compared to men. Further, native language had a significant relation with 233 emotional closeness to support group. Participants who indicated Dutch or English as 234 235 their native language reported more closeness, compared to participants who indicated 236 another language. Consistent with previous work (e.g., Roberts et al., 2009), there was a negative relation between support group size and emotional closeness to this layer's 237 members, such that participants with larger support groups reported less closeness. 238 This model accounted for 7% of variance in emotional closeness to support group 239 (adjusted  $R^2 = .07$ , F(5, 511) = 8.30, p < .001). 240

241 In line with our prediction that Honesty-Humility is associated with higher emotional closeness, we found that this personality characteristic significantly and 242 positively related to emotional closeness to sympathy group. Unexpectedly, there was 243 244 also a marginally significant relation between Extraversion and emotional closeness to sympathy group members. Further, education level significantly related to emotional 245 246 closeness to sympathy group: participants with a university degree reported less closeness than those without. Finally, native language also had a significant relation 247 with emotional closeness to sympathy group. Respondents who indicated Dutch or 248 249 another native language reported more closeness, compared to participants who indicated English as their language. This model accounted for 4% of the variance in 250 emotional closeness to sympathy group (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ , F(5, 470) = 5.24, p < .04251 252 .001).

253 **4. Discussion** 

#### 254 4.1. Summary of findings

255 This study examined the associations between the six HEXACO personality dimensions and the size and emotional closeness of individuals' innermost network 256 layers. Regarding layer size, our findings suggest that extraverts have larger support 257 groups, but not larger sympathy groups. Although previous studies have repeatedly 258 demonstrated a relation between Extraversion and network size (Asendorpf & 259 260 Wilpers, 1998; Pollet et al., 2011), further research is needed to clarify whether this relation can be observed at *all* network layers. For now, there is good evidence that 261 Extraversion positively relates to support group size. With respect to emotional 262 closeness to network members, our findings are in line with previous research (Pollet 263 et al., 2011), suggesting that there is no significant relation between Extraversion and 264 emotional closeness to either support or sympathy group members. 265

266 This result may seem counterintuitive given that Extraversion is linked to behaviors that attract social attention (Ashton et al., 2002), and that extraverts are 267 more outgoing, energetic, and cheerful than introverts (Kalish & Robbins, 2006). 268 269 Thus, if extraverts have more frequent social interactions that introverts-and frequency of contact between individuals is linked to emotional closeness (Roberts & 270 271 Dunbar, 2011b; Saramäki et al., 2014)-it may be expected that extraverts would 272 build relationships with higher emotional closeness. However, we found a negative 273 relation between support group size and emotional closeness, suggesting a trade-off 274 between maintaining a large network and having emotionally close relationships (Roberts et al., 2009; Binder et al., 2012). Together, results suggest that extraverts 275 276 may focus on maintaining a larger number of ties, rather than developing the 277 emotional closeness of those ties.

Interestingly, our results suggest that Openness to Experience positively 278 relates to support group size, but not necessarily sympathy group size. This result is 279 280 consistent with previous theoretical interpretations of Openness as reflecting inquisitiveness and creativity, thus potentially yielding social benefits and social 281 attention (Ashton & Lee, 2007; Nettle, 2007). Future research could more closely 282 examine whether Openness to Experience is indeed related to a larger number of 283 relationships in the innermost network layers, or a larger number of new contacts, in 284 285 particular (Zhu et al., 2013).

In line with predictions, Honesty-Humility, which reflects a tendency to approach others with sincerity and fairness (Lee & Ashton, 2004), positively related to emotional closeness, albeit only for sympathy groups. Our results suggest that there is no direct, significant, relationship between Honesty-Humility and emotional closeness to support group members. Further, contrary to hypotheses, Agreeableness

291 does not seem to relate to emotional intimacy at any layer. Combined, these results suggest that the HEXACO is a useful alternative to Big-Five models, especially due to 292 the inclusion of Honesty-Humility and, in particular, for examinations of emotional 293 294 closeness in social network research. Finally, our results are only partially consistent with previous work suggesting 295 that Neuroticism does not relate to network size or other network characteristics 296 (Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Roberts et al., 2008). Using HEXACO Emotionality, 297 which includes sentimentality but excludes anger content, we found that Emotionality 298 299 is marginally but positively related with support group size. This finding points to the possibility that Emotionality is associated with increased, rather than decreased 300 301 (Russell et al., 1997; Stokes, 1985), social support. Although Emotionality also 302 correlates with emotional closeness to support group members, this relationship seems entirely attributable to gender differences in Emotionality (Lee & Ashton, 2004). 303 4.2. Strengths, limitations, and future directions 304 305 Our research contributes to the literature on individual differences and social networks in three ways. First, whereas previous work has focused on specific traits, 306 such as Extraversion and Neuroticism (Pollet et al., 2011; Roberts et al., 2008), our 307

308 study examined how all six HEXACO personality dimensions are related to network

309 size and emotional closeness. Second, in investigating the effects of HEXACO traits

310 on network characteristics, we differentiated between support and sympathy groups

311 (Dunbar & Spoors, 1995; Stiller & Dunbar, 2007), rather than treating social networks

as homogeneous (e.g., Asendorpf & Wilpers, 1998; Selfhout et al., 2010). Finally, we

investigated both the quantity and quality of relationships within network layers,

examining both the number and emotional closeness of participants' ties.

315 However, our study was cross-sectional and therefore cannot address questions of causality—does personality influence the size and emotional closeness of 316 social networks, or do social network characteristics influence personality? Although 317 318 the former seems more likely-given that personality traits show a high degree of stability over time—longitudinal work is needed to address this question directly. 319 320 Moreover, our findings point to rather weak associations between personality and the number and emotional strength of close ties, in terms of proportion of 321 explained variance. One possibility is that the questionnaires we used are not valid 322 323 measures of the intended constructs. While this is unlikely for the HEXACO-60which has good levels of reliability and self-observer agreement (Ashton & Lee, 324 325 2009), less is known about the reliability of network size measures. Previous work 326 suggests that interviews as a method of eliciting personal networks have relatively high levels of test-retest reliability (for a review, see Brewer et al., 2000). In terms of 327 questionnaire approaches, various research groups have used measures of group size 328 329 and emotional closeness that are similar to the ones used here and they have found networks of similar size (Binder et al., 2012; Buys & Larson, 1979; Cummings et al., 330 2006; Dunbar & Spoors, 1995; Jeon & Buss, 2007; Roberts et al. 2009). 331 However, these measures have two potential drawbacks. First, our measure of 332

support and sympathy groups allows participants to include all reported network members in either one or the other group—and participants can be more or less 'inclusive' in naming network members, irrespective of the objective size of these groups. Second, our emotional closeness measure could be influenced by response styles, whereby some respondents generally report more closeness, irrespective of the actual closeness of their ties. However, an 18-month longitudinal study demonstrated that self-reported emotional closeness is significantly related to the number of mobile

340	phone calls participants make to network members (Saramäki et al., 2014). This
341	suggests that self-reported emotional closeness meaningfully relates to objective
342	communication patterns. Further research could use the 'digital trace' left by
343	electronic communication (Lazer et al., 1999) to examine in more detail how
344	personality characteristics relate to individuals' interaction patterns.
345	4.3 Conclusion
346	In summary, this study suggests that the personality traits of Extraversion,
347	Openness to Experience, and Honesty-Humility, meaningfully relate to network layer
348	size and emotional closeness to network members. However, current findings also
349	indicate that a large proportion of variability in network characteristics is not
350	accounted for by either personality or basic demographics. As such, future social
351	network research could complement and extend this work by using more objective
352	measures of interaction with network members and examining how other factors-for
353	example, one's childhood environment or current social setting (e.g., neighborhood,
354	workplace)—influence the quantity and quality of close relationships.
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To be included.

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## Appendix

Table 1. Hierarchical regressions for network layer size (BcA bootstrapping; 1,000 samples).

Dependent variable	Model	Predictors	В	b (bootstrap)	p (bootstrap)	Lower	Upper
Support group size	<i>Model 1</i> ( $R^2 = 0.04$ )	Emotionality	0.101	0.552	.060	-0.077	1.072
		Extraversion	0.131	0.751	.004	0.267	1.260
		Openness to Experience	0.131	0.737	.002	0.292	1.170
Sympathy group size	<i>Model 1</i> ( $R^2 = 0.03$ )	Language	-0.204	-1.870	.001	-2.780	-0.972
		(Dutch/English vs. Other)					
		Language	-0.018	-0.203	.756	-1.426	1.050
		(Dutch/Other vs. English)					

*Notes.* Sympathy group size is excluding support group members. Lower and upper represent lower and upper 95% CI for bootstrapped estimates.

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Dependent variable	Model	Predictors	β	b (bootstrap)	p (bootstrap)	Lower	Upper
EC support group	Model 1 ( $R^2 = 0.01$ )	Emotionality	0.091	1.811	.039	0.077	3.760
	<i>Model</i> 2 ( $R^2 = 0.04$ )	Emotionality	0.012	0.229	.806	-1.695	2.190
		Gender	0.182	4.816	.002	2.292	7.765
	<i>Model 3</i> ( $R^2 = 0.05$ )	Emotionality	0.028	0.557	.571	-1.448	2.624
		Gender	0.163	4.311	.003	1.746	7.125
		Language	-0.141	-3.591	.003	-5.637	-1.409
		(Dutch/English vs. Other)					
		Language	-0.125	-3.959	.006	-6.523	-1.344
		(Dutch/Other vs. English)					
	<i>Model</i> 4 ( $R^2 = 0.07$ )	Emotionality	0.037	0.738	.430	-1.215	2.864
		Gender	0.164	4.325	.002	1.851	7.001
		Language	-0.134	-3.399	.004	-5.439	-1.267
		(Dutch/English vs. Other)					
		Language	-0.111	-3.533	.011	-6.157	-0.982
		(Dutch/Other vs. English)					
		Support group size	-0.151	-0.551	.002	-0.897	-0.222

Table 2. Hierarchical regressions for emotional closeness (EC) (BcA bootstrapping; 1,000 samples).

Table 2 continued.					
EC sympathy group	Model 1 ( $R^2 = 0.02$ )	Honesty-Humility	0.124 3.751	.008	0.960 6.237
		Extraversion	0.083 2.406	.068	-0.241 5.148
	<i>Model</i> 2 ( $R^2 = 0.03$ )	Honesty-Humility	0.134 4.050	.004	1.297 6.434
		Extraversion	0.085 2.472	.057	-0.142 5.165
		Degree	-0.139 -5.419	.003	-8.896 -1.922
	<i>Model 3</i> ( $R^2 = 0.04$ )	Honesty-Humility	0.128 3.858	.006	1.073 6.373
		Extraversion	0.077 2.241	.089	-0.349 4.865
		Degree	-0.118 -4.585	.009	-7.996 -1.060
		Language	-0.088 -3.156	.068	-6.393 0.467
		(Dutch/English vs. Other)			
		Language	-0.128 -5.700	.011	-9.879 -1.517
		(Dutch/Other vs. English)			

*Notes.* EC sympathy group is excluding support group members. Lower and upper represent lower and upper 95% CI for bootstrapped estimates.

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### Footnotes

- 481 <sup>1</sup> Empirically, Honesty-Humility and Emotionality are less well covered by the five factors of the NEO-FFI than the other HEXACO
- 482 factors, suggesting that these two traits—and somewhat Agreeableness—include content that is not well-represented in the Big Five
- 483 (Lee & Ashton, 2013).