

1 A simple self-reflection intervention boosts the  
2 detection of targeted advertising

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4 **Abstract**

5 Online platforms collect and infer detailed information about people and their  
6 behaviour, giving advertisers an unprecedented ability to reach specific groups of  
7 recipients. This ability to “microtarget” messages contrasts with people’s limited  
8 knowledge of what data platforms hold and how those data are used. Two on-  
9 line experiments (total  $N = 828$ ) demonstrated that a short, simple intervention  
10 prompting participants to reflect on a targeted personality dimension boosted their  
11 ability to correctly identify the ads that were targeted at them by up to 26 percent-  
12 age points. Merely providing a description of the targeted personality dimension did  
13 not improve accuracy; accuracy increased when participants completed a short ques-  
14 tionnaire assessing the personality dimension—even when no personalized feedback  
15 was provided. We argue that such “boosting approaches,” which improve peoples’  
16 ability to detect advertising strategies, should be part of a policy mix aiming to  
17 increase platforms’ transparency and give people the competences necessary to re-  
18 claim their autonomy online.

## 19 Introduction

20 Advertisers have always sought to maximize the match between their messages and pre-  
21 sumed customers. There are few cosmetic ads in motorcycle magazines, and TV commer-  
22 cials rarely advertise toys after children are in bed. However, compared with traditional  
23 targeted advertising, online advertising offers advertisers unprecedented ability to reach  
24 specific groups of recipients with tailored messages<sup>1;2</sup>. In addition, advertisers receive  
25 direct feedback on the reception of their message (e.g., via click-through rates), enabling  
26 them to further optimize their message and its targeting via large-scale A/B testing<sup>3;4</sup>.  
27 With increasing technological capacity and sophistication, these processes are becoming  
28 ever more opaque for the public and for targeted individuals, in particular<sup>5</sup>. This devel-  
29 opment further amplifies the asymmetry of knowledge between platforms and their users:  
30 Platforms collect and infer detailed information about users and their behaviour<sup>1;2</sup>. Users,  
31 by contrast, know little about what data the platforms hold and how those data are used  
32 to shape their online experience<sup>6;7</sup>. Here we investigate a short, simple intervention that  
33 aims to boost people’s competence to detect targeted messages and could contribute to  
34 counteracting this asymmetry. The intervention raises users’ awareness of personality  
35 dimensions<sup>8</sup> that might be targeted, and enables them to detect a targeting strategy  
36 designed to exploit those dimensions.

37 Here we define *microtargeting* as the method of addressing users based on “non-  
38 observable” features (e.g., partisanship, personality dimensions) rather than easily “ob-  
39 servable” demographic features such as age and gender. This type of targeting is by  
40 definition difficult to detect unless it is explicitly announced or labelled.

41 Although the persuasive effect of a single ad on a single individual may be relatively  
42 small<sup>9</sup>, the potential harms of microtargeting can scale up and propagate to the col-

43 lective<sup>10</sup>. Political online advertising, for example, generates billions of impressions on  
44 social media<sup>11</sup>, and it has been shown that even small visual details can affect voting in-  
45 tentions<sup>12</sup>. Facebook’s hidden ad-delivery mechanisms can increase biases<sup>13</sup> and polarize  
46 political campaigns<sup>14</sup>. More generally, increasingly precise microtargeting can harm the  
47 democratic process because manipulative messages directed at a specific, but not pub-  
48 licly known target audience, cannot be scrutinized and rebutted by political opponents  
49 in a free marketplace of ideas<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, microtargeting includes “boosted organic  
50 content”\*, that is, seemingly personal content that the platforms deliver to target audi-  
51 ences against payment of a fee. This blending of personal communication and advertising  
52 can increase the effect of advertisements<sup>15</sup> and, in political advertising, contributes to a  
53 distorted picture of democratic discourse<sup>16</sup>.

54 Tech companies have taken some steps towards transparency in the form of ad li-  
55 braries<sup>†</sup>. These libraries compile ads run on the platforms along with information on the  
56 characteristics of the target audience. Due to their complexity and size, however, these  
57 libraries are unlikely to help end users; they mainly serve political analysts, journalists,  
58 and researchers. Moreover, the information documented on the target audience does not  
59 extend beyond coarse variables such as age group or region of residence. This coarseness  
60 prevents quantitative studies<sup>11</sup> and rebuttal messages from political competitors<sup>17</sup>. Ad li-  
61 braries in their present form therefore cannot counter unduly manipulative microtargeting  
62 and its effects on individuals.

63 In addition to the collective harms for democracy, opaque targeting practices are at  
64 odds with attitudes across the political spectrum. In a recent representative survey in  
65 Germany, Great Britain, and the United States<sup>18</sup>, people were inclined to accept personal-

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\*<https://www.facebook.com/business/help/317083072148603>

†E.g., <https://www.facebook.com/ads/library> and <https://transparencyreport.google.com/political-ads>

66 ization based on information that users typically provide knowingly (e.g., age or gender).  
67 However, they rejected the use of other types of data, especially information that cannot  
68 be easily observed or was not knowingly provided, such as political and sexual orientation  
69 or personality dimensions. These sensitive attributes can be inferred from behavioural  
70 data without users’ input, knowledge, or explicit consent<sup>1;19</sup> by machine learning meth-  
71 ods that are inherently opaque (e.g., Facebook’s patent “Determining user personality  
72 characteristics from social networking system communications and characteristics”<sup>‡</sup>).

73 An experiment conducted on Facebook has suggested that inferred personality dimen-  
74 sions can be used to personalize ads: Participants were more likely to buy a product  
75 when they were targeted with an advertisement that matched their personality type (ex-  
76 travert vs. introvert)<sup>20</sup>. Other studies found that personality-based targeting increased  
77 engagement, but did not consistently change attitudes towards a product<sup>21</sup>. Recent results  
78 showed that personality-matching political advertising can be more effective in influencing  
79 political attitudes and voting intentions than non-matching advertising<sup>22</sup>.

80 Whatever the persuasive power of current practices, microtargeting lacks transparency  
81 and contributes to a growing knowledge gap between platforms and users. While platforms  
82 are becoming increasingly more sophisticated in collecting data and customizing user  
83 experiences, there is a dearth of effective measures that could help counteract the adverse  
84 consequences of these developments and reduce the knowledge gap. Clearly, there is no  
85 silver bullet to redress this informational asymmetry, but a wide range of actions can and  
86 should be taken to increase people’s autonomy online<sup>7;23</sup>. At present, countermeasures  
87 include an assortment of regulations. One of the more forceful measures is to shield  
88 private data from being collected in the first place, using legislation such as the E.U.’s  
89 General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Yet platforms often bypass the intent of the

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<sup>‡</sup><https://patents.google.com/patent/US8825764B2/en>

90 regulation by using so-called “dark patterns,” which nudge users to disable the privacy-  
91 protecting defaults (e.g., by clicking on the visually more salient button)<sup>24</sup>. In addition,  
92 irrespective of the ban on collecting sensitive personal data, Facebook is still able to infer  
93 such information from behavioural data, and to segment users accordingly<sup>25</sup>.

94 A different, but complementary, strategy to close the knowledge gap is to enhance  
95 users’ awareness of microtargeting practices. This approach may be more robust to con-  
96 stantly changing targeting methods than regulation of those can ever be. Awareness about  
97 microtargeting could empower users to deliberately ignore advertisements or discount po-  
98 litical messages that they identify as having been microtargeted. It has been shown that  
99 advertisements are less effective when people find out that unacceptable practices have  
100 been used to target them (i.e., using information obtained from outside the platform or  
101 inferred without user input)<sup>26</sup>. In contrast, trust and effectiveness may increase when the  
102 practices used are deemed acceptable<sup>26</sup>. However, current transparency measures, such  
103 as the “Why am I seeing this?” button on Facebook, provide only superficial information  
104 (e.g., “the advertiser wants to reach people who may be similar to their customers”) and  
105 have to be actively requested by users<sup>27</sup>. The GDPR mandates other ways to achieve  
106 transparency, such as users’ “right of access”<sup>§</sup> to the data that platforms hold on them.<sup>¶</sup>  
107 Yet most users lack the technical sophistication, motivation, or time to explore those  
108 large, unstructured datasets<sup>28</sup>.

109 Thus, although platforms are required to disclose the data they hold about users,  
110 in practice, for most users this requirement fails to open the platforms’ “black box”.  
111 Achieving *effective transparency*—that demonstrably enables users to understand what  
112 platforms do with their data and what users’ choices imply, and to translate this knowledge

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<sup>§</sup><https://gdpr-info.eu/art-15-gdpr/>

<sup>¶</sup>See, for example, <https://myactivity.google.com/more-activity>  
or [https://www.facebook.com/your\\_information](https://www.facebook.com/your_information).

113 into behavior—is an important step towards more acceptable business practices and to  
114 regaining autonomy for users (e.g., by prompting people to adjust their privacy settings<sup>29</sup>).  
115 However, as reviewed above, most current transparency initiatives seem to be exercises in  
116 “nominal transparency” with no real regard for whether or not people actually read and  
117 digest the information or whether it has any effect on their behaviour.

118 Here we investigate a cognitive approach to counteract the information asymmetry,  
119 which explicitly aims to help people to cope with the lack of transparency. It is inspired by  
120 research showing that people can be psychologically “inoculated” against misinformation.  
121 For example, explaining misleading argumentation techniques reduces the influence of  
122 subsequently presented misinformation<sup>30;31</sup>. In this study, we test whether it is possible  
123 to inoculate people against personality-based microtargeting<sup>20</sup> by alerting them to the  
124 personality dimension being targeted and thus increasing their ability to identify whether  
125 or not an advertisement is targeting them personally. If the success of the intervention  
126 depends primarily on people being aware of the personality dimension being targeted,  
127 then it may suffice to provide a description of that personality dimension. However,  
128 to the extent that people lack relevant self-knowledge<sup>8</sup> about the targeted personality  
129 dimension, or fail to spontaneously connect their self-knowledge with the advertisements  
130 shown, the inoculation intervention may need to dig deeper. Against this background, we  
131 investigate three interventions that differ in their degree of personalization: (1) merely  
132 describing the targeted personality dimension, (2) having participants complete a short  
133 personality questionnaire (without providing feedback), and (3) providing participants  
134 with feedback on their personality based on their responses to the questionnaire. All  
135 three interventions are based on the notion of psychological inoculation, an instance of  
136 the class of “boosting” interventions, that are, interventions aimed at improving people’s  
137 competences to make better decisions in light of their own goals<sup>32;23</sup>.

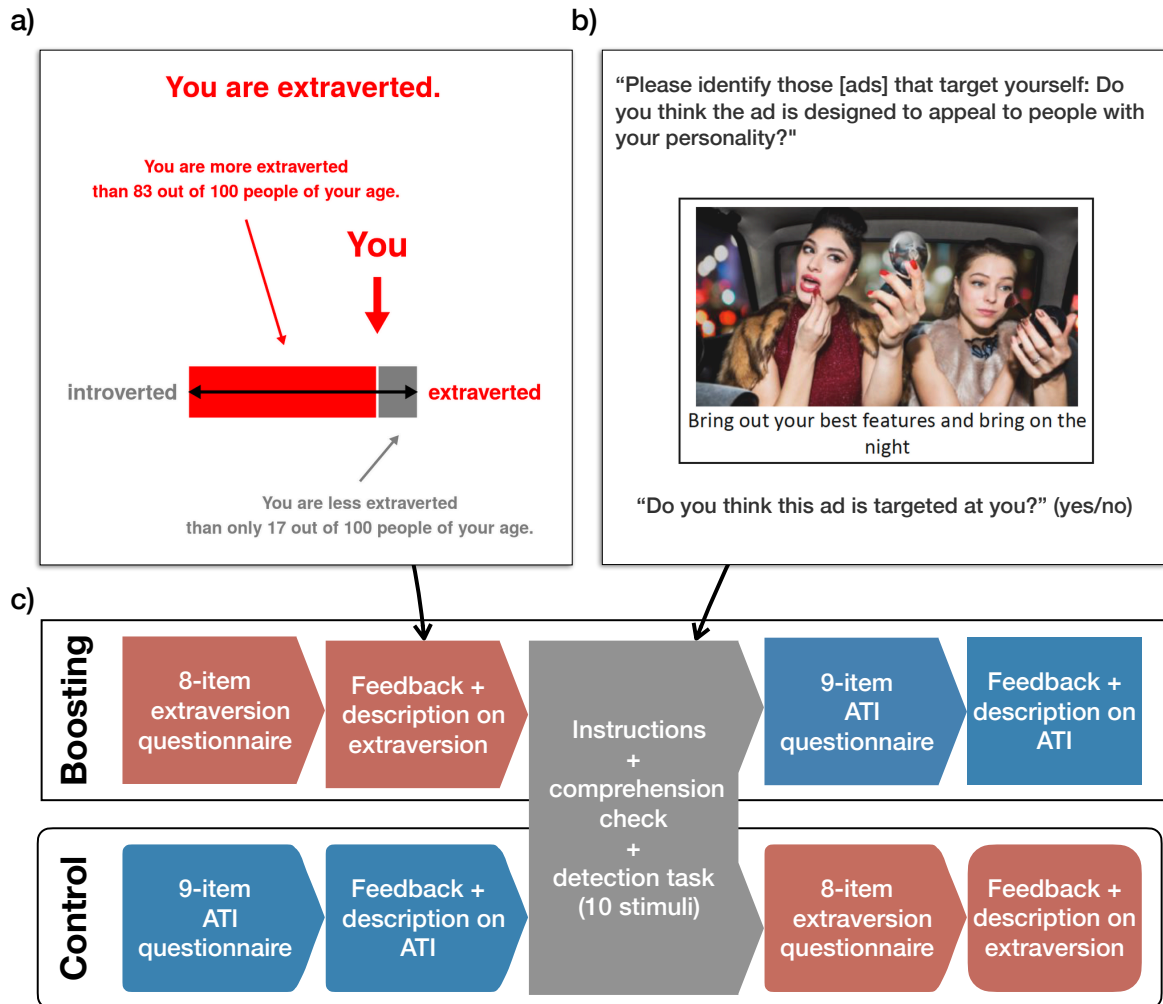


Figure 1: **Elements of the experimental setup used to test the boosting intervention in Experiment 1.** **a** Feedback screen shown to participants after completion of an 8-item personality questionnaire gauging their extraversion level (boosting condition), which includes feedback on their relative rank within an age-matched norm population (from<sup>33</sup>). **b** Instructions of the detection task and example stimulus (for the full set of stimuli, see Fig. S8). **c** Parallel experimental design of the boosting and control conditions—the only difference is that the order of the two personality questionnaires (extraversion and Affinity for Technology Interaction, ATI) and the corresponding feedback were swapped (i.e., before vs. after the detection task).

138 In two preregistered online studies, we tested the effectiveness of the inoculation ap-  
139 proach to boost people’s ability to identify ads targeted at their personality in terms of  
140 the extraversion–introversion spectrum ( $N = 828$ ; recruited via Prolific Academic). We  
141 used ads developed and validated by Matz and colleagues<sup>20</sup>, and therefore recruited from  
142 the same population as they did (i.e., female participants from the UK between 18 and 40  
143 years old). In Experiment 1, participants received feedback on their personality (including  
144 a general description of the personality dimension), in terms of either their age-matched  
145 relative extraversion score (relevant personality feedback, see Fig. 1A and Fig. S3; for full  
146 questionnaire, see Fig. S1; items were taken from Srivastava and colleagues<sup>33</sup>) or their  
147 affinity for technology interaction (ATI<sup>34</sup>; control feedback, not relevant to the personality  
148 dimension in question, see Fig. S4; for questionnaire, see Fig. S2). Participants were then  
149 presented with 10 beauty ads (taken from Matz et al.<sup>20</sup>; see Fig. S8); half of which tar-  
150 geted extraverts and the other half introverts. Participants were asked to decide whether  
151 each ad was or was not targeted towards their personality (Fig. 1B). A comprehension  
152 check ensured that participants understood the instruction (see Fig. S7). However, the  
153 specific targeting strategy—that is, that it targeted extraverts vs. introverts—was not  
154 revealed to participants. The hypothesis here was:

- 155 • **H1**: Participants who reflect on and receive feedback about their relative score on  
156 the relevant personality dimension (extraversion; boosting condition) are better able  
157 to identify ads that are targeted towards them than are participants who reflect on  
158 and receive feedback about their relative score on an unrelated personality dimension  
159 (ATI; control condition).

160 Experiment 2 aimed to disentangle the mechanisms underlying these effects: (1) im-  
161 plicitly hinting at the targeting strategy of the advertiser by describing the relevant per-  
162 sonality dimension, (2) encouraging people to reflect on their own position on the rele-



163 vant personality dimension by having them complete a questionnaire (without providing  
164 feedback), and (3) explicitly providing individual feedback on the relevant personality  
165 dimension (i.e., degree of extraversion vs. introversion). Experiment 2 was similar to Ex-  
166 periment 1, differing in only two respects. First, half the participants saw only a general  
167 description of the relevant personality dimension prior to the detection task (see Fig. S5  
168 and S6 for screenshots). Second, the other half completed the corresponding personality  
169 questionnaire (Fig. S1 and S2) after seeing the general description, but did not receive any  
170 feedback. Thus, Experiment 2 employed a 2 (control vs. boosting)  $\times$  2 (description only  
171 vs. description plus questionnaire) between-subjects design. We tested three mutually  
172 exclusive follow-up hypotheses (conditional on hypothesis **H1** being supported):

- 173 • **H2a:** The boosting intervention increases accuracy primarily by raising people’s  
174 awareness of the specific targeting strategy (i.e., differential targeting of extraverts  
175 and introverts). This implies that people already have sufficient self-knowledge  
176 about their extraversion level and spontaneously apply this knowledge to the task.  
177 Thus, fostering self-knowledge is not necessary for boosting accuracy.
- 178 • **H2b:** Raising people’s awareness of the specific targeting strategy is not sufficient to  
179 increase accuracy. People need to actively reflect on their own relevant personality  
180 dimensions to recognise that they are being targeted. This also means that simply  
181 providing warnings and explanations on platforms will not suffice to enable people  
182 to detect microtargeting.
- 183 • **H2c:** Neither of the above mechanisms apply; knowledge about one’s relative score  
184 on the targeted personality dimension (i.e., explicit feedback on one’s level of extra-  
185 vs. introversion) is required to boost accuracy. This implies that the main reason  
186 for people failing to detect microtargeting is a lack of relevant and accurate self-

187 knowledge about the relevant personality dimension.

## 188 Results

189 **Experiment 1.** Fig. 2 shows that Experiment 1 supported hypothesis **H1**: Relative to  
190 the control condition, participants in the boosting condition on average correctly identi-  
191 fied 26 percentage points more ads targeted at them (95% Bayesian credible interval, CI:  
192 18–35)—raising the mean accuracy from 64% (95% CI: 53–73) to 90% (95% CI: 85–94).  
193 This difference corresponds to an effect size, expressed in terms of the “common language  
194 effect size”<sup>35</sup>, of  $CL = 0.78$  (95% CI: .70–.84), which here indicates the probability that a  
195 randomly selected participant from the boosting condition has higher detection accuracy  
196 than a randomly selected participant from the control condition. A value of 0.5 would  
197 imply no difference and 1 would imply perfect separation between conditions. Additional  
198 analyses, detailed in the Supplementary Information (Supplementary Fig. S9–S11), attest  
199 to the robustness of these results. To summarize, the intervention worked (a) for both  
200 extraverts and introverts, (b) different levels of education, (c) irrespective of whether par-  
201 ticipants were clearly or more tentatively classified as extravert or introvert; moreover, the  
202 effect (d) was stronger for extraverts than for introverts and (e) also emerged when we mea-  
203 sured detection performance independently of any response tendency (lenient vs. strict),  
204 in terms of the area under the Receiver Operating Characteristics curve<sup>36</sup> (AUC; based on  
205 participants’ confidence in their detection decisions). Overall, these results demonstrate  
206 that it is possible to improve people’s ability to detect targeted advertisements through  
207 a short, simple boosting intervention.

208 Although the results of Experiment 1 were unambiguous, the study left one key ques-  
209 tion unanswered: What drives the intervention’s success? Is it sufficient to hint at the  
210 strategy used by the advertiser, thus raising participant awareness (**H2a**)? Or is it neces-

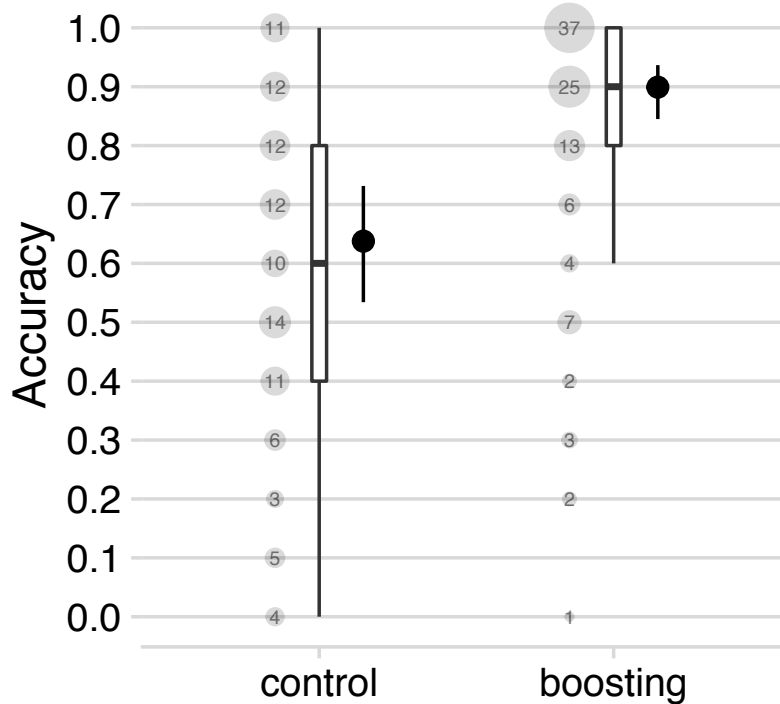


Figure 2: **Effect of boosting and control interventions on the accuracy of detecting targeted advertisements (Experiment 1)**. See Fig. 1 for the experimental setup, where participants in the boosting conditions received feedback about their extraversion prior to the task. Point ranges show the Bayesian point estimate and 95% Bayesian credible interval for the probability of correctly detecting a targeted advertisement (based on a multilevel logistic regression model; see Methods for details). In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed. The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant’s proportion of correct decisions (given the 10 ads).

211 sary that participants also reflect on their own relevant personality dimensions (**H2b**)? Or  
 212 is explicit knowledge of one’s relative score on the relevant personality dimension required  
 213 (**H2c**)? In Experiment 2, we set out to tease apart these three different mechanisms.

214 **Experiment 2.** The results of Experiment 2 support hypothesis **H2b** (Fig. 3): reflect-  
215 ing on one’s relevant personality dimensions—without receiving any relevant feedback—  
216 is necessary, but also sufficient to boost people’s ability to identify ads that have been  
217 targeted at them. The boosting condition that included the extraversion questionnaire  
218 improved participants’ performance by, on average, 10 percentage points (95% CI: 2–20)  
219 compared to the boosting condition with only the extraversion description, raising mean  
220 accuracy from 72% (95% CI: 63–81) to 83% (95% CI: 76–88); this difference corresponds  
221 to a common language effect size of  $CL = .62$  (95% CI: .52–.71). This positive effect is  
222 at odds with hypothesis **H2c**, according to which explicit knowledge of one’s level on the  
223 relevant personality dimension is necessary for the intervention to work. By contrast, par-  
224 ticipants who only read the extraversion description performed no better than participants  
225 who read the unrelated description of the ATI personality dimension ( $CL = .52$ , 95%:  
226 .43–.62); the latter participants correctly identified 70% of the ads (95% CI: 61–77). This  
227 result is at odds with hypothesis **H2a**, according to which hinting at the strategy used by  
228 the advertiser is sufficient for the intervention to work. Importantly, the effectiveness of  
229 self-reflection was not generic: performance was boosted only when people reflected on the  
230 relevant personality dimension. Participants who read the unrelated description of ATI  
231 and then completed the ATI questionnaire correctly identified 68% of the targeted ads  
232 (95% CI: 57–77)—that is, 15 percentage points (95 CI: 7–24) fewer than the participants  
233 who reflected on the relevant personality dimension (i.e., extraversion;  $CL = .66$ , 95%:  
234 58–74).

235 Additional analyses, detailed in the Supplementary Information (Supplementary Fig. S12–  
236 S14), attest to the robustness of these results. To summarize, the results hold (a) for both  
237 extraverts and introverts, (b) different levels of education; moreover, the effect (c) was  
238 stronger for extraverts than for introverts, and (d) also emerged when we measured de-

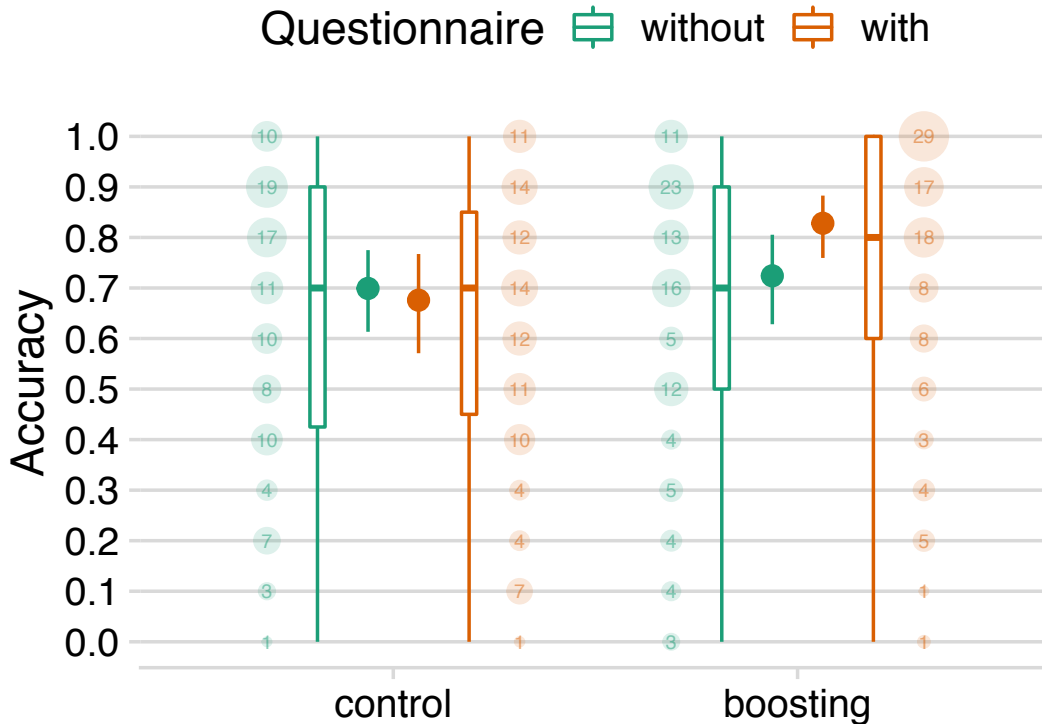


Figure 3: **Effect of boosting and control interventions on the accuracy of detecting targeted advertisements (Experiment 2).** Participants in the boosting conditions either just read a description of the relevant personality dimension prior to the task (“without questionnaire”), or additionally filled out the short questionnaire from Experiment 1, but without feedback (“with questionnaire”). Point ranges show the Bayesian point estimate and 95% Bayesian credible interval for the probability of correctly detecting a targeted advertisement (based on a multilevel logistic regression model; see Methods for details). In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed. The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant’s proportion of correct decisions (given 10 ads).

239 tection performance independently of any response tendency (lenient vs. strict), in terms  
 240 of the AUC<sup>36</sup> (based on participants’ confidence in their detection decisions). However,

241 for moderately extraverted participants, we did not observe an effect of filling out the rel-  
242 evant (vs. unrelated) questionnaire (Fig. S12 & S13); for those participants the explicit  
243 feedback about their personality seems necessary for improving their detection accuracy  
244 (cf. Experiment 1). In summary, Experiment 2 showed that the boosting intervention can  
245 improve detection accuracy even without provision of explicit feedback, whereas merely  
246 describing the relevant personality dimension was insufficient.

## 247 **Conclusion**

248 Two experiments demonstrated that prompting people to reflect on a targeted personality  
249 dimension—by means of a short and simple intervention—boosts their ability to identify  
250 ads that target them on the basis of that personality dimension. Merely providing a  
251 description of the targeted personality dimension did not enhance detection accuracy.  
252 Completing a short personality questionnaire about the targeted personality dimension  
253 was sufficient to increase accuracy—even if people did not receive any feedback. This  
254 result resonates with the recent finding that simple interventions, such as exposing misin-  
255 formation strategies, can help to inoculate people against misinformation strategies<sup>37;38</sup>.  
256 Further research needs to clarify the cognitive mechanisms underlying these effects; the  
257 extent to which the observed increases in detection ability translate into improved down-  
258 stream outcomes (e.g., in terms evaluating and responding to ads); and the extent to which  
259 the effects generalize to other personality dimensions, domains (e.g., political advertising  
260 or misinformation), and populations.

261 Boosting interventions—which by definition target people’s competences—have the  
262 advantage that they can often be deployed independently of any platform or technology.  
263 That is, they do not need to interface with a platform’s information architecture and are  
264 therefore not dependent on the platform’s cooperation (in terms of access and maintaining

265 interoperability). Compared with, say, an intervention where advertisements are labelled  
266 within the platform’s interface, an intervention targeting people’s competences is therefore  
267 more robust with respect to constantly changing technology, advertising strategies, and  
268 the tech companies’ level of cooperation. Furthermore, as boosting interventions aim to  
269 improve people’s competences, they have the potential to generalize beyond the immediate  
270 context in which they were initially deployed<sup>32;39</sup>. Self-reflection tools aimed at helping  
271 people increase their awareness of their vulnerabilities to microtargeting could be deployed  
272 on independent websites or apps—or even as “analogue” tools (e.g., a checklist on a  
273 printed flyer). Such tools would need to cover a range of the most relevant microtargeting  
274 dimensions in order to offer effective protection.

275     Going one step further: Because the GDPR requires platforms to disclose what data  
276 they hold about their users, it is now feasible in many countries to implement tools  
277 aiming to raise user awareness of the specific data held on them. The information pages  
278 established by some platforms<sup>||</sup> in principle allow every motivated and technically savvy  
279 user to download their personal dataset and explore what is known about them. Digital  
280 boosting tools could automatically access this information and provide simple interfaces  
281 that encourage active exploration. Such tools could empower less tech-savvy users to  
282 find out what platforms know about them—information that might enable the precise  
283 targeting of commercial or political advertising. This could be done without processing  
284 the user’s personal data in any way; as we have shown, the intervention was effective even  
285 without personalized feedback—the only necessary condition was active reflection on the  
286 part of the user.

287     The platforms’ lack of transparency about their data handling and business practices  
288 is an important and much-discussed issue. Our results highlight that researchers, policy

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<sup>||</sup>E.g., <https://myactivity.google.com/more-activity>  
or [https://www.facebook.com/your\\_information](https://www.facebook.com/your_information)

289 makers and other stakeholders also need to consider the issue of “effective transparency,”  
290 that is, when and how platforms’ transparency systems with respect to, say, microtar-  
291 geting practices actually empower users in practice—and are not simply an exercise in  
292 “nominal transparency.” Just because something is technically or legally “transparent”  
293 does not guarantee that users can or will engage with it—and even if they do, they still  
294 may not understand what it means for them.

295 Our findings showed that merely describing a personality dimension does not suffice  
296 to improve people’s ability to detect microtargeting. This finding raises the more general  
297 question of whether other measures aiming to achieve transparency by merely describing  
298 information to users—such as Google’s <https://myactivity.google.com> or Facebook’s  
299 [https://facebook.com/your\\_information](https://facebook.com/your_information)—may likewise fail to help users understand  
300 this data and how it is used.

301 To conclude, our findings support a vision of *effective transparency*, where platforms—  
302 and other players—provide tools that help people to actively explore and reflect on the  
303 information held about them, thereby *boosting* their awareness of that knowledge—instead  
304 of steering people away from it by burying privacy settings deep within the settings menu  
305 or dumping large amounts of unstructured data on users and leaving them to sort it  
306 out for themselves. We argue that a boosting approach is a promising component in a  
307 broader, evidence-based policy mix aimed at giving people the necessary legal rights and  
308 competences to reclaim their individual autonomy in the online world<sup>7;23</sup>.



## 309 Methods

310 All data and code are publicly available at <https://osf.io/ne4r9/>.

311 **Experiment 1.** The preregistration of the study can be accessed at <http://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=wu6sk7> and includes, among other things, the research question, hy-  
312 pothesis **H1**, the primary outcome variable, planned sample size, exclusion criteria, and  
313 the exact specification of the multilevel logistic regression model detailed below. We report  
314 all data exclusions, all manipulations, and all measures used in the study (see Simmons  
315 et al.<sup>40</sup>). The experiment was programmed using *formr* (<https://formr.org>)<sup>41</sup>.

317 *Participants.* We collected responses from 318 participants (boosting condition  $N =$   
318 158, control condition  $N = 160$ , randomly allocated on the fly) via Prolific Academic, an  
319 online survey platform whose participants are more diverse and less familiar with exper-  
320 imental procedures than Amazon Mechanical Turk workers<sup>42</sup>. Mirroring the population  
321 targeted in<sup>20</sup>, we recruited female participants between the ages of 18 and 40 years who  
322 were UK residents fluent in English; we did not invite participants who already partici-  
323 pated in a pilot study, via the prescreening functionality of Prolific. Participants received  
324 £2 for completing the study. Consistent with the preregistered exclusion criteria, we ex-  
325 cluded 25 participants for non-completion (13 in the boosting condition, 12 in the control  
326 condition), 2 participants for giving different responses to the two age questions (1 in the  
327 boosting condition, 1 in the control condition), and 6 participants for failing the compre-  
328 hension check (4 in the boosting condition, 2 in the control condition). We also excluded  
329 1 participant (from the boosting condition) with a relative extraversion percentile of ex-  
330 actly 50%, as no extraversion personality type can be assigned for participants with this  
331 value (see Conditions for further information). The final sample thus comprised 286 par-  
332 ticipants,  $N = 139$  in the control condition and  $N = 145$  in the boosting condition. The

333 median age of participants was 30 years (first and third quartile:  $Q_1 = 26$  and  $Q_3 = 34$   
334 years).

335 *Conditions.* In the boosting condition, participants completed an 8-item extraversion  
336 questionnaire (see Fig. S1). Based on their responses, they received personalized feed-  
337 back (see Fig. 1a and Fig. S3) on their extraversion score relative to a large sample of  
338 online participants (from Srivastava et al.<sup>33</sup>); this was truthful feedback, calculated for  
339 each participant on the fly. In particular, participants were told whether their personality  
340 tended more towards extraversion (“You are extraverted”) or introversion (“You are intro-  
341 verted”). A participant’s percentile was shown both numerically and visually, expressed  
342 as how many of 100 random people were more and less extraverted (for participants cat-  
343 egorized as extraverts) or introverted (for participants categorized as introverts) than the  
344 participant themselves. The feedback was accompanied by a simple definition of extraver-  
345 sion adopted from Wikipedia\*\* (see Fig. 1 and S3). We enforced a 1-minute wait on the  
346 feedback screen to ensure that participants encoded the feedback. The control condition  
347 followed the same procedure, but participants completed an unrelated, 9-item question-  
348 naire tapping their propensity to naturally interact with technical systems (Affinity for  
349 Technology Interaction, ATI; for full questionnaire, see Fig. S2). The ATI feedback and  
350 the description of the dimension was presented in a format analogous to that used in the  
351 boosting condition (see Fig. S5).

352 Questions and distributional information for the raw scores were adopted from Srivas-  
353 tava and colleagues<sup>33</sup> for extraversion and from Franke et al.<sup>34</sup> for ATI. Srivastava et al.<sup>33</sup>  
354 provide the mean and standard deviation (SD) of the raw scores for each age year between  
355 21 and 60; we were thus able to provide age-matched feedback for extra-/introversion (for  
356 participants aged 18–20 years, we used the norms for age 21 years). For ATI, we used

---

\*\*[https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion\\_and\\_introversion](https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion_and_introversion)

357 the mean and SD of the sample “S5-full” reported in Franke et al.<sup>34</sup> (i.e., no age-specific  
358 norms were available). To achieve consistency across questionnaires, we presented both  
359 questionnaires on a 5-point Likert scale. Because the ATI norm study<sup>34</sup> used a 6-point  
360 scale, we rescaled the mean and SD (original norm values  $M = 3.61$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ , rescaled  
361 values  $M = 3.09$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ). See SI for extraversion and ATI questionnaires and sam-  
362 ple feedback (Figs. S1 and S2 for questionnaires; Figs. 1a, S3 and S4 for feedback and  
363 definitions).

364 *Ad targeting detection task.* We presented the female participants with 10 ads for  
365 beauty products (taken from Matz et al.<sup>20</sup>) in random order. Five of the ads were specif-  
366 ically designed to target extraverts; five target introverts (for the full set of stimuli, see  
367 Fig. S8). Each ad consisted of a picture and a slogan. “Extraverted” ads emphasized  
368 socially stimulating contexts (e.g., “Love the spotlight”), whereas “introverted” ads em-  
369 phasized socially less stimulating contexts (e.g., “Beauty isn’t always about being on  
370 show”). The original study<sup>20</sup> validated the stimuli by showing that extraverted ads were  
371 rated as more extraverted than introverted ads (and vice versa) and that microtargeting  
372 extraverts and introverts on Facebook led to higher sales of actual products in a web shop  
373 (relative to mismatched ads).

374 Right before the beginning of the ad targeting detection task, participants received  
375 the following instructions: “In the following you will be shown ads that are all designed  
376 for women, but are additionally targeted at different personality types. Please identify  
377 those that target yourself: Do you think the ad is designed to appeal to people with  
378 your personality? Or do you think it is designed to appeal to people with a different  
379 personality?” That is, in this study, microtargeting was defined as addressing participants  
380 by tailoring ads to aspects of their personality. This was followed by a comprehension  
381 check (see Fig. S7): “Please complete the following sentence. For the following ads, I need

382 to rate whether I think the ad is ...,” followed by the options “copied from a previous ad,”  
383 “targeted towards my personality type,” “appealing to me,” and “going to be effective  
384 when aired.” If participants did not select “targeted towards my personality type,” the  
385 question was repeated (max. two times) with the response options presented in a different  
386 order. As per preregistration, we included participants in the analysis only if they passed  
387 the comprehension check within the maximum of three attempts. For each ad, participants  
388 were then asked whether it was targeted towards their personality type: “Do you think  
389 this ad is targeted at you?” (“yes” vs. “no”; see Fig. 1b). Participants also indicated  
390 their decision confidence by responding to the question “How confident are you with your  
391 choice?” (Likert scale ranging from 1 = “not confident” to 5 = “very confident”).

392 *Primary outcome measure.* The primary dependent variable was a participant’s deci-  
393 sion about whether or not a particular ad was targeted towards her personality (“yes” vs.  
394 “no”). We classified each participant as either extravert (percentile > 50%) or introvert  
395 (percentile < 50%) on the basis of their percentile rank for extraversion. Based on this  
396 categorization, each participant’s decisions were then scored as either correct or incorrect.  
397 Specifically, a decision was scored as correct if an extraverted participant responded that  
398 an extraverted ad was targeted at her or an introverted ad was not targeted at her. A  
399 decision was scored as incorrect if she responded that an extraverted ad was not targeted  
400 at her or that an introverted ad was targeted at her. The opposite coding was used for  
401 introverted participants.

402 *Procedure.* Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the boost-  
403 ing condition, participants first completed the extraversion questionnaire and received  
404 feedback on their relative extraversion score (see Fig. 1a), then evaluated the targeting  
405 of the ads, and finally completed the ATI questionnaire and were given feedback on their  
406 relative ATI score (see Fig. S4). In the control condition, the position of the extraversion

407 and ATI questionnaires (plus their respective feedback) was switched. Participants were  
408 asked to indicate their age in both the extraversion and the ATI questionnaire; this mea-  
409 sure was used as a response consistency measure (see exclusion criteria). At the end of  
410 the study, a question about education was administered.

411 *Statistical analysis.* We used a Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model imple-  
412 mented in the R package *brms*<sup>43;44</sup> and its default, vague priors (see code for exact spec-  
413 ifications). The preregistered model’s syntax is

```
414 correct ~ 1 + condition + (1 | id) + (1 + condition | stimuli)
```

415 where `correct` is 1 for correct and 0 for incorrect classification decisions, `condition`  
416 is a deviation-coded factor variable for the boosting vs. control condition, `id` is a  
417 unique identifier for participants, and `stimuli` is a unique identifier for ads. Note that  
418 `(1 + condition | stimuli)` allows the treatment effect to differ in size by ad. Four  
419 Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) chains, each with 8,000 samples, were run; the  
420 first 8,000 samples were discarded as warm-up. The MCMC diagnostics indicated good  
421 convergence (see Supplementary Information).

422 Posterior distributions were summarized using the median (point estimate) and 95%  
423 credible interval (uncertainty interval). Based on the model parameters (see Supplemen-  
424 tary Information for a summary table), we derived posterior distributions for several key  
425 statistics of interest: (a) the probability of a correct detection decision in both conditions,  
426 (b) the percentage point difference, and (c) effect sizes between the two conditions.

427 We express effect sizes using the “common language effect size” (CL)<sup>35</sup>, which in-  
428 dicates the probability that a randomly selected participant from one condition has a  
429 higher value than a randomly selected participant from another condition; a value of 0.5  
430 implies no difference and 1 would imply perfect separation between conditions. CL is well  
431 suited to compare conditions in a multilevel logistic regression model because—unlike

432 the commonly used measures of effect size based on standardized mean differences—CL  
433 is invariant to monotonical transformations. That is, its value does not depend on an  
434 arbitrary decision on whether to look at the results in log-odds or probability space. We  
435 derive the posterior distribution of a CL-comparison based on the model’s posterior dis-  
436 tributions for the participant-population mean and standard deviation in each condition  
437 (setting the item effects to zero, that is, considering the average item).

438 **Experiment 2.** Experiment 2 was identical to Experiment 1, with the exceptions  
439 specified here. This study’s preregistration can be accessed at [http://aspredicted.org/  
440 blind.php?x=39ik6v](http://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=39ik6v) and includes, among other things, the research question, hypotheses  
441 **H2a–c**, the primary outcome variable, planned sample size, exclusion criteria, and the  
442 exact specification of the multilevel logistic regression model detailed below. We report all  
443 data exclusions, all manipulations, and all measures in the study (see Simmons et al.<sup>40</sup>).

444 *Participants.* 638 participants (boosting condition with questionnaire  $N = 173$ ,  
445 boosting condition without questionnaire  $N = 130$ , control condition with questionnaire  
446  $N = 164$ , control condition without questionnaire  $N = 171$ , randomly allocated on the  
447 fly), recruited from Prolific Academic, received £2 for completing the study. Experiment  
448 2 involved two additional prescreening criteria on Prolific, namely, that they had not par-  
449 ticipated in Experiment 1, its pilot, or a pilot study for Experiment 2. Consistent with  
450 the preregistered exclusion criteria, we excluded 78 participants for non-completion (16  
451 in the boosting condition with questionnaire, 10 in the boosting condition without ques-  
452 tionnaire, 29 in the control with questionnaire, 23 in the control without questionnaire), 5  
453 participants for an extraversion percentile of exactly 0.5 (3 in the boosting condition with-  
454 out questionnaire, 2 in the control with questionnaire), 2 participants for giving different  
455 responses for the two age questions (1 in the boosting condition with questionnaire, 1 in

456 the control with questionnaire), and 10 participants for failing the comprehension check  
457 (3 in the boosting condition with questionnaire, 3 in the boosting condition without ques-  
458 tionnaire, 2 in the control with questionnaire, 2 in the control without questionnaire).  
459 Our final sample size was thus 544 participants: boosting condition with questionnaire:  
460  $N = 153$  (i.e., 88% retained); boosting condition without questionnaire:  $N = 114$  (i.e.,  
461 88% retained); control condition with questionnaire:  $N = 131$  (i.e., 80% retained); and  
462 control condition without questionnaire:  $N = 146$  (i.e., 85% retained). The median age  
463 of participants was 29 years (first and third quartiles:  $Q_1 = 24$  and  $Q_3 = 34$  years).

464 *Treatments.* We tested two simplifications of the intervention implemented in Ex-  
465 periment 1: providing no feedback on the questionnaire and providing only a relevant  
466 definition. Here, before completing the ad targeting detection task, participants were  
467 shown a definition of either extraversion (relevant personality dimension, see Fig. S5) or  
468 ATI (control personality dimension, see Fig. S6). Within each of these two groups, half of  
469 the participants additionally completed the same questionnaire on the respective person-  
470 ality dimension as in Experiment 1, but without any feedback. In contrast to Experiment  
471 1, where the definition of the personality dimension was shown along with the feedback  
472 (based on the previously completed questionnaire), all participants in Experiment 2 first  
473 saw a definition of the respective personality dimension.

474 *Procedure.* Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (In-  
475 tervention relevance: boosting vs. control)  $\times$  2 (Intervention type: Definition only vs.  
476 Definition + Questionnaire) between-subjects design. In both boosting conditions, par-  
477 ticipants first received a description of the relevant personality dimension: extraversion  
478 (see Fig. S5). In the questionnaire conditions, participants then additionally completed  
479 the relevant extraversion inventory (see Fig. S1). Participants in both boosting condi-  
480 tions were then asked to identify ads targeted towards their personality. After the ad

481 targeting detection task, they were given feedback on their relative extraversion score (as  
482 in Experiment 1, see Figs. 1a, S3, and S4); they then completed the ATI questionnaire  
483 and were given feedback on their relative ATI score (see Fig. S4). Because all feedback  
484 was provided *after* the detection task, it could not have any effect on the detection task;  
485 we included the feedback simply to satisfy participants' curiosity. For the two control  
486 conditions, the position of the extraversion and ATI descriptions (and, in the case of the  
487 condition with questionnaire, the corresponding questionnaire) was switched.

488 *Statistical analysis.* The preregistered model's syntax is

```
489 correct ~ 1 + relevance * questionnaire + (1 | id)  
490 + (1 + relevance * questionnaire | stimuli)
```

491 where `correct` is 1 for correct and 0 for incorrect classification decisions, `relevance` is  
492 a deviation-coded factor variable for the boosting vs. control conditions (i.e., relevant  
493 vs. unrelated personality dimension, respectively), `questionnaire` is a deviation-coded  
494 factor variable indicating whether or not participants were administered a questionnaire,  
495 `id` is a unique identifier for participants, and `stimuli` is a unique identifier for ads.  
496 `relevance * questionnaire` indicates that the model includes the two main effects as  
497 well as the interaction `relevance : questionnaire`. Note that

```
498 (1 + relevance * questionnaire | stimuli)
```

499 allows the treatment effects (i.e., two main effects and their interaction) to differ in size by  
500 ad. Four MCMC chains, each with 8,000 samples, were run; the first 4,000 samples were  
501 discarded as warm-up. The MCMC diagnostics indicated good convergence (see Supple-  
502 mentary Information). Based on the model's parameters (see Supplementary Information  
503 for a summary table), we derived posterior distributions for several key statistics of inter-  
504 est: (a) the probability of a correct detection decision in each condition, (b) percentage  
505 point differences, and (c) effect sizes between conditions. For more information on the



506 analysis approach, see Experiment 1 above.

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## 641 **Author contributions**

642 PLS and SH contributed equally. All authors conceptualized the study. PLS, MG, SH, and  
643 SL designed the experiments. PLS and MG programmed and conducted the experiments.  
644 PLS and SH analyzed and SH visualized the data. PLS, SH, and MG wrote the original  
645 draft. All authors reviewed and edited the manuscript.

## 646 **Competing interest**

647 The authors declare no competing interests.

## 648 **Ethics declaration**

649 The study was approved by the IRB committee of the Max Planck Institute for Human  
650 Development.

## 651 **Data and code availability**

652 All data and code are publicly available at <https://osf.io/ne4r9/>.

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<sup>††</sup>Project description: <http://portal.volkswagenstiftung.de/search/projectDetails.do?ref=95932>

# Supplementary material: A simple self-reflection intervention boosts the detection of targeted advertising

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# 1 Screenshots of Experiments

## 1.1 Personality questionnaires

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who likes to spend time with others? Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement.

How old are you?

I think of myself as someone who is talkative.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who is sometimes shy, inhibited.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who is reserved.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who tends to be quiet.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who has an assertive personality.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who is full of energy.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who is outgoing, sociable.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I think of myself as someone who generates a lot of enthusiasm.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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Figure S1: **Extraversion personality questionnaire** used in Experiments 1 and 2. These 8 items are a subset of the 44-items extraversion scale<sup>2</sup>

In the following questionnaire, we will ask you about your interaction with technical systems. The term "technical systems" refers to apps and other software applications, as well as entire digital devices (e.g., mobile phone, computer, TV, car navigation).

How old are you?

I try to understand how a technical system exactly works.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I predominantly deal with technical systems because I have to.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
-------------------	-------------------	----------------------------	----------------	----------------

It is enough for me to know the basic functions of a technical system.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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It is enough for me that a technical system works; I don't care how or why.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I like to occupy myself in greater detail with technical systems.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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When I have a new technical system in front of me, I try it out intensively.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I try to make full use of the capabilities of a technical system.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I enjoy spending time becoming acquainted with a new technical system.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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I like testing the functions of new technical systems.

Disagree strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly
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Figure S2: **Affinity for Technology Interaction (ATI) questionnaire** used in Experiments 1 and 2. Items are taken from Franke et al.<sup>3</sup>.

## 1.2 Personality feedback screens

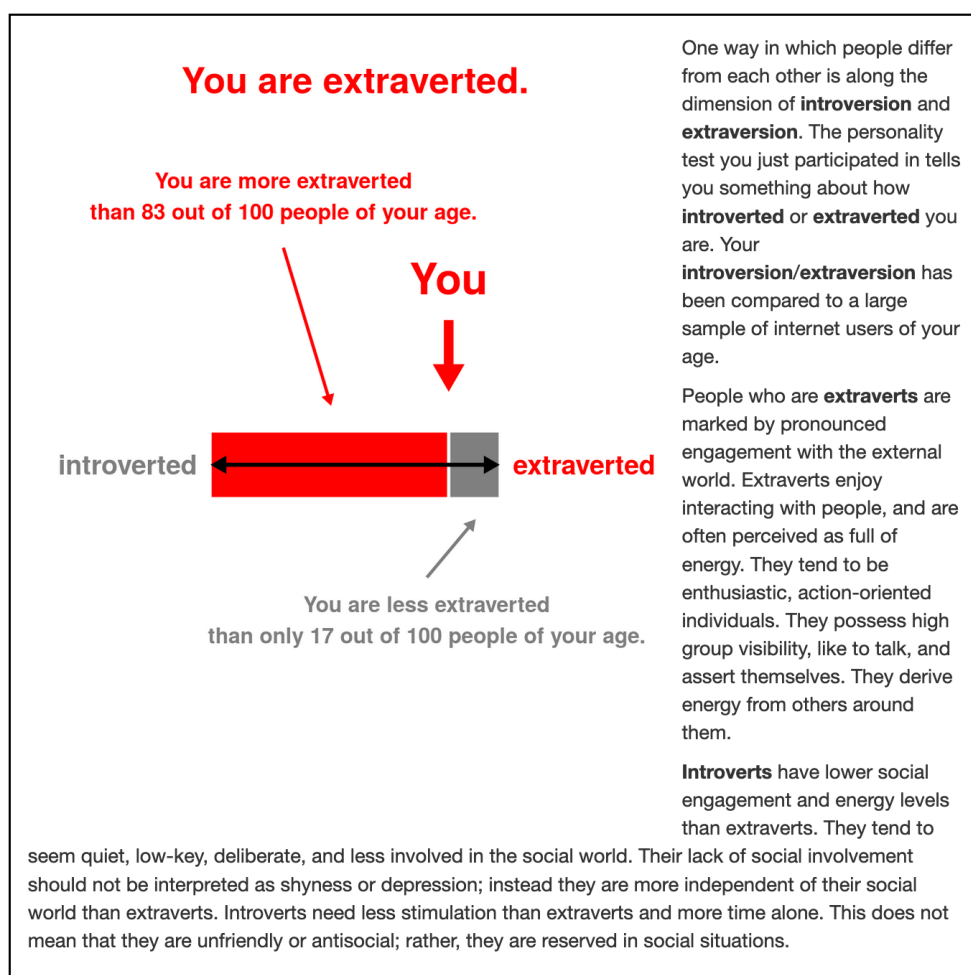


Figure S3: **Personality feedback and description used in the boosting condition in Experiment 1** (i.e., the relevant personality dimension: extraversion). This screenshot is an example for a participant classified as extravert; for participants classified as introverts, the the feedback is reframed in terms of intraversion (i.e., the title reads “You are introverted” and the text below reads “You are more introverted than [XX] out of 100 people of your age” and “You are less introverted than [100 – XX] out of 100 people of your age”, where [XX] is the respective percentile). This definition of extraversion is adapted from Wikipedia ([https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion\\_and\\_introversion](https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion_and_introversion)). See Methods in the main text for details on how the percentile was calculated.



Figure S4: **Personality feedback and description used in the control condition in Experiment 1** (i.e., the irrelevant personality dimension: Affinity for Technology, ATI<sup>3</sup>). This screenshot is an example for a participant classified as technology affine; for participants classified as not technology affine, the the feedback is reframed in terms of technology aversion (i.e., the title reads “You are technology averse” and the text below reads “You are more averse than [XX] out of 100 people” and “You are less averse than [100 – XX] out of 100 people”, where [XX] is the respective percentile). See Methods in the main text for details on how the percentile was calculated.

## 1.3 Descriptions of personality dimensions

### Extraversion and introversion

One way in which people differ from each other is along the dimension of **introversion** and **extraversion**.

People who are **extraverts** are marked by pronounced engagement with the external world. Extraverts enjoy interacting with people, and are often perceived as full of energy. They tend to be enthusiastic, action-oriented individuals. They possess high group visibility, like to talk, and assert themselves. They derive energy from others around them.

**Introverts** have lower social engagement and energy levels than extraverts. They tend to seem quiet, low-key, deliberate, and less involved in the social world. Their lack of social involvement should not be interpreted as shyness or depression; instead they are more independent of their social world than extraverts. Introverts need less stimulation than extraverts and more time alone. This does not mean that they are unfriendly or antisocial; rather, they are reserved in social situations.

*Please wait for one minute and read through the above information. Then continue here:*

[Go on](#)

Figure S5: **Description of the extraversion personality dimension**, used in the boosting condition in Experiment 2. This definition of extraversion is adapted from Wikipedia ([https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion\\_and\\_introversion](https://web.archive.org/web/20190801042657/https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extraversion_and_introversion)).

### Affinity for technology interaction

One way in which people differ from each other is in their **affinity to technology**.

People who are **technology affine** are marked by pronounced engagement with the technological gadgets. They enjoy interacting with apps and other software applications, as well as entire digital devices (e.g., mobile phone, computer, TV, car navigation).

People who are **technology unaffine** have lower engagement with such technical systems. They tend to be uninterested in the newest developments in this world. They also do not incorporate many of these tools into their everyday life.

*Please wait for one minute and read through the above information. Then continue here:*

[Go on](#)

Figure S6: **Description of the Affinity for Technology scale (ATI)** used in the control condition in Experiment 2. This definition is taken from Franke et al.<sup>3</sup>.

## 1.4 Comprehension check

*Comprehension check:* Before you proceed to the next page, please complete the following sentence. For the following ads, I need to rate whether I think the ad is ...

- ... copied from a previous ad.
- ... targeted towards my personality type.
- ... appealing to me.
- ... going to be effective when aired.

Go on

Figure S7: **Comprehension check used in Experiments 1 and 2 prior to starting the detection task.** If a participant did not choose the correct answer (“targeted towards my personality type”), the question was shown again up to two more times, alongside the note “The last answer was not correct, please try again:” (i.e., a total maximum of three attempts). The response options were sorted differently after each incorrect response. Only participants who passed the comprehension check within three attempts were included in the analysis (see Methods in the main text and the preregistrations).

## 1.5 Stimuli: The 10 ads from Matz and colleagues<sup>1</sup>



Figure S8: **Stimuli: The 10 ads used in Experiments 1 and 2.** The ads in the left column are tailored to extraverts and the ads in the right column to introverts. Images and text were adopted from Matz et al.<sup>1</sup> and then combined as listed by Matz et al..

## 2 Additional results

### 2.1 Experiment 1

#### 2.1.1 Detection performance, boosting intervention, and level of extraversion

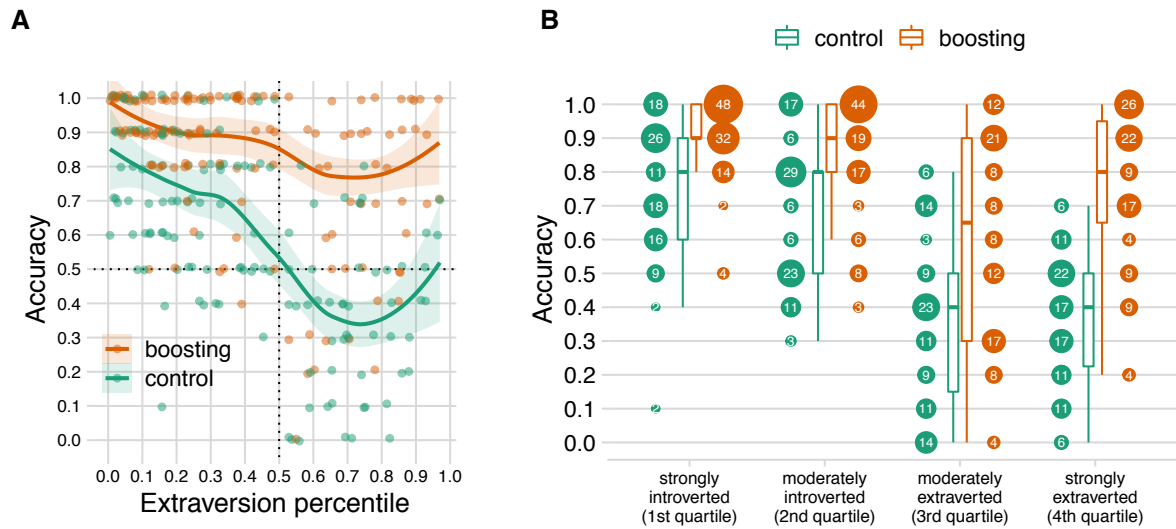


Figure S9: **Detection performance (in terms of proportion of correct decisions), boosting intervention, and level of extraversion (Experiment 1).** **A** Scatterplot of participants' accuracy (i.e., proportion correct decisions; y-axis) and their extraversion percentile (from 0 most introverted to 1 most extraverted; x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded). Dots are slightly jittered vertically to avoid overplotting. Curves and confidence bands show robust LOESS curves (locally estimated scatterplot smoothing using re-descending M estimator with Tukey's biweight function) and their 95% confidence band. **B** Detection accuracy by extraversion quartiles (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded). In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed. The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-quartile-and-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant's value of proportion of correct decisions (given the 10 ads).



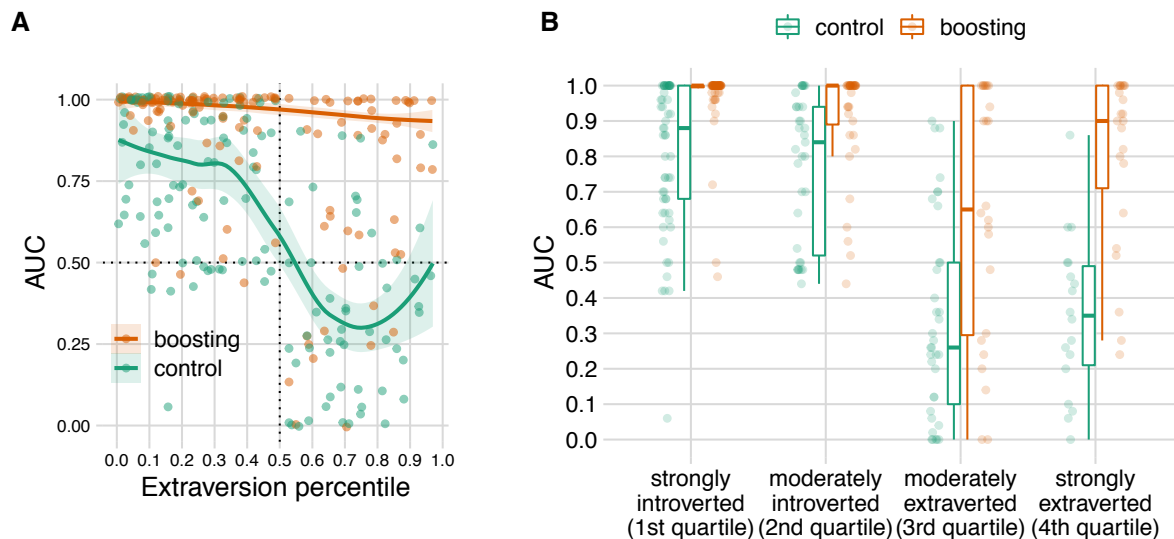


Figure S10: **Detection performance (in terms of the area under the Receiver Operating Characteristics curve, AUC, based on participants' confidence rating), boosting intervention, and level of extraversion (Experiment 1).** Detection accuracy is quantified using the AUC based on participants' confidence rating, using the trapezoid method (i.e., no kernel- or model-based smoothing)<sup>4</sup>. In particular, this calculation uses a participant's confidence that the ad is targeted towards them (implied by the participant's binary categorization decision and corresponding rating about how confident the respondent is in the correctness of her decision). An AUC value can be interpreted as the probability that a participant's confidence (in the sense described above) is higher for a randomly selected ad that actually targets this participant compared to a randomly selected ad that does not actually target this participant. **A** Scatterplot of participants' detection performance (i.e., AUC; y-axis) and their extraversion percentile (from 0 most introverted to 1 most extraverted; x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded). Dots are slightly jittered vertically to avoid overplotting. Curves and confidence bands show robust LOESS curves (locally estimated scatterplot smoothing using re-descending M estimator with Tukey's biweight function) and their 95% confidence band. **B** Detection performance (i.e., AUC; y-axis) by extraversion quartiles (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded). In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed.

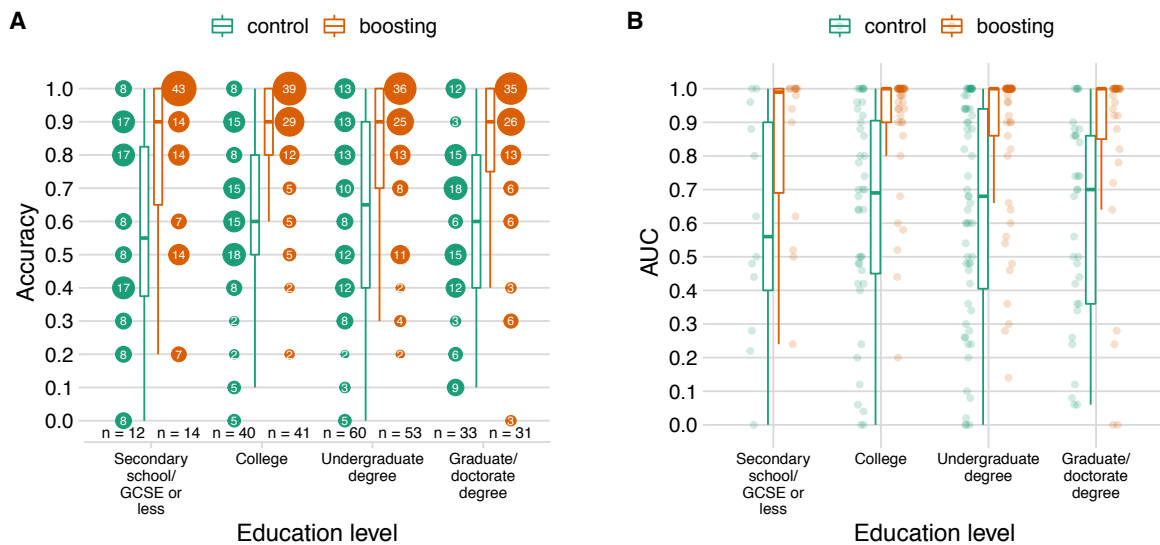


Figure S11: **Detection performance, boosting intervention, and education (Experiment 1)**. **A** Detection accuracy (i.e., proportion correct decisions; y-axis) by education (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded). The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-education-and-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant’s value of proportion of correct decisions (given the 10 ads). **B** Detection performance in terms of AUC (y-axis); see Fig S12 for more details on AUC. Dots represent participants and are slightly jittered to avoid overplotting. In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed.  $n$  denotes the number of participants for each combination of education level and condition.

## 2.1.2 Summary of multilevel logistic regression model

The text below shows the model summary of the *brms* Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model<sup>5;6</sup> reported for Experiment 1. See Methods in the main article for more information on the coding of the variables. **Estimate** shows the median and **l-95%** and **u-95%** show the 95% posterior credibility interval (i.e., the 2.5% and 97.5% percentile, respectively) of the respective marginal posterior distribution. For more details see the R help file `?brms::summary.brmsfit*`

```
Family: bernoulli
Links: mu = logit
Formula: dec_correct ~ 1 + condition + (1 | id) + (1 + condition | stimuli)
Data: tbl_targeting_1 (Number of observations: 2840)
Samples: 4 chains, each with iter = 8000; warmup = 4000; thin = 1;
         total post-warmup samples = 16000

Group-Level Effects:
~id (Number of levels: 284)
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)      1.52      0.11      1.32      1.75 1.00      6358      10048

~stimuli (Number of levels: 10)
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS
sd(Intercept)      0.48      0.14      0.28      0.92 1.00      5852
sd(condition1)      0.20      0.16      0.01      0.63 1.00      6142
cor(Intercept,condition1) 0.29      0.55     -0.83      0.95 1.00      18907
Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)      9267
sd(condition1)      7713
cor(Intercept,condition1) 10651

Population-Level Effects:
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
Intercept      1.38      0.20      0.97      1.79 1.00      5350      8842
condition1      1.62      0.24      1.16      2.10 1.00      6967      10456
```

Samples were drawn using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, **Bulk\_ESS** and **Tail\_ESS** are effective sample size measures, and **Rhat** is the potential scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, **Rhat** = 1).

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\*E.g., at <https://rdrr.io/cran/brms/man/summary.brmsfit.html>.

## **2.2 Experiment 2**

### **2.2.1 Detection performance, boosting intervention, and level of extraversion**

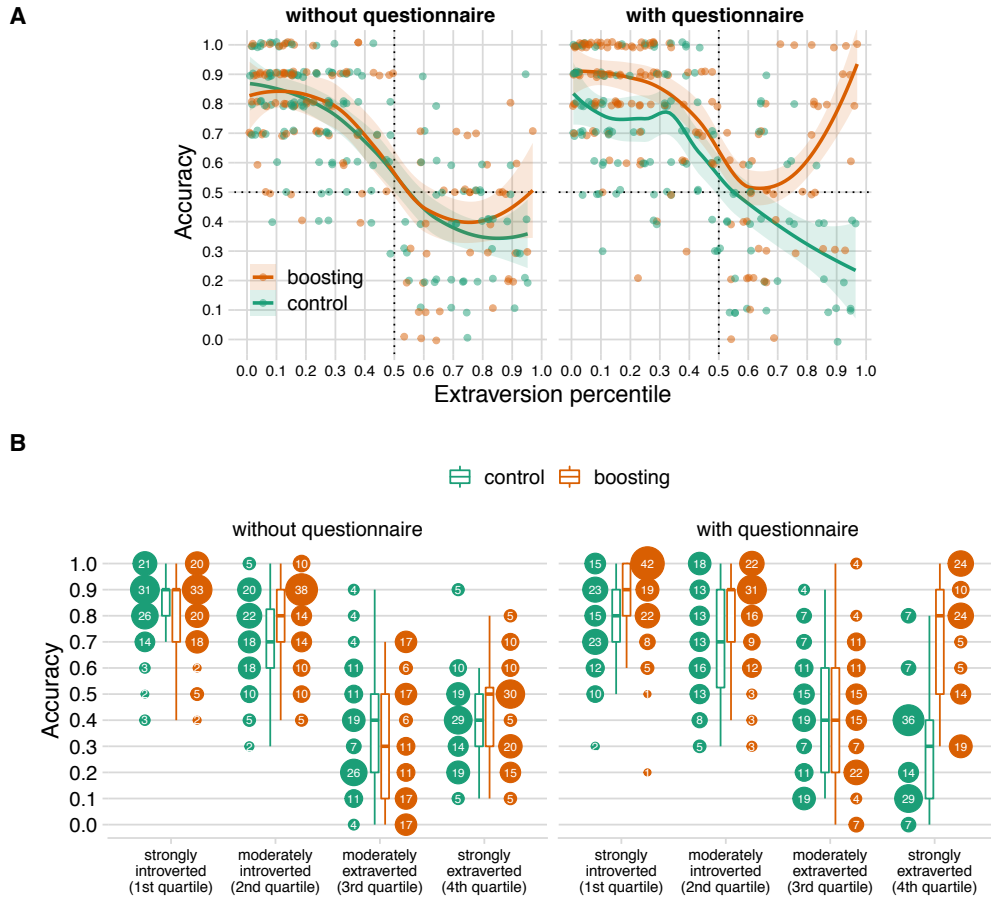


Figure S12: **Detection performance, boosting intervention, and level of extraversion (Experiment 2).** **A** Scatterplot of participants' accuracy (i.e., proportion correct decisions; y-axis) and their extraversion percentile (from 0 most introverted to 1 most extraverted; x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded) and without and with questionnaire (left & right subplot, respectively). Dots are slightly jittered vertically to avoid overplotting. Curves and confidence bands show robust LOESS curves (locally estimated scatterplot smoothing using re-descending M estimator with Tukey's biweight function) and their 95% confidence band. **B** Detection performance by extraversion quartiles (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded) and without and with questionnaire (left & right subplot, respectively). In the boxplots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed. The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-quartile-and-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant's value of proportion of correct decisions (given the 10 ads).

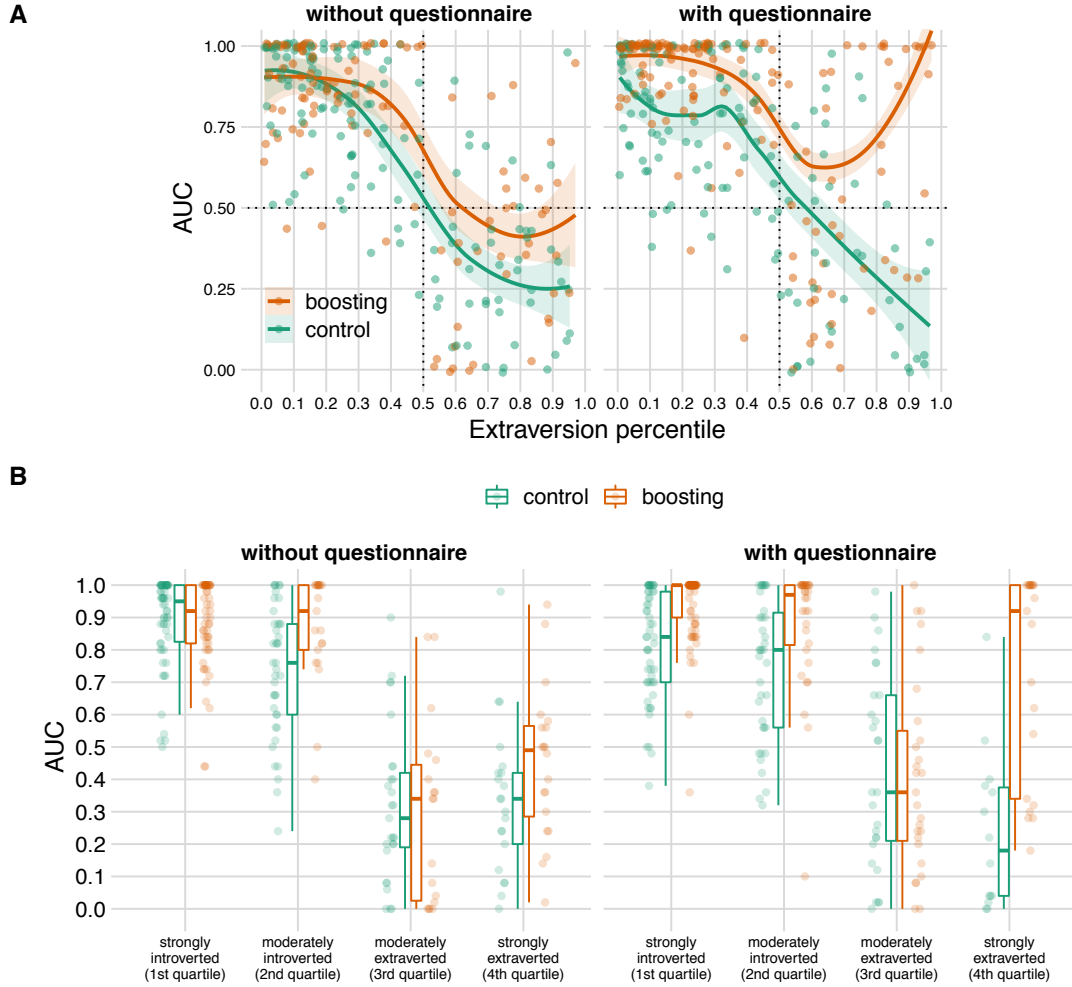


Figure S13: **Detection performance (in terms of the area under the Receiver Operating Characteristics curve, AUC, based on participants' confidence rating), boosting intervention, and level of extraversion (Experiment 2).** Detection accuracy is quantified using the AUC based on participants' confidence rating, using the trapezoid method (i.e., no kernel- or model-based smoothing)<sup>4</sup>. In particular, this calculation uses a participant's confidence that the ad is targeted towards them (implied by the participant's binary categorization decision and corresponding rating about how confident the respondent is in the correctness of her decision). **A** Scatterplot of participants' detection performance (i.e., AUC; y-axis) and their extraversion percentile (from 0 most introverted to 1 most extraverted; x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded) and without and with questionnaire (left & right subplot, respectively). **B** Detection performance (i.e., AUC; y-axis) by extraversion quartiles (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded) and without and with questionnaire (left & right subplot, respectively). See Fig S10 for more details on AUC and what the two panels show.

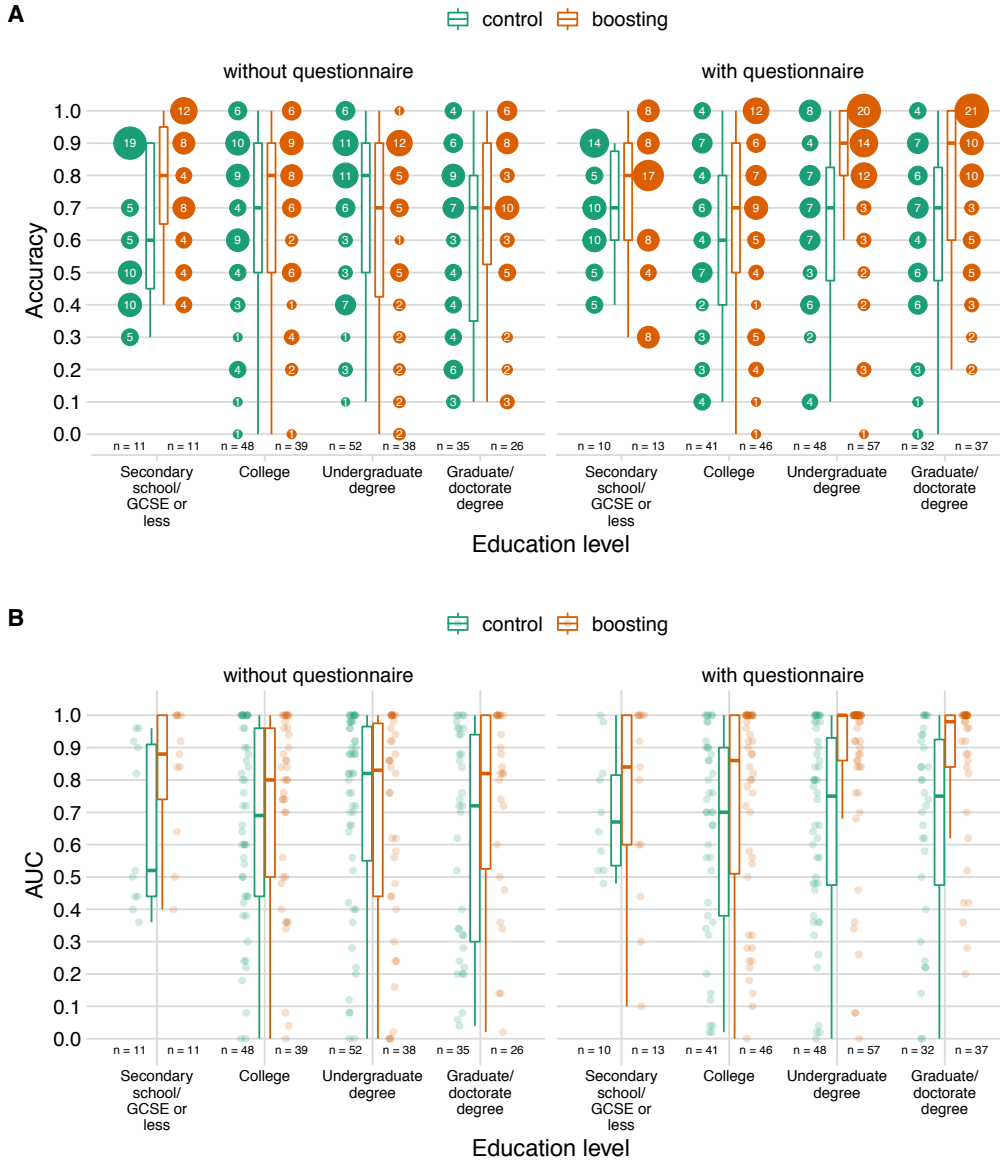


Figure S14: **Detection performance, boosting intervention, and education (Experiment 2)**. **A** Detection accuracy (i.e., proportion correct decisions; y-axis) by education (x-axis) for boosting vs. control group (color coded) and without and with questionnaire (left & right subplot, respectively). The area of the dots and their numbers denote the within-education-and-condition percentage of participants for each of the 11 possible values for a participant's value of proportion of correct decisions (given the 10 ads). **B** Detection performance in terms of AUC (y-axis); see Fig S12 for more details on AUC. Dots represent participants and are slightly jittered to avoid overplotting. In the box-plots, the box shows the the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The lower and upper whiskers extend from the respective end of the box to the largest value no further than  $1.5 \times \text{IQR}$  from the box (where IQR is the inter-quartile range, or distance between the first and third quartiles); outliers are not displayed.  $n$  denotes the number of participants for each combination of education level and condition.

## 2.2.2 Summary of multilevel logistic regression model

The text below shows the model summary of the *brms* Bayesian multilevel logistic regression model<sup>5,6</sup> reported for Experiment 2. See Methods in the main article for more information on the coding of the variables. **Estimate** shows the median and **l-95%** and **u-95%** show the 95% posterior credibility interval (i.e., the 2.5% and 97.5% percentile, respectively) of the respective marginal posterior distribution. For more details see the R help file `?brms::summary.brmsfit`<sup>†</sup>

```

Family: bernoulli
Links: mu = logit
Formula: dec_correct ~ relevance + questionnaire + (1 | id) + (1 + relevance * questionnaire | stimuli) + relevance:questionnaire
Data: tbl_targeting_2 (Number of observations: 5440)
Samples: 4 chains, each with iter = 8000; warmup = 4000; thin = 1;
         total post-warmup samples = 16000

Group-Level Effects:
~id (Number of levels: 544)
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)      1.40      0.07      1.27      1.55 1.00      6481      10495

~stimuli (Number of levels: 10)
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
sd(Intercept)                0.41      0.12      0.25      0.77 1.00      5748      9121
sd(relevance1)                0.07      0.07      0.00      0.28 1.00     11664      9450
sd(questionnaire1)           0.28      0.13      0.04      0.65 1.00      5596      5495
sd(relevance1:questionnaire1) 0.58      0.26      0.11      1.31 1.00      6164      5441
cor(Intercept,relevance1)     0.21      0.50     -0.73      0.88 1.00     28097     11260
cor(Intercept,questionnaire1) 0.26      0.37     -0.50      0.81 1.00     17768     12090
cor(relevance1,questionnaire1) 0.01      0.51     -0.80      0.80 1.00      7536     11636
cor(Intercept,relevance1:questionnaire1) -0.30      0.35     -0.82      0.45 1.00     16977     12192
cor(relevance1,relevance1:questionnaire1) -0.02      0.51     -0.82      0.80 1.00      7980     10940
cor(questionnaire1,relevance1:questionnaire1) 0.01      0.43     -0.74      0.72 1.00     12689     13190

Population-Level Effects:
      Estimate Est.Error l-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
Intercept          1.03      0.15      0.71      1.36 1.00      4626      7232
relevance1          0.48      0.15      0.20      0.77 1.00      7812     10679
questionnaire1      0.25      0.17     -0.10      0.60 1.00      7967     10199
relevance1:questionnaire1 0.72      0.35      0.00      1.44 1.00      8380     10576

```

Samples were drawn using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, **Bulk\_ESS** and **Tail\_ESS** are effective sample size measures, and **Rhat** is the potential scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, **Rhat** = 1).

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<sup>†</sup>E.g., at <https://rdrr.io/cran/brms/man/summary.brmsfit.html>.



## References

- [1] Matz, S. C., Kosinski, M., Nave, G. & Stillwell, D. J. Psychological targeting as an effective approach to digital mass persuasion. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **114**, 12714–12719 (2017).
- [2] Srivastava, S., John, O. P., Gosling, S. D. & Potter, J. Development of personality in early and middle adulthood: Set like plaster or persistent change? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* **84**, 1041 (2003).
- [3] Franke, T., Attig, C. & Wessel, D. A personal resource for technology interaction: Development and validation of the Affinity for Technology Interaction (ATI) scale. *International Journal of Human–Computer Interaction* **35**, 456–467 (2019).
- [4] Fawcett, T. An introduction to ROC analysis. *Pattern Recognition Letters* **27** (2006).
- [5] Bürkner, P.-C. brms: An R package for Bayesian multilevel models using Stan. *Journal of Statistical Software* **80**, 1–28 (2017).
- [6] Bürkner, P.-C. Advanced Bayesian multilevel modeling with the R package brms. *The R Journal* **10**, 395–411 (2018).