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A lie goes a long way : deception as an impression management strategy to influence interviewers' perceptions.

Item Type	open;article;thesis
Authors	Weiss, Brent
DOI	10.7275/7765812
Download date	2025-03-28 19:34:40
Link to Item	https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.14394/45983

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A LIE GOES A LONG WAY: DECEPTION AS AN IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT STRATEGY TO INFLUENCE INTERVIEWERS' PERCEPTIONS

A Thesis Presented

by

BRENT WEISS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

September 2003

Psychology

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DEDICATION

To my mother and father: without your guidance I would've been truly lost in a world where so many things can go wrong.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my advisor, Robert Feldman, for his invaluable insight throughout this whole process. You are a mentor in the truest sense of the word.

An additional debt of gratitude goes to my committee. Your insightful comments greatly improved the caliber of this manuscript. Thanks for making this a wonderful experience.

Finally, I'd like to thank my friend and colleague, Kate Burns. Undoubtedly, your thoughts and suggestions made me look smarter than I really am. We'll miss you.

ABSTRACT

A LIE GOES A LONG WAY: DECEPTION AS AN IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT STRATEGY TO INFLUENCE INTERVIEWERS' PERCEPTIONS

SEPTEMBER 2003

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The present study examined the extent to which a job candidate's deception and observers' abilities to detect deception affect interview outcomes. Specifically, in Study 1, observers watched video clips of candidates who did or did not lie on a particular question to examine how candidates' lies directly affect observers' perceptions. Study 2 examined how candidate deception was related to interview outcomes (e.g., hiring recommendations). Study 1 found that observers were unable to distinguish between candidates' truthful and untruthful responses and that observers liked candidates' truthful and untruthful responses equally. Study 2 found that competence and likeability were important factors in determining hiring recommendations. Candidates who lied the most (6-8 lies) were rated the most competent, likeable, and hirable. In addition, although candidates who were perceived as dishonest were given lower hiring recommendations, candidates who lied the most were perceived to be as honest as the more honest candidates.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Dressed for success and hoping to impress, candidates who are preparing for a job interview face no simple task: Attire must be presentable; demeanor friendly and likeable; question responses concise and impressive, while convincing the interviewer that one is the right man or woman for the job.

For many years, researchers have examined the interview process and how job candidates influence interviewers' decisions. In investigations focusing on topics ranging from personality assessments to situational influences, the question of how to win over the interviewer has been of great theoretical and applied interest.

Impression Management

One subject that has received particular attention is impression management. Impression management, generally defined as a person's attempt to control the impressions others form of them, is reflected in attempts to influence interviewers' perceptions so that the interviewer views the candidate more favorably. Considerable research has found that, within job interviews, individuals who effectively use impression management are rated most favorably. For instance, individuals who smiled, flattered, and self-promoted were given higher performance ratings and hiring recommendations by interviewers than those who did not engage in those behaviors (Gilmore & Ferris, 1989).

Theoretically, impression management can be regarded as a normative social process that facilitates social interaction (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). In interviews, for example, impression management benefits both the candidate and the interviewer. For candidates, impression management displays a candidate's characteristics both as an individual (e.g., friendly, disciplined, intelligent), as well as an employee (e.g., competent and qualified). For

interviewers, it allows the interviewer to recognize the candidate, both as an individual (e.g., will he fit in at this company?) and as an employee (e.g., is he capable of doing good work?).

Because impression management entails creating an impression of oneself, the approach that candidates use to create these images vary. For instance, candidates' impression manage through the use of tactics that are generally self or other-focused (Kacmar, Delery, & Ferris, 1992). Self-focused tactics draw attention to oneself in an attempt to display all the positive characteristics one possesses. To accomplish this, candidates self-promote (describing one's positive skills), enhance (describe one's positive attributes), use entitlements (taking credit for positive past events), and/or exemplify (when applicants try to convince the interviewer that their behavior is exemplary) to create positive self-images.

Other-focused tactics, on the other hand, help candidates create positive images by drawing attention to interviewers, making them feel valued, hoping that they like the candidate because he or she "thinks like me." To accomplish this, candidates ingratiate, do favors, and/or conform to interviewers' opinions.

Although impression management facilitates in helping achieve one's goal, not all forms of impression management are appropriate in all situations. In fact, when a particular impression management tactic is deemed inappropriate, the desired effect can actually backfire, producing an undesired, rather than the desired effect. For example, in interview and training settings, researchers have noted that those who used self-focused tactics received higher performance evaluations than those who used other-focused tactics, whereas, in job performance evaluations, those who used other-focused tactics received higher performance evaluations than those who used self-focused tactics (Kacmar & Carlson, 1999; Howard & Ferris, 1996). Given these findings, one might infer that the use of

impression management alone is insufficient in terms of creating positive impressions. Candidates, for example, must know what tactics to use and when to use them.

Deception

Past research has viewed impression management largely through the lens of honesty, assuming that candidates select and frame self-relevant information that is true (Leary, 1995). However, there are times when people use impression management to create an image of oneself that is, in fact, untrue. In fact, deception is no rare phenomenon within the job interview process. Weiss and Feldman (2003), for example, found in an experiment that job applicants lied approximately 2.5 times during the course of a standard 15-minute interview, where such lies were used in an attempt to elicit positive perceptions.

However, it is not clear how effective such lies were, given that the study did not examine the success of the lies in obtaining employment. The present study addresses this issue by examining whether candidates' deception positively affects interviewers' ratings, increasing the likelihood that the candidates will be hired.

Lying in an interview may provide candidates with a significant advantage. When candidates lie, the type of information they can provide is boundless. That is, lying individuals can say virtually anything they want to make something sound good. In contrast, when people tell the truth, the information they provide is limited by factors such as objectivity and self-perceptions. Because individuals who lie have fewer constraints in searching for a response that the interviewer will like the most, it is possible that candidates' level of lying will positively affect interviewer ratings so that lying candidates are more likely to be hired than their more honest counterparts.

Deception Detection

But such success might actually depend on the extent to which the interviewer believes the lie. Given that those who are caught lying are often evaluated negatively (Lee, Cameron, Xu, Fu, & Board, 1997), if the interviewer believes that the candidate is lying, then it is unlikely that the interviewer will provide the candidate with a favorable rating. As a result, one might expect lying to be effective only when such deception is undetected.

Cognitive Load

However, when it comes to detecting deception, people are not very accurate. For example, in studies where the chance of guessing the right answer is 50%, people are usually accurate about 60% of the time (DePaulo et al., 2002; Miller & Burgoon, 1981). One reason why people are consistently poor at deception detection involves how people process information about others (Gilbert, Krull, & Pelham, 1988). When interviewers are busy performing tasks such as candidate evaluations, cognitive resources are occupied, potentially rendering them unusable for other purposes (e.g., deception detection).

Undoubtedly, interviewers are likely to be under a significant amount of cognitive load. They have to make decisions about candidates based on limited information, within a relatively short period of time. Because of these pressures and constraints, it might be advantageous for the candidate to lie simply because such responses would impress the interviewer, while probably going undetected.

One factor that might influence interviewers' cognitive load is the number of dimensions that the candidates are rated on. Johnson and Jolly (1992), for example, had participants watch mock interviews and rate the candidates using four or nine dimensions. If the participant was in the four-dimension condition, participants rated candidates' verbal, interpersonal, and analytical skills, as well as candidates' motivation, whereas if participants

were in the nine-dimension condition, they additionally rated candidates on appearance, knowledge of field, education, fit for the position, and potential for career advancement. Johnson and Jolly found that using a four-dimension model of candidate assessment, as opposed to a nine-dimension model, led to greater interviewer accuracy, validity, and reliability. Although no reasoning was presented for this finding, one possible reason for this difference is cognitive load. It is possible that interviewers using the nine-dimension model were so preoccupied with candidate rating scales that they failed to incorporate important information, resulting in lower accuracy. If this were true, then, with respect to candidates that are being deceptive, it is possible that using a nine-dimension model, as opposed to a four-dimension model, might result in lower deception detection abilities, yielding higher interview ratings for lying candidates.

Summary

The present study examines whether candidates' use of deception affects interviewers' perceptions. In an earlier study, thirty-eight participants in an experiment were interviewed for what they thought was an actual job. Each interview was structured so that every candidate responded to the same ten questions. At the conclusion of each interview, following the revelation that they were actually participating in an experiment, candidates watched videotapes of themselves and reported the number of lies they told, how it was a lie, and what would have made the lie more truthful.

The present study used these videotaped interviews to examine observers' accuracy with respect to deception detection, and how candidates' deception affects observers' evaluations. In Study 1, observers watched video clips of candidates as they spontaneously provided truthful or untruthful responses to interview questions. This study directly examined whether observers accurately detected deception and how such deception affected

observers' evaluations, with respect to how well they thought the candidate answered the question. It was hypothesized that although observers would not be able to accurately detect deception at above chance levels, they would rate untruthful responses more highly than truthful ones because the untruthful responses will be less constrained than truthful responses. Specifically, the untruthful responses will sound better because candidates can say whatever they want to make the response sound good.

Study 2 examined how deception was related to interview outcomes. Here, observers' watched entire interviews and rated candidates on dimensions of competence, likeability, honesty, and hireability. In addition, the number of dimensions that observers' used to evaluate candidates varied, so that their cognitive load could be manipulated to examine the effects of cognitive load on observers' abilities to detect deception and evaluate candidates. It was hypothesized that candidates who lied more would be given the highest hiring recommendations. However, if observers suspected that the candidate was lying, such deception would not be as effective. Finally, it was hypothesized that high cognitive load would negatively affect observers' abilities to detect deception, causing observers under high cognitive load to be more influenced by deception, giving highly deceptive candidates higher hiring recommendations than observers under low cognitive load.

CHAPTER II

STUDY 1

Method

Overview

Study 1 examined the effectiveness of candidate deception on observers' evaluations of candidates' responses. Specifically, Study 1 examined whether observers can distinguish between a truthful and untruthful response (i.e., detect deception), as well as whether observers liked the content of untruthful statements more than truthful ones. It was hypothesized that observers would not be able to accurately detect deception. In addition, it was hypothesized that observers' would perceive the content of the deceptive statements to be more positive than the truthful ones.

Participants

Seventy participants, at a large university, served as observers in this study. They were recruited through psychology classes and all participants were given extra credit for their participation.

Materials

Candidate Lies. Study 1 used video clips of job applicants from a previous experiment to create the manipulation of the independent variable. The video clips were chosen and arranged so that candidates responded to two interviewer questions (i.e., "what was your lowest grade in a college course?" and "how do you deal with deadlines and pressure?"), in which one candidate response was truthful and the other untruthful. The question for which the candidate provided an untruthful response to was counterbalanced. Specifically, half of the candidates' lied about questions inquiring about their worst grade received in a college course, whereas the other half lied about questions inquiring about their

abilities to deal with deadlines and pressure. Each observer watched a total of six candidate interviews, for a total of twelve responses. The order in which observers watched the clips was randomized.

Candidate Evaluation Form. An evaluation form, composed of twelve questions, was used to evaluate the quality of the candidate's response. Of the twelve questions, three questions assessed the observer's affective reaction (how much the candidate's response was liked), three questions assessed the candidate's honesty, and six questions were filler items (assessing candidate's tone and nonverbal behavior). To control for response bias, some of the questions were reverse scored. All questions were based on a 7-point scale, with (after recoding) a 1 indicating that the candidate was low on a particular dimension and a 7 indicating that the candidate was high on that dimension. Reliabilities for the honesty and affective reaction scales were .77 and .83, respectively.

Procedure

As a cover story, observers were told that the purpose of the study was to examine how people make judgments about others. They were told: "Oftentimes, people make judgments based on another person's nonverbal behavior, vocal tone (how it is said), or verbal content (what the person says). The current study examines what types of information you use to make judgments about others. You will watch a series of video clips, rating the person's nonverbal behavior, vocal tone, and verbal content."

Prior to starting, observers were asked to read the questions, so that they would be familiar with them. Once they had done this, the first video clip was shown. After they watched the first candidate respond to the first question, observers had thirty-seconds to rate the candidate's response, using the previously mentioned evaluation form. After the thirty

seconds lapsed, they watched the second clip. This process was repeated until all twelve-question responses were watched and rated. Once completed, all observers were debriefed.

Results and Discussion

In accordance with the first hypothesis, overall, observers were unable to distinguish between truthful (M = 5.10) and untruthful statements (M = 5.05), t (66) = 1.26, n.s., indicating that observers, for the most part, were unable to detect candidates' deception. However, contrary to the second hypothesis, observers did not like deceptive statements (M = 4.20) more than truthful ones (M = 4.15), t (66) = .69, n.s..

Two tentative conclusions can be drawn from Study 1. First, consistent with past research (e.g., DePaulo et al., 2002; Miller & Burgoon, 1981), observers were unable to detect whether candidates were lying or not.

The second conclusion drawn from this study is that observers liked truthful and untruthful responses equally. Given that the truthful and untruthful responses were rated equally, one might speculate that lying does not make candidates appear more qualified than more honest candidates. Instead, it appears that lying makes candidates appear as qualified as the more honest candidates. If the primary reason candidates' lie is because the truth is undesirable, then, logically, one does not lie because the truth is desirable. If candidates lie to create a desirable impression, but tell the truth when the truth will create a desirable impression, then it makes sense that truthful and untruthful statements would be equally liked, since both were told to create a desirable impression. However, since using the null hypothesis to "prove" hypotheses yields certain limitations, one must be cautious about making this interpretation. In addition, this interpretation was not hypothesized and, therefore, not directly supported by the study's data. Future studies should focus on using this as a guiding hypothesis.

CHAPTER III

STUDY 2

Method

Overview

Study 2 looked at how the level of deception (i.e., the number of lies) was related to candidates' interview success, and whether observers' perceptions of candidates' honesty was a potential moderating factor in hiring decisions. It also examined how cognitive load affected observers' decisions. It was hypothesized that candidates' level of lying would positively affect interview outcomes, so that those who lie more will receive the higher hiring recommendations. However, it was also hypothesized that such favorable ratings would decrease when observers suspect that the candidate is lying. Finally, it was hypothesized that cognitive load (the number of dimensions that observers used to rate candidates) would affect observers' abilities to accurately rate candidates. Specifically, observers in the high cognitive load condition would be able to process less information about the candidate, resulting in lowered suspicions concerning candidates' deception. This lowered suspicion, in turn, will allow the candidates' deception to be more persuasive, resulting in higher hiring recommendations for deceptive candidates. In contrast, observers in the low cognitive load condition will more accurately process information about the candidate, allowing them to more accurately detect deception, thereby resulting in lower hiring recommendations for the deceptive candidates.

Participants

One hundred nineteen students at a large university participated in this study. Each participant served as an observer (a non-interactive interviewer). Participants were given extra credit in a psychology course for their participation.

Materials

Candidate Lies. This study differed from Study 1 in that observers watched entire interviews, as opposed to short excerpts. Study 2 used videotapes from a prior experiment with the number of reported lies serving as the independent variable. Candidates were categorized according to the total number of lies they told, and they were split into three groups: low number of lies emitted (0-2), medium number of lies emitted (3-5), and high number of lies emitted (6-8) levels of deception. Following this categorization, there were four candidates in each category.

Participants were shown a randomly-chosen videotape from each of the three categories of lies. Each observer thus watched three interviews, one from the low, one from the medium, and one from the high category of lies. The order in which observers watched the three candidates (exhibiting low, med, or high levels of deception) was determined randomly.

Candidate Evaluation Forms. Observers' rated all candidates on four primary dimensions: likelihood to hire, likeability, competence, and honesty. However, if observers were in the high cognitive load condition, they also rated candidates on five additional dimensions (used as filler items): communication, planning and organizing, job fit, professional knowledge and skills, and work standards. Three questions were created to represent each dimension. Some of the questions were randomly reverse-scored. All questions were anchored on a 7-point scale, with (after recoding) a 1 indicating that the candidate was low on a particular dimension and a 7 indicating that the candidate was high on that dimension. Reliability coefficients for the four dimensions were hireability = .90; competence = .79; likeability = .63; and honesty = .65.

Procedure

Observers were told that the purpose of the study was to examine how interviewers make decisions in job interviews and to assess the types of information interviewers' use in making hiring recommendations. Observers were told that they were to play the role of a job interviewer, in which they would watch three interviews and evaluate each candidate's job skills. To motivate observers, they were told that, as determined earlier by a human resource personnel, one of the candidates was clearly better than the other two. If they correctly identified the best candidate (via the highest hiring recommendation), then they would be entered into a drawing for a chance to win $75.

To prepare observers for their role as interviewers, they were given a handout that described the position's primary duties and salary, as well as an evaluation form that assessed each candidate. The candidate evaluation forms varied depending on which cognitive load condition participants were randomly assigned to (i.e., four vs. nine-dimensions). Participants were given as much time as they needed to read over the evaluation form. Once this was done, they were randomly assigned to watch one of the four videotapes. They then watched the first interview. Once the interview was completed, a three-minute pause was allotted so that the observer could complete the assessment. After three minutes, the observers watched and rated the subsequent interview(s). This process was repeated until all three interviews were watched, where observers were then debriefed and released.

Manipulation Check

At the study's conclusion, to ensure that the cognitive load manipulation was successful, observers were asked (on a seven-point scale, where 1= not difficult and 7 = difficult), how difficult it was to evaluate the candidates given of the number of dimensions they used to rate the candidates. Overall, observers did not feel that this task was difficult, M

= 2.92, a rating that was below the scale's midpoint. However, observers in the high cognitive load condition (M = 3.23) did feel that it was more difficult than observers in the low cognitive load condition (M = 2.58), t (116) = 2.26, $p < .05$.

Results

Means and standard deviations of all variables can be found in Tables 1 and 2. To examine whether lying and cognitive load affected interview outcomes, a 3 (number of candidate lies told) x 2 (cognitive load) mixed-design analysis of variance was conducted with candidates' hireability, competence, likeability, and honesty used as dependant variables.

Hiring Recommendations

In accordance with the hypotheses, results found a difference in candidate hiring recommendations based on the number of lies candidates' told, F (2, 234) = 16.19, $p < .001$ (see figure 1). Specifically, candidates who lied 6-8 times were given higher hiring recommendations than candidates who lied 3-5 times, t (117) = 5.05, $p < .001$ and those who told 0-2 lies, t (117) 4.74, $p < .001$, whereas candidates who told 3-5 lies were given similar ratings to those who told 0-2 lies, t (117) = 1.25, n.s..

However, contrary to hypotheses, results found no difference in candidate hiring recommendations based on cognitive load, F (1,116) = .25, n.s.. In addition, results also failed to find a significant interaction between the number of lies candidates told and cognitive load, F (1,116) = .70, n.s..

Competence

With respect to competence, results indicated a difference in candidate competence based on the number of lies candidates' told, F (2, 234) = 12.79, $p < .001$. Specifically, candidates who lied 6-8 times were given higher competence ratings than candidates who lied 3-5 times, t (117) = 4.40, $p < .001$ and candidates who told 0-2 lies, t (117) = 4.35,

$p<.001$, whereas candidates who told 3-5 lies were given similar ratings to candidates who told 0-2 lies, t (116) = 1.27, ns.

Again, contrary to hypotheses, results showed no difference in candidate competence ratings based on cognitive load, F (1,116) = .14, ns. In addition, results also failed to find a significant interaction between the number of lies candidates told and cognitive load, F (1,116) = .58, n.s.

Likeability

With respect to likeability, results indicated a difference in candidate likeability based on the number of lies candidates' told, F (2, 232) = 6.28, $p < .01$. Specifically, candidates who told 6-8 lies were as likeable as those who told 3-5 lies, t (117) = 1.36, ns, but more likeable than candidates who lied 0-2 times, t (117) 3.06, $p < .001$. Finally, candidates who told 3-5 lies were more likeable than candidates who told 0-2 lies, t (116) = 2.48, $p < .01$.

Again, results found no difference in candidate likeability based on cognitive load, F (1,116) = .44, ns. In addition, results also failed to find a significant interaction between the number of lies candidates' told and cognitive load, F (1,116) = .53, ns.

Honesty

With respect to honesty, in accordance with our hypotheses, results failed to indicate a difference in candidate honesty based on the number of lies candidates' told, F (2, 226) = 2.00, ns. In addition, results also found no difference in candidate likeability based on cognitive load, F (1,113) = .06, ns. Finally, results failed to find a significant interaction between the number of lies candidates' told and cognitive load, F (1,113) = .12, ns.

Influence of Competence and Likeability on Hiring Recommendations

As a whole, candidates who lied 6-8 times received the highest hiring recommendations, where they were perceived to be the most competent, but not necessarily

the most likeable. Based on this, it appears that candidate competence strongly affects observers' hiring recommendations. However, because competence, likeability, and honesty are highly related to hiring recommendations, a multiple regression was performed to examine if one variable was actually a better predictor than the other. By controlling for each variable, the regression model allowed a determination of which variable (competence, likeability, or honesty) was better at predicting hiring recommendations. Results indicate that competence and likeability, but not honesty, were fairly good predictors of candidate hiring recommendations, $\underline{b}_{competence} = .59$, $p < .001$; $\underline{b}_{like} = .62$, $p < .001$; $\underline{b}_{honesty} = .02$, n.s.. Therefore, although on the surface it appeared that competence was the best predictor, in reality both competence and likeability were important when observers made their hiring recommendations.

Influence of Perceived Candidate Honesty on Hiring Recommendations

Because honesty was hypothesized to moderate the relationship between candidate lies and hiring recommendations, a regression was performed to assess whether candidates who were perceived to be lying, indeed, received lower hiring recommendations. Results indicated that the less honest a candidate was perceived to be, the lower the hiring recommendations, $\underline{b}_{honesty} = .50$, $p < .001$.

Discussion

Overall, candidates who lied the most (6-8 lies) were rated the most hirable, competent, and likeable. In addition, they were perceived to be as honest as candidates who lied to a lesser extent. Although candidates who were perceived as dishonest were given lower hiring recommendations, observers were relatively unable to detect candidates' dishonesty. Consequently, it is possible that the observers' inabilities to detect deception provided candidates with more flexibility to create images that were more likely to elicit

positive responses from the observer. Finally, contrary to hypotheses, the number of dimensions that observers' used to rate candidates failed to influence observers' candidate evaluations.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Overall, Study 1 found that observers' liked candidates' truthful and untruthful responses equally. In addition, Study 1 found that observers were relatively unable to distinguish between candidates' truthful and untruthful responses. Study 2 found that competence and likeability were important factors in determining hiring recommendations. Candidates who lied the most (6-8 lies) were rated the most competent, likeable, and hirable. In addition, although candidates who were perceived as dishonest were given lower hiring recommendations, candidates who lied the most were perceived to be as honest as the more honest candidates.

The results of Study 2 showed that observers gave lower hiring recommendations to candidates who were judged to be dishonest. However, both Study 1 and Study 2 showed that observers were unable to detect exactly when candidates were being dishonest. Because of this inability to detect deception, Study 2 showed that candidates who lied the most were rewarded the most, as they were perceived to be the most hireable, competent, and likeable. But the reason why they were rated most favorably remains unclear.

Based on these two studies, one might question whether candidates' deception confers a competitive advantage over other candidates, or whether candidates' deception simply creates the impression that candidates are just as qualified as other candidates. Study 2 appears to support the former, and Study 1 the latter.

Kacmar and Carlson (1999) found that not all forms of impression management work in all types of situations, implying that simply using impression management does not necessarily yield rewards. It appears that there is sort of an art to the effective use of impression management: people must be sensitive to know when as well as how to use it.

Just like honest forms of impression management, one might argue that the effective use of deception is also an art, as a lie by itself does not influence observers' evaluations. In interviews, to influence interviewer perceptions, candidates must know how and when to lie in order to obtain coveted positive evaluations.

Limitations and Future Directions

Future research should attempt to assess precisely what it is that helps deceptive candidates achieve those high ratings. Conceptualizing lying as an interpersonal exchange of information between two people might provide a good framework to analyze this situation. Inherent in the any information exchange resides, at least, three factors: the sender, receiver, and the message. For the sender, perhaps there is something about individuals that makes lying effective. For example, it is possible that successful lying resides in the individual's interpersonal and/or presentation skills. Or perhaps an important aspect of effective lying resides in the audience. After all, the audience must accept and approve of the message one is trying to convey in order for the lie to be effective. Finally, for the message, perhaps an important element resides not in what is said, but how it is said. Future studies should look at the interactions among these variables to have a clearer understanding of why individuals who frequently use deception tend to be rewarded more than individuals who use it less frequently.

Of course, there are some limitations with these studies that should be addressed. First, the goal of the study was to simulate a job interview that demonstrated how candidates' deception was related to interview outcomes in terms of hiring recommendations. However, in both studies, untrained, nonprofessional observers were used as proxies for interviewers. Interviewers are active participants in job interviews, whereas observers are more passive. They have the opportunity to ask questions, whereas

observers merely receive information. Such a difference might negatively affect the accuracy or validity of observers' evaluations because they do not have the opportunity to ask questions that might expose candidates' lies. Therefore, it is a possibility, albeit a small one, that real interviewers, compared to observers, might have been more capable of detecting the candidates' deception.

A second limitation, related to the first, is that the observers in this study were college students with no training as interviewers. It is reasonable to argue that professionals are better trained at evaluating candidates. However, in order for interviewers to be more accurate when it comes to rating candidates, real interviewers would also have to be better at detecting deception than college students because, if they were not, then it is also likely that this deception would have also influenced real interviewers' perceptions of the candidate.

In spite of these limitations, the present studies contribute to our understanding of deception and job interviews in several ways. These studies show that individuals, who frequently use deception in interviews, are also rated the most favorably, in terms of competence, likeability, and hireability. In addition, although observers gave lower evaluations when they perceived candidates to be dishonest, they were relatively unable to accurately assess when a candidate was or was not lying. Therefore, it is possible that the deception worked to the candidate's advantage, as it helped convince the observer that the candidate was the best person for the job. These findings are particularly impressive (not to mention discomforting) given that these studies used candidates who closely resemble candidates interviewers might encounter in real life.

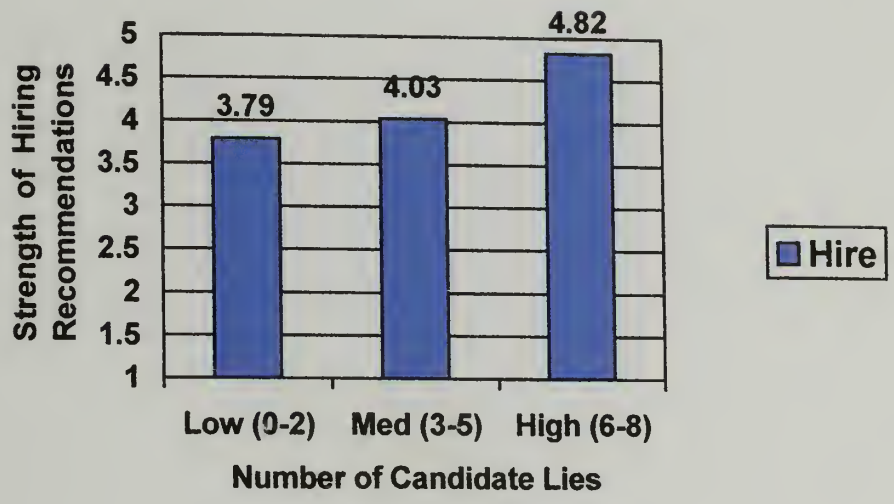
Table 1. Means and standard deviations of candidates' ratings given the number of candidate lies told.

Lies	Low		Medium		High	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Hireability	3.79	1.63	4.03	1.32	4.82	1.55
Competence	4.17	1.37	4.38	1.12	4.94	1.29
Likeability	4.02	1.09	4.34	1.03	4.52	1.17
Honesty	5.21	1.09	5.06	1.05	5.36	1.14

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of candidate ratings based on observers' cognitive load.

Cognitive Load	**Low**		**High**	
	M	SD	M	SD
Hireability	4.26	.88	4.17	.96
Competence	4.47	.75	4.52	.77
Likeability	4.26	.65	4.34	.66
Honesty	5.02	.66	5.21	.64

Figure 1. Number of candidate lies and candidate hiring recommendations.



APPENDIX A

STUDY 1 PARTICIPANT DIRRECTIONS

The following study examines what types of information you use when forming impressions about others. In this study, you will be asked to watch 12 clips of individuals who responded to various questions asked by an experimenter. What you will do is watch the first video clip and evaluate the person on various dimensions *[give the participant the questionnaire]*. That is, after each clip, you'll answer these 12 questions about the person *[point to the questions to ensure that they know what you're talking about]*. After you watch and rate the participant in the first clip, you'll repeat this process until you watch and evaluate all 12 clips.

Each page of this questionnaire corresponds to one video clip. So, for each clip, you'll answer all of the questions on the corresponding page. For example, when you watch the first clip, you'll answer all of the questions on page 1 *[show them how each page number in the upper right corner will correspond to the clip that they are watching]*. Likewise, when you're watching clip 10, you'll answer all of the questions that are on page 10.

Do you have any questions?

Okay, the tape is set up so that, when the person finishes his/her response, you will have one-minute and thirty-seconds to finish your evaluations. Once that time lapses, the next clip will automatically begin. That is, I'm going to put the tape in the VCR and press play. You will not have to touch the VCR at all during the course of the study because the clips are evenly spaced to allow you enough time to watch and evaluate each person.

Do you have any questions?

When you're finished, just open the door and I'll come in and give you your credits. Thanks.

APPENDIX B

STUDY 1 EVALUATION FORM

To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

This person's answer was well articulated.

disagree						**agree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How often is this person making eye contact with the interviewer?

frequent						**infrequent**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How straightforward and forthcoming was this person in his/her responses?

straightforward						**not straightforward**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How frequent does this person seem to be smiling?

infrequent						**frequent**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This person's response was well said.

agree						**disagree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How sincere do you feel that this person is?

insincere						**sincere**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This person talks very quickly.

disagree						**agree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How would you rate this person's posture?

slouched						**upright**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This person's voice is strong and assertive.

disagree						**agree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How much do you feel that this person is being honest?

honest						**dishonest**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This person talks loudly.

agree						**disagree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I was impressed by the way this person the answered the question.

disagree						**agree**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX C

STUDY 2 PARTICIPANT DIRECTIONS

The following study examines what types of information interviewers use when making decisions about job candidates. In this study, you will be asked to play the role of an interviewer by watching 3 interviews of individuals who applied for a job. As a general rule of thumb, often times, interviewers are concerned with candidate deception. That is, in addition to trying to evaluate the candidate's skills, the interviewer is also trying to evaluate the candidate's honesty. As you watch these interviews, we want to you pay attention to this, when making your evaluations. Now, with that said, like any job interview the problem is that you don't know whether or not the person is lying. As a participant, you will watch one of several videotapes we have made. In some of the tapes, some of the candidates are lying, whereas in others none of the candidates are lying. Therefore, your goal is to determine if this person is lying (and make your ratings on the integrity scale) and then to give the candidate an evaluation based on how you feel about him/her, given all of the information present.

The following candidates applied for a tutor position within the psychology department. Here is some basic information relevant to the job. *[give the participant the job specification sheet to read]*

What we're asking you to do is play the role of the interviewer. You are asked to watch the video of the first candidate, while rating the candidate on the specified dimensions. So, for example, while you're watching the interview, you'll rate the candidate on how competent you perceive him/her to be. *[show the participant the ratings and note to them how they will fill out all of the dimensions]* It is very important that you fill out the ratings while you watch the video because you will only have 3 minutes at the end of each interview to finish your ratings before the next interview begins. You'll repeat this process until all three interviews are watched.

Do you have any questions?

Okay, now, we had a human resource personnel watch this tape and rate all three candidates. It was determined that one candidate is clearly better than the other two. If you properly select the right candidate, then we will put you into a drawing for a chance to win $75. The way you will select this individual will be through your ratings on each dimension. So, the way we determine if you selected the right person will be by analyzing how you rated that candidate on each dimension. Therefore, it is very important how you rate each candidate on every dimension.

Do you have any questions?

Okay, let's begin.

APPENDIX D

STUDY 2 EVALUATION FORM A (HIGH COGNITIVE LOAD)

Competence:

1) How competent do you think this person is?

competent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not competent**

2) How intelligent do you think this person is for the job?

intelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not intelligent**

3) To what extent do you feel that this person's intelligence will help him or her excel at this position?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **very much**

Likeability:

1) How much do you like this person?

dislike 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **like**

2) How much would you like this person as a coworker?

dislike 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **like**

3) How much would you like this person as a friend?

like 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **dislike**

Likelihood to Hire:

1) How likely is it that you would hire this person?

definitely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **definitely not**

2) How likely is it that this person would be offered the job?

definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **definitely**

3) How qualified do you think this person is for the job?

not qualified 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **qualified**

Honesty:

1) How much do you feel that this person is being honest?

honest						**dishonest**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) How much do you feel that this candidate is consistent in the type of information that he or she is providing?

consistent						**inconsistent**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) How straightforward and forthcoming was this person in his/her responses?

not at all						**very straightforward**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Work Standards:

1) To what extent do you feel that this person strives for excellence?

not at all						**very much**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) To what extent do you feel that this person dedicates a lot of time and energy to assignments?

not a lot						**a lot of time**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) To what extent do you feel that this person takes responsibility for outcomes (positive or negative) of one's work?

a lot of responsibility						**little responsibility**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Professional Knowledge and Skills:

1) How much do you feel that this person has the knowledge and skills to perform effectively at this job?

very much						**very little**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) How much do you feel that this person has adequate skills relevant to the position?

inadequate						**adequate**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) How much do you feel that this person will strive to maintain the knowledge and skills necessary to perform the job effectively?

will strive						**will not strive**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Job Fit:

1) How much do you feel that this position would be personally satisfying to this individual?

dissatisfying						satisfying
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) How much do you feel that this person would enthusiastically accept the job's responsibilities?

enthused						not enthused
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) To what extent do you feel that this job and the person are a good match?

poor match						good match
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Planning and Organizing:

1) How much do you feel that this person will develop schedules and timelines to achieve certain tasks?

a lot of development						little development
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) How much do you feel that this person will demonstrate effective time management and avoid distractions?

poor time management						good time management
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) How much do you feel that this person will effectively organize and plan his or her lesson plans?

good planning						poor planning
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Communication:

1) How well do you feel that this person can clearly convey his or her ideas?

not very well						very well
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2) How well do you feel that this person's speech follows a logical sequence?

logical						not logical
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3) How well do you feel that this person can effectively communicate so that the audience will understand and retain the message?

not effective						effective
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX E

STUDY 2 EVALUATION FORM B (LOW COGNITIVE LOAD)

Competence:

1) How competent do you think this person is?

competent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not competent**

2) How intelligent do you think this person is for the job?

intelligent 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **not intelligent**

3) To what extent do you feel that this person's intelligence will help him or her excel at this position?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **very much**

Likeability:

2) How much do you like this person?

dislike 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **like**

2) How much would you like this person as a coworker?

dislike 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **like**

3) How much would you like this person as a friend?

like 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **dislike**

Likelihood to Hire:

1) How likely is it that you would hire this person?

definitely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **definitely not**

2) How likely is it that this person would be offered the job?

definitely not 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **definitely**

3) How qualified do you think this person is for the job?

not qualified 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 **qualified**

Honesty:

4) How much do you feel that this person is being honest?

honest						**dishonest**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5) How much do you feel that this candidate is consistent in the type of information that he or she is providing?

consistent						**inconsistent**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6) How straightforward and forthcoming was this person in his/her responses?

not at all						**very straightforward**
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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