# SIMULATED IDENTITY [RE]CONSTRUCTION IN RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION PROCESSES. LYING IN THE JOB INTERVIEW

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#### **Abstract**

In this paper, we consider job interview as a form of social interaction, from Goffman's dramaturgical perspective. During a job interview, the candidate and the recruiter use impression management tactics; these two social actors engage in a impression management process, with reciprocal attempts to create positive impressions and to influence each other in order to achieve the desired results. An applicant or a recruiter (or both of them) can use one or more impression management tactics (nonverbal, verbal, assertive, defensive, honest or deceptive tactics). All interviewed candidates have used a form of impression management during the job interviews they attended to, claiming that due to the use of some tactics, whether honest or deceptive, they have been perceived as more competent and more suitable for a particular job. Although the use of impression management by recruiters in job interviews was a topic neglected by the literature, this research has proven the presence of this phenomenon in social reality and the necessity of deeping this subject, using specific methodologies.

**Keywords**: social interaction, dramaturgical perspective, impression management, job interview, lying

### Résumé

Dans le cadre de cet article, l'entretien d'embauche, est considéré comme une modalité d'intéraction sociale d'après la perspective dramaturgique de Goffman. Dans le cadre de cette perspective, le candidat et le recruteur utilisent des techniques de gestion de l'impression. Les deux acteurs sociaux, commencent ensemble un processus de gestion des impressions reciproque et ils essaient tous les deux, de créér des impressions positives et de s'influencer reciproquement, pour obtenir les resultats desirés. Un candidat ou un recruteur, peut utiliser plusieurs techniques de gestion des impressions (des tactiques nonverbales, verbales, assertives, défensives, honnêtes ou décéptives). Tous les candidats qui ont soutenu l'entretien d'embauche, ont utilisé une façon de gestion des impressions dans le cadre des entretiens d'embauche qu'ils ont participé, en soutenant l'idéé que grace a l'utilisation d'une technique soit honnête, soit décéptive, ils ont été considérés plus compétents et

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propres pour une telle métier. Même si l'utilisation de la gestion de l'impression par les recruteurs dans le cadre des entretiens d'embauche a été un sujet négligé par la littérature de spécialité, la présente recherche a prouvé la présence de ce phénomène dans la réalité sociale et la nécessité de l'approfondir, en utilisant des méthodes spécifiques.

**Mots-clés**: interaction sociale, mensonge, la perspective dramaturgique, la gestion de l'impression, l'entretien d'embauche

#### Rezumat

În cadrul acestui articol, interviul de angajare este văzut ca o formă de interacțiune socială din perspectiva dramaturgică a lui Goffman, în cadrul căreia candidatul și recrutorul utilizează tactici ale managementului impresiei. Cei doi actori sociali se angajează într-un proces de management al impresiei reciproc, cu încercări din ambele părți de a crea impresii pozitive și de a se influența reciproc pentru a obține rezultatele dorite. Un candidat sau un recrutor poate folosi mai multe tactici ale managementului impresiilor (tactici nonverbale, verbale, asertive, defensive, oneste sau inselatoare). Toți candidații intervievați au utilizat o formă a managementului impresiei în cadrul interviurilor de angajare la care au participat, susținând faptul că datorită utilizării unor tactici fie ele oneste, fie inselatoare, au fost percepuți ca fiind mai competenți și mai potriviți pentru un anumit loc de muncă. Deși utilizarea managementului impresiei de către recrutori în cadrul interviurilor de angajare a fost un subiect neglijat de către literatura de specialitate, cercetarea de față a dovedit prezența acestui fenomen în realitatea socială și necesitatea aprofundării acestuia, folosind metodologii specifice.

**Cuvinte-cheie**: interacțiune socială, minciuna, perspectiva dramaturgică, managementul impresiei, interviu de angajare

### 1. Introduction

One of the strategies used by the social actors is represented by impression management. Usually, impression management is defined as *those conscious or unconscious attempts of a person to create a certain image in the minds of others and to control their impressions* (Schlenker 1980; Leary& Kowalski 1990; Stevens&Kristof 1995; Rosenfeld 1997; Fletcher&Lopes 2004). Impression management can be both verbal and nonverbal, conscious or unconscious, more or less intentional, honest or deceptive (Schlenker 1980; Schneider 1981; Leary&Kowalski 1990; Stevens&Kristof 1995; Bolino& Turnley 1999; Levashina&Campion 2006).

According to Schneider (1981), impression management behaviors can take the following forms:

- nonverbal behaviors such as gestures, face expression, smile, visual contact, body position;
- verbal statements;
- modification of one's physical appearance (make-up, clothing);
- integrated behavior patterns.

During the job interviews, a candidate or a interviewer (recruiter) can use one or more impression tactics. For example, they can smile, they can have visual contact or they can adopt a certain posture – these are *nonverbal tactics*. As well, they can use *verbal tactics* which can be assertive or defensive, but also honest or deceptive, For example, a candidate can honestly describe his skills, abilities, experiences, but he also can distort answers to match with the ideal candidate profile that an organization is looking for.

Defensive tactics are used to minimalize negative impressions, through intimidation, excuses, justifications (Bolino&Turnley 1999; Lewis& Neighbors 2005). These tactics are used by the candidates to protect or repair their images in front of the recruiter; these tactics may be used in a honest way or in a deceptive way.

Instead, the *assertive tactics* are used to maximize positive images through exagerations; the candidate who wants to look attractive and to be likeable may praise the interviewer or he may agree with him. This type of tactics consists either on honest tactics, such as self-promotion or deceptive tactics, such as ingratiation, through adherence in a deceptive way to the company's values (Stevens&Kristof 1995). Almost all of the candidates use impression management tactics during an employment interview (Turnley&Bollino 2001; Ellis *et all.* 2002; Levashina&Campion 2006). Frequently, candidates use self-promotion tactics during a job interview. According to the Ellis *et all.* (2002) study 97.5% out of the candidates offered at least one answer through which they promoted themselves.

Deception at work represents an important area of investigation for researchers. Candidates often manage to get hired into an organization by lying during the job interview (Levashina & Campion, 2006).

Job interview or selection interview – as it is often called in the literature – consists of a formal exchange of information, impressions and points of views between the potential employer and the potential employee which results in the acceptance of the two sides or the rejection of them (Lefter, Deaconu, Manolescu 2012). Organizations worldwide use the job interview in selecting the most talented and competent candidates, and the lie in the selection interview may lead to invalidation of the recruitment and selection process, because the less qualified candidates may be hired while those who are qualified may be rejected (Levashina&Campion, 2006).

Lying is a impression management form, an extreme form which implies the creation of a false impression. Often, candidates are using lies during a job interview to hide certain information and create a positive image in front od the recruiter. The lies used by the candidates to get hired in an organisation is the initial lie; it can prepare "the stage" for future deceptive behaviours (Fleming&Zyglidopoulos 2008). During a job interview, candidates may lie the interviewer through offering false information or through omitting some real information.

In this paper, we consider job interview as social interaction form from Goffman's perspective – dramaturgical perspective. During the job interview, the candidate and the recruiter try to influence each other through impression management use. So, the candidate (who wants to get hired) and the recruiter (who wants to find and to attract best candidate) as well get engaged in a reciprocal impression management process with attempts from the both sides to create positive images and to obtain the desired results (Goffman 2007; Barrick, Shaffer, DeGrassi 2009).

### 2. Methods

The method used in this study results from a *grounded-theory* type of approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The research universe consists of recruiters who work in nongovernmental, private and corporate enterprises and persons who participated as candidates for at least one job interview. We used a theoretical sampling in selecting our subjects; the target groups are represented by 10 recruiters who work in *private* institutions (N=4), *nongovernmental* organisations (N=1) and *corporate* enterprises (N=5) and 8 persons who participated in at least job interview from private (N=3) and corporate (N=5) fields. The subjects were selecting through the snowball sampling.

So, we carried out 8 comprehensive interviews with 6 recruiters and 4 candidates. All of these were carried out in parallel with their comparative analysis. After collecting data from these subjects, we designed a semi-structured interview guide with research participants' profile and four main dimensions: (1) the structure of an employment interview, (2) impression management use in curriculum vitae, (3) impression management tactics in employment interview and (4) impression management detection.

Each interview was carried out after we established a face-to-face meeting with every subject. The subjects who accepted to take part of our research were presented the purpose and objectives of the research and they were invited to read and sign the informed consent forms. The interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. After transcribing the interviews, we analysed the data using the QSR-NVIVO 11 software. In the data

analysis process, we realised a *theoretical coding* with all its stages (Babbie 2010).

So, the first stage – open coding – has been realised after interviewing the first subject. During open coding the data was broken down into parts and closely examined and we identified the concepts. After the first interview, we continued the analysing process: the data collected from the following interviews were analysed and compared with the data collected from the first interview. After that, we grouped the concepts into categories. During axial coding – the second stage – we started "to fit the pieces of the data puzzle together". Data analysis took place concurrently with data collecting and we compared it to see if there were any similarities and differences. During the selective coding, we identified a central category around which we grouped the other categories making relational statements between them. We stopped the comparative process when we reached saturation.

The socio-demographic characteristics of research participants are featured in Table 1.

## 3. Data analysing and findings

When candidates participate in an employment interview and interact with the recruiters, they may try to control the recruiters' impressions about them and to create favourable images. In turn, the recruiters may try to obtain from the candidates as much information as possible to evaluate them and to select the most competent and suitable candidates for a certain job. In other words, these two parts engage in an information exchange and they transmit in a theatrical way only those impressions they want the other to have about them (Goffman 2007). So, the roles can be intermittent: recruiters may become those who will manage their behaviours to create a certain image in front of the candidates.

In data analysis, we used the dramaturgical model – drama metaphor. So, if we view the job interview as a drama (theatrical performance), the interviewer plays the role of an audience while the candidate is the performer. Also, the recruiter can become the performer and the candidate will play the role of a participative audience. The candidates will strive to manage their gestures, facial expressions, clothing, speeches and all of these independently or together may influence the evaluation made by the recruiters (Goffman 2007).

Table 1. The socio-demographic characteristics of research participants

Code	Gen- der	Age	Studies	Profession	Job position	Organiza- tion type	Experience in Human resources field
R1	f	35	Psychology	psychologist	human resources consultant	private	11 years
R2	m	37	Economics	manager	human resources manager	corporate	5 years
R3	f	27	Psychology	recruiter	senior recruiter	corporate	1 year and 5 months
R4	f	27	Economics	recruiter	senior recruiter	corporate	3 years
R5	f	26	Psychology	human resources specialist	senior recruiter	corporate	2 years and 5 months
R6	f	31	Social work	social worker	department manager	nongovern- mental	5 years
R7	m	29	Sociology	Sociologist	human resources manager	private	5 years
R8	f	26	Letters	team leader	team leader	corporate	4 months
R9	f	32	Sociology	sociologist	senior recruiter	private	5 years
R10	f	30	Psychology	psychologist	senior recruiter	private	4 years
C11	f	24	Letters	student	catalog specialist	corporate	-
C12	m	30	Engineering	engineer	project engineer	private	-
C13	f	24	Public Admini- stration	student	customer service advisor	corporate	-
C14	f	21	Economics	student	catalog specialist	corporate	-
C15	m	24	History	student	customer adviser	corporate	-
C16	f	30	Ecomomics	economist	accountant	private	-
C17	m	30	Economics	accountant	comercial manager	corporate	-
C18	m	32	Engineering	engineer	team leader	private	-

Legend: R-recruiter code; C-candidate code; m-male; f-female.

# 3.1. Impression management in Curriculum Vitae

Curriculum Vitae (CV) represents the first source of information regarding the applicants. Even though Goffman considered that impression management can take place only in face-to-face interactions (Goffman 2007), we

consider that beside this type of interaction, in the selection process, candidates may use impression management through curriculum-vitae.

After we analysed the data, we have noticed that all the interviewed recruiters have met during the selection process impression management forms used by the applicants; the most common are:

- information regarding the applicant's abilities and skills self-promotion (he presents himself in a favourable manner);
- information regarding previous experience and jobs (omission of previous jobs);
- information regarding applicant's studies (he claims that he graduated certain studies).

**R7**: The experience, then the language level, usually with French there are problems, also with English. Usually, they include French language and write that they have studied in school, but they cannot speak in French; and regarding English... they exaggerate the level, usually they say that they have B2 level, but it is lower, an B1 level. Then, regarding the characteristics...the personal description, there are some templates with proactivity; they say they are team workers...all of this kind of things.

Besides these, analysing the interviews with the candidates, we have noticed that the majority of them omitted in CVs to specify some previous jobs, especially temporary work places. Also, in certain situations – when the candidates haven't worked for a period they preferred to claim that they have being freelancers.

C12: At the experience section I added, I had a blank period, I gave up my studies in 2010 and there was a period when I did nothing so I had to fill that period, I couldn't go with the blank period. So then, I wrote that I was freelancer and that I started a business with, I don't know exactly, with turkeys, I guess (...)

It should be noted that even if the candidates added false information in CVs (recruiters verified the information), they were selected and invited to sustain the job interview, and afterwards they were hired.

# 3.2. Impression management in job interviews

As Goffman who was preoccupied to understand how the individuals present themselves in everyday life (Goffman 2007), we analysed and explained how the candidates and the recruiters play different roles and respect certain scripts during the job interviews. A job interview represents

the frame for the interaction between the social actors – candidate and recruiter. When the actors engage in an interaction, they realise an information exchange and they are guided by a certain script which influences behaviours, their perceptions and the attitudes of the others.

## 3.2.1. The use of the impression management by the candidates

If we imagine the employment interview process as drama, we can notice the fact that the social roles are intermittent: the candidate and also the recruiter will perform and will try to influence each other; each with its own reasons: the recruiter wants to attract the most competent and suitable candidate for a job position and the candidate wants to obtain the job. During the job interview, impression management manifests through the candidate's attempts to convince the interviewer that he is competent, likeable ant that he has a high potential.

After analysing the data, we have noticed that candidates use very often impression management forms. They try to construct certain images or 'fronts' (Goffman 2007) which they want to project into recruiter's mind. To accomplish this social construction, the actors have to give up or better said, to hide those behaviours, attitudes, beliefs and experiences which do not match with the identity they want to create and present to the audience. A job interview is the frame where a candidate may create a virtual identity in order to obtain the job – we can define this process as identity reconstruction.

Candidates use certain impression management tactics in order to create a favourable image in front of the recruiter. When a candidate presents himself in a job interview, he will be motivated to mobilize the entire activity in order to create the desired impressions in recruiter's mind. We have noticed that there are situations when candidates act very meticulously: they talk and behave in certain ways; they use certain impression management tactics, certain verbal statements to provide the desired images. The behaviours are conscious and intentional and they are used when the job interviews take place for top management positions. These type of candidates want to create the most favourable impressions, they want to perceived as the most competent and professionals, because they have an intrinsic motivation – high self-esteem.

Impression management takes many forms such as verbal statements, facial expressions or modification of physical appearance (Schneider 1981). So, during a job interview, impression management is facilitated by *the modification of candidate's appearance* – clothing, make-up, and hairstyle.

Though, all of these are not enough to create positive and favourable impressions in front of the recruiters. The candidate plays a role in front of the interviewer, he has to present himself as being the suitable candidate, he has to show he is the "ideal candidate" – this role is played by the candidate through the behaviour and speech management.

An important aspect is the fact that in a job interview, the candidate focuses especially on the answers he gives and less on the nonverbal behaviour. Goffman sustained that the individual capacity to give impressions implies two types of activity: "expressions we give off" and "expressions we give" (Goffman 2007).

### a. Nonverbal behaviours

Erving Goffman focused on the nonverbal behaviours analysis and he studied the gestures, facial expressions etc. Even if the candidates don't focus very much on nonverbal behaviours management, they are not totally neglected by them. So, both interviewed recruiters and candidates claimed that there are certain nonverbal behaviours used by the candidates in job interviews such as permanent eye contact, smiling, they try to look very relaxed etc. All of these attempts to model and control nonverbal behaviours are intended to help the candidate to create a favourable image during the employment interview. The candidate's ability to model and control his behaviours is called by Goffman "dramaturgical discipline" (Goffman 2007).

Candidates pay attention to clothing too, because they consider that it is important for the recruiters. They affirmed if they would dress in an inadequate way, the chances to have success in a job interview would decrease. Also, the recruiters consider that a candidate who shows up at a job interview is dressed "inappropriate", he is motivated and uninterested in the job.

**R2**: Usually, candidates pay attention to the physical appearance and to first impression they want to make when they come to a job interview, and this is appreciated. I mean, we appreciate a person who is... who comes dressed adequate, let's say. Of course, this is not a requirement for the candidate to get hired, but we like to see him coming like that. He paid a certain attention to the fact that he has a job interview.

These expressions that the candidate "gives off" (Goffman 2007) are less intentional, they are usually unconscious and it is very difficult for candidates to control them and for the recruiters they are the validation or invalidation tool of the "expressions candidates give" (DePaulo *et all.* 2003; Goffman 2007).

## b. The given expressions

The expressions consist of the verbal language use and it represents an impression management form. As we mentioned before, in an employment interview, the candidate's motivation to get hired and also, the questions type make him to use an impression management form. The candidate uses certain verbal tactics which can be classified in assertive tactics and defensive tactics.

After analysing the data, we have noticed that candidates tend to use both impression management tactics – assertive and defensive tactics (Stevens& Kristof 1995). Assertive tactics were used by the candidates very often; they manifested in two forms: *ingratiation or self-promotion* (Delery&Kacmar 1998).

C16: First of all, I think I had exaggerated, but I had also omitted some information, I had also hidden some information. For example, when they had asked me why I wanted to work there, I hadn't told them that I had applied for other jobs from different organisations too (...). Also, my weaknesses - I hadn't tell them that I am stubborn, that I don't have patience...I told that I am perfectionist, that I like everything being perfect. I think that I lied, actually, I told that my qualities are that I am tidy, which it is not true, that I like team work.

Defensive tactics consists of the candidate's attempts to repair or protect his image. These tactics are less used by the interviewed candidates and less met by the recruiters. Defensive tactics were used during the job interviews realised by the nongovernmental and private organisations. Of course, this doesn't mean that the defensive tactics are not used by the candidates. Usually, candidates either tried to justify certain information, events, behaviours or they admitted their mistakes, but they tried to show that the effects are not very severe.

**R6:** (...) I chose to discuss with her in the interview and there were very bad responses and she said that "I didn't rest very well last night", "I am not in the right mood" or "You know, I had a break one year because I was in maternity leave and I am not updated", but there were elementary notions, there hadn't nothing to do with being updated or with the fact you haven't worked for a while

These tactics – assertive and defensive – can be either honest or dishonest (Stevens&Kristof 1995). All of the interviewed candidates used the tactics in a deceptive ways. Also, they used omissions or distortions of the information; for example, when they were asked about the work relationships,

they preferred to omit certain information. Also, they tended to distort the reasons for leaving the previous jobs. Even if the recruiters claim that a candidate has more chances in a job interview if he is sincere, candidates consider they have to adapt their answers according to the interviewer's expectations and if they offer sincere answers they would be rejected from the beginning.

C13: I don't think that the questions are in our favour or they help us to be sincere. I don't think that they want to hear a sincere answer. As long as you prove them that you are a balanced and responsible person, I think it doesn't matter if you tended to exaggerate some aspects or not. If you answered sincere, they would slammed the door next minute

The candidates have to create virtual identities acquiring certain behaviours, opinions, attitudes and they have to perform them in front of the audience. These identities have to be in relation with the recruiter's expectations. To create these images, the actors have to hide those attributes, actions, events or opinions which don't match with the new image – the ideal candidate image. Candidates' virtual or simulated identities are composed by the appearance, attitude and candidate's speech.

## 3.2.2. The use of impression management by the recruiters

As we mentioned it before, in a job interview, the social roles are intermittent: the candidate becomes the audience and the recruiter is the performer. As the candidate wants to convince the interviewer that he is the best for a specific job, the recruiter wants to find and to attract the right candidates and sometimes, this is facilitated by the use of impression management strategies.

The majority of the interviewed recruiters claimed that they are sincere, transparent and that they offer all the information to the candidate, they also claimed that they have never met or heard about case when a recruiter has used impression management.

**R4**: This is what I wanted to say: in our company, it doesn't happen this because we rely on transparency and then we do not use such ways (...). Honestly, no, but anyway, I wouldn't agree with it.

However, candidate related some situations when the recruiters omitted, hid or exaggerated certain information during an employment interview. Also, they considered that even if the recruiters don't want to admit it, they want to create favourable impressions: the recruiters want to look objective in candidate's evaluation, even if their decisions are subjective.

C15: They represent the employer and however, they try to exaggerate, I mean they present you a certain salary, they don't tell you if it is the net salary or not; they present you...let's say, certain benefits, a certain salary increase on every six months, thing that not always happen, it happened to me, I didn't get some bonuses. But yes, they have this tendency too, they are not perfect and they hide all kind of things, they exaggerate regarding the work conditions and the environment, that you will have the best colleagues and this turns out not to be so.

The most often tactics used by the recruiters during an employment interview are:

- presentation in a positive way of the organisation;
- exaggerations of the benefits and chances of promotion;
- omission of certain information regarding the working hours;
- exaggerations regarding the environment and the organisational culture.

## 3.3. Impression management detection

When candidates present themselves in a favourable way, recruiters can identify two different parts of the situation (Goffman 2007): the first which can be easily manipulated by the candidates, composed by the answers they give in an employment interview and the second one which is represented by the *nonverbal behaviours*. Through these behaviours candidates can transmit some nonverbal cues to the recruiters and which can be used by them to observe if a candidate try to influence them through impression management use (DePaulo *et all.* 2003; Schneider, Powell, Roulin 2015). To detect those candidates who engage in impression management strategies during a job interview, the recruiters use:

- nonverbal cues (eye contact, gestures, facial expressions, voice trembling);
- verification questions (multiple questions on a certain subject);
- verification tests (language tests, technical test).

Also, the recruiters pay attention to their intuiton: they consider that this can help them to detect those candidates who use impression management tactics.

**R6**: (...) The human interaction counts very much; that is why I said that I use the feeling, because even if you see that the person has the abilities and that he can handle with limit situations, you can feel that person if he or she is right for the job or not.

### 4. Conclusions

The employment interview represents a social interaction between a candidate and a recruiter. They have to define the situation and the roles they want to perform. The impression management use in a job interview is the result of a dynamic and adaptive process (Bangerter, Roulin, König 2012; Roulin, Krings, Binggeli 2016). The candidate has to model and control his behaviours and answers so that his new image is in relation with the recruiter's expectations. Also, the recruiter may try to adjust certain information and he may present the work environment in a favourable and attractive ways.

These two actors involved perform in order to obtain certain purposes. In this situation, the use of impression management or at least the attempts of impression management use is inevitable and it may have certain effects: on the one hand, the recruiter can take wrong decisions in the selection of the candidates and on the other hand, the candidates may have a false image about the organisations induced by the recruiters (Fletcher&Lopes 2004).

In this study, we found out that candidates engage in impression management use in order to create favourable images. Also, we have noticed that those candidates who efficiently use impression management tactics created favourable impressions and their chances to obtain the job were higher. All of the mentioned and described impression management tactics in this paper were used by the interviewed candidates in order to create the ideal candidate image. They claimed that due to impression management tactics used by them – assertive and defensive, honest or deceptive – they were perceived being more competent and they get hired.

The actor who engages in a social interaction will play a certain role and respect a certain script; the performance represents the reconstruction of the candidate's identity. This is realised in relation to job requirements and the recruiter's expectations.

The candidate has one purpose – to get hired, so, he will perform in front of the audience the ideal candidate role. Often, the recruiter is aware of this, but he also engaged in the "drama". Job interview has certain conventions and norms which guide the behaviours of the social actors. In order to create desired images, the recruiter and the candidate have to respect these norms and perform according to them.

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