A Model of Faking Likelihood in the Employment Interview

Julia Levashina*
School of Business, Indiana University Kokomo

Michael A. Campion
Purdue University

There has been surprisingly little research on faking in the employment interview, despite the fact that professional judgment would suggest that faking might occur in the interview. Based on a review of the literature on faking in personality tests and the literature on deception, we propose a model of faking during an employment interview and develop 19 testable propositions to guide future research. We argue that faking is a function of capacity, willingness, and opportunity to fake. Structured interviews provide less opportunity for intentional distortion; however, some components of structure may actually increase faking. Finally, job candidates distort their responses in job desirable ways.

In recent years we have seen the growing number of studies of impression management in interview settings (e.g., Ellis, West, Ryan, & DeShon, 2002; Gilmore & Ferris, 1989; Kacmar, Delery, & Ferris, 1992; Kristof-Brown, Barrick, & Franke, 2002; Lopes & Fletcher, 2004; Stevens & Kristof, 1995). Generally, impression management has been defined as job candidates' attempts to control and determine the images interviewers form of them regarding their behaviors, motivation, and other attributes (e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002; Lopes & Fletcher, 2004; Shlenker, 1980). Research has shown that the use of impression management (IM) tactics could affect interviewer ratings (e.g., Kacmar *et al*., 1992; Kristof-Brown *et al*., 2002), not all job candidates equally engage in or are skilled at IM (e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002; Turnley & Bolino, 2001), and different types of interviews could foster some and discourage other types of IM tactics (e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002; McFarland, Ryan, & Kriska, 2003). Despite this attention to IM in the employment interviews, several questions still remain without answers. For example, does IM introduce systematic error and represent a real threat to the validity of the interview? Is IM simply expected in interview settings from both parties: job candidates and potential employers? Is IM deceptive in its nature?

A first step in addressing these questions may be the clarification of conceptual differences between IM and faking or deception. The past research on IM in interviews has identified different tactics that job candidates may use to impress the interviewers. Examples of such tactics are self-promotion tactics (intended to show that the applicant possesses desirable qualities for the job), ingratiation tactics (intended to evoke interpersonal liking and attraction between the interviewer and the applicant), and defensive tactics (intended to protect or repair a candidate's image, e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002). However, the question of whether IM is deceptive or honest has not been raised or addressed. Job candidates may use IM tactics to present themselves in the best possible way without being dishonest or untruthful. For example, they may use self-promotion tactics to describe their existing job related credentials. Alternatively, job candidates might simply fake interview questions in order to provide the best answer. They might fake interview questions in the same way that paper-and-pencils personality tests can be faked by misrepresenting their traits or omitting negative job related information. Moreover, many researchers suggest that people are surprisingly effective at convincingly faking their emotional expressions, attitudes, and even personality characteristics (DePaulo, 1992) and perceivers usually are unable to detect such faking (Barrick & Mount, 1996; Furnham, 1986; McFarland & Ryan, 2000; Sackett & Harris, 1984; Sackett & Wanek, 1996; Toris & DePaulo, 1984).

It could be argued that deceptive IM or faking represents a real threat to the validity of the interview. For instance, research has shown that impression management

*Address for correspondence: Julia Levashina, School of Business, Indiana University Kokomo, 2300 South Washington Street, Kokomo, IN 46904-9003, USA. E-mail: jlevashi@iuk.edu

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influences selection decisions, such as interviewers' evaluations of applicant suitability or their estimates of the likelihood that applicants will be offered a job, regardless of applicant credentials (e.g., Gilmore & Ferris, 1989; Hollandsworth, Kazelskis, Stevens, & Dressel, 1979; Kacmar *et al*., 1992; Parsons & Liden, 1984; Stevens & Kristof, 1995). Deceptive IM could affect the accuracy with which a score describes an individual's standing on the characteristics being measured (construct validity) and on the accuracy of predictions made from the scores (predictive validity). The finding in the research on faking in personality measures that not all applicants fake equally (e.g., Furnham, 1986; McFarland & Ryan, 2000; Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998a) and findings in the research on IM in the interviews that not all interviewees impression manage equally (e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002; Turnley & Bolino, 2001), implies that deceptive IM does not add a constant to the scores of all applicants, but instead the relative standing of applicants and thus the predictive validity of the interview could be affected. For example, the way people are dressed for the interview could be an example of IM because not all candidates will dress equally well each day at work. However, this fact does not affect the validity of the interview because all candidates are aware of this interview dress norm, and interviewers expect this from all candidates. On the other hand, some candidates might exaggerate a great deal about their responsibilities, skills, work-related experiences during an interview. The amount of exaggeration probably adds bias to interview scores because it does not accurately reflect past employment history, and interviewers are unaware about the amount of the exaggeration in the interviewees' answers and they cannot discount it in their final ratings.

The purpose of this paper is to develop a model of faking likelihood in the employment interview. We develop the model and forward propositions based partly on the literature on faking in personality tests and the literature on deception. But first we must define faking in the employment interview.

Definition of Faking in the Interview

In order to define faking in the interview, we will use the accumulated knowledge about this concept in the literature on personality measures. The most general and accepted definition of *faking* is an intentional distortion or a falsification of responses on measures in order to create a specific impression or provide the best answer (Comrey & Backer, 1975; Furnham, 1986; Stark, Chernyshenko, Chan, Lee, & Drasgow, 2001). For example, job applicants may respond in a manner that they calculate, rightly or wrongly, will enhance their chances of being selected.

Faking and impression management in the employment interview cannot be used interchangeably, although the portion of impression management will be incorporated into our definition of faking as described below. There are two approaches to the definition of impression management that introduce some confusion to the meaning of the construct. Impression management has been defined differently in the personality literature and in the literature on social behaviors in organizations.

In the framework of personality research, impression management has been conceptualized as one of the two components of social desirability (Paulhus, 1984; Paulhus & Reid, 1991; Sackeim & Gur, 1979). Impression management refers to the intentional distortion of responses to create a favorable impression and is distinguished from self-deception or unintentional distortion of responses. Self-deception is manifested in socially desirable, positively biased self-descriptions that the respondents actually believe to be true. Many researchers (e.g., Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Zerbe & Paulhus, 1987) have argued that self-deception will not vary as a function of social factors such as publicness, presence of extrinsic rewards, or opportunity. Impression management, on the other hand, is a situation-induced temporary state or a voluntary and conscious tendency to present oneself in a positive (or otherwise appropriate) way. Thus, if the faking in the employment interview is affected by social and situational variables, it is more likely that the behavior is motivated by impression management rather than ego protection (Morrison & Bies, 1991). So, we will use the term faking to refer to the intentional distortion or impression management component of social desirability only.

On the contrary, an established tradition in the literature on social behaviors in organizations is to define impression management as a negotiation of the interpretations attached to behaviors and events in social settings (Gilmore *et al*., 1999; Schlenker, 1980). Impression management is not necessarily deceptive or intentional. For example, Baumeister (1982, 1989) argued that there are two kinds of impression management: "pleasing the audience" that involves conforming to others preferences and changing one's behavior and appearance depending on the expectations and values of the social environment and "self-construction" that is motivated by self-presenter's own values and preferences and involves constructing an identity that fits one's own personal ideas and desires. Moreover, some researchers have argued that misrepresentation and impression management are separate constructs. In their chapter on impression management tactics in the *Employment Interview Handbook*, Gilmore *et al*. (1999) defined self-presentation as attempts to influence *self-relevant* images and distinguished impression management from misrepresentation, arguing that the two constructs are separable. Thus, there are two types of impression management: deceptive and honest. Job candidates may use impression management tactics to look good without being untruthful, or they may use them and be dishonest and untruthful.

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The existing empirical research on impression management in the employment interview has almost uniformly adapted the view of the literature on social behaviors in organizations on impression management, defining it as conscious or unconscious attempts to influence images during interaction (e.g., Ellis *et al*., 2002; Gilmore & Ferris, 1989; Gilmore *et al*., 1999; McFarland, Ryan, & Kriska, 2003; Stevens & Kristof, 1995). The issue of whether IM is deceptive or not has not been studied despite Gilmore and Ferris's (1989) call to investigate deceptive impression management in an interview.

For the purposes of this study, we will integrate two distinctions from the personality literature (intentional distortion vs. unintentional distortion) and the literature on social behaviors (dishonest vs. honest impression management) into our definition. We define faking as dishonest impression management or intentional distortion of responses to interview questions or misrepresentation in order to create a good impression. Job candidates will engage in faking in order to eliminate any discrepancies between what they think they can offer and what is required for the job by inventing, changing, or tailoring the description of their competencies and work experiences.

Social Desirability vs. Job Desirability

If a job candidate is motivated to create an impression during an interview, the issue becomes one of determining precisely the kind of impression one wants to make. Leary and Kowalski (1990) argued when people are motivated to make a "good" impression, they construct an image that (a) reflects the self-concept but is biased in a positive direction, (b) matches perceived role demands, and (c) exhibits the attributes of the prototypic or ideal group member. In support of this notion, research on personality measures distinguish between *role faking*, which is responding fraudulently in accord with a specific social role, vs. faking according to an *ideal-self*, which amounts to claiming good traits and denying negative ones (Furnham, 1990; Ironson & Davis, 1979; Kroger, 1967; Kroger & Turnbull, 1975; Mahar, Cologon, & Duck, 1995; Match & Wiggins, 1974).

Our proposition is that job candidates distort their responses in job-desirable ways by employing a *role-faking* strategy and not an *ideal-self* strategy in employment interviews. Social roles carry expectations regarding how individuals who occupy those roles are to behave. In addition to specific behavioral prescriptions, most roles require that people who occupy them appear to be a particular kind of person or possess certain personal characteristics (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). It would suggest that the job candidates' suitability for a job might be assessed by comparing their personality with those of people employed in the target job. Thus, a *role-faking* strategy provides a set of guidelines for faking for people who want to occupy a certain job but do not believe that they have the desired characteristics. Kluger and Colella (1993) provide a great example of this. Faking of the question "Can you handle seeing someone suffer?" according to an ideal-self strategy would result in a negative answer. However, for applicants for a nurse job, a positive answer would be more appropriate.

Several studies on personality measures provide preliminary support for our hypothesis. Mahar *et al*. (1995) found that job applicants are likely to answer questions in terms of their role expectations. Also, Furnham (1990) and Kroger and Turnbull (1975) have suggested that respondents' faking of personality profiles may reflect their stereotypes of members of the target occupation. Kirchner (1962) investigated "real-life" faking of the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule by retail sales applicants and industrial sales applicants and found that the retail group tended to follow the stereotype of the salesperson with stronger sales interest, less "intellectual" orientations, and more emphasis on planning and persistence. However, the industrial sales group did not follow that stereotype. In addition, considerable research has shown that people tailor their public images to the perceived values and preferences of important others (Carnevale, Pruitt, & Britton, 1979; Gaes & Tedeschi, 1978; Gergen, 1965). In our case, this is the target organization or interviewer.

Thus, job candidates will distort their responses in the interview in job-desirable ways, not necessarily in socially desirable ways. They might consider the interview as a way to show their job–person fit (Gilson, 1924; Taylor, 1911; Werbel & Gilliland, 1999) and will answer questions according to their stereotype or "understanding" of the best candidate for this job. By doing so, job candidates will attempt to enhance their chances of being hired by presenting themselves as possessing qualities they perceive to be important for the job.

Proposition 1: Job candidates will distort their responses in job-desirable, but not necessarily in socially desirable, ways.

Model of Faking Likelihood in the Employment Interview

We propose that the degree to which people engage in faking during an interview is affected by a variety of situational and dispositional variables (see Figure 1). To justify the determinants of faking, we have adopted a fundamental model of performance (similar to Blumberg & Pringle, 1982; Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, & Sager, 1993; Waldman & Spangler, 1989). We argue that faking during an interview is a function of the respondent's capacity to fake, willingness to fake, and opportunity to fake

$$\text{Faking} = f(\text{Capacity} \times \text{Willingness} \times \text{Opportunity}).$$

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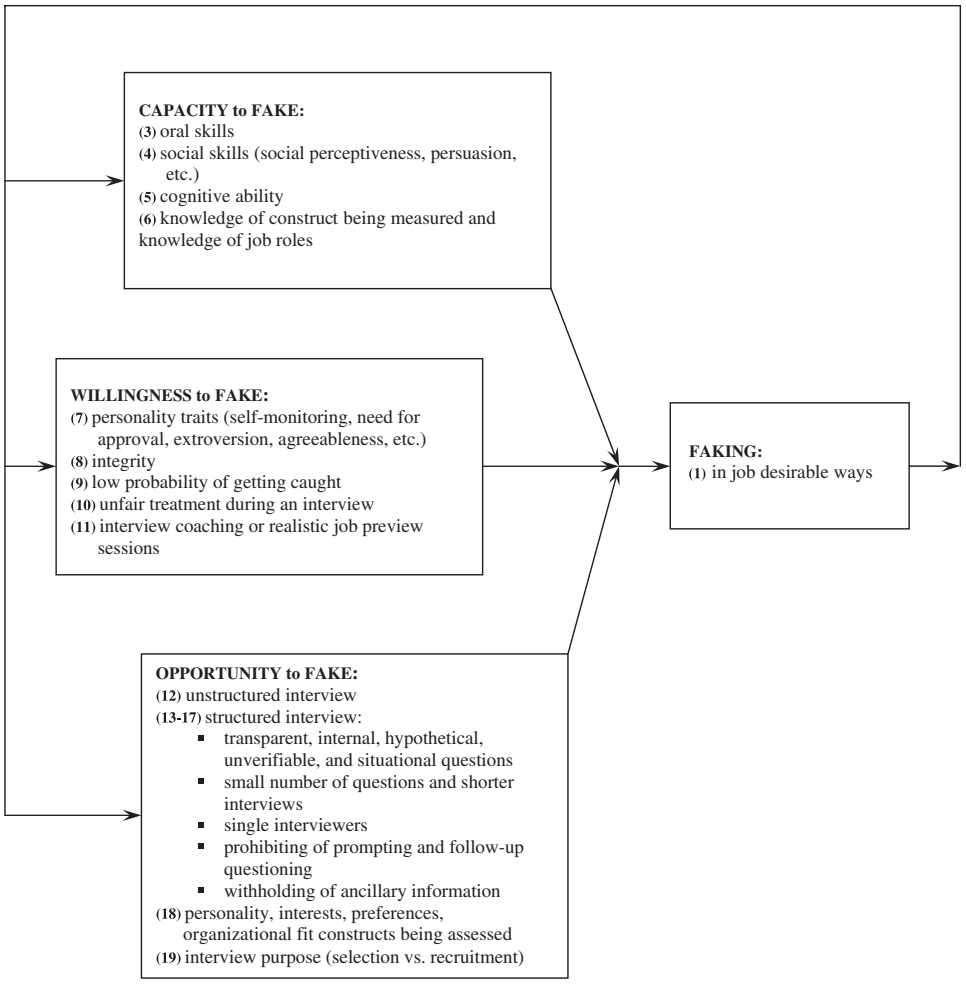

Figure 1. Model of faking likelihood in the employment interview.

Capacity to fake refers to the attributes that enable job candidates to fake effectively and includes capabilities such as oral expression skills, social skills, cognitive ability, and knowledge of the construct being measured. Willingness to fake represents psychological and emotional characteristics that influence the degree to which candidates are inclined to distort their response during an interview and includes motivation and personality. Even though applicants may be willing and capable of faking during an interview, there may be some obstacles that constrain faking. The opportunity dimension includes certain environmental factors beyond the applicant's direct control that enable or constrain faking, such as the type of interview (structured vs. unstructured) and the type of interview question (past behavior vs. situational).

All three elements must be present to some degree for faking to occur. A multiplicative model and some measurable minimum amount of each factor are assumed. Job candidates will engage in faking to the extent that they have the capacity, the willingness, and the opportunity to fake. Faking will not usually occur in the total absence of any one of the three dimensions. Lower values of any one of the dimensions would be expected to result in decreased levels of faking. An additive model is assumed for the variables that comprise each of the dimensions. For example, opportunity to fake might consist of an algebraic sum of the effects of the type of the interview, the type of the questions, and the purpose of the interview. Even if one of the variables were not present, there still would be some opportunity remaining for faking because of the presence of other two variables.

Also, we argue that faking will affect all three dimensions. Job candidates might engage in faking several times during the same interview when they need to answer different questions. The act of faking will give experience, which over time may improve individual's skills and ability to fake during an interview. Successful and undetected faking may decrease interviewee's anxiety about faking and increase motivation to fake on successive interview questions or job interviews. And job interviewee' faking experience will help him or her to recognize the opportunity to fake.

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Faking is an intentional and risky behavior. Job candidates will fake in order to remove any discrepancies between their true credentials and the requirements of the job or the question. If they do not believe they have capacity and opportunity to fake, they will try to use less risky ways to address discrepancies. For example, they might use "honest" impression management and try to refocus the question or the flow of conversation. Candidates will assess simultaneously their intentions, abilities and opportunities before they engage in faking. Finally, our model predicts occurrence of faking and not the success of the faking. For example, an organization might verify the information provided during an interview. This will impact faking success, but will not impact faking during an interview.

Proposition 2a: All three dimensions (capacity, willingness, and opportunity) must be present for faking to occur.

Proposition 2b: Past faking will affect candidate's capacity, willingness, and the recognition of an opportunity to fake in the future.

Capacity to Fake

Oral, Social, and Cognitive Abilities

Candidates who are more skilled at oral expression could have an advantage in intentionally creating certain images during an interview. These candidates can make stories sound appealing and believable. For example, Huffcutt, Weekley, Wiesner, Degroot, and Jones (2001) found partial support for their hypothesis that job candidates who possessed better oral skills received better scores on all of the behavioral questions regardless of what specific job characteristics they were designed to assess.

Because faking in an interview is a complex type of social performance, it seems reasonable that individual differences in social skills, defined as social perceptiveness, persuasion, and social control (Peterson *et al*., 2001; Riggio, 1986), would be closely linked to capacity to fake. Riggio, Tucker, and Throckmorton (1988) found initial support for this idea. They investigated the role of social skills in the ability to deceive in a sample of student volunteers. Expressive and socially tactful subjects were more successful deceivers. The authors argued that expressive, articulate, and socially controlled persons were more successful in faking because they were perceived as more credible than individuals who lack these basic communication skills. Also, interpersonally sensitive or socially perceptive applicants can better manipulate the interviewer's perception (Gilmore & Ferris, 1989). Socially perceptive applicants might ingratiate themselves by appearing to have beliefs and attitudes similar to that of the interviewer. Attitude similarity has been linked to interpersonal attraction (Schmitt, 1976). Also, it might signal a better organizational culture fit.

Cognitive ability may also increase a capacity to fake. DePaulo, Stone, and Lassiter (1985) argued that lie telling is a cognitively complex task because deceivers need to fabricate convincing lies that are consistent with everything the receiver knows or might find out. Cataldi (1996) investigated the influence of social context on deception and concluded that the target ("to whom" the lie is told), the referent ("about whom"), and the chances of detection were cognitive factors in deception. For example, when the chance of detection was relatively high, participants demonstrated more conscious and mindful generation of distortions and falsifications. Moreover, several studies that employed experimental designs and instructed participants to take personality measures under different instructions (e.g., fake good, fake bad, and respond honestly) have shown that individuals who are higher in cognitive ability are more able to respond to personality questions with more distortion (e.g., Furnham, 1986; Lao, 2001; Noll, 1951). These researchers argue that faking is a function of the respondent's cognitive ability. Thus, it is possible that people with high levels of cognitive ability would have more capacity to fake during an interview.

Proposition 3: Job candidates more skilled at oral expression will have more capacity to fake during an interview.

Proposition 4: Job candidates with social skills will have more capacity to fake during an interview.

Proposition 5: Job candidates with high levels of cognitive ability will have more capacity to fake during an interview.

Knowledge of Constructs Being Measured and Role Prescriptions

There are two types of knowledge that might be used by job candidates to intentionally distort responses during an interview: knowledge of psychological constructs being measured during an interview and knowledge of specific aspects of the job roles. These types of knowledge could be obtained in many different ways. Most job advertisements list the job requirements. Job candidates might attend information sessions organized by hiring organizations and learn about what the job entails. They might read interview preparation books that describe common questions and explain the constructs being measured. Finally, they might guess.

Braun (1962) argued that the degree of the job applicants' psychological sophistication (knowledge of the constructs being measured) is one factor influencing the amount and direction of score change. For example, respondents from an upper division university course in industrial psychology were able to increase their score on the Gordon Personal Inventory by 30 percentile points on average, whereas high school students and lower division

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college students increased their score by only 9 percentile points (Braun, 1962; Gordon & Stapleton, 1956; Rusmore, 1956). Moreover, Frei (1998) found that knowledge of the construct being measured by a biodata measure of social skills and the PDI employment inventory predicted an individual's ability to fake.

Knowledge of the constructs being measured during an interview makes interview questions more transparent and less subtle. Research on item subtlety and item transparency has shown that items that are rated by subjects as "obvious" were manipulated successfully in the predicted direction, whereas items rated as "subtle" were not (Burkhart, Christian, & Gynther, 1978; Harvey & Sipprelle, 1976; Peterson, Clark, & Bennett, 1989; Posey & Hess, 1984). For example, in a study that asked prisoners (Posey & Hess, 1984) to fake aggressively or non-aggressively, obvious items on selected MMPI aggression scales were influenced in the hypothesized direction, while the subtle items were not. Thus, knowledge of the constructs being measured during an interview may offer job seekers cues as to what may be expected of them.

As argued previously, job candidates will distort their responses in job desirable ways by employing the role-faking strategy as opposed to simply faking in a socially desirable way. Thus, job candidates might possess detailed knowledge of specific aspects of their future roles and be capable of simulating successfully the profiles of actual role occupants. For example, Braun (1962) found that when participants were instructed to fake in the direction of a certain occupational group, the results were heavily influenced by participants' knowledge of the actual characteristics of the group. The extent to which respondents have a stereotype, their scores may reflect it. Also, Jeske and Whitten (1975) confirmed that when participants are informed of the personality characteristics necessary for a job, they were able to successfully distort the 16-PF profile in that direction.

Also, it should be recognized that both types of knowledge are partially consequences of general cognitive ability (Viswesvaran & Ones, 2002). Causal analyses of the determinants of job performance suggest that the major effect of cognitive ability is on the acquisition of job knowledge (Hunter, 1986). Applicants with higher cognitive ability are likely to read more and have more knowledge of a variety of occupations, and this may also lead to a more thorough search regarding job requirements prior to the interview. Because of greater knowledge about the job during the interview, these applicants are likely to have greater capacity to fake.

Proposition 6a: Job candidates' knowledge of the psychological constructs being measured during an interview will make them more capable of faking.

Proposition 6b: Job applicants' knowledge of the future job role will make them more capable of faking.

Willingness to Fake

Personality Traits

Research on deception and faking in personality testing have shown that people high in *Machiavellianism*, self-monitoring, need for approval, and public self-consciousness are more successful at managing their impression than those low on these traits (Christie & Geis, 1970; DePaulo, 1992; Millham & Kellog, 1980; Paulhus, 1984; Snyder & Monson, 1975). People high in *Machiavellianism*, who believe that others can be manipulated, are particularly likely to engage in strategic self-presentation to influence others (Christie & Geis, 1970; Snell, Sydell, & Lueke, 1999). Based on a review of the deception literature, Grover (1997) argued that Machiavellianism might predict lying. Moreover, Kashy and DePaulo (1996) found that Machiavellian people told more everyday lies and were more confident of their lie-telling skills. Fletcher (1990) found that applicants high in Machiavellianism were more willing to be dishonest during an interview.

Also, people who are high in *need for approval* more highly value others' acceptance and approval than people who are low on this trait. As a result, high need for approval is associated with generally high impression management (Millham & Kellog, 1980). For example, Jacobson, Berger, and Millham (1970) found that people with a high need for approval cheated more extensively during a temptation period when confronting failure. People who *self-monitor* have an acute sensitivity to the cues in a situation that indicate what expression or self-presentation is appropriate and what is not (Snyder, 1974). They more fully consider characteristics of the social situation in presenting themselves to others. High self-monitoring people have been shown to vary their actual behavior in response to subtle changes in social norms (Snyder & Monson, 1975) and are likely to be better at adapting to the demands of the interview. On the other hand, low self-monitoring people have little concern for the appropriateness of their presentation and expression, pay less attention to the expressions of others, and monitor and control their presentation to a lesser extent. Their actions are guided more by internal dispositions than by situational cues. They typically express what they really think and feel. Self-monitoring individuals would be more likely to evaluate and control their expressions in situations that contain reliable cues to social appropriateness (Snyder, 1974). Finally, people high in *public self-consciousness*, "an awareness of and a responsivity to the impressions that are being made on others" (Scheier & Carver, 1981, p. 198), have a more accurate appreciation of the kinds of self-presentational strategies that are (or are not) likely to create positive impressions (Holtgraves & Srull, 1989).

Proposition 7a: People high in personality traits such as Machiavellianism, need for approval, self-monitoring, or

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public self-consciousness will be more willing to engage in faking during an interview.

In addition, it is important to analyze the relationships between the Big Five personality dimensions and faking in the interview. In the last several years, researchers appear to have reached a tacit agreement that Extroversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, and Openness to Experience represent a simple description of the main dimensions of personality (Barrick & Mount, 1991; Digman, 1990; John, 1990; McCrae & Costa, 1987). Moreover, these traits are becoming increasingly considered in personnel selection (Barrick & Mount, 1991, 1993; Raymark, Schmit, & Guion, 1997).

Meta-analyses of relations between integrity tests and the Big Five factors indicate that integrity tests are correlated substantially with conscientiousness, agreeableness, and emotional stability (Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998b). Individuals who are high in these traits should be more honest and less willing to engage in faking behaviors. Highly conscientious people would be less likely to fake by definition. People high in agreeableness want to cooperate with others and to avoid disapproval. They are more likely to adhere to social norms and not to fake (e.g., Paulhus & John, 1998). As conscientiousness and emotional stability are related to job performance (Barrick & Mount, 1991, 1996; Salgado, 1997), interviewees high on these traits may be better prepared and do better in employment interviews without engaging in faking. Conscientious and emotionally stable people may also spend more time preparing for the interview, and they may have greater job knowledge. Further, Salgado (2002) found in a meta-analytical study involving the Big Five factors and deviant behaviors (e.g., theft, rule breaking, and disciplinary problems) that conscientiousness and agreeableness were the best predictors of the lack of these deviant behaviors, thus people high on these traits should engage less in faking because it may be viewed as another deviant behavior.

However, another meta-analytical study involving the Big Five factors and social desirability (Ones, Viswesvaran, & Reiss, 1996) showed that conscientiousness and emotional stability are the only two traits among the Big Five factors that correlated with socially desirable responding. The observed correlations were .10 and .14, respectively. These apparent contradictory findings regarding the relationships between conscientiousness and emotional stability and faking could be explained by the fact that social desirability scales do not reflect intentional attempts to distort responses. In our definition, faking includes dishonest impression management and intentional distortion, as well as some components of social desirability. The initial evidence that supports this notion was provided by McFarland and Ryan (2000). They found that people with low conscientiousness and low emotional stability faked to a greater extent than people with high conscientiousness and high emotional stability. Therefore, we argue that job candidates who are conscientious, agreeable and emotionally stable should be less willing to engage in faking during an interview.

Based on the literature on deception, we argue that extroversion may lead to faking as well. Kashy and DePaulo (1996) found that more sociable people (defined as extroverts) told more everyday lies. They argued that sociable people have more opportunity to lie because they engage more in the process of social interaction, and lie-telling is probably easier and more successful. Also, Riggio *et al*. (1988) found that extroverts were more successful at deception than people who are low on this trait. Extroverts were judged as more believable regardless of whether they were telling the truth or lying. Moreover, Kristof-Brown *et al*. (2002) found that extroverts were engaged in self-promotion during an interview that affected interviewer perceptions of person–job fit.

Proposition 7b: Extroverted candidates will be more willing to engage in faking during an interview; whereas, conscientious, agreeable, and emotionally stable candidates will be less willing to engage in faking.

Integrity

The research and use of integrity tests has grown significantly in the last several years. The construct of integrity has been labeled as honesty, reliability, and trustworthiness (Sackett & Wanek, 1996). Integrity tests have been used as predictors of various dishonest organizational behaviors. Several meta-analytical studies (e.g., Ones, Viswesvaran, & Schmidt, 1993) and reviews (e.g., Sackett & Wanek, 1996) indicate that integrity tests are related to employee theft and other counterproductive behaviors. Thus, to the extent that faking represents a kind of counterproductive behavior, job candidates with low integrity will be more willing to engage in faking behaviors during the employment interview.

Overt integrity tests mainly consist of two parts (Sackett & Wanek, 1996). One part includes measures of theft attitudes (e.g., beliefs about the extent to which other people commit theft). The other part refers to the assessment of one's own honesty and admissions of theft and other wrongdoing. People who believe that others engage in dishonest behaviors tend to behave fraudulently themselves (Murphy, 1993). Several studies on cheating found that students who perceive that other students cheat, and that norms permit cheating engaged more often in cheating behaviors (e.g., Whitley, 1998). Therefore, we argue that job candidates who are dishonest and think that others are untruthful and fake will be more willing to engage in faking behavior during the employment interview.

Proposition 8a: Job candidates with low integrity will be more willing to engage in faking behaviors during the employment interview.

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Proposition 8b: Job candidates who are dishonest and think that others are untruthful and fake will be more willing to engage in faking behavior during the employment interview.

Low Probability of Getting Caught

Based on expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964) and Kane's (1994) model of volitional rating behavior, we argue that willingness to engage in faking during an interview will depend on the perceived probability of getting caught. As one would expect, the greater the perceived risk of being caught, the lower the likelihood of engaging in the behavior. Job candidates can be warned that the interview contains methods for detecting faking (e.g., lie detection questions,) or that their answers will be verified after the interview (e.g., reference check, consistency check of answers to similar questions about the opinions and beliefs). Candidates might think that there is a high probability of getting caught while faking. And this could motivate job candidates to respond accurately to the interview questions (Tourangeau, Smith, & Rasinski, 1997). At the same time, candidates will be more likely to fake when they think that the interviewer is naïve or there is no way to verify their answers. For example, job candidates may be more willing to exaggerate during an interview rather than to make up their answers. When candidates exaggerate, they stretch the truth to certain degree and add information to the truth. Making up answers requires inventing of job related skills or situations. Candidates may think that it will be more difficult for interviewers to detect exaggeration because exaggeration is just the deviation from truth and consequently they will exaggerate more often during the interview.

Proposition 9: Job candidates will be more willing to fake during an interview if the perceived probability of getting caught is low.

Unfair Treatment at Previous Employment Interviews

We argue that perceived unfair treatment in previous interviews will lead to faking in subsequent interviews. To make this prediction we draw primarily from three sources: the literature on justice and equity, the literature on cheating, and qualitative input from candidates who started to engage in faking during employment interviews because of their perceived unfair treatment at previous interviews. The literature on justice and equity has established that people will try to restore justice or equity if they were treated unfairly or inequitably (e.g., Garrett & Libby, 1974; Reis & Burns, 1982). Also, there are some real-life examples collected by Wells (2004) showing that employees who felt unfairly treated sometimes committed occupational fraud. At the same time, the literature on cheating has established that students' perceptions that a test is unfair and questions are meaningless are among the factors that increase cheating on tests (Cizek, 1999). Researchers have found that students report beginning to cheat when they see lazy students getting better grades through cheating (Moffatt, 1990). Finally, our prediction is consistent with the candidate stories collected informally. Several candidates mentioned that they were forced to engage in faking after a number of unsuccessful interviews where they gave honest answers. They attributed their poor performances on the interview to their honesty and to their answers to interview questions that asked about experiences that are not applicable to the work related experiences of the candidate. Due to pressure to find a job and lack of time to obtain experiences or skills required by the job, they tried to increase their scores on the interviews by combining, extending, and inventing their job related stories. They believed that their faking was justified by probable faking on the part of other candidates.

Proposition 10: Job candidates who perceive they were treated unfairly during an interview will be more willing to engage in faking during an interview.

Outplacement Workshops, Information and Realistic Job Previews Sessions

Job candidates who attended interview coaching sessions designed to enhance interview performance or realistic job previews designed to provide more job-related information might learn about what employers are looking for when they ask various questions (opportunity recognition), learn about what the best answers are to these questions (capacity increases), and with this knowledge the willingness to distort may increase as well. Literature on coaching in the employment interview has shown that the score obtained by an applicant changes as a result of coaching. For example, Barbee and Keil (1973) reported mean changes in ratings received for a number of interview behaviors as well as for level of job skill, amount of adaptability, and likelihood of hiring. However, it is unclear whether the coaching effect is to increase scores artificially or to eliminate score deficits due to unfamiliarity with the test, anxiety, or other factors. Nevertheless, Sackett, Burris, and Ryan (1989) argued that the interview is seen by applicants as having an element of strategy involved and is prone to the possibility of coaching to reduce the validity of applicants' scores.

Proposition 11: Job candidates who attended an interview coaching or realistic job preview session will be more willing to engage in faking during an interview.

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Opportunity to Fake

Even though an applicant may be willing and capable of faking during an interview, there may be obstacles that constrain faking. Different types of interviews and constructs being measured have different degrees of vulnerability to deliberate systematic distortion of answers by job applicants who intend to create a particular impression of themselves.

Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews may provide more opportunity to fake than structured interviews. There is a study that provides initial support for the hypothesis that structure can reduce faking in the interview. Stevens and Kristof (1995) compared two types of impression management techniques and found that applicants used more assertive self-promotion behaviors than ingratiation tactics, but structured interviews reduced the use of ingratiation tactics.

Internal conditions of a person determine responses in any partially unstructured testing situation (Cronbach, 1946; Sherif & Cantril, 1945). An unstructured interview might allow an individual to build a certain image and use it throughout the entire interview. This is consistent with empirical findings and theory in relational communication (e.g., Einhorn, 1981; Tullar, 1989). It could be argued that unstructured procedures give a job candidate more opportunity to obtain relational control and dominance during an interview. Examples of dominance would be giving nonsupport responses, changing interview topics, and expanding on a previous statement in the interview (Tullar, 1989). Job candidate's relational control during an interview may facilitate distortion and increase the possibility that respondents will adopt a response set strategically contrived to impart a particular image of a hard-to-get candidate, a team-player, or a quick-learner suggested by the popular press literature on how to succeed during an interview (Medley, 1993; Schmidt, 1996). Moreover, there are empirical findings suggesting that degree of dominance as well as the content of an imparted image affects the interviewer decision. For example, Einhorn (1981) and Tullar (1989) found that successful applicants dominated the conversation. Williams, Radefeld, Binning, and Sudak (1993) examined whether an applicant's other job offers had a social cue effect on interviewer decisions. Hard-to-get applicants (i.e., considering other job offers) were rated higher than easy-to-get applicants (i.e., not considering other offers). Playing hard-to-get may have a social cue value and thereby influence interviewer decisions.

In addition, it is likely that information-processing demands during the interview are very large. These demands may be managed by simplifying the judgment task via interview structure. Otherwise, interviewers may rely on simplifying heuristics or on their tendency to judge others as basically truthful and to believe the feelings or attitudes that others are trying to convey rather than those that they really do hold (DePaulo *et al*., 1985; Goffman, 1959; Schlenker & Leary, 1982). This occurs even though perceivers often know that the persons they are observing may be lying some of the time. To show the incapability of perceivers to detect distortion, Toris and DePaulo (1984) used a simulated job interview format in which introverts and extroverts tried to come across as extroverted or introverted in successive sessions with different interviewers. The interviewers' task was to determine whether the applicants really were introverted or extroverted. Participants were so successful at faking introversion and extroversion that interviewers were unable to differentiate between genuine and faked displays. Toris and DePaulo (1984) concluded that perceivers are even more likely to be influenced by people's deceptive self-presentations when engaged in dynamic face-to-face interactions (such as in an interview) than when forming an impression in a more passive way. Also, Gilbert, Krull, and Pelham (1988) and Gilbert and Krull (1988) have found that cognitively "busy" perceivers, as might be the case in an interview, compared with more passive perceivers, tend to take others' self-presentations at face value.

Finally, the lack of job-related information in unstructured procedures may lead interviewers to categorize on the basis of their prior or imparted conceptions of the ideal applicant (Dipboye, 1994; Hakel & Schuh, 1971). Research has shown that both experienced and inexperienced interviewers have similar descriptions of an ideal applicant (Hakel, Hollman, & Dunnette, 1970; Imada, Fletcher, & Dalessio, 1980). This would allow job candidates to fake successfully by answering questions according to the characteristics of the best candidate for the job.

Proposition 12: Unstructured interviews will provide more opportunities to fake than structured interviews.

Structured Interviews

Although structure may reduce faking overall, some components of structure may actually increase faking. It is important to specify which components of structure provide more or less opportunities for faking because this likely influences interview validity (Harris & Eder, 1999). To analyze fakeability, the framework proposed by Campion, Palmer, and Campion (1997) will be used. Based on a thorough review of the literature, they identified 15 components of structure. Many of these components may be related to fakeability as described below. We will describe those components of structure that may provide more opportunity for faking.

Hypothetical, Internal, Subjective, and Unverifiable Questions. In recent years, two types of questions,

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situational and past behavior, have been widely studied. Campion *et al*. (1997) noted that situational questions ask job candidates what they would do in hypothetical work situations, and past behavior questions ask candidates to describe what they did in past jobs. Another fairly structured type is background questions asking about work experience, education, and other qualifications.

According to research on biodata items, situational, past behavior, and biographical questions might possess different degrees of susceptibility to faking. Mael's (1991) proposed taxonomy of biodata items differentiates between (a) subtle and transparent, (b) job relevant and not relevant, (c) historical and future or hypothetical items, (d) external and internal, (e) objective and subjective, and (f) verifiable and unverifiable.

Subtle interview questions items that obscure the "right" answers should reduce faking. Meta-analysis by Alliger and Dwight (2000) suggests that the mean score differences between fake-good and honest conditions may be smaller for scales comprised of subtle items than obvious items. On the sample of 429 applicants for a nurse's assistant position, Kluger and Colella (1993) showed that while the warning mitigated the propensity to fake the biodata items, the specific warning effects depended on item transparency. For transparent items, warning reduced the extremeness of item means and increased item variances. For nontransparent items (subtle), warning did not have an effect on item means and variances. These faking effects were best predicted when transparency was operationalized in terms of item-specific job desirability as opposed to the item-general social desirability.

By using items pertaining to historical events that have taken place or continue to take place, respondents are discouraged from presenting fictionalized versions of themselves (Asher, 1972). External items refer to actions occurring in actual, real-life situations and exclude thoughts, attitudes, and opinions, as well as unexpressed reactions to events. External items force the respondents to either answer honestly or consciously distort answers (Anastasi, 1982; Mael, 1991; Paulhus, 1984).

Objective items require the faculty to recall but not interpret. Objective items might include job knowledge questions or education questions. Objective items will involve less faking simply because they are more verifiable. On the contrary, subjective items (e.g., personality types of questions) involve interpretation thus allowing self-deception, self-justification, and self-enhancing distortion. As a result, individuals may suppress reactions or assume reactions that never happened (Asher, 1972; Mael, 1991).

Following Gandy, Outerbridge, Sharf, and Dye (1989) and Stricker (1987), verifiable items include all factual, external behaviors performed in the presence of others, regardless of how difficult or unlikely it would be to obtain corroboration from witnesses. Verifiability is the degree to which items ask about an event that can be corroborated from an independent source. Previous research indicates minimal false or inaccurate responding to verifiable biodata items (Cascio, 1975; Mosel & Cozan, 1952; Shaffer, Saunders, & Owens, 1986). Moreover, Atwater (1980) found that verifiable items were less prone to distortion compared with nonverifiable items. By using a sample of 58 current employees and 231 job applicants, Becker and Colquitt (1992) also found that biodata items that are faked in practice tend to be less historical, objective, discrete, verifiable, and more job relevant.

Thus, based on Mael's taxonomy, past behavior and background questions can be described as historical, external, objective, and verifiable, and are thus less fakeable; whereas situational questions are hypothetical, internal, subjective, and unverifiable, and are thus more fakeable. The higher degree of susceptibility to faking of situational interviews could explain the finding of recent meta-analysis (Taylor & Small, 2002) that the average corrected validity for situational interviews (.46) is lower than for past behavior interviews (.57). Moreover, some research shows that situational interviews are less effective with higher-level positions, while behavior description interviews retain their effectiveness (e.g., Huffcutt *et al*., 2001; Pulakos & Schmitt, 1995). Job candidates for higher-level positions may have better verbal and social skills and higher cognitive ability, thus are more capable of successfully faking, especially in more susceptible situational interviews. Finally, it has been found that attendance in an interview coaching session improved performance in situational interviews (Maurer, Solamon, Andrews, & Troxtel, 2001).

Proposition 13a: Transparent interview questions provide more opportunity to fake than subtle questions.

Proposition 13b: Questions that are hypothetical, internal, subjective, and unverifiable provide more opportunity to fake than questions that are historical, external, objective, and verifiable.

Proposition 13c: Situational questions provide more opportunity to fake than past behavior or background questions.

Small Number of Questions and Shorter Interviews. It can be argued that longer interviews could reduce faking because they are more effortful to complete. Asking several questions about the same topic from different perspectives during an interview may allow a check on stability of answers. The longer the interview is, the more difficult it is to respond on all questions in accordance with a constant image that the job candidate wishes to convey to the interviewer. With a longer interview, there is more of a chance to "slip up" and tell the truth or be caught in a lie. Also, Furnham and Craig (1987) pointed out that participants in a faking study found it difficult to consistently respond in accordance with a prescribed role while completing a personality measure. Finally, it should be recognized that the length of an interview might also

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increase the number of attempts to engage in faking, which increases the probability of detection.

Proposition 14: Shorter interviews will provide more opportunity to fake.

Single Interviewer. When an interview is conducted by one interviewer, the interview provides more opportunity to fake. A single interviewer is more likely to have cognitive and informational overload due to demands of the situation (Nordstrom, Hall, & Bartels, 1998). A single interviewer is less likely to notice inconsistencies in interviewee's behaviors and answers or to observe the more subtle cues of faking. Research has found that it is the sharing of different perceptions that helps interviewers become aware of irrelevant inferences they make about variables that are not job related (Arvey & Campion, 1982). At the same time, it is much easier to distort answers in front of one interviewer than a panel of interviewers. For example, it could be much easier task to deceptively ingratiate to only one person or to tailor answers to the view of one interviewer rather than to a panel of the interviewers who might express the different and conflicting positions on any issue discussed in the interview.

Proposition 15: Using a single interviewer will increase the opportunity for faking to occur in the interview.

Prohibiting of Prompting and Follow-Up Questioning. It has been proposed that structured interviews prohibit or limit prompting or follow-up questions (Campion *et al*., 1997). Limiting prompting and follow-up questioning may reduce bias and increase standardization in the interview. However, the absolute absence of follow-up questions may facilitate faking during an interview. With no follow-up, respondents might think that there is no way that the interviewer can detect faking. Cronbach (1946) stated that test situations might permit individual interpretations, such as the respondent judging whether guessing is penalized, or whether speed is more rewarded than carefulness. So, interviewers should be able to use some interactive lie-detection strategies, such as asking follow-up questions probing for inconsistencies (Kraut, 1980) to minimize the opportunity to fake during an interview. Such questions might impose constraints on job applicant's impression construction during an interview (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Moreover, according to research on deceit, deceivers are reluctant to commit themselves to their lies (DePaulo *et al*., 1985). Liars have less to say in response to any given question than do truth tellers, and the responses they give may be distancing, overgeneralized, and filled with irrelevancies, hesitations, and errors. Particularly, interviewers may use push-back follow-up questions that challenge the candidate, probe for inconsistencies in candidate's responses, or take away faked answers.

Proposition 16: The prohibition of any prompting or follow-up questioning will provide more opportunity for faking during an interview.

Withholding of Ancillary Information. To increase standardization in the interview, ancillary information (e.g., application forms, resumes, test scores, transcripts, etc.) should be either withheld or used in a standardized manner (Campion *et al*., 1997). A major drawback of using ancillary information is the possibility that the interviewer creates pre-interview impressions about candidates and seeks out information during the interview that supports the impressions (Dipboye, Fontenelle, & Garner, 1984; Dougherty & Turban, 1999), and does not use obtained information to update or modify the pre-interview impressions. Although Harris (1989) reported in his review that there was little evidence to support the hypothesis that interviewers act in ways that tend to confirm their initial impressions of applicants, a more recent review by Posthuma, Morgeson, and Campion (2002) reported several studies that have found some form of confirmatory bias.

However, with regard to faking, withholding ancillary information provides more opportunity to fake during an interview and, consequently, fosters faking. This is because interviewers would not have information to challenge the faked impressions the candidate is trying to create. Also, the job candidate would be even more motivated to engage in impression management due to the absence of information verification during the interview.

On the other hand, using ancillary information in a standardized way might enhance structure and, at the same time, decrease faking. To reduce the potential for faking, interviewers might be given factual information about the candidate (e.g., academic records, work history, etc.). This would also signal to the candidate that the interviewer is aware of relevant information and that the candidate must be consistent with that information. According to Schlenker (1980), people are reluctant to present themselves in ways that are inconsistent with the information others have about them. Interviewer's knowledge of factual information would impose some constraints on using one of the tactical assertive techniques – enhancement – to influence interviewers. Tedeschi and Melburg (1984) defined enhancement as taking credit for positive events in a person's past. In an interview, applicants may enhance their background by claiming main responsibility for positive events to which their real contribution was minimal (Gilmore & Ferris, 1989).

Also, Buss and Briggs (1984) discussed some of the conditions under which pretense is most likely to occur and suggested that pretense occurs more often in superficial relationships. As a relationship deepens, it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the deception. So, interviewer's possession of information about the job candidate might indicate to both parties that the relation-

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ship between them is not superficial. Finally, the perception of the interviewees about the availability of ancillary information to the interviewer might have the same effects as the actual availability. Faking may be reduced if the interviewee believes that the interviewer has information that would conflict with attempts to construct a false image.

Proposition 17: Withholding of ancillary information will provide more opportunity for faking to occur in an interview.

Constructs Being Assessed in Interviews

Different constructs may have different degrees of susceptibility to faking. Recent meta-analyses of psychological constructs measured in employment interviews revealed seven constructs that could be assessed in the interview (Huffcutt, Conway, Roth, & Stone, 2001; Salgado & Moscoso, 2002). The first category is mental capability, which reflects the overall ability to learn and process information, solve organizational problems, and generate innovative ideas and solutions. The second category is knowledge and skills. The third category is basic personality tendencies that reflect long-term predispositions to act in certain ways (e.g., extroversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, openness to experience, and emotional stability). The other four categories are applied social skills (e.g., the ability to function effectively in social situations, such as oral communication skills, and leadership), interests and preferences (e.g., inclination toward certain areas or activities), organizational fit (e.g., the degree of correspondence between individual and organizational values, goals, norms, and attitudes), and physical attributes (e.g., general physical appearance). Huffcutt *et al.* (2001) have found that not all constructs as frequently measured in the employment interview. Their result suggests that personality traits and applied social skills accounted for more than 60% of all rated characteristics, mental capability and knowledge and skills were the next and accounted for more than 25% of all interview ratings, whereas interests, organizational fit, and physical attributes accounted for the remaining percentage. Salgado and Moscoso (2002) performed meta-analysis and found that conventional interviews (e.g., measuring credentials, experiences, and self-evaluating information) assess general mental ability, job experience, personality, and social skills, whereas behavioral interviews (e.g., measuring job knowledge, job experience, and job behaviors) assess job knowledge, job experience, situational judgment, and social skills.

Different constructs provide job applicants different opportunities to engage in faking. For example, assessments of mental capability, knowledge and skills, and applied social skills are less vulnerable to response distortion whereas personality, self-evaluations, interests and preferences, and organizational fit provide more opportunity for job candidates to fake. The first group of constructs is based on historical, external, objective, and verifiable information and is thus less fakeable (Mael, 1991), whereas the second group of constructs is based on hypothetical, internal, subjective, and unverifiable information and thus is more fakeable.

There is additional evidence on the higher fakeability of the second group of constructs. For example, Huffcutt *et al.* (2001) found that conscientiousness was rated more often during an employment interview. At the same time, research on personality tests has found that conscientiousness was the most responsive of the self-presentation strategies (e.g., Paulhus *et al.*, 1995). Also, Barrick, Patton, and Haugland (2000) found that job applicants were able to manage their self-presentations on conscientiousness and emotional stability personality traits during an interview.

Furthermore, applicant interests and preferences as well as organizational fit are subjects of response distortion. Keenan and Scott (1985) studied interview preparation strategies of undergraduates and found that reading the company brochure was reported as the main preparation for interviews. The length of time reading the brochure was significantly associated with success in the interview. Time spent reading the literature was the second best predictor of success after the type of degree obtained. Perhaps information on organizational values, norms, and goals obtained from the company brochure can be used by job candidates to anchor their answers and to artificially inflate the degree of individual–organizational fit.

Proposition 18: Interview questions that measure personality, interests and preferences, and organizational fit will provide more opportunity for interviewees to fake than interview questions assessing mental capability, knowledge and skills, and applied social skills constructs.

Interview Purpose

Employment interviews have different goals or purposes, such as recruiting, initial screening, or final selection. Purposes can have a substantial influence on interviewer–applicant interactions (Palmer, Campion, & Green, 1999; Posthuma *et al.*, 2002; Stevens, 1998) and, consequently, determine the opportunity and motivation to engage in faking during an interview. Although some interviews involve the combination of selection and recruitment, we are focusing on pure types of selection and recruitment interviews.

The goal of the recruitment interview is to increase the number of persons in the applicant pool and to inform them about an open job, and so the situation will not encourage people to ingratiate themselves to the recruiters through faking. Even if the perception of the job candidate about the interview is incorrect, and she believes that it is a

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"selection" interview and she has the ability and motivation to fake, the situation will not allow her faking to be successful. On the other hand, selection interviews have the goal of reducing the number of candidates under consideration. They will create highly evaluative environments due to the dependence of the candidate on the interviewer for valued outcomes. Such situations provide a context in which candidates will engage in faking (Pandey & Rastagi, 1979; Stires & Jones, 1969).

Job candidates' perceptions of the interview purpose will affect their motivation to engage in faking. Kroger and Turnbull (1975) argued that people taking personality tests manage their self-reports in accordance with their assessment of the requirements of the testing situation and their stake in the results of testing. If job candidates believe they are in a recruiting interview, they will not be motivated to fake. Conversely, if they believe they are a selection interview, they will be motivated to ingratiate themselves to the interviewers through faking.

Proposition 19: Selection interviews will provide more opportunity to engage in faking than recruitment interviews.

Discussion

Other Unexplored Variables

We did not consider the situation when impression management is a job-related skill. If so, it may be a valid predictor of future job performance. For example, "faking" could be a job-related skill for sales jobs or spokespersons. However, even in this case, faking that is occurring "unnoticed" by the interviewer represents bias and should be controlled. Questions should be used that allow the job candidates to demonstrate, and the interviewer to assess, job-related "faking" skills. Future research should explore how interviews can be designed to reduce the biasing effects of impression management, yet permit applicants to demonstrate job-related self-presentation skills (Stevens & Kristof, 1995).

We did not consider any characteristics and behaviors of the interviewer that might relate to the use of impression management tactics by job candidates. It is possible that the interviewer's behavior might influence the motivation of the applicant to engage in impression management. Applicants who perceive favorable attitudes by the interviewer can be encouraged to try even harder in their attempts to impression manage. On the contrary, applicants who perceive negative attitudes might refrain from those attempts.

Another potentially important question is whether male and female candidates differ in their understanding and use of impression management during an interview. Rahim (1984) found that males and females differ in their understanding of what is socially desirable. His study on faking of the Eysenck Personality Inventory showed that males who were higher on social desirability had a tendency to present themselves more as extroverted rather than introverted. In contrast, the females who were higher on social desirability were lower on the neuroticism scale, so they tended to present themselves as stable rather than unstable persons. Also, there is a notion that women are more skillful at faking than men (Kimber, 1947; Noll, 1951). However, Singh, Kumra, and Vinnicombe (2002) found that males are more likely to use different impression management strategies (e.g., job-, self-, and manager-focused) for career advancement, whereas females are less inclined to use impression management.

Another potential limitation is our focus on the job candidate as the subject of faking and not the interaction between the interviewer and the candidate. We believe that it is necessary to focus on main effects as a first step, and interaction effects should be investigated in subsequent studies.

Methodological Recommendations

It is our belief that faking in the interview is better studied in a real organizational setting. During an interview people manage their self-reports in accordance with their assessment of the requirements of the situation and their stake in the results, and the situation is more likely to be perceived differently in a mock interview. In addition, it is necessary to know the magnitude of faking in real work situations because organizations rely greatly on this tool in making staffing decisions.

Future research should address the very important but overlooked issue of how, and to what degree, faking affects validity of the interview. One possible way to assess this effect is to compare results obtained from concurrent and predictive validation studies. The discrepancy between two validation coefficients might be due to faking of job candidates.

From a practical point of view, future research should investigate the relationship between the face validity of the interview and its fakeability. Although we offered a proposition on fakeability of subtle questions, face validity and item subtlety are different constructs. Holden and Jackson (1979) defined *item subtlety* as the degree to which respondents are unaware of what specific constructs are being measured and *face validity* as the degree to which a test respondent views the content of a test as relevant for the situation being considered. Also, they found a negative correlation between face validity and item subtlety ($-.55$) suggesting that they are not the same concepts. Face validity is a desirable feature of interviews. It might affect the defensibility of an interview in legal situations, as well as its evaluation by managers and job candidates. However, research on self-report measures has established that the fakeability of personality tests directly relate to their face

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validity (Furnham & Craig, 1987). Therefore, face valid interviews may be more fakeable.

Also, it is necessary to estimate the amount of faking in the selection context. Do job candidates engage in intentional falsification of their credentials to a great degree? What are the perceptions of interviewers about whether candidates fake? How do they consider faking in the hiring decisions? Survey methodology could potentially be used to suggest answers to these questions and to assess the baseline of faking in the real work context.

Finally, future research should further address the issue of detecting faking in the interview. Faking detection could affect the opportunity dimension as well as motivation to engage in faking. Some components of structure could be used to detect faking. For example, anchored rating scales may reduce faking during an interview by forcing raters to focus on job-related aspects of answers and by directing raters' attention to potential cues of faking. Examples and descriptions of answers help interviewers to concentrate their attention on job-related information and use it to judge the answers. This should reduce the effects of faking and different impression management tactics on interviewer decision-making processes and consequently on interview outcomes. Also, future research could investigate what methods of detecting faking could be borrowed from personality research. For example, whether variations of the bogus pipeline (Jones & Sigall, 1971; Roese & Jamieson, 1993) could be used to detect faking. Also, interviews may potentially have questions asking about job candidate familiarity with facts or events, none of which are true or actually exist. Overclaiming occurs when a respondent falsely claims to be aware of some fictitious entity. Thus, any claim to be familiar with the facts or events may be a distortion (Paulhus & Bruce, 1990; Phillips & Clancy, 1972). Lastly, the interview could be correlated with self-report measures of impression management (e.g., the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding-7; Paulhus, 1998).

This paper suggests that it may be time to look more seriously at faking in the employment interview. Faking has been studied with greater emphasis on paper-and-pencil devices rather than other formats. The current paper extends faking theory to an important new domain, one that is ubiquitous in the selection context. We tried to delineate the conditions under which job candidates are willing, capable, and have the opportunity to fake in the employment interview. Also, we attempted to provide some propositions that can be tested in future research. Our hope is to generate interest in this issue among researchers.

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