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SELF-MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN SOCIAL JUDGMENT: A TEST OF THE "PEOPLE AS POLITICIANS" METAPHOR

A Master's Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Todd Eric Bodner
August 1995

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ABSTRACT

SELF-MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN SOCIAL JUDGMENT: A TEST OF THE "PEOPLE AS POLITICIANS" METAPHOR

by Todd E. Bodner

Because situational pressures such as accountability have a large influence on judgment, Tetlock (1991) proposed that the "cognitive miser" metaphor of judgment be exchanged for the "people as politicians" metaphor. The present study asked, "Are all people politicians"? Utilizing a partial replication of Tetlock and Boettger (1989), this study tested for differences in predictions and confidence levels of high and low self-monitors across accountable and nonaccountable conditions. After completing Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale, 80 introductory psychology students made predictions of a student's grade-point average based on a list of information and then indicated their confidence in that prediction.

It was hypothesized that accountable high self-monitors would offer more conservative predictions and confidence levels than accountable low self-monitors, nonaccountable high self-monitors, and nonaccountable low self-monitors. The results replicated Tetlock and Boettger's finding that accountable subjects offered more conservative predictions and were less confident than nonaccountable subjects. The results confirmed the present hypothesis for the predictions but not for the confidence levels.

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Self-Monitoring and Accountability in Social Judgment:

A Test of the "People as Politicians" Metaphor

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Running head: SELF-MONITORING AND ACCOUNTABILITY

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Abstract

Because situational pressures such as accountability have a large influence on judgment, Tetlock (1991) proposed that the "cognitive miser" metaphor of judgment be exchanged for the "people as politicians" metaphor. The present study asked, "Are all people politicians"? Utilizing a partial replication of Tetlock and Boettger (1989), this study tested for differences in predictions and confidence levels of high and low self-monitors across accountable and nonaccountable conditions. After completing Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale, 80 introductory psychology students made predictions of a student's grade-point average based on a list of information and then indicated their confidence in that prediction. It was hypothesized that accountable high self-monitors would offer more conservative predictions and confidence levels than accountable low self-monitors, nonaccountable high self-monitors, and nonaccountable low self-monitors. The results replicated Tetlock and Boettger's finding that accountable subjects offered more conservative predictions and were less confident than nonaccountable subjects. The results confirmed the present hypothesis for the predictions but not for the confidence levels. Because the two contrasted theories are correlated, the results are not conclusive but suggest that the present theory has greater explanatory power. A comparison of the two theories was discussed.

Self-Monitoring and Accountability in Social Judgment:

A Test of the "People as Politicians" Metaphor

Early research in judgment focused on strict economic explanations of judgmental behavior (e.g., Bayes' Theorem of probability computations and the "Economic" Man's cost/benefit analyses). More recent theories of judgment stressed the idea that people are "cognitive misers" using heuristics or shortcuts instead of more algorithmic processes to make decisions (cf. Tversky and Kahneman, 1974). However, recent research suggests that people are not always the "cognitive misers" these theories portray them to be. Much of the current psychological research in the field of judgment and decision making has discounted these theories of judgment as too simplistic and of little utility because they account for too few of the many factors involved in judgment. The judgmental environment is far too complex for the relatively "simple" models of the past. In order for research to assist in understanding, describing, and predicting judgmental behavior, a more inclusive picture of the judgment process must be drawn. A current trend in research on social judgment is toward the use of contingency models that account for a greater portion of the influencing factors in the judgmental context. As Tetlock and Boettger (1989, p. 388) explain, "The cognitive-miser metaphor needs to be qualified to take into account wide situational and individual difference variation in patterns or styles of social reasoning." One such individual difference factor and one such situational factor in judgment are self-monitoring style and accountability, respectively.

A Situational Contingency -- Accountability

Social scientists long have been aware of the influential effects of the situation.

Many people in certain circumstances gave purportedly harmful shocks to other people
(Milgram, 1974) or made obviously false judgments following the judgments of others
(Asch, 1955). Consistent with this classic line of research on environmental influences on behavior, modern social psychologists continue to stress the role that environmental

contingencies play in shaping people's behavior. Recent research has shown that in certain circumstances people held accountable for a judgment (the contingency of accountability) tended to process information more complexly (and therefore more thoroughly) and tended to make different judgments than people not held accountable (Tetlock, 1985; Tetlock & Boettger, 1989; Tetlock, Skitka & Boettger, 1989). For instance in Tetlock and Boettger (1989) subjects made a prediction of a student's grade-point average (GPA) given a list of information, some of which was useful for making the prediction (diagnostic) and some of which was not useful in making the prediction (non-diagnostic). Consistent with prior research on the dilution effect in judgment, subjects with diluted information (lists consisting of diagnostic and non-diagnostic information) offered more conservative predictions than subjects viewing non-diluted (diagnostic only) lists (Nisbett, Zuckier, & Lemley, 1981; Zuckier, 1982). Furthermore, accountable subjects with the diluted information offered even more conservative² predictions and confidence in their predictions than nonaccountable subjects viewing the same diluted list. Given that real-world judgments are fraught with diluted information, such that the distinction between relevant and irrelevant information is often unclear, it is important not only to discover how people make judgments under such circumstances, but also to investigate possible contigencies that moderate this effect. As an example of a moderator variable, Tetlock and Boetter (1989) found that accountability does not always lead to more conservative judgments. Accountable subjects given more diagnostic information that was not contradictory (all information supported a prediction in a particular direction) offered more extreme predictions than nonaccountable subjects.

To whom one is accountable also seems to influence judgments. In a study by Tetlock, Boettger, and Skitka (1989), accountable subjects, who listed their thoughts on a political issue (e.g., pro-tuition increase) and then were told they would have to justify their thoughts to another person (i.e., who was anti-tuition increase), tended to shift their

attitudes on the issue toward the position of the person to whom they would be accountable. Nonaccountable subjects did not tend to make this shift. From this and other research, Tetlock formulated the Contingency Model of Social Judgment where accountability is a significant factor.

An Individual Difference Contingency -- Self-Monitoring Style

Whereas accountability has been shown to be a situational contingency in social judgment, self-monitoring style might be considered an individual difference contingency. Self-monitoring is a predisposition that dictates the degree to which an individual's expressive behavior is influenced by external social forces (Lippa, 1990). Snyder (1979) proposed that low self-monitors (LSMs) act in a manner that is consistent with their internal traits, whereas high self-monitors (HSMs) act more in accordance with environmental pressures. In a sense, HSMs can be conceptualized as "social chameleons" changing their attitudes, beliefs and behaviors to fit the situation, whereas LSMs can be thought of as more "true to themselves" by remaining consistent in their attitudes and beliefs across all situations (Danheiser & Graziano, 1982; Snyder & Tanke, 1976). Research supports the notion of differential behaviors related to self-monitoring styles. Snyder and Monson (1975) found that HSMs tended to not conform to group norms in a videotaped small group discussion whereas they tended to conform to group norms in a non-videotaped small group discussion. LSMs' group conformity did not differ between the two conditions. Presumably, non-videotaped HSMs were motivated to conform to group norms, but video-taped HSMs were motivated to "perform for the camera." In other words, HSMs acted in a manner consistent with the situation, but LSMs acted in a manner consistent with their beliefs regardless of situational pressures. No research to date has shown how individual differences in self-monitoring influence judgment. This research was an attempt to fill this gap in the literature.

The Present Study

Tetlock (1991) proposed that the "cognitive miser" metaphor be exchanged for the "people as politicians" metaphor due to his accountability research. By combining the research and theory on self-monitoring styles, the appropriate question now is "Are all people politicians?" The current investigation was designed to partially replicate and expand on Tetlock and Boettger's (1989) study by testing for the potential moderating effect of self-monitoring styles on accountability pressures in social judgment.

Objectives and Design. The present study sought to achieve two major objectives: (1) To determine whether accountability has the effect on diluted-information-based social judgments as reported by Tetlock and Boettger (1989; Tetlock, Boettger, & Skitka, 1989), and (2) to examine whether individual differences in self-monitoring moderate the effect of accountability on diluted-information-based social judgments. Given these objectives, the present study considered two independent variables of interest: 1) self-monitoring style and 2) level of accountability. Subjects' scores on Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale differentiated between the high and low self-monitors. The design manipulated accountability by informing subjects that they would need to justify their prediction (experimental accountable condition) or by informing subjects that their responses were anonymous (control nonaccountable condition). The present study had two dependent variables: 1) subject's prediction of a student's GPA and 2) subject's confidence in that prediction.

Hypotheses. Given the objectives of the study, the literature concerning the relationship between self-monitoring and expressive behavior, and the influence of accountability on social judgment, the following predictions were made: (1) In general, accountable subjects would offer more conservative GPA predictions than nonaccountable subjects. (1a) However, accountable HSMs, because of their susceptibility to overt situational pressures, would offer more conservative GPA predictions than accountable

LSMs, nonaccountable HSMs, and nonaccountable LSMs. There would be no significant differences between accountable LSMs, nonaccountable HSMs, and nonaccountable LSMs. (2) In general, accountable subjects would offer more conservative ratings of confidence in their GPA predictions than nonaccountable subjects. (2a) However, accountable HSMs, because of their susceptibility to overt situational pressures, would offer more conservative ratings of confidence in their GPA predictions than accountable LSMs, nonaccountable HSMs, and nonaccountable LSMs. There would be no differences in rated confidence between the accountable LSMs, nonaccountable HSMs, and nonaccountable LSMs. These predictions were tested using planned contrasts.

Methods

Subjects

Eighty introductory psychology students at San Jose State University (40 men and 40 women) volunteered for participation for partial fulfillment of a class research requirement. Subject's ages ranged from 18 to 39 years old ($\underline{M} = 20.8$, $\underline{SD} = 4.0$). Subjects participated independently in small groups ranging from 3 to 10 individuals. Design

The design for this study was a 2 x 2 between-subjects factorial design, the two factors being self-monitoring style and accountability. Small groups of participants were randomly assigned to one of the two experimental conditions: 1) the accountable condition in which the experimenter informed subjects that they would need to justify their GPA predictions, or 2) the nonaccountable condition in which the experimenter informed subjects that their GPA predictions would be anonymous. This study employed one male and one female experimenter to guide the subjects through the experimental conditions. These experimenters ran an equal number of accountable-nonaccountable subjects as well as an equal number of males and females. After data collection, a group of HSMs and a group of LSMs were formed. Subjects scoring above the median on the Self-Monitoring

Scale formed the HSM group whereas those scoring below the median on the Self-Monitoring Scale formed the LSM group.

Materials

Self-Monitoring. Snyder's Self-Monitoring Scale (SMS; 1987) is an instrument where subjects indicate whether each of 18 statements is true or not true about themselves (see Appendix B). Snyder reported that college students with scores greater than or equal to 11 are HSMs while college students with scores lower than or equal to 10 are LSMs. In the present sample, a disproportionate number of subjects were LSMs (n = 51 or 64% of the total sample). Therefore, in lieu of using Snyder's criterion for separating HSMs from LSMs, this study utilized a median-split to separate the two groups to achieve approximately equal sample sizes across the two levels of self-monitoring style. At the top of the Self-Monitoring Scale, two questions assessed the subject's age and sex.

Constructive Thinking & Experimental Manipulation. Epstein's Constructive Thinking Inventory (CTI; Epstein & Meier, 1989) consists of 64 items that subjects respond to on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from "definitely false" to "definitely true" (Appendix C for accountable Ss and Appendix D for non accountable Ss). Subjects scoring high on the CTI tend to think in practical and constructive ways. Use of the CTI performed two functions: 1) it acted as a buffer between the SMS and the judgment task so that subjects would not become suspicious of the research hypotheses, and 2) it served as pilot data for future research on how constructive thinking is associated with social judgment. On the bottom of page 2 of the CTI, a paragraph manipulating accountability appeared. In the accountable condition, the paragraph informed the subjects that they would be making a prediction and told that they would later need to justify their prediction. In the nonaccountable condition, the paragraph informed the subjects that they would be making a prediction and told that their prediction would be anonymous.

Judgment task. The judgment task (JT) asked subjects to make a prediction of a hypothetical student's GPA given a list of information and to indicate their confidence in that prediction (see Appendix E for accountable Ss and Appendix F for nonaccountable Ss). The list of information consisted of one item of diagnostic relevance, "Robert studies 31 hours a week," and four items of non-diagnostic relevance, "Robert is widely regarded by his friends as being honest," "Robert plays tennis or racquetball about three or four times a month," "Robert describes himself as a cheerful person," and "Two months is the longest period of time Robert has dated one person." The JT mentioned that the average GPA at Robert's school is 3.0 on a 4.0 scale and that if Ss found none of the information useful in making their GPA prediction, simply to indicate the school average (3.0) as their prediction. To assess correct-prediction confidence, the JT presented a 9-point scale ranging from "not confident" to "very confident." At the bottom of the JTs for subjects in the accountable condition was a place for subjects to print their name, sign their name, provide a telephone number, and indicate when to contact them for the interview.

Procedure

This study partially replicated the procedures used by Tetlock and Boettger (1989) in that subjects based their GPA predictions on the same list of "high value diluted" information and that the study manipulated accountability in roughly the same fashion⁴.

Upon arriving at the experiment, the experimenters randomly assigned each group of subjects into one of the two accountability conditions with the provision that the final number of male and female subjects and the number of accountable and nonaccountable subjects be the same for each experimenter. After completing consent procedures, the experimenter passed out a 4-page packet to each subject. All of the packets consisted of the three measures in the same order: SMS, CTI, and then the JT. The experimenters asked the subjects to read the instructions carefully and then complete the first three pages of the packet. Instructions at the bottom of each of the first three pages in the packet reminded the

subjects to either continue or to stop. When all of the subjects completed the first three pages, the experimenter read the paragraph on the bottom of the third page to the subjects. This paragraph constituted the accountability manipulation. When clear that the subjects understood the instructions, the subjects read and completed the JT. When all of the subjects finished the JT, the experimenter collected the packets. At this point the experimenter asked the subjects of their suspicions about the nature of the experiment. No subject guessed the hypothesis correctly. The experimenter then debriefed the subjects following the protocol in appendix G and dismissed them. The accountable subjects were not actually asked to defend their predictions to the experimenter as they had been led to expect.

Results

In this study, the subjects' GPA predictions and their indicated level of confidence in those predictions constituted the dependent variables of interest. The mean GPA prediction was 3.53 ($\underline{SD} = .279$), the mean confidence level was 6.34 ($\underline{SD} = 1.73$), and the mean self-monitoring scale score was 9.69 ($\underline{SD} = 3.25$) with a range from 2 to 17. Subjects' GPA predictions ranged from 3.0 to 4.0 and confidence levels ranged from 2 to 9.

Median-splits to determine membership in the high or low self-monitoring groups were performed after all the data had been collected. The sample median on the self-monitoring scale was 9 so that subjects with SMS scale scores at or above 10 were assigned to the HSM group ($\underline{n} = 42$, 20 men and 22 women) and subjects with SMS scale scores at or below 9 were assigned to the LSM group ($\underline{n} = 38$, 20 men and 18 women).

No significant differences were found for the main effects of subjects' sex or experimenters' sex on the dependent variables. Furthermore, the higher order interactions of subject sex and experimenter sex with self-monitoring style and accountability condition were not significant. Therefore, all the preceding analyses were performed by collapsing

across subject sex and experimenter sex. For descriptive statistics on GPA, confidence and sample sizes in each of the four conditions, refer to Table 1.

Initial Analyses of Variance

Separate 2 x 2 unweighted means ANOVAs were used to test the overall trend in the GPA prediction and confidence level data. Refer to Figure 1 for graphic representation of the group GPA prediction means. As seen in Table 2, the Accountability x Self-Monitoring unweighted means ANOVA on the subject's GPA predictions confirmed the significant main effect of accountability, failed to find a significant main effect for selfmonitoring, and found a trend towards a significant interaction between accountability and self-monitoring. The significant main effect of accountability indicates that accountable subjects offered more conservative predictions than nonaccountable subjects, thereby providing a successful replication of Tetlock and Boettger's finding that accountability leads to more conservative GPA prediction. The nonsignificant, but suggestive main effect for self-monitoring style (due to the magnitude of the effect size, \underline{r}) indicates that HSMs offered more conservative GPA predictions than LSMs. The moderately significant interaction of accountability and self-monitoring style suggests that accountability influences HSMs to offer more conservative GPA predictions in that same way that nonaccountability influences LSMs to offer less conservative predictions. Using Cohen's (1977) effect size rules of thumb for r, these results indicated that accountability had a moderate effect on the subject's predictions ($\underline{r} = .29$), the interaction between accountability and self-monitoring had a small effect of subject's predictions ($\underline{r} = .15$), and selfmonitoring style had a small-to-medium effect on the subject's predictions ($\underline{r} = .20$).

Refer to Figure 2 for graphic representation of the group means for GPA prediction confidence. As shown in Table 3, the Accountability x Self-Monitoring unweighted means ANOVA on the subjects' confidence in their predictions confirmed the significant main effect of accountability, failed to find a significant main effect for self-monitoring, and

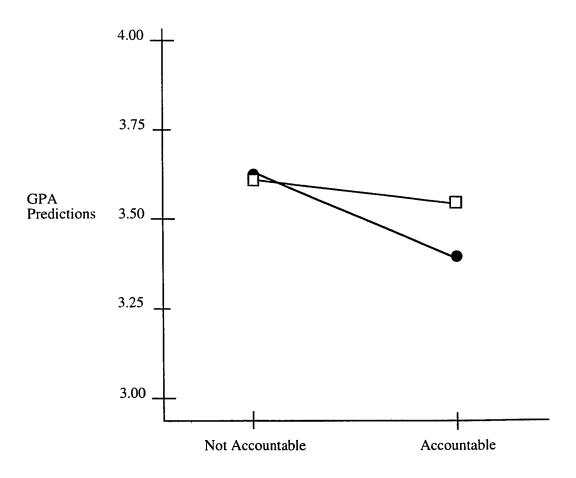
Table 1. Means and Sample Sizes of the Subject's GPA Predictions and Confidence

Levels for Accountable and Nonaccountable Subjects across Levels of Self-Monitoring.

Self-Monitoring

			LSM	HSM
		Prediction	3.55 (.28)	3.35 (.31)
	Accountable	Confidence	5.72 (1.87)	6.00 (1.93)
		n	18	22
Accountability				
	Prediction	3.59 (.25)	3.62 (.20)	
	Nonaccountable	Confidence	6.65 (1.60)	6.95 (1.28)
		n	20	20

Standard deviations appear in parentheses.

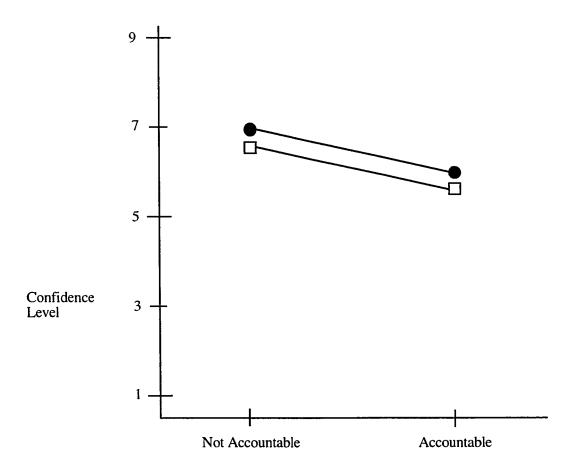


- ☐ = Low Self Monitors
- = High Self Monitors

Figure 1. Mean grade-point average predictions for the accountable and non-accountable groups across levels of self-monitoring.

Table 2. Unweighted Means ANOVA Summary Table for GPA Prediction.

Source	SS	df	MS	F-ratio	p-value	<u>r</u>
Accountability	.475	1	.475	6.833	.011	.29
Self-Monitoring Style	.127	1	.127	1.833	.180	.15
Acct. x S-M Style	.226	i	.226	3.249	.075	.20
Error	5.278	76	.069			



☐ = Low Self Monitors

= High Self Monitors

Figure 2. Mean indicated confidence level for the accountable and non-accountable groups across levels of self-monitoring.

Table 3. Unweighted Means ANOVA Summary Table for Confidence Level.

Source	SS	df	MS	F-ratio	p-value	<u>r</u>
Accountability	17.5	1	17.5	6.140	.015	.27
Self-Monitoring Style	1.66	1	1.66	< 1	.448	.09
Acct. x S-M Style	.002	1	.002	< 1	.977	.004
Error	217.1	76	2.857			

failed to find a significant interaction between accountability and self-monitoring. The significant main effect for accountability indicates that accountable subjects reported lower confidence in their predictions than nonaccountable subjects thereby providing a successful replication of Tetlock and Boettger's finding that accountability leads to lower confidence levels. While not significant at conventional levels, looking at the effect size, \underline{r} , associated with the main effect for self-monitoring style suggests that HSMs were more confident in their predictions than LSMs. The nonsignificance and very small effect size, \underline{r} , associated with the accountability x self-monitoring style interaction suggests that accountable HSMs and nonaccountable LSMs' confidence level does not differ from the accountable LSMs and nonaccountable HSMs' confidence level. Again using Cohen's effects size rules of thumb for \underline{r} , these results indicated that accountability had a moderate effect (\underline{r} = .27) on the subject's confidence, self-monitoring style had a small effect on subjects' confidence (\underline{r} = .09) and the interaction between accountability and self-monitoring style had essentially no effect on subjects' confidence (\underline{r} = .004).

Test of Research Hypotheses by Planned Contrasts

To test whether accountable high self-monitors differ from accountable low self-monitors, nonaccountable high self-monitors and nonaccountable low self-monitors in their GPA predictions and confidence levels, two separate planned contrasts were computed. Each planned contrast was performed using the Generalized <u>t</u>-test Method for conducting contrasts (Koutstaal & Rosenthal, in press).

The first planned contrast indicated that accountable high self-monitors made significantly lower GPA predictions ($\underline{\mathbf{M}} = 3.36$) than accountable low self-monitors, nonaccountable high self-monitors and nonaccountable low self-monitors ($\underline{\mathbf{M}} = 3.55$, 3.62, and 3.59, respectively) [$\underline{\mathbf{t}}(76) = 3.36$, $\underline{\mathbf{p}} = .0006$, $\underline{\mathbf{r}} = .36$]. Other orthogonal contrasts indicated that accountable low self-monitors ($\underline{\mathbf{M}} = 3.55$) did not differ significantly from nonaccountable high and low self-monitors ($\underline{\mathbf{M}} = 3.62$ and 3.59) [$\underline{\mathbf{t}}(76)$

=.74, p > .40] and nonaccountable high self-monitors (\underline{M} = 3.62) did not differ significantly from nonaccountable low self-monitors (\underline{M} = 3.59) [\underline{t} (76) = .36, p > .60].

The second planned contrast indicated that accountable high self-monitors did not differ in confidence level ($\underline{M}=6.00$) from accountable low self-monitors and nonaccountable high and low self-monitors ($\underline{M}s=5.72$, 6.95, and 6.65) [$\underline{t}(76)=1.04$, $\underline{p}.=.12$]. Orthogonal unplanned comparisons were then conducted to explore the nature of the results. It has already been shown that accountable LSMs and HSMs indicated lower confidence levels than nonaccountable LSM's and HSM's. In addition, accountable LSMs did not indicate lower confidence levels ($\underline{M}=5.72$) than accountable HSMs ($\underline{M}=6.00$) [$\underline{t}(76)=.57$, $\underline{p}>.50$], and nonaccountable HSMs did not differ in indicated confidence level ($\underline{M}=6.95$) from nonaccountable LSMs ($\underline{M}=6.65$) [$\underline{t}(76)=.56$, $\underline{p}>.50$]. It would appear that only the influences of accountability and not the influences of self-monitoring nor the influences of the interaction of accountability and self-monitoring have a significant effect on confidence in this instance.

Exploratory Analysis of Conservative GPA Predictions

One useful procedure to assess how the effects of accountability and self-monitoring are related to social prediction is to analyze the most conservative predictions made by the subjects. Recall that subjects were instructed to indicate a GPA of 3.0 (the purported school average) if they felt that there was not enough information on which to base their GPA prediction. Ten subjects of the 80 reported such a prediction. Table 4 lists the frequency of such predictions for each of the four conditions. Specifically, 7 accountable high self-monitors, 2 accountable low-self monitors, 1 nonaccountable low self-monitors and 0 nonaccountable high self-monitors indicated a GPA prediction of 3.0. A contrast was also performed pitting the proportion of accountable high self-monitors against the proportion of accountable low self-monitors and nonaccountable high and low self-monitors using procedures suggested by Rubin (1981, as reported in Rosenthal &

<u>Table 4. Frequency and Proportion of Total Number of Subjects in each Condition that Indicated a GPA Prediction of 3.0.</u>

In each condition the number of subjects who indicated a GPA prediction of 3.0 is listed first. The proportion of subjects in each cell responding with a GPA prediction of 3.0 as compared to the total number of subjects in each cell is in parentheses. The sample size for each cell is presented below the cell counts and proportions.

Rosnow, 1991). This analysis suggested that the proportion of subjects in the accountable high self-monitor condition differed significantly from the proportion of subjects in the other three conditions [$\underline{z} = 2.55$, $\underline{p} = .005$, $\underline{r} = .28$]. This analysis shows that of the ten subjects who reported the school's mean GPA, a disproportionate number were accountable high self-monitors.

Comparison of Tetlock and Boettger's theory with the present theory

In order to assess the additional utility of considering self-monitoring styles with accountability in social judgment a comparison of estimated effect sizes was conducted following procedures suggested by Rosenthal (personal communication, April 6, 1994). Recall that, according to the theory presented in this paper, accountable high self-monitors would be more conservative than accountable low self-monitors, nonaccountable high selfmonitors, and nonaccountable low self-monitors. This comparison would yield contrast weights of -3, +1, +1, and +1, respectively. When these contrast weights are \underline{z} -scored, they become -1.73, +.58, +.58, and +.58, respectively. According to Tetlock and Boettger, accountable subjects would offer lower GPA predictions than nonaccountable subjects. The contrast weights that Tetlock and Boettger would assign would be -1 for accountable subjects and +1 for nonaccountable subjects across levels of high and low selfmonitoring in each condition. Because Tetlock and Boettger's contrast weights already have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of unity, no transformation was necessary. The z-scored contrast weights for the present study were then subtracted from the contrast weights of Tetlock and Boettger in order to form a new set of contrast weights. With these new contrast weights (formed from the difference between the standardized contrast weights prescribed by each theory), a new contrast analysis was performed on the means for the four conditions. In this instance the contrast weights were -0.73 for accountable HSMs, 1.58 for accountable LSMs, -0.42 for nonaccountable HSM, and -0.42 for nonaccountable LSMs. For the present circumstances, this test did not gain significance at

conventional levels [$\underline{t}(76) = 1.21$, $\underline{p} < .15$, $\underline{r} = .14$] although the results are suggestive that the present theory does a better job explaining the data than does the theory presented by Tetlock and Boettger. One reason that the contrast failed to reach conventional significance levels is that the correlation between the present theory and Tetlock and Boettger's theory is quite strong ($\underline{r} = .577$). With a such a strong correlation, finding differences between the two theories is difficult given the present sample sizes.

Discussion

In general, the current study replicated the findings of Tetlock and Boettger (1989) in that accountable subjects compared to nonaccountable Ss offered more conservative GPA predictions and were less confident in those predictions. Such findings support Tetlock's notion that accountability leads to differences in social prediction and confidence.

However, regarding conservatism in GPA prediction, three results of the present study support the theory that this effect may be largely due to the behavior of accountable HSMs. First, the present study found that in making GPA predictions, accountable LSMs and nonaccountable HSMs and LSMs did not differ. Yet, accountable high self-monitors did differ from the preceding three groups. Therefore, while on average, accountable subjects indicated lower GPA predictions than nonaccountable subjects, this effect seems to be influenced by the conservative predictions of the accountable high self-monitors.

Second, more accountable HSMs indicated the school average than in the other three conditions suggesting that accountable HSMs felt more situational pressure to make a conservative and defensible prediction than accountable LSMs. Third, a contrast analysis using the difference between the contrast scores for the present theory and the Tetlock and Boettger theory, while not significant at conventional levels, suggests that the present theory provides a better description of the data than the "people as politicians" metaphor. So, in answering the substantive question of this study, it appears that the evidence is suggestive that everyone does not conform to the "politicians" metaphor in that accountable

LSMs seem to not be affected by the situational pressures of accountability to the same extent as HSMs.

In general, when indicating confidence in predictions, self-monitoring style seems not to have much effect. This is consistent with the research of Abston (1980) who found no differences between the confidence of high and low self-monitoring clinical psychologists when making clinical diagnoses. Nonaccountable HSMs and LSMs did not differ in the degree of confidence in their predictions nor did accountable HSMs and LSMs. Limitations of the Present Study.

There are several limitations that must be discussed concerning the present research. First of all, small groups of subjects and not the individual subjects were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. Each subject did not have the same independent probability of being assigned to one of the two experimental conditions. Because there may have been some confounding factors involved in membership of one of the groups, the results of this study must be treated with care. Second, the size of the groups ranged from 3 to 10 and therefore an influence related to the number of people in the room during the experiment may confound the results. Care was taken so that subjects performed the study independently, but variation in the group size was present. Third, classification of self-monitoring style was determined through the Self-Monitoring Scale. This raises the issue of causality. Specifically, in the present study self-monitoring style was to various degrees correlated with GPA prediction and prediction confidence. However, whereas correlation is a necessary condition of causality, it is not a sufficient condition of causality. Therefore, a causal relationship may exist between self-monitoring style and behaviors such as prediction conservatism and confidence, but a can't infer it with the present data.

Future Research

In response to the three limitations reported above, future research should be vigilant towards controlling the number of people in the room while subjects are

participating in the study. Also, more control should be exercised by the researcher to randomly assign each subject to the research conditions instead of the procedures used in the present study so broader generalizations can be drawn. A major tenet of Tetlock's accountability research involves the concept of integrative complexity. Tetlock has shown that accountable people are more integratively complex than nonaccountable people. Furthermore, it is reasoned that this increase in integrative complexity is in part responsible for the differences in social judgment between accountable and nonaccountable people. This study did not assess the integrative complexity of its participants. Future research should look at the integrative complexity of accountable and nonaccountable HSMs and LSMs in order to understand why LSMs seem to not be influenced by the situational pressure of accountability when making social judgments.

Implications

The psychological investigation of judgment and decision making is making great strides by including various situational determinants into the judgmental equation.

Unfortunately, for clarity's sake, once the situation is brought into the picture so must the individual who must act and react in that situation. One important aspect of this study's findings is the importance of the situation and the person when investigating how people make predictions and judgments. It is now apparent that certain types of people, namely high and low self-monitors, may react differently when making predictions when the situational contingency of accountability is present.

The present research has implications for psychometrics and research design. It shows that when subjects are asked to make predictions, and possibly evaluative judgments and decisions, an investigator must be cognizant of individual differences in self-monitoring and possibly other individual differences as well that might interact with the situation. For anonymous survey studies there appears to be no significant effect between levels of self-monitoring and predictions when the situational contingency of accountability

is not present. But when studies involving predictions or evaluative judgments are used such as those involving nonanonymous and more accountable situations such as interviews, individual differences in self-monitoring need to be addressed.

One complaint with much of current research in the area of decision making, judgment and prediction is that it transfers from the laboratory to the world only with great difficulty, if at all. This may be a result of researchers overgeneralizing the results of tightly controlled experiments into real behavior. It should now be apparent that both the situation and the person influence the predictions and judgments people make, and therefore, the actions people take.

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Footnotes

¹A contingency in this context is a situation, event, or phenomena in which its presence or absence has an effect on the final judgment.

²In this case and for the purposes of this paper, conservatism is defined in terms of a tendency to report attitudes, beliefs, probabilities, etc. that lie at or near the center of the distribution of possible responses. Conservatism in this case is not to be interpreted as the end point of a theoretical continuum ranging from liberalism to conservatism. For example, a conservative score on a variable given a 9-point interval range would be closer to a mean of 4.5 than a more extreme score given that the distribution of scores is symmetrically distributed around that mean.

³Recall that "diluted" information means that the information given consisted of both diagnostic and non-diagnostic information. For the diagnostic information given, "Robert studies 31 hours a week," this information suggests that Robert studies more than the average student and therefore the GPA predictions should be above the school average. In Tetlock and Boettger (1989), a "low value dilution" condition was also used where Robert was said to study 3 hours per week which suggests that his GPA in all likelihood is below the school GPA average. When this GPA prediction data was analyzed using absolute deviation scores from the hypothetical school GPA mean of 3.0, no significant differences were found between the absolute deviation scores for the "high value" or "low value" diluted information lists. Therefore, the present study only utilized the "high value" diluted information list.

⁴The accountability manipulations in this study and the Tetlock and Boettger study were identical. In Tetlock and Boettger, the nonaccountable subjects were told that not only were their responses anonymous, but also that "their data was not even being analyzed at that particular university." While in Tetlock and Boettger this was probably true, in the

present study it was not. In order to lessen the deception needed to conduct this study, this phrase was not used in the non-accountable manipulation.

29

Appendices

Appendix A



IRB Approval Letter

A campus of The California State University

Office of the Academic Vice President • Associate Academic Vice President • Graduate Studies and Research One Washington Square • San Jose, California 95192-0025 • 408/924-2480

To: Todd Bodner

Department of Psychology San Jose State University

From: Serena W. Stanford Serena It Stanford

AAVP, Graduate Studies and Research

Date: April 5, 1993

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"Self-Monitoring and Accountability in Social Judgment: A Test of the 'People as Politicians' Metaphor"

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The Board's approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Dr. Serena Stanford immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma and release of potentially damaging personal information.

Please also be advised that each subject needs to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate or withdrawal will not affect any services the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have questions, please contact me at 408-924-2480.

CC: Gregory Feist

Appendix B

Demographics and Snyder Self-Monitoring Survey

	the following information. he correct response or fill in t	he information requested)
Female	Male	Age
applies to you.	complete the following scale. check the space in the "T" co you, check the space in the "	If a statement is true or mostly true as it blumn. If a statement is false or not usually true F" column.
T F		
	I find it hard to imitate the At parties and social gathe others will like.	behavior of other people. rings, I do not attempt to do or say things that
3. 4.	I can only argue for ideas	which I already believe. eches even on topics about which I have
5. 6.	I guess I put on a show to I would probably make a g	impress or entertain others. good actor/actress. carely the center of attention.
	In different situations and different persons.	with different people, I often act like very
	. I'm not always the person	
11	to please someone or with	
13	. I have never been good at	games like charades or improvisational acting. y behavior to suit different people and different
	At a party I let others keepI feel a bit awkward in cor	the jokes and stories going. npany and do not show up quite as well as I
17	should. I can look anyone in the eyend).	ye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right
18		eing friendly when I really dislike them.

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Appendix C

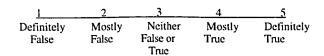
CTI [Accountable]

The following are some statements on feelings, beliefs, and behavior. Score "1" if the statement is definitely false; "5" if it is definitely true. A rating of "2" will indicate that the statement is mainly false; a rating of "4" that it is mainly true. Use "3" only if you cannot decide if the item is mainly true or false.

Be honest, but do not spend too much time over any one statement. First impressions are as accurate as any. Please write all of your numerical responses on the line in front of each question.

1	_ 2	3	4	5
Definitely False	Mostly False	Neither False or True	Mostly True	Definitely True

I worry a great deal about what other people think of me. I am the kind of person who takes action rather than just thinks or complains about a situation. Most people regard me as a tolerant and forgiving person. I have found that talking about successes that I am looking forward to can keep them from happening. When I have learned that someone I love loves me, it has made me feel like a wonderful person and that I can accomplish whatever I want. I have learned from bitter experience that most people are not trustworthy. When I am faced with a difficult task, I think encouraging thoughts that help me to do my best. I have washed my hands before eating at least once in the past month. If I said something foolish when I spoke up in a group, I would chalk it up to experience and not worry about it. I often avoid facing problems. 10. I usually feel that it is acceptable for me to do well in some things and not so well in others. 11. When something bad happens to me, I feel that more bad things are likely to follow. 12. I think everyone should love their parents. 13. If I do poorly on an important test, I feel like a total failure and that I won't go very far in life. I get so distressed when I notice that I am doing poorly in something that it makes me do worse. 15. The slightest indication of disapproval gets me upset. If I have something unpleasant to do, I try to make the best of it by thinking in positive terms. 17. When someone I know is rejected by a person they love, I feel they are inadequate and will never be able to accomplish anything. I have never seen anyone with blue eyes. I believe that some people can make me aware of them just by thinking about me. 20. I don't get very distressed over the mistakes of others, but try to deal with them in a constructive way. 22. If I do well on an important test, I feel like a total success and that I will go very far in life. When I have to be in an unpleasant or boring situation for a while, I keep watching the clock and 23. wishing I were somewhere else. I think about how I will deal with threatening events ahead of time, but I don't worry needlessly. I avoid challenges because it hurts too much when I fail. 25. 26. There are basically two kinds of people in this world, good and bad. I believe if I think of terrible thoughts about someone, it can affect that person's well-being. 27. When people judge me unfavorably, I tend to think they are right. 28. When someone I know is loved by a person they love, I feel that they are a wonderful person and can accomplish anything they want to. When something unfortunate happens to me, it reminds me of all the other things wrong in my life, _ 30. which adds to my unhappiness. It bothers me when anyone doesn't like me. 31. I look at challenges not as something to fear, but as an opportunity to test myself and learn. 32. I think there are many wrong ways, but only one right way, to do almost anything. 33. I do not believe in any superstitions. I spend much more time mentally rehearsing my failures than remembering my successes.



I believe that most birds can run faster than they can fly. 36. 37. If someone I know were accepted at an important job interview, I would think that he or she would always be able to get a good job. I believe that most people are only interested in themselves. 38. I don't let little things bother me. 39. If I were rejected at an important job interview, I would feel very low and think that I would never be able to get a good job. I believe that in order to have a good relationship, you have to work on it. When I am faced with a new situation, I tend to think the worst possible outcome will happen. 42. 43. I believe in not taking any chances on Friday the 13th. I believe that people can accomplish anything they want to if they have enough willpower. 44. I feel that people who wear glasses usually can see better without their glasses. 45. I tend to dwell more on pleasant than unpleasant incidents from the past. 47. When unpleasant things happen to me, I don't let them prey on my mind. When faced with upcoming unpleasant events, I usually carefully think through how I will deal with them. If I do very poorly on a test, I realize it is only a single test, and it doesn't make me feel generally incompetent. I tend to classify people as either for me or against me. 50. It would no bother me in the least if a black cat crossed my path and I walked under a ladder on the 51. same day. If I were accepted at an important job interview, I would feel very good and think that I would always 52. be able to get a good job. My mind sometimes drifts to unpleasant events from the past. 54. I tend to take things personally. Although women sometimes wear pants, they do not wear them, on average, as often as men. When doing unpleasant chores, I make the best of it by thinking pleasant or interesting thoughts. 56. When faced with a large amount of work to complete, I tell myself I can never get it done, and feel 57. like giving up. I try to accept people as they are without judging them. I sometimes think that if I want something to happen too badly, it will keep it from happening. 59. I have very definite ideas about how things should be done, and I get distressed when they are not It is so distressing to me to try hard and fail, that I rarely make an all-out effort to do my best. When someone I love has rejected me, it has made me feel inadequate and that I will never be able to 62. accomplish anything. I am very sensitive to being made fun of. 63. When something good happens to me, I believe it is likely to be balanced by something bad. 64.

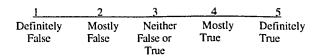
In this study, we are interested in how people make social predictions. You will be asked to make a prediction and then indicate how confident you are that your prediction is correct. Upon leaving the study today, you will receive a copy of your prediction and indicated confidence. During the week following your participation in this study, you will receive a telephone call by the researcher and you will be interviewed as to why you made the prediction you made. THIS INTERVIEW WILL BE AUDIOTAPED. This is a very important part to this study and your further participation is greatly needed. On the bottom of the next page, please indicate your name, phone number, and the time during the next week which is most convenient for us to contact you.

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Appendix D

CTI-Page 2 [Nonaccountable]



36.	I believe that most birds can run faster than they can fly.
37.	If someone I know were accepted at an important job interview, I would think that he or she would
	always be able to get a good job.
38.	I believe that most people are only interested in themselves.
39.	I don't let little things bother me.
39. 40.	If I were rejected at an important job interview, I would feel very low and think that I would never be
	able to get a good job.
41.	I believe that in order to have a good relationship, you have to work on it.
41. 42.	When I am faced with a new situation, I tend to think the worst possible outcome will happen.
43. 44. 45.	I believe in not taking any chances on Friday the 13th.
44.	I believe that people can accomplish anything they want to if they have enough willpower.
45.	I feel that people who wear glasses usually can see better without their glasses.
46.	I tend to dwell more on pleasant than unpleasant incidents from the past.
47.	When unpleasant things happen to me, I don't let them prey on my mind.
48.	When faced with upcoming unpleasant events, I usually carefully think through how I will deal with
	them.
49.	If I do very poorly on a test, I realize it is only a single test, and it doesn't make me feel generally
	incompetent.
50.	I tend to classify people as either for me or against me.
51.	It would no bother me in the least if a black cat crossed my path and I walked under a ladder on the
	same day.
52.	If I were accepted at an important job interview, I would feel very good and think that I would always
53	be able to get a good job.
53.	My mind sometimes drifts to unpleasant events from the past.
54.	I tend to take things personally.
55.	Although women sometimes wear pants, they do not wear them, on average, as often as men. When doing unpleasant chores, I make the best of it by thinking pleasant or interesting thoughts.
56. 57.	When faced with a large amount of work to complete, I tell myself I can never get it done, and feel
57.	like giving up.
58.	I try to accept people as they are without judging them.
	I sometimes think that if I want something to happen too badly, it will keep it from happening.
59.	I have very definite ideas about how things should be done, and I get distressed when they are not
00.	done that way.
61.	It is so distressing to me to try hard and fail, that I rarely make an all-out effort to do my best.
62.	When someone I love has rejected me, it has made me feel inadequate and that I will never be able to
02.	accomplish anything.
63.	
64.	
	sometimes good mappeds to me, a contract to the state of the sta

In this study, we are interested in how people make social predictions. You will be asked to make a prediction and then indicate how confident you are that your prediction is correct. You should be reminded that your responses in this study are completely anonymous. Since you have not put your name anywhere on these questionnaires, there is no way to link your responses to you.

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[Note: The typeface of this page has been condensed so that the whole page would fit in this format with larger margins.]

Appendix E Judgment Task Sheet [Accountable]

In this task, you will be asked to predict the grade-point average (GPA) of a student named Robert on a 4.0 scale. The average GPA at Robert's school is 3.0 on a 4.0 scale. Below is some information about Robert. Some of this information might be useful for making your prediction and some of which might not be useful in making your prediction. If none of the information below is useful for making your prediction of Robert's GPA, simply indicate the school average as your prediction (3.0 on the 4.0 scale).

Robert
Robert is widely regarded by his friends as being honest.
Robert plays tennis or racquetball about three or four times a month.
Robert describes himself as a cheerful person.
Robert studies 31 hours a week.
Two months is the longest period of time Robert has dated one person.
Robert's GPA is
Please indicate how confident you are that your prediction is correct:
IIII
not very confident confident
Signature Name Printed
Telephone Number
Days and times that are convenient for us to contact you:

Appendix F

Judgment Task Sheet [Nonaccountable]

In this task, you will be asked to predict the grade-point average (GPA) of a student named Robert on a 4.0 scale. The average GPA at Robert's school is 3.0 on a 4.0 scale. Below is some information about Robert. Some of this information might be useful for making your prediction and some of which might not be useful in making your prediction. If none of the information below is useful for making your prediction of Robert's GPA, simply indicate the school average as your prediction (3.0 on the 4.0 scale).

Robert	
Robert is widely regarded by his friends as being honest.	
Robert plays tennis or racquetball about three or four times a month.	
Robert describes himself as a cheerful person.	
Robert studies 31 hours a week.	
Two months is the longest period of time Robert has dated one person.	
Robert's GPA is	
Please indicate how confident you are that your prediction is correct:	
IIIIII	I
	very ifiden

Appendix G

Debriefing Statement

In the study you just completed, you were asked to fill out a couple of surveys and make a prediction based on some information. You should know that there is no right or wrong answer for any of the questions you have answered and there is no "correct" prediction of Robert's GPA. The present study is looking at two things: 1) whether subjects who were told that they would be held accountable for their prediction would make different predictions of Robert's GPA than subjects who were told that their predictions would be anonymous (and therefore, not accountable), and 2) whether all accountable subjects conform to the pressures of accountability and if not, why? (Hence, the reasoning for the two surveys.)

If you were told that you would be contacted by the investigator to support your prediction, you were in the accountability condition. You should know that YOU WILL NOT BE CONTACTED BY THIS RESEARCHER OR ANYONE ASSOCIATED WITH THIS STUDY. Once you leave the room, your participation in this study will be over. As an added measure of precaution, please take the identifying information cut from the bottom of your Judgment Task Sheet and dispose of it as you will.

Please understand that telling you that you would be accountable for your predictions when in fact you were not was necessary to put you in an accountable "frame of mind." It is asked that you not discuss this study with anyone until the semester is over because you may spoil future subject's responses.

Thank you for your participation.