

Do Interviewers Sell Themselves Short? The Effects of Selling Orientation on Interviewers' Judgments

JENNIFER CARSON MARR

Georgia Institute of Technology
Scheller College of Business
800 West Peachtree St., NW
Atlanta, GA 30308-1149
Tel: 1 404 894 1745
e-mail: jennifer.marr@scheller.gatech.edu

DAN M. CABLE

London Business School
Organizational Behavior
Regent's Park
London, NW1 4SA
United Kingdom
Tel: 44 (0)20 7000 8906
e-mail: dcable@london.edu

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on alternative perspectives about the automaticity of dispositional judgments, we examine whether the motivation to attract the other (i.e., selling orientation) in interpersonal first meetings (e.g., job interviews) helps or hinders the accuracy and validity of dispositional judgments. In a laboratory study (Study 1) we found that selling orientation reduced the accuracy of interviewers' judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations. Then, we investigated the real-world implications of selling orientation in a field study (Study 2) with two different samples (Samples A and B) and found that a selling orientation negatively influenced the predictive validity of interviewers' judgments. Specifically, when selling orientation was low, interviewers' judgments accurately predicted which applicants would be most (and least) successful as newcomers in the organization (in terms of citizenship, performance and fit). However, when selling orientation was high, interviewers' judgments no longer predicted applicant outcomes. Together, these results suggest that making dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings is an effortful process that is hindered by focusing on other goals (e.g., selling). We discuss the practical and theoretical implications of these findings.

Keywords: Perception, dispositional judgments, automaticity; Selection, staffing, and recruiting; Longitudinal research design

Every one lives by selling something.

-- Robert Louis Stevenson

When we meet people for the first time – a date, a potential business partner, a job candidate – we are motivated to make accurate judgments about them. We want to be good judges of character because these initial judgments are often the basis for making decisions about the other person, which have future consequences. A first date could turn into a romantic relationship; a job candidate could become a future colleague.

However, making accurate dispositional judgments is usually not the only goal of interpersonal first meetings. We may also be motivated to sell – that is, to make ourselves, our product or our opportunity, attractive to the other person. For example, when a couple goes on a date, it is likely that at least one of the individuals is not only trying to learn about the other person's disposition, but is also trying to charm that person and promote their best self (Schmitt & Buss, 1996). Likewise, interviewers often feel responsible for not only judging applicants but also attracting applicants to join their organization (Barber, Hollenbeck, Tower, & Phillips, 1994; Chapman & Zweig, 2005; Rynes, 1989).

Building on past perspectives of selling (e.g., Saxe & Weitz, 1982; Stevens, 1998), we use the term *selling orientation* to describe a motivational inclination to attract another person during an interpersonal meeting. Like other motivations, we suggest that a selling orientation is apt to direct an individual's cognitions and behavior towards the goal of attracting the other (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). Because attentional resources are limited, a selling orientation should reduce the attention devoted to the process of evaluating and making dispositional judgments.

In this article, we examine whether a selling orientation helps or hinders people's ability to make judgments that are accurate and predictive of future outcomes. On the one hand, research on the automaticity of dispositional judgments leads to the prediction that a selling orientation will *help* people's ability to make accurate judgments and valid predictions about others, because our dispositional judgments about others are largely determined by automatic processing (Ambady, 2010; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; DePaulo & Friedman, 1998; Patterson, 1999; Tesser & Martin, 1996; Winter, Uleman, & Cunniff, 1985). Automatic processing means that the process of making judgments does not require cognitive resources to execute (Bargh, 1997) and is actually made less efficient when people devote explicit attention to the process (Melcher & Schooler, 1996; Wilson & Schooler, 1991). From this perspective, dispositional judgments should be most accurate and predictive when they are made without devoting explicit attention to the judgment process. Thus, a selling orientation – which reduces the attentional focus on the process of making dispositional judgments – should enhance the accuracy and validity of judgments. This argument is consistent with Chapman and Zweig's (2005) findings that interviewers who focused on attracting applicants felt it was easier to select the best applicants compared to interviewers who focused only on evaluating applicants.

On the other hand, a diverging prediction emerges from the motivated social cognition literature. Specifically, studies on judgment and decision-making have found that the probability of making judgment errors (e.g., stereotyping) often increases when people are unable to devote sufficient cognitive attention to the process (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996). This research stream implies that dispositional judgments made in interpersonal first meetings should be most accurate and predictive when people devote significant attention to the process of making their judgments. Similarly, research on inattention blindness suggests that our accuracy about another person's

disposition will be negatively affected by focusing on an additional interpersonal goal (i.e., Mack & Rock, 1998; Shah & Kruglanski, 2002). From this perspective, a selling orientation – which reduces attention devoted to the goal of making dispositional judgments – should *reduce* the accuracy and validity of people's judgments. Ironically, this finding would imply that interviewers' motivation to sell causes them to make the worst predictions about the applicants they are trying hardest to attract.

In this research, we focus on the organizational context for several prototypical examples of interpersonal first meetings (e.g., job selection and placement interviews) where both judgment and selling motivations should emerge. We draw on the two perspectives about the automaticity of judgments to develop alternative predictions about how a selling orientation affects the accuracy and predictive validity of interviewers' judgments. Understanding whether interviewers' dispositional judgments are helped or hindered by a selling orientation not only informs how people's judgments are influenced by competing motivations, but also explores the boundaries of automaticity in dispositional judgments.

By investigating these alternative predictions, we make two basic contributions to the literature. First, we contribute to the organizational literature by examining the role of competing motivations (e.g., judgment vs. selling) in organizational interviews. Hundreds of thousands of interviews are conducted every day, and interviewer judgments are the primary determinant of whether applicants receive job offers (Cable & Judge, 1997; McDaniel, Whetzel, Schmidt, & Maurer, 1994). However, interviewers often have difficulty making accurate dispositional judgments and predictions about job applicants (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). Much research on interviews neglects the fact that interviewers often have more than one goal in these contexts. And, the little research that has emphasized the “dual purpose” of interviews has focused on job

applicants' reactions to interview focus (i.e., Chapman & Zweig, 2005; Rynes, 1989; Stevens, 1998). Thus, while research has shown that applicants acquire more information from interviews with a selling orientation (Barber et al., 1994), we could locate no study that investigated how interviewers' judgments are affected by a selling orientation. By broadening the conceptualization of selling orientation and then investigating how selling orientation influences interviewer accuracy and validity, we offer important insight into how competing motivations influence interviewer judgments, and implications for how interviews should be conducted.

Second, by examining how selling orientation influences dispositional judgments, we extend the person perception literature by investigating the boundaries of judgment automaticity—during naturally-occurring social interactions where real outcomes are at stake. Specifically, we provide some externally valid data on whether judgments made in interpersonal first meetings are (like other automatic processes) more effective when attention is directed to other goals such as selling, or whether they (like other controlled processes) demand dedicated attention to operate most effectively.

THEORY DEVELOPMENT AND HYPOTHESES

People are often personally invested in their dispositional judgments about others. This is because people can see the “shadow of the future” (Axelrod, 1984) in that they know their dispositional judgments will have consequences for future choices and outcomes. A woman evaluates her date's emotional stability which affects whether she will invest more time into the relationship; a venture capitalist evaluates an entrepreneur's perseverance which affects whether she will invest her fund's money; an interviewer evaluates a job applicant's self-confidence which affects whether she will hire the applicant as a new employee. Thus, when people are

invested in their judgments, they are motivated to be accurate (Freund, Kruglanski, & Shpitzajzen, 1985; McAllister, Mitchell, & Beach, 1979; Tetlock, 1983).

However, when first meeting someone, people may also face a competing motivation to be attractive to the other person, and this selling orientation can even become their primary goal (Schmitt & Buss, 1996). Our conceptualization of selling orientation builds on two distinct literatures – recruiting and marketing – that have examined selling behavior in specific organizational contexts. In the hiring context, a “recruitment orientation” has been used to describe an interviewers’ orientation toward recruiting (versus evaluating) a job applicant (Stevens, 1998), and in the sales context, a “selling orientation” (for a review see Franke & Park, 2006) has been used to describe a salesperson’s tendency to adopt a high-pressure, self-focused (versus customer-focused) approach to selling (Saxe & Weitz, 1982; Thomas et al., 2001). Following these existing perspectives on selling, our conceptualization of a *selling orientation* involves a focus on making the self (or the opportunity) attractive to the other.

Distinct from past perspectives, however, our conceptualization focuses on the strength of one’s general *motivation* to attract versus evaluate the other, rather than the specific behaviors used to sell to the other. Our approach to a selling orientation is broader in that it can be applied to any interpersonal meeting such as entrepreneur-venture capitalist interactions, business partnerships, or the formation of romantic relationships – anywhere the motivation to attract the other (i.e., a selling orientation) might emerge. As such, our conceptualization is not behavior-specific and can actually involve tactics that are other-focused (e.g., nodding to demonstrate genuine interest in the other) and thus have been treated as the opposite of a selling orientation in past research (e.g., Saxe & Weitz, 1982; Thomas et al., 2001).

Moreover, where past perspectives have viewed selling as induced by an organization ("recruitment orientation"; Barber et al., 1994), or an individual difference ("selling orientation"; Saxe & Weitz, 1982), we conceptualize a selling orientation as an individual-level motivation. Thus, our conceptualization assumes a person's selling orientation will vary across interactions, and may be driven both by dyad-specific factors (e.g., an interviewer's selling orientation might be driven by a job applicant's work experience) and environmental factors (e.g., urgency of filling the position). Because motivations direct people's attention and cognitions towards their goal (Fiske & Taylor, 2008), a selling orientation will direct attention and cognitions toward the process of selling, and away from the process of making dispositional judgments.

Of course, this does not mean that people who adopt a selling orientation do not make dispositional judgments; in fact, the process of selling often relies on characterizations of others to determine one's selling approach (Spiro & Barton, 1990). A selling orientation means that instead of devoting attention primarily to cognitions and behaviors associated with evaluation (e.g., how carefully are they answering my questions?), they devote attention primarily to cognitions and behaviors associated with selling (e.g., what would impress them?). Consequently, although people may still try to think carefully about their dispositional judgments when they meet someone for the first time, the extent to which they have a selling orientation draws cognitive attention towards the process of selling and away from the process of making dispositional judgments. In the theory section below, we develop alternative predictions about whether this reduction in cognitive attention improves or reduces the accuracy of dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings.

Selling Orientation and the Automaticity of Dispositional Judgments

Several streams of research suggest that dispositional and social judgments are made automatically, such that people are able to make the most accurate and predictive judgments when they make them intuitively and devote little explicit cognitive attention to the judgment process (Ambady, 2010; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; DePaulo & Friedman, 1998; Patterson, 1999; Tesser & Martin, 1996; Winter et al., 1985). In fact, an ecological approach to social perception suggests that people are able to automatically recognize certain dispositional traits in others because this skill is necessary for adaptation and survival (e.g., McArthur & Baron, 1983).

Research in the context of “thin slice” judgments (i.e., dispositional judgments based on observing brief excerpts of behavior) supports this perspective, and provides evidence that dispositional evaluations may be driven by automatic processing. For example, Albright, Kenny and Malloy (1988) found that immediately after meeting new group members for the first time, participants were able to evaluate each other’s extroversion and conscientiousness with a high level of accuracy. Similarly, Ambady and Rosenthal (1993) found that after watching a 30 second video clip of a teacher, participants’ judgments about teachers accurately predicted principals’ evaluations of the teachers’ effectiveness at the end of the school year. Finally, Gilbert and colleagues (1988) demonstrated that cognitive busyness did not interfere with people’s character judgments in social interactions. The speed and ease with which people in these studies were able to make judgments that were both accurate and predictive of future outcomes led researchers to infer that the dispositional judgments were being determined by automatic processing.

More recently, studies have provided additional support for the automaticity of dispositional judgments by showing that “thin slice” judgments are most accurate when *less* attention is devoted to making them. Specifically, Ambady (2010) found that people’s

dispositional judgments were more accurate when they were distracted than when they focused attention on the judgment process (i.e., the reasons for their judgments). These findings provide evidence that dispositional judgments are driven by automatic processing because, according to automaticity theorists (e.g., Tesser & Martin, 1996), automatic processes are most efficient when they operate with few cognitive resources, and least efficient when conscious cognitive attention is devoted to them. Although it may seem counterintuitive that devoting attention to an automatic process reduces the effectiveness of that process, many examples of automatic processes illustrate this ironic effect (Wegner, 1994). For example, eyewitnesses are less accurate when they use more effortful cognitive strategies to recall the person or event (e.g., Dunning & Stern, 1994; Johnson, Raye, Foley, & Foley, 1981). When someone willfully tries to relax it often produces the opposite effect (Heide & Borkovec, 1983), and research shows that people can 'choke under pressure' when they devote explicit attention to overlearned (automatic) skills (see Baumeister & Showers, 1986 for a review). Thus, research demonstrating that interpersonal judgments are *less* accurate when more attention is devoted to them provides support for the view that dispositional judgments are driven by automatic processing.

Even in the context of very complex social judgments – which one would assume are the product of an effortful, deliberate decision-making process – judgments have been attributed to automatic processes. In one vivid example, Kahneman, Schkade and Sunstein (1998) demonstrated that judgments about punitive damages made by jurors were largely determined by feelings of outrage (an automatic reaction), rather than a deliberative evaluation of the case factors. Similarly, in a study on moral reasoning, Haidt and Hersh (2001) found that participants' moral judgments arose as intuitions, generated by automatic processes, and that conscious reasoning was used only afterwards to justify these judgments. Findings such as these show that

important decisions can be largely determined by automatic processing, and in the context of employment interviews suggest that research is needed to "...examine the extent to which interviewers rely on automatic or controlled information processing when evaluating applicants" (Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002: 21).

This past research on the automaticity of judgments provides insight into how a selling orientation should influence dispositional judgments made in interpersonal first meetings. Specifically, this research suggests that dispositional judgments are driven by automatic processing and are therefore *more* accurate when *less* explicit attention is devoted to making them. This perspective leads to the prediction that a selling orientation – a distracting motivation, which limits the cognitive attention devoted to the process of making dispositional judgments – should *increase* the accuracy and validity of dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings.

Selling Orientation and Attention in Dispositional Judgments

Despite the convincing set of automaticity findings reviewed above, there is an alternative perspective from the motivated cognition literature suggesting that making accurate dispositional judgments may require effortful (rather than automatic) processing. Specifically, a number of studies suggest that when individuals are personally motivated to invest more cognitive resources in making dispositional judgments (e.g., attending to relevant information more carefully), they often demonstrate a reduction of bias (Kunda, 1990). Being motivated to engage in effortful processing also has been shown to decrease people's susceptibility to extraneous information (Thompson, Roman, Moskowitz, Chaiken, & Bargh, 1994), reduce stereotyping (Hess, Rosenberg, & Waters, 2001; Kruglanski & Freund, 1983; Tetlock, 1983), and mitigate the tendency to make exaggerated dispositional inferences about individuals based

on minimal information (Tetlock, 1985). To the extent that reducing these biases increases the accuracy of dispositional judgments, this implies that investing more cognitive resources in making judgments should increase the effectiveness of the judgment process. Conversely, investing fewer cognitive resources in the judgment process (e.g., by engaging a selling orientation) should decrease the effectiveness of the judgment process.

A similar prediction emerges from the inattentional blindness literature, which demonstrates how priming a person's perceptual goals can cause them to ignore obvious visual stimuli. Thus, researchers have described "...a striking phenomenon in which people fail to notice stimuli appearing in front of their eyes when they are preoccupied with an attentionally demanding task." (Most, Scholl, Clifford, & Simons, 2005: 217). For example, instructing people to focus on basketball passes can make them overlook a person in a gorilla suit walking directly across their field of vision (Simons & Chabris, 1999). This research shows how our motivational goals have a powerful effect on the type of information we perceive and remember (e.g., Bruner, 1957; Jones & Thibaut, 1958). Because attentional resources are limited, focusing on one goal reduces attention devoted to other goals (Shah & Kruglanski, 2002). Thus, if someone's primary goal is selling, they will likely overlook perceptual information that would inform their dispositional judgments, reducing the accuracy and validity of those judgments.

To summarize, different streams of logic lead to alternate predictions about how a selling orientation – which directs attention away from the process of making dispositional judgments – should influence the accuracy and validity of judgments in first meetings. An automaticity perspective suggests that a selling orientation prevents people from 'overthinking' the process of making dispositional judgments, and thus should *increase* the accuracy and validity of those judgments. A motivated cognition perspective suggests that a selling orientation diverts essential

cognitive attention away from dispositional judgments and thus, should *decrease* the accuracy and validity of those judgments. In order to test these alternative predictions, we first must establish how interviewer accuracy can be determined, and we turn to this issue next in the context of judging applicants' core self-evaluations.

Applicant Core Self-Evaluations

To examine whether the accuracy and predictive validity of interviewers' dispositional inferences are helped or hindered by a selling orientation, we needed to select a dispositional trait that would be observable to others and which would be useful for predicting a broad range of performance outcomes at work. In this paper, we focused on interviewers' judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations, which are defined as "fundamental, bottom-line evaluations that people make of themselves" (Judge, 2009: 58). Like self-esteem, a person's core self-evaluation is an appraisal of one's self-worth, but is broader in that it also reflects beliefs in one's capabilities and competence (to perform, cope, persevere, and succeed). In this sense, core self-evaluation can be viewed as a broad dispositional trait comprising self-esteem, self-efficacy, locus of control, and emotional stability.

Core self-evaluations are an appropriate trait to test our hypotheses for two reasons. First, they are likely to be observable to others. In fact, a functionalist perspective suggests that the human perceptual system might have adapted a particularly efficient ability to judge other's core self-evaluations, since correct identification has implications for survival and reproduction in our evolutionary past. For example, Gangestad, Simpson, DiGeronimo and Biek (1992: 689) noted that it should be adaptive to recognize another's confidence and emotional stability because, "in stress-inducing situations, one can count on emotionally stable individuals to a greater degree than emotionally labile persons."

Second, core self-evaluations predict a broad range of fit and performance-related criteria at work, and therefore are appropriate for investigating the predictive accuracy of interviewers' judgments. For example, high core self-evaluations are associated with higher job satisfaction, better job performance, higher income, higher work motivation (Erez & Judge, 2001; Judge & Hurst, 2007), more constructive reactions to feedback (Bono & Colbert, 2005), more effective customer service (Salvaggio et al., 2007), and better adjustment to foreign assignments (Johnson, Kristof-Brown, Van Vianen, De Pater, & Klein, 2003). Indeed, research suggests that core self-evaluations predict work outcomes better than any other individual dispositional trait, including conscientiousness (Judge, 2009).

Based on the divergent perspectives we outlined above, we offer alternative hypotheses about the effect of selling orientation on the accuracy of interviewers' judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations. Empirical support for our alternative hypotheses depends on whether the process of making dispositional judgments is largely determined by automatic processing (H1) or whether it requires dedicated attention and considerable cognitive resources (H2):

H1: When interviewers adopt a stronger selling orientation during an interview, their judgments regarding interviewees' core self-evaluations will be more accurate.

H2: When interviewers adopt a stronger selling orientation during an interview, their judgments regarding interviewees' core self-evaluations will be less accurate.

OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

To offer evidence that is both internally and externally valid, we conducted one experiment and one field study (using two different samples) to investigate how a selling orientation affects the accuracy of interviewers' dispositional judgments about job applicants.

First, to maximize internal validity, we conducted a laboratory experiment (Study 1). Specifically, we arranged mock interviews where we manipulated interviewers' selling orientation, and then examined how selling orientation influenced interviewer accuracy. We then operationalized interviewers' accuracy as their agreement with applicants' own self reports, following past research on rater accuracy (Funder, 1980; Funder, Kolar, & Blackman, 1995; Watson, Hubbard, & Wiese, 2000). Thus, we examined whether a selling orientation strengthened or weakened the relationship between applicants' own reports of their core self-evaluations and interviewers' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations.

Then, to extend the external validity of the experimental evidence, in Study 2 we brought these constructs into the field. Specifically, using two different field samples of professional interviewers, we examined the implications of selling orientation for the predictive accuracy of interviewers' judgments. Thus, consistent with past research on predictive accuracy (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Curhan & Pentland, 2007; Todorov, Mandisodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005), we focused on the empirical linkage between interviewers' judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations and applicant's future success in the organization after they are hired. In doing so, we are able to examine how selling orientation affects interviewers' ability to make judgments that can accurately predict those applicants who will be most and least successful in the organization, and also draw conclusions about the practical implications of selling orientation for the hiring process.

STUDY 1

We designed an experiment to examine our alternative predictions about whether an interviewers' selling orientation would increase or decrease the accuracy of their judgments, allowing us to draw inferences about the automaticity of dispositional judgments in interpersonal

first meetings. Specifically, an automaticity perspective suggests that when interviewers have a greater selling orientation there should be a stronger relationship between applicants' self-reports of their core self-evaluations and interviewers judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations (Hypothesis 1). Alternatively, the motivated cognition perspective suggests that when interviewers have a greater selling orientation there should be a weaker relationship applicants' self-reports of their core self-evaluations and interviewers judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations (Hypothesis 2). Using an experimental design to test these predictions enabled us to hold contextual factors constant such as the level of interview structure (Chapman & Zweig, 2005) and control how and when interviewers' selling orientation would be elicited.

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

Sixty-four individuals (43 females, mean age 26.85, SD = 8.54), recruited through a university-affiliated research pool participated in a job interview experiment. All participants had at least one year of work experience, and 61% of participants were working full or part-time at the time of the study. Participants completed a pre-study survey, were asked to nominate a close friend to complete a survey, and then came to the laboratory one week later to be randomly assigned to a 2 (role: interviewer vs. applicant) X 2 (orientation: high selling orientation vs. low selling orientation) between-participant design.

One week before appearing at the experiment and conducting their interviews, participants were asked to complete a pre-study survey which included self-ratings of their core self-evaluations and demographic information. Participants also nominated (by providing an email address) a close friend or family member to complete a pre-study survey about the participant. The first author then emailed the contacts with information about the study and a link

to the pre-study survey about the participant. Participant and contact responses were matched using the name or email of the participant, which was deleted once the surveys were matched. All 64 participants and 42 of the nominated friend/family members completed the pre-study survey (100% and 66% response rates, respectively). Participants received £11 for completing both the pre-study survey and experiment, and participants whose contacts also completed the pre-study survey were entered into a draw to win £500.

Mock Job Interview Experiment

Participants came to the behavioral research lab in groups of four or six to complete an interview study. After being randomly assigned to a role (interviewer vs. applicant), the interviewers and applicants were taken to different rooms. In each room, participants read their role materials and received instructions for how to prepare for the interview. The materials, adapted from Van Iddekinge, Raymark and Roth (2005), described the company (El Fresco, a supermarket chain) and job role (Customer Service Manager).

Interview role (interviewer vs. applicant) manipulation. There were two main differences between the materials provided to the interviewers versus applicants. First, applicants received only basic information about the company (i.e., description and history) and job role (i.e., description and duties). Interviewers received this information, but also were given more detailed information about the company (i.e., motivation for hiring a Customer Service Manager) and job role (i.e., important qualities for a Customer Service Manager such as, “Is confident and has a positive ‘can-do’ attitude”, “Has a strong sense of control over of his/her environment”) emphasizing the importance of high core self-evaluations.

Second, applicants read that the purpose of the interview was for the interviewer to assess whether the applicant was a good fit with the role and so applicants should answer questions as

accurately and honestly as possible. Interviewers read that the purpose of the interview was to both evaluate and recruit the job applicant. However, the emphasis placed on attracting the job applicant depended on whether the interviewer was in the high or low selling orientation condition, as described below.

Selling orientation manipulation. Interviewers in the low selling orientation [high selling orientation] condition read that,

“Before coming to the interview today, management informed you that this is a top priority position [quality candidate] and so your goal for the interview is to evaluate [recruit] the applicant. While you still need to attract [learn about] the candidate...your main focus will be critically evaluating the candidate’s personality, attitude and abilities so you can determine whether they are the best choice for this role [selling the Customer Service Manager role at El Fresco as the best possible choice for this candidate]. If you evaluate the candidate [sell the role] effectively...you will receive a bonus of £1.”

Interview structure. To control for the influence of interview structure on the accuracy of interviewers’ judgments, interviewers in both the low and high selling orientation conditions were advised to structure their interview. Accordingly, interviewers read that interviews generally had three components: (1) telling the applicant about the role and company, (2) asking the applicant questions to determine their interest and fit with the role, and (3) asking the applicant whether they have any questions for the interviewer. Interviewers were instructed to structure their interview by outlining the main questions they wanted to ask and the main comments they wanted to make during the 15 minute interview.

After taking 15 minutes to read their materials and make notes, interviewers and applicants were paired and together completed a 15 minute mock job interview. After the

interview, interviewers and applicants received a post-study survey. In the post-study survey, interviewers rated applicants' core self-evaluations and both interviewers and applicants completed manipulation checks.

Measures

Applicants' self-ratings of core self-evaluations. We used Judge and colleagues' 12-item scale of core self-evaluations (Judge, Erez, Bono, & Thoresen, 2003) to measure applicants' self-ratings one week before the experiment. Sample items included: "I am confident I get the success I deserve in life" and "I do not feel in control of my success in my career (reverse coded)". The response scale ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .93$).

Contacts' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations. We adapted the Judge et al. scale (2003) so that contacts could rate applicants' core self-evaluations. For example, contacts rated the extent to which "My friend/family member is confident s/he gets the success s/he deserves in life" and "My friend/family member does not feel in control of his/her success in his/her career (reverse coded)" ($\alpha = .81$).

Interviewers' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations. We adapted the Judge et al. scale (2003) so that interviewers could rate applicants' core self-evaluations after the mock interview. For example, interviewers rated the extent to which "This applicant is confident s/he gets the success s/he deserves in life" and "This applicant does not feel in control of his/her success in his/her career (reverse coded)." ($\alpha = .81$).

Selling orientation (interviewer-rated). To assess interviewers' selling orientation, we started by examining existing, validated scales on selling orientation (e.g., Saxe & Weitz, 1982; Thomas, et al., 2001). However, these measures were not appropriate to assess the motivation to sell in interpersonal meetings for three main reasons. First, many of the items in these scales

were specific to the sales context and were not applicable to other interpersonal first meetings like job interviews or initial business meetings (e.g., “I try to sell a customer all I can convince him to buy, even if I think it is more than a wise customer would buy”). Second, the “selling-orientation” items in existing scales focused on self-focused, high-pressure selling tactics (e.g., “If I am not sure a product is right for a customer, I will still apply pressure to get him to buy”) which are not necessarily the tactics one would use when one is highly motivated to attract the other in an interpersonal meeting. Finally, many of the low selling orientation items in existing scales would actually be consistent with a *high* selling orientation according to our conceptualization of being motivated to attract the other (e.g., “I try to influence a customer by information rather than by pressure”).

Accordingly, we developed two items to assess the extent to which the interviewer was primarily motivated to convince the applicant to join the organization. After finishing each interview, interviewers indicated the extent to which “I really focused this interview on making the applicant want to join [this organization]” and “My primary goal was to convince this applicant that s/he should come to [this organization]” (1 = “strongly disagree,” 7 = “strongly agree”; $\alpha = .85$).

To establish construct validity, we used a separate sample of 100 interviewers to investigate how our scale related to other constructs in its nomological network (Cook & Campbell, 1979) including existing measures of selling focus (Saxe & Weitz, 1982), and demands-abilities fit (Cable & DeRue, 2002). Details and additional results from this validation appear in the Appendix. Conceptually, we expected that our measure of selling orientation would be positively related to *both* the selling-orientation dimension and the customer-orientation dimension of the selling-orientation/customer-orientation scale. This is because being

primarily motivated to attract the other in an interpersonal first meeting is likely to increase different types of selling behavior including some self-focused items of the “selling-orientation” dimension (e.g., “I paint too rosy a picture of [the job role] to make it sound as good as possible”) and some items of the other-focused “customer-orientation” dimension (e.g., “I try to influence [an applicant] by information rather than by pressure”). As such, we did not expect our measure of selling orientation to be related to the complete selling-orientation/customer-orientation scale because our conceptualization of selling orientation is unlikely to promote one type of selling behavior (e.g., self-focused, hard-selling) more than another (e.g., other-focused, low pressure selling). Conceptually, we also expected our measure of selling orientation to be positively related to interviewers' perceptions of applicants' demands-abilities fit, because if someone is primarily motivated to attract the other person in a job interview, then they are interested in hiring that individual and should view the applicant's demands-abilities fit more positively (Kristof-Brown, 2000).

As expected, we found that our measure of selling orientation was positively related to both self-focused, hard selling behaviors (i.e., selling-orientation SOCO items; $r = .45, p < .001$), and customer-focused selling behaviors (i.e., customer-orientation SOCO items; $r = .48, p < .001$). Also, our measure of selling orientation was positively related to perceptions of the applicant's fit (demands-abilities fit; $r = .26, p < .01$) while the SOCO selling-orientation items were negatively related to perceptions of the applicant's fit ($b = -.37, SE = .10, p < .001$), suggesting that our measure is distinct and differentially predicts relevant outcomes. As expected, our measure of selling orientation was unrelated to the complete selling versus customer orientation scale (all SOCO items; $r = -.14, p = .15$). Finally, we examined our manipulation of high (versus low) selling orientation as a predictor of the two selling scales.

Consistent with our expectations, we found that being in the high selling condition led to a substantially larger positive effect on our measure of selling orientation ($b = .63$, $SE = .06$, $p < .001$) than the SOCO selling-orientation items ($b = .42$, $SE = .08$, $p < .001$).

Selling orientation (applicant-rated). We created three items to assess applicants' perceptions that their interviewers had a selling orientation, "The interviewer seemed very interested in me as an applicant", "The interviewer made me feel like I was a good candidate for this job" and "I felt like the interviewer's primary motivation was to get me to join the organization" on a seven-point scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 7 = "strongly agree"; $\alpha = .84$).

Interview structure. Interviewers responded to two items to assess the extent to which they structured their interview, "This interview was very structured – I worked through a set of questions that I prepared in advance", and "Before starting the interview, I planned the format of the interview and the types of questions I would ask the applicant", on a seven-point scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 7 = "strongly agree"; $\alpha = .63$).

Applicant honesty. Applicants responded to three items to assess the extent to which they were trying to be honest in the interview including "I answered the interviewer's questions as honestly as possible.", "I found myself exaggerating or making-up information." (reversed), "I manipulated my interview responses to appear like a better applicant." (reversed) on a seven-point scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 7 = "strongly agree"; $\alpha = .70$).

RESULTS

Analysis

Manipulation checks. A univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) indicated that interviewers in the high selling orientation condition were more motivated to sell to the applicant ($M = 5.81$, $SD = 1.11$) than interviewers in the low selling orientation condition ($M = 4.18$, $SD =$

1.45), $F(1, 30) = 11.65, p < .005, \eta^2 = .28$, and their selling motivation was well above the mean (4) of the scale, $t = 5.88, p < .001$. Results also showed that applicants in the high selling orientation condition felt their interviewers were more motivated to sell to them ($M = 5.90, SD = .81$) than those applicants in the low selling orientation condition ($M = 4.58, SD = 1.01$), $F(1, 30) = 15.32, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$. These results confirmed the effectiveness of the selling orientation manipulation.

We conducted another ANOVA to examine the extent to which interviewers structured their interviews. As expected, there was no difference in interview structure between interviewers in the high ($M = 5.47, SD = .98$) versus low selling orientation condition ($M = 5.69, SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 30) = .36, p > .10$, and in both conditions interview structure was reported to be greater than the mean of the scale ($ps < .05$). These results confirm that interviewers structured their interviews and differences in selling orientation did not influence interview structure.

We conducted a final ANOVA to verify that applicant honesty was constant across conditions. As expected, we found no difference in self-reported honesty between applicants in the high ($M = 5.77, SD = 1.22$) versus low selling orientation condition ($M = 5.84, SD = 1.01$), $F(1, 30) = .03, p > .10$, and in both conditions applicant honesty was significantly greater than the mean of the scale ($ps < .05$).

Hypotheses testing. To test our alternative hypotheses about whether a selling orientation would increase (Hypothesis 1) or decrease (Hypothesis 2) the accuracy of interviewers' dispositional judgments, we investigated whether selling orientation would moderate the relationship between applicants' self-ratings ratings of their core self-evaluations (reported before the interview) and interviewers' ratings of applicant core self-evaluations (reported after the interview). We conducted OLS regression with three predictor variables: applicant self-

ratings of core self-evaluations, selling orientation (high selling orientation = 1, low selling orientation = 0) and the interaction term. The dependent variable was interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations.

Results indicated a positive main effect of applicants' ratings of core self-evaluations on interviewers' ratings of core self-evaluations, $b = .46$, $t = 2.81$, $p < .01$, a marginally significant effect of selling orientation on interviewers' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations, $b = 3.33$, $t = 2.00$, $p < .10$, and a significant negative effect of the interaction between applicants' self-ratings of core self-evaluations and selling orientation, $b = -.66$, $t = -2.12$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .25$. We followed procedures by Hayes and Matthes (2009) to investigate the pattern of the interaction displayed in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 here

Consistent with Hypothesis 2, when interviewers had a low selling orientation (selling orientation = 0) there was a positive relationship between applicants' self-ratings and interviewers' ratings of applicants core self-evaluations, $b = .46$, $t = 2.81$, $p < .01$, $CI_{95} = .13, .80$; however, when interviewers had a high selling orientation (selling orientation = 1) there was no significant relationship between applicants' self-ratings and interviewers' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations, $b = -.19$, $t = -.74$, $p > .10$, $CI_{95} = -.73, .34$.

Supplemental analyses

In the analyses presented above, we made the assumption that applicants' ratings of their self are a true score of their personality. To examine the robustness of these results, we conducted supplemental analyses using the combination of contacts' independent ratings and applicants' self-ratings. There was sufficiently high agreement between contacts' ratings and

applicants' self-ratings to justify aggregation (average $R_{wg} = .95$). Thus, we averaged the applicant and friend ratings to create a composite score¹.

We repeated our analysis using this new composite score in place of applicants' self-ratings and found consistent results. Specifically, there were significant effects of the composite score of core self-evaluations, $b = .53, t = 2.88, p < .01$, selling orientation, $b = 3.91, t = 2.22, p < .05$, and the interaction of the composite score of core self-evaluations and selling orientation, $b = -.76, t = -2.36, p < .05, R^2 = .26$, on interviewers' rating.

The interaction followed the same pattern as the interaction in the main analyses, such that when interviewers had a low selling orientation the composite score of core self-evaluations was positively related to interviewers' ratings, $b = .53, t = 2.88, p < .01, CI_{95} = .15, .90$; however, when interviewers had a high selling orientation, there was no relationship between the composite score of core self-evaluations and interviewers' ratings, $b = -.23, t = -.88, p > .10, CI_{95} = -.77, .31$.

DISCUSSION

The results from Study 1 suggest that when it comes to judging other people's core self-evaluations, interviewers are less accurate when their primary motivation is selling. This is an important result because it shows that, consistent with Hypothesis 2, a distracting motivation (i.e., selling orientation) reduces the accuracy of people's dispositional judgments. This provides support for the motivated social cognition perspective, suggesting that making accurate dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings is not driven by automatic processing, but instead requires dedicated cognitive attention. Importantly, these results emerged in an

¹ Only 22 of the 32 participant applicants had contact survey results. To increase the power of the test we retained all participants, and the composite score for those who had missing data for their friend survey included only their self-ratings of core self-evaluations.

experimental design where we controlled the structure of the interview as well as the timing and the reason for the selling orientation, allowing us to infer causality.

However, there are several limitations of Study 1. First, this was a mock interview setting. Accordingly, it is possible that the dispositional judgments of interviewers in this experiment demanded cognitive resources because the participants were not 'real' interviewers. In other words, professional interviewers, for whom making such judgments is more routine, might rely on automatic processing. Second, we make the assumption that the composite of applicants' self-reports and their contacts' reports reflect the 'true' score of applicants' core self-evaluations; however, it is possible that this composite is not a perfect reflection of applicants' disposition. Accordingly, it is important to examine accuracy in a different way. Finally, if dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings do require cognitive effort and attention, such that selling orientation reduces accuracy, it is important to examine the real-life consequences of being motivated to sell in an interpersonal first meeting.

STUDY 2

In Study 2, we used two field samples (Samples A and B) to extend the findings of Study 1 and investigate the organizational consequences of interviewers' selling orientations. Another paper based on the same data collection reported in this study has been published (Cable & Kay, 2012). That paper deals with job applicants and organizational entry while the current paper takes the interviewer perspective. The variables that appear in both studies are the control variables used for job applicant characteristics (e.g., age, sex, GMAT scores), and in Sample B the supervisors' ratings of newcomers' citizenship behavior.

Because our findings in Study 1 suggest that interviewers' judgments are less accurate when they have a strong selling orientation, it is important to understand the practical

implications of having a strong selling orientation in an interpersonal first meeting. Accordingly, in the current study, we build on the results of Study 1 and examine how a selling orientation influences predictive accuracy. Specifically, we investigate whether interviewers' selling orientations affect the extent to which their judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations are valid predictors of applicants' future success in the organization after they are hired. By examining how a selling orientation affects the predictive accuracy of interviewers' judgments, we provide additional evidence regarding the automaticity of dispositional judgments, and we start to address the real-world consequences of having a strong selling orientation in an interpersonal first meeting. Also, by investigating professional interviewers in both field samples, we were able to address the limitation that the findings of Study 1 might have been driven by the inexperience of novices.

Following past research on predictive accuracy (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Curhan & Pentland, 2007; Todorov, Mandisodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005), we focused on the empirical linkage between interviewers' judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations and applicant's future success in the organization after they are hired. Core self-evaluations are highly predictive of many positive work outcomes including greater satisfaction, motivation, better performance, and stronger fit (Bono & Colbert, 2005; Erez & Judge, 2001; Judge, 2009; Judge & Hurst, 2007; Salvaggio et al., 2007). Thus, we assume a positive relationship between *accurate* judgments of applicant core self-evaluations and applicants' future success as newcomers in an organization. Conversely, when interviewers make inaccurate (i.e., random) judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations, these judgments should be unrelated to applicants' success as a newcomer.

Building on this assumption and our findings from Study 1 that a selling orientation reduced the accuracy of dispositional judgments made in first meetings, we predict that selling orientation will moderate the extent to which interviewers' judgments predict applicants' future success in the organization. Specifically, we expect that consistent with the motivated cognition perspective, when interviewers have a greater selling orientation (making their dispositional judgments *less* accurate), we should observe a weaker relationship between judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations and applicants' success as newcomers.

METHOD

To test our hypotheses in each field sample, we collected four types of data at different points in time. The timing of data collection was designed to follow the natural cycles in the environments we were studying (George & Jones, 2000). In both samples, we first collected demographic information from all applicants at the time of application (time 1). At the interview stage (time 2), interviewers evaluated applicants' core self-evaluations, the extent of their selling orientation during the interview, and the degree to which the interview was structured. Finally, we collected data on applicants' success after joining the organization (time 3) and after spending a significant amount of time (1-2 years) in the organization (time 4). Below, we first describe the independent variables that we collected across both samples. Then, we describe each unique sub-sample, the specific dependent variables, and the results for each sample.

Independent Variables

Interviewer ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations. As in Study 1, we adapted Judge et al.'s (2003) 12-item scale so that interviewers could rate applicants' core self-evaluations (average $\alpha = .93$).

Selling orientation. The same two items used to assess interviewer selling orientation in Study 1, were used here to assess the extent to which the interviewer was primarily motivated to sell the program to an applicant and convince him or her to join the organization in the field (average $\alpha = .89$).

Interview structure. Due to interviewers' aggressive time constraints, we used one of the items from the experiment ("This interview was very structured – I worked through a set of questions that I prepared in advance") to measure interview structure after each interview. Possible responses ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree".

SAMPLE A

The first field sample consisted of working adults who applied for a Top 20 MBA program at a University in the United States and were each interviewed by one of 10 interviewers². To admit the highest quality applicants in this competitive industry, MBA programs first screen applicants based on academic criteria (e.g., GMAT) and then an interviewer meets with each screened applicant to evaluate their disposition and decide whether they would be a successful addition to the program. Of the 1260 interviews conducted, interviewers reported usable data on 1003 applicants (80% response rate). For the 285 applicants who entered the program there was usable background data available for 210 applicants (74% response rate).

Participation was voluntary and respondents were entered into a drawing to win a premiere parking spot for one week. Of the 285 individuals who received our survey, 262 completed the survey (91% response rate). This sample of students was 74 percent male with an average age of 32.11 (*s.d.* = 3.51). They had an average of 62.54 months of work experience (*s.d.*

² Each interviewer conducted an average of 101 interviews (*s.d.* = 83.04)

= 30.85) before entering the program. After merging all variables, the sample size was 142 for testing the Hypotheses as they pertain to successful organizational entry (an overall response rate of 50%). Finally, we collected the second measure of applicants' success as newcomers two years after entering the program (time 4). Of the 285 individuals from whom this data was requested, 192 responded (67% response rate). After merging all variables, the sample size was 109 for testing the Hypotheses as they pertain to applicants' success after spending significant time in the organization (an overall response rate of 38%).

We entered all study variables from this first sample into a MANOVA and found that there were no differences in applicants who did and did not receive ratings from interviewers ($p > .05$). Results also showed no differences between those applicants who did and did not complete the final surveys at time 3 and time 4 ($ps > .05$) except that applicants who received more structured interviews were slightly more likely to respond to the final survey than those who had less structured interviews ($p < .05$).

Sample A: Dependent Variables

We collected the measures of applicants' future success nine months (time 3) and then two years (time 4) after they were accepted into the program. Although there are many ways to judge whether an admitted MBA student is a successful addition, we selected two behaviors, namely *school advocacy* (i.e., spreading positive goodwill and advocating the school within their social networks), and *job offers* (i.e., successfully obtaining job offers upon graduation). Specifically, in the time 3 survey, newcomers indicated their school advocacy by responding to two items: "I would recommend [the organization] to my friends" and "I would recommend [the organization] to a colleague who is seeking an MBA" (1 = "strongly disagree," 7 = "strongly

agree"; $\alpha = .94$). In the time 4 survey, newcomers reported the number of full time job offers they received. The number of offers ranged from zero to eight (average = 1.88, *s.d.* = 1.35).

We selected these success measures for both conceptual and practical reasons. Conceptually, interviewers' judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations should result in greater school advocacy because core self-evaluations are positively related to satisfaction (Erez & Judge, 2001), and we assume that students would be more likely to spread positive goodwill about the school when they are satisfied. Likewise, core self-evaluations are related to both motivation and performance (Judge & Hurst, 2007), and we assume that motivation and performance should help students obtain multiple job offers. Thus, when interviewers make accurate judgments about applicants' core self-evaluations, evaluations should be associated with greater school advocacy and more job offers.

Practically, we also chose school advocacy and job offers as indicators of student success because they are of great importance to the MBA program: they enhance its reputation, which is critical for the program's success. When students advocate for the school and obtain multiple job offers, it increases the quality of the applicant pool for the subsequent year, it improves the case for alumni support and it positively influences the program's position in several business school rankings (e.g., FT MBA Rankings, BusinessWeek MBA Rankings). Thus, these behaviors are important measures of student success in the eyes of the MBA program.

To summarize, in Sample A we test our hypothesis by examining the predictive accuracy of interviewers' judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations. Specifically, consistent with the motivated cognition perspective and the findings of Study 1, we suggest that the greater interviewers' selling orientation during the interview, the weaker the relationship between their ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations and applicants' future school advocacy and job offers.

Sample A: Controls

In addition to controlling for interview structure, we also accounted for applicant characteristics that could affect newcomer success, and also could prompt interviewers to take on a selling orientation. We therefore controlled for applicants' gender (1 = "Male", 0 = "Female") since men and women might face different challenges in both the MBA setting and in acquiring a job. We also controlled for several forms of human capital that might affect individuals' success both in the interviewing process and the subsequent MBA context, including undergraduate GPA, reputation of undergraduate institution (1 = "Ivy league college", 0 = "Other"), GMAT score, work experience (in months), previous salary, and reputation of previous employer (1 = "Fortune 500³ company", 0 = "Other").

Sample A: Results

Table 1 displays the means, standard deviations and correlations of the variables included in Sample A. Interestingly, interviewers' selling orientation was not correlated with applicant information that was available from applicants' resumes (e.g., work experiences, previous organizational and college affiliations, cognitive ability scores, or academic achievement).

Insert Table 1 here

In our data, applicants were nested within interviewers, and ordinary least square (OLS) regression does not take into account the nested nature of individual-level data (Bliese & Hanges, 2004). Therefore, we used multilevel modeling to account for potential non-independence of the observations. We accounted for the nesting effect by including a random

³ The Fortune 500 used to code the reputation of the applicants' previous employers was published in the year of application.

intercept. Before conducting our main analyses we examined the variance in selling orientation within and between-interviewers by estimating a null (no predictors) multilevel model with selling orientation as the dependent variable. Results revealed that 29% of the variance in selling orientation resided within-interviewers and 71% of the variance resided between-interviewers, $ICC(1) = .71$. The amount of within-interviewer variance was significant, $Wald Z = 22.28, p < .001$, which suggests that variation in selling orientation was not determined by interviewer predisposition. The amount of between-interviewer variation in selling orientation was also significant, $Wald Z = 2.23, p < .05$, which - given that all interviewers are from the same organization - suggests that selling orientation was not organizationally-induced. These results are consistent with our conceptualization of selling orientation as an individual motivation which varies across interviews and is influenced by dyad-specific and environmental factors.

School Advocacy. Preliminary analyses and histograms revealed that the school advocacy variable was negatively skewed. Following Tabachnick and Fidell's (2001) transformation procedure for negatively skewed variables, we applied an inverse transformation. After the transformation, the skewness and kurtosis values were near zero, and the transformed variable was used in all subsequent analyses. We used SPSS (15) to estimate the multilevel model (Peugh & Enders, 2005). As a robustness check, we also re-analyzed the data using OLS regression and obtained nearly identical results.

To examine the effect of selling orientation on interviewers' judgments, we conducted a series of multilevel regressions with three sets of predictor variables: (a) the control variables (gender, GPA, GMAT, reputation of undergraduate college, work experience⁴, previous salary,

⁴ Given the high correlation between age and work experience, $r = .84, p < .01$, we included work experience but not age as a control in these analyses. We re-ran the analyses with age included as a control and this resulted in nearly identical results.

reputation of previous employer, and interview structure), (b) selling orientation and interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations, and (c) the interaction term. Before computing the interaction term, we centered the interviewer evaluations and selling orientation variables (Aiken & West, 1991). Table 2 summarizes the results.

Insert Table 2 here

When predicting newcomers' advocacy we found a significant negative interaction between selling orientation and interviewers' judgments of applicant core self-evaluations, $\gamma = -.04, p < .05$. We plotted the interactions using Preacher, Curran and Bauer's (2006) procedures for probing interaction effects in multilevel modeling. The pattern of the interaction displayed in Figure 2 shows that when selling orientation is low there is a positive relationship between interviewer judgments and newcomers' advocacy of the program one year later, $t = 2.07, p < .05$. However, when interviewer selling orientation is high there is no relationship between interviewer judgments and applicants' advocacy, $t = -.47, p > .10$. Thus, a selling orientation reduced the extent to which interviewers' judgments accurately predicted newcomers' advocacy.

Insert Figure 2 here

Job Offers. Next, we examined the number of full-time job offers newcomers eventually received. Because the number of offers received was a count variable, we conducted a multilevel poisson regression (Cameron & Trivedi, 1998) using Stata (10). We included the same predictor variables as the previous analysis. As shown in Table 2, there was a significant negative

interaction between selling orientation and ratings of applicant core self-evaluations, $\gamma = -.17, p < .05^5$.

Insert Figure 3 here

The pattern of the interaction displayed in Figure 3 shows that when selling orientation is low, interviewer ratings are associated with a greater probability of receiving job offers; however, when selling is high, interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations do not differentially influence the probability of job offers. Table 3 presents the cumulative probabilities: for example, when selling orientation is low, negative ratings of applicant core self-evaluations are associated with a 2% probability of receiving at least four job offers, but positive ratings of applicant core self-evaluations are associated with a 38% probability of receiving four job offers. However, when selling orientation is high, the probability of receiving four job offers is not different for those rated as having positive (9%) versus negative (11%) core self-evaluations.

Insert Table 3 here

Sample A: Discussion

These results are consistent with the findings of Study 1 and support our prediction that when interviewers have a greater selling orientation, their predictive accuracy is worse.

Specifically, when interviewers have a higher selling orientation their judgments of applicants'

⁵ To address the possibility that differences in students' training influenced these results, we created dummy variables for the functional area of the students' full-time job (i.e., finance, accounting, human resources, marketing) and re-ran this analysis including these variables as controls. This result remained the same, $\gamma = -.17, p < .05$.

core self-evaluations no longer predict which applicants' will be successful. This is an important finding given that a key role of interviewers is to accurately predict which applicants will be effective in the organization and contribute to the organization's success.

However, there are several limitations of this first field sample. First, although we examined newcomers' success from the organization's perspective, we did not investigate newcomers' perceptions of fitting into their new organization, which is an important element of organizational entry (Kristof, 1996). In fact, the initial interview has been identified as the most critical selection device for establishing value congruence between applicants and organizations (Cable & Judge, 1997; Chatman, 1991). Second, we focused on two specific types of newcomer success in this first sample, which may not be typical of many work settings, and developed a scale of citizenship behavior (i.e., school advocacy) for this context, which might not generalize to other settings. Finally, we examined a relatively small set of 10 interviewers in this sample. Although we used multi-level modeling to account for any interviewer-specific effects, it would be beneficial to demonstrate the robustness of these results by constructively replicating them in another sample with a different and larger group of interviewers. To address these limitations, we aimed to replicate these results in a second field sample.

SAMPLE B

In this study we investigated a group of 35 interviewers whose role was to match international teachers to school districts in the United States of America. In addition to providing a much more diverse sample of applicants in a different organizational environment, this context is particularly relevant since core self-evaluations help predict adjustment into foreign assignments (Johnson et al., 2003). Of the 1125 interviews where interviewers met in person with applicants, we obtained interviewers' ratings of 1102 applicants (98% response rate). Thus,

for the 379 interviewed applicants who entered the organization as teachers, we had complete interviewers' ratings of 371 applicants' (98% response rate).

We collected two measures of applicant future success in the organization (time 3) three months after newcomers started teaching (18 months after they were interviewed). We chose this timing to ensure newcomers had worked long enough to contribute to and have a sense of their fit in their new environments, consistent with past research suggesting three months as a period that should allow the entry process to reveal itself (Kim, Cable, & Kim, 2005). Of the 379 teachers who were placed in schools and to whom we mailed a survey, 145 responded (38% response rate). The average respondent was 39 years old (s.d. = 8.31), 65% were female and 59% were married. The teachers in our sample were citizens of 28 different countries (e.g., 27 were Colombian, 13 were Jamaican, 10 were South African, 12 were Canadian). After merging all variables, the sample size was 125 for testing our Hypotheses as they pertain to successful organizational entry (an overall response rate of 33%).

We also collected a third measure of applicants' future success as rated by their supervisors nine months after they began their teaching positions (time 4). This timing follows a natural juncture in the employment cycle because principals are appraising teachers' performance for the academic year. From the 245 principals in this sample, we received ratings of 128 teachers (34%). After merging all variables, the sample size was 98 for testing the Hypotheses as they pertain to applicants' success after spending significant time in the organization (an overall response rate of 26%).

As in the first sample, we entered all study variables into a MANOVA and found that there were no differences between those who did and did not complete the final survey at time 3 ($p > .05$). There also were no differences in applicants whose principals did or did not rate their

performance, except that principals were more likely to respond about teachers who were female and whose interviewers had a higher selling orientation during their interview ($ps < .05$).

Sample B: Dependent Variables

In this second sample, we broadened our conceptualization of newcomers' success by examining a more generalized measure of newcomers' citizenship behaviors (i.e., prosocial acts not specified by a job description that benefit the organization as opposed to the individual). We used Van Dyne and LePine's (1998) helping scale to assess newcomers' organizational citizenship behavior (e.g., "I volunteer to do things for this organization"). The response scale ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .91$).

Next, given that value congruence is a key goal for both job seekers and interviewers (Kristof, 1996), in this second sample we examined newcomers' perceptions of value congruence in their new work environments. Conceptually, applicants' core self-evaluations are relevant to their post-entry value congruence because individuals with low core self-evaluations are less clear about their self-concepts, and are less likely to make choices based on their self-concepts (Campbell, 1990). For example, individuals with high self-esteem are more likely to choose work situations that are congruent with their personal values, compared to individuals with low self-esteem (Korman, 1966; Tharenou, 1979). Moreover, individuals with more positive core self-evaluations work harder to create more job options, and to gather information on which options will provide a good fit with their values (Kanfer, Wanberg, & Kantrowitz, 2001). Thus, to the extent that interviewers make accurate judgments about job applicants' core self-evaluations, they should be predictive of post-entry value congruence. We used Cable and DeRue's (2002) measure to assess value congruence (e.g., "The things that I value in life are

very similar to the things that my organization values"). The scale ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .86$).

Finally, we asked principals to evaluate teachers' contributions on an electronic survey just as teachers were completing their academic year. We also mailed a paper copy of the survey to non-respondents after one week. We used Van Dyne and LePine's (1998) six-item scale (e.g., "This teacher develops and makes recommendations concerning issues that affect the school"). The response scale ranged from 1 = "strongly disagree" to 7 = "strongly agree" ($\alpha = .94$).

To summarize, in this sample we attempted to replicate our findings about how selling orientation influences the predictive accuracy of interviewers' judgments of applicants' core self-evaluations. Specifically, we predict that the greater interviewers' selling orientation, the weaker the relationship between their ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations and applicants' future citizenship behaviors, value congruence and organizational contributions as newcomers.

Sample B: Controls

In addition to controlling for interview structure, we also accounted for applicant age, gender (1 = "Male", 0 = "Female"), and marital status (1 = "Married", 0 = "Not married"), since these variables might affect teachers' social support and their experiences as they entered their new organizations.

Sample B: Results

As in the first sample, the dependent variables were reflected and an inverse transformation was applied to reduce negative skewness (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) and these transformed variables were used in all subsequent analyses. Table 4 displays the means, standard deviations and correlations of the variables included in Sample B. Results revealed that

interviewers' selling orientation was significantly lower for male applicants, $r = -.20$, $p < .01$, and was significantly higher for married applicants, $r = .24$, $p < .01$.

Insert Table 4 here

Again, before conducting our main analyses we examined the variance in selling orientation and found that 34% of the variance in selling orientation resided within-interviewers and 66% of the variance resided between-interviewers, $ICC(1) = .66$; both the within-interviewer, $Wald Z = 23.30$, $p < .001$, and between-interviewer variation in selling orientation, $Wald Z = 4.17$, $p < .001$, were significant. These results are consistent with our conceptualization of selling orientation as an individual motivation which varies across interviews and is influenced by dyad-specific and environmental factors.

To examine how selling orientation affects the predictive accuracy of interviewer judgments in predicting the post-entry outcomes, we conducted multilevel regressions⁶ with three sets of predictor variables: (a) the control variables, (b) selling orientation and interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations and (c) the interaction term. Before computing the interaction term, we centered the variables (Aiken & West, 1991). We modeled citizenship behaviors, value congruence, and organizational contributions separately, and Table 5 presents the results of these analyses.

Insert Table 5 here

⁶ We re-analysed the data (a) using OLS regression, and (b) by modelling the two time 3 dependent variables together in a MANOVA, and obtained identical support for the hypotheses.

Citizenship Behaviors. When predicting newcomers' citizenship behaviors we found a significant negative interaction between selling orientation and interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations, $\gamma = -.06, p < .05$. The pattern of the interaction displayed in Figure 4 shows that when selling orientation is low there is a positive relationship between interviewer ratings and newcomer citizenship behaviors 18 months later, $t = 2.24, p < .05$. However, when selling orientation is high there is no relationship between interviewer ratings and teacher citizenship behaviors, $t = -1.14, p > .10$. Thus, our prediction was supported for citizenship behaviors.

Insert Figure 4 here

Value Congruence. As predicted, we found a significant negative interaction between selling orientation and interviewer ratings when predicting newcomer' value congruence, $\gamma = -.07, p < .05$. The pattern of the interactions displayed in Figure 5 show that when selling orientation is low, there is a positive relationship between interviewer ratings of core self-evaluations and value congruence, $t = 2.60, p < .01$. However, when selling orientation is high there is no relationship between interviewer ratings and value congruence, $t = -1.24, p > .10$. Thus, our prediction was supported for value congruence.

Insert Figure 5 here

Organizational Contributions. Finally, in terms of principals' appraisals, results revealed a negative interaction between selling orientation and organizational contributions, although it was not statistically significant by a 95% confidence standard, $\gamma = -.04, p < .06$. Thus, our prediction was not supported for organizational contributions unless one applies a one-tailed test

in light of the small sample size. Nevertheless, we did examine the form of the relationship: consistent with the pattern of interaction expected based on our prediction, results suggested that when selling orientation is low there was a non-significant positive relationship between interviewer ratings and organizational contributions, but when selling orientation is high there was a non-significant negative relationship between interviewer ratings and organizational contributions.

DISCUSSION

Results from two very different field samples suggest that the more interviewers adopt a selling orientation, the less able they are to make judgments that accurately predict applicants' future success as newcomers. Consistent with the results of Study 1, these findings provide additional support for the motivated social cognition perspective that making dispositional judgments is an effortful process that requires dedicated cognitive resources. Specifically, both field samples suggest that the more interviewers dedicate their cognitive resources to a selling orientation, the less their judgments accurately predict the applicants' future success. As such, these findings highlight the potentially detrimental consequences of dual motivations generally, and a selling orientation specifically, in interpersonal first meetings (e.g., first dates, entrepreneur-venture capitalist interactions). When people meet others for the first time they are likely to experience competing motivations to both attract and accurately judge the other person. However, the extent to which they are motivated to sell will reduce their ability to make judgments about the other that can accurately predict the other persons' future behavior.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

When we meet someone for the first time, we not only want to make accurate judgments about them, but often we want to win them over and portray the best side of our product, our

organization, or ourselves. Different theoretical perspectives lead to competing predictions about whether this selling orientation is helpful or distracting in making dispositional judgments in interpersonal first meetings. In this paper, we first presented a laboratory experiment to examine how selling orientation affects the accuracy of interviewers' dispositional judgments about applicants. Then, we complemented these findings with a field study using two different samples to examine how a selling orientation affects the predictive validity of interviewers' dispositional judgments in terms of applicants' future success as newcomers.

Our findings offer clear support for the distraction hypothesis. In Study 1, we manipulated selling orientation in a controlled setting and found that selling orientation reduced the accuracy of interviewers' dispositional judgments relative to applicants' self-reports, and those of their family and friends. In Study 2, results from two different field samples revealed that the more motivated interviewers were to sell to applicants, the less their dispositional judgments predicted applicants' future performance and fit once they joined the organization. Thus, when interviewers focused on selling, their judgments became less accurate and less useful in determining which applicants would ultimately be the best citizens and top performers.

These results begin to shed light on how competing motivational goals influence judgment quality in interpersonal first meetings. Although research from social psychology suggests that people often have competing motivations in interpersonal interactions (Shah, 2005) much of the research to date has neglected the idea that interviewers may have more than one goal (e.g., selling and judgment). Moreover, research that has concentrated on the "dual purpose" of interviews has focused on applicants' reactions rather than the quality of interviewer judgments (i.e., Chapman & Zweig, 2005; Rynes, 1989; Stevens, 1998). Our research highlights an important basic tension for interviewers, and demonstrates the negative influence that a

selling orientation may have on the accuracy and predictive validity of their judgments. In doing so, our findings add to on a recent line of inquiry proposing the importance of strategically focusing one's motivations (cf. Shah, 2005) in social interactions.

These results may also help explain why so many hiring decisions that are based on positive initial impressions yield unsuccessful new hires. In fact, our results suggest that interviewers are least accurate about the applicants they try hardest to win over. This finding is particularly intriguing because it is not obvious to interviewers themselves: Chapman and Zweig (2005) found that interviewers who focused only on evaluating applicants actually believed they were *less* able to select the best applicants than those who adopted a selling focus. By contrast, we find that interviewers' selling orientation reduced the extent to which they were able to accurately assess applicants' dispositions and predict their citizenship behaviors, value congruence, and success. In fact, high selling orientation was negatively related to future value congruence – perhaps because interviewers painted an unrealistic portrait of the organization and applicants were unable to self-select out of a bad fit.

It is not new that interviewers act differently depending on whether they are focused on recruiting versus evaluating applicants (Rynes, 1989; Chapman & Zweig, 2005). For example, we know that when applicants receive a favorable initial evaluation, interviewers focus more on providing information while asking fewer evaluative questions (Cable & Gilovich, 1998; Dougherty, Turban, & Callender, 1994; Phillips & Dipboye, 1989; Stevens, 1998; Tullar, 1989). What is new is learning whether a selling orientation helps or interferes with the quality and usefulness of interviewers' judgments about applicants. As such, employment, selection and placement interviews – and the emphasis interviewers place on selling in these contexts – provides an excellent natural setting for examining inattentional blindness in a social context.

Our studies also help explore the boundaries of judgment automaticity. Several research areas claim that dispositional judgments are hardwired, intuitive, and spontaneous (Gilbert et al., 1988; Patterson, 1999; Winter et al., 1985), such that they are not disrupted by focusing on other cognitive tasks, but are hindered by overattention (Ambady, 2010; Srull & Wyer, 1979). In contrast to these claims – but consistent with alternate claims from the motivated social cognition literature (Kruglanski & Freund, 1983; Kunda, 1990; Tetlock, 1983) – we found that interviewers are more likely to be accurate when they are not distracted by selling. Although it is a limitation that our studies do not enable us to test automaticity directly, these results suggest that in the context of interpersonal first meetings, the process of making dispositional judgments is not effortless, but requires conscious attention to operate effectively (Fiske & Taylor, 2008).

By using different methodological approaches in this research, we improve our confidence in the findings. In Study 1, we maximized internal validity by conducting a laboratory experiment to test our main prediction in a controlled environment. Then, we conducted field studies in two different organizational contexts to maximize external validity. Thus, we examined real interviewers and applicants in natural settings, and we linked the timing of our data collection “to the way that organizational members bracket their experience” (George & Jones, 2000: 662). By gathering different types of data from multiple sources at different times we helped to help rule out alternative explanations for results such as priming or mood effects. For example, in our first sample we combined interviewers’ ratings of applicants with students’ willingness to advocate the organization over a year later, and their ultimate success in obtaining job offers two years later. In our second sample, we examined interviewers’ ratings of an international set of applicants to predict newcomers’ citizenship behaviors and value congruence 18 months later, and their supervisors’ evaluations two years later. Examining this phenomenon

in the field also enabled us to highlight its organizational implications. Together, these studies provide compelling evidence that selling orientation interferes with the quality of dispositional judgments.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the strengths of this paper, there are limitations that should be noted and addressed in future research. First, in this investigation we only focused on core self-evaluations, a basic human trait that is linked to most types of organizational performance (Judge, 2009) and one that is particularly relevant when examining foreign assignments like the sample in our second field study. Although our theory suggests that the findings should hold for other dispositional judgments, it would have been useful to investigate the effect of selling orientation on interviewers' ratings of other applicant traits or other types of future work behaviors. For example, it is possible that judgments about people's knowledge and skills are less prone to influence because they involve a more concrete assessment. As such, future research should investigate whether this phenomenon operates in the same manner regardless of the type of judgments being made.

Second, in our field studies we measured interview structure with a single item due to interviewers' time constraints, but it would have been helpful to measure multiple dimensions of interview structure using a validated scale (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). Likewise, we used a two item scale of selling behavior, but we did not measure sub factors of selling orientation (e.g., selling the job versus selling the organization), or *how* this selling orientation may have been enacted (e.g., thinking about selling vs. engaging in specific behaviors to sell). Study 1 helps address these concerns by experimentally controlling for structure across low and high selling orientation conditions (and showing no differences in interview structure across conditions). We

also provided some initial construct validity data on our short measure of selling orientation, and we demonstrated that our selling orientation measure reflected our experimental manipulations as theorized. However, additional investigations into the components and enactments of selling orientation would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Related, our research does not provide an answer to *when* and *why* selling orientation is triggered in real-life interactions. It is possible that interviewers assume a selling position before even meeting applicants, based on the supply and demand for applicants (Rynes, 1989; Stevens, 1998), or based on pre-interview expectations that interviewers develop from resumes (Cable & Gilovich, 1998). Future research may also reveal that interviewers' motivations to sell are strongly influenced by idiosyncratic preferences. It is possible that selling behavior is cued by applicant characteristics that do not appear on resumes but can be revealed very early in the interview, such as personal similarity, attractiveness, handshake, or dress.

Although we examined data from a total of 45 interviewers in our field studies, they represented only two organizations. It would increase the generalizability of the results to examine a large sample of organizations, an approach that also would permit an investigation of the organizational expectations and incentives that different interviewers face. For example, it is possible that some organizations try to guide interviewers' selling motivations depending on the labor market (Stevens, 1998), strategically choosing applicant attraction over interview validity. Some organizations evaluate interviewers' success using metrics of filling the position (e.g., focusing on the number of days the position is open) while other organizations evaluate interviewers' ability to hire a good match (i.e., focusing on supervisor evaluations of newcomers after 3-6 months). Because these different expectations likely influence interviewers' propensity

to sell versus evaluate, this data could offer an objective approach to confirming and extending the results from our initial investigations.

Finally, in this paper we only focused on the organizational interviewing process, but we believe our theorizing generalizes to other interpersonal first meetings. It would be useful to broaden our contribution to other types of interactions. For example, it is likely that the same types of social inattention blindness occur in the dating process, where individuals are at times more focused on selling their positive traits to potential mates, and other times more focused on evaluating potential mates. It is paradoxical that the lowest accuracy and poorest predictive accuracy may emerge when we are most attracted to the people we are judging.

Implications

Since our study is the first to demonstrate the accuracy implications of a selling orientation, it helps highlight the concrete losses in terms of interview utility. Perhaps the most direct implication of this investigation is that in order to maximize the utility of selection and placement interviews, firms should formally separate the applicant evaluation process from the applicant attraction process. This could be done either by having evaluation and selling conducted by different people, or at different stages of the hiring process. Although this has been a suggestion in past research (e.g., Barber et al., 1994; Rynes, 1991), it is rarely adhered to in many organizations. For practical reasons, many organizations still formally conduct dual-purpose interviews because they do not want to invest the resources (e.g., time, money, interviewers) to conduct different types of interviews. It may be most beneficial to formally separate the assessment and recruiting parts of their interview process and to make this strategy and the associated evidence explicit to interviewers (Chapman & Zweig, 2005).

Regardless of an organization's formal policies and the stage in the interviewing process, however, interviewers' selling orientation may still be influenced by other dyad-specific factors (e.g., a job applicant's previous experience) or environmental factors (e.g., urgency of filling the position). Although some researchers have promoted "a joint-focus orientation" (Barber et al., 1994), where interviews could segment evaluation and selling into different parts of the interview, recent research on attention residue (Leroy, 2009) suggests that people continue thinking about unfinished goals. Thus, if an interviewer's goal of applicant attraction is unfinished, it may continue to hamper his evaluative judgments even once he has tried to shift his focus mid interview.

Interestingly, our paper revealed significant linkages between interviewer ratings of applicant core self-evaluations and subsequent work outcomes. These results are impressive, because interviewers' judgments about a single dispositional trait predicted important future work outcomes years later, including job search success, citizenship behaviors, and perceived value congruence. Moreover, the effect sizes were meaningful. For example, using OLS regressions we re-ran the analyses for our second field sample selecting out only interviews with a low selling orientation. In this subset of data, interviewers' ratings of applicants' core self-evaluations accounted for 7% of the variance in both value congruence and citizenship behaviors 18 months later. Thus, a second implication of our results is that interviewers should assess applicants' core self-evaluations, and firms should use these judgments in their hiring decisions. We are not aware of any prior research investigations – or actual organizations – that explicitly incorporate judgments of core self-evaluations into final hiring decisions.

Finally, past research has shown that firms with positive reputations attract more and better applicants, helping them maintain a sustained competitive advantage (Gatewood, Gowan,

& Lautenschlager, 1993; Turban & Cable, 2003). The present study adds to this literature by revealing a second reason why employer reputation can help sustain a competitive advantage. Specifically, if unattractive firms have fewer applicants, interviewers are likely motivated to sell more frequently than interviewers in attractive firms with their choice of applicants. As such, the employment interview likely emerges as a less valid selection device for firms with poor reputations, suggesting a widening gap across time in the quality of the talent they can identify and hire.

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FIGURE 1
Agreement between Interviewers' Ratings of Applicants' Core Self-Evaluations and Applicants' Self-Ratings of Core Self-Evaluations by Selling Orientation (Study 1)

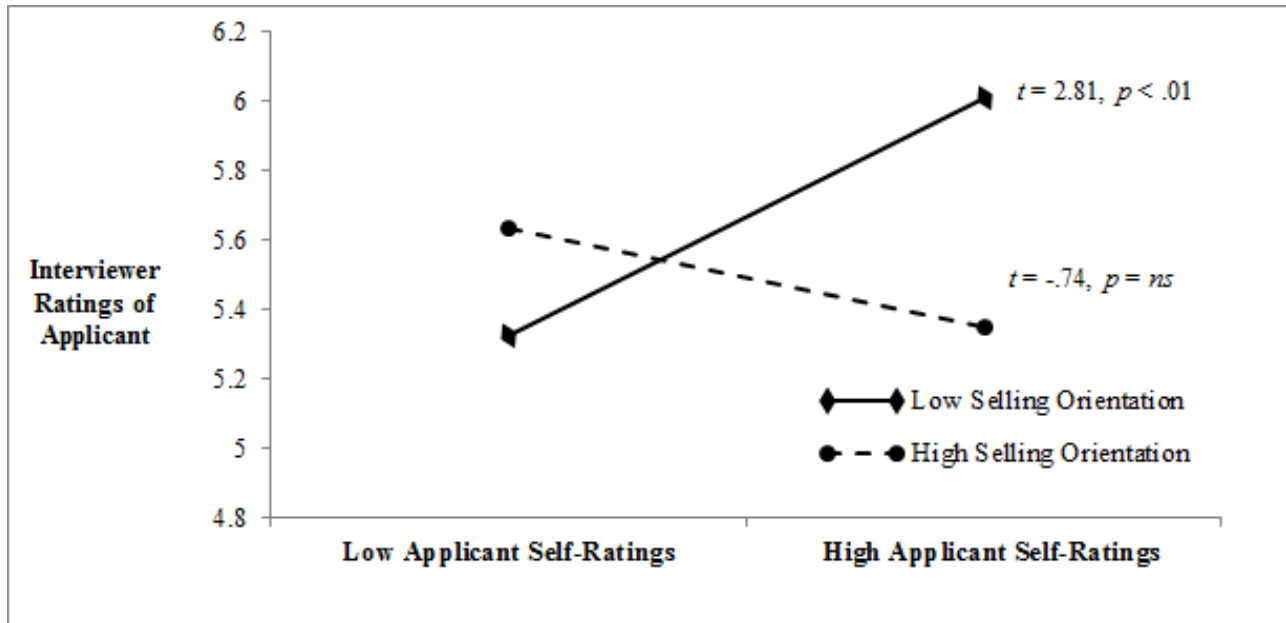


FIGURE 2
Interaction Effect of Core Self-Evaluations by Selling Orientation on School Advocacy in Sample A

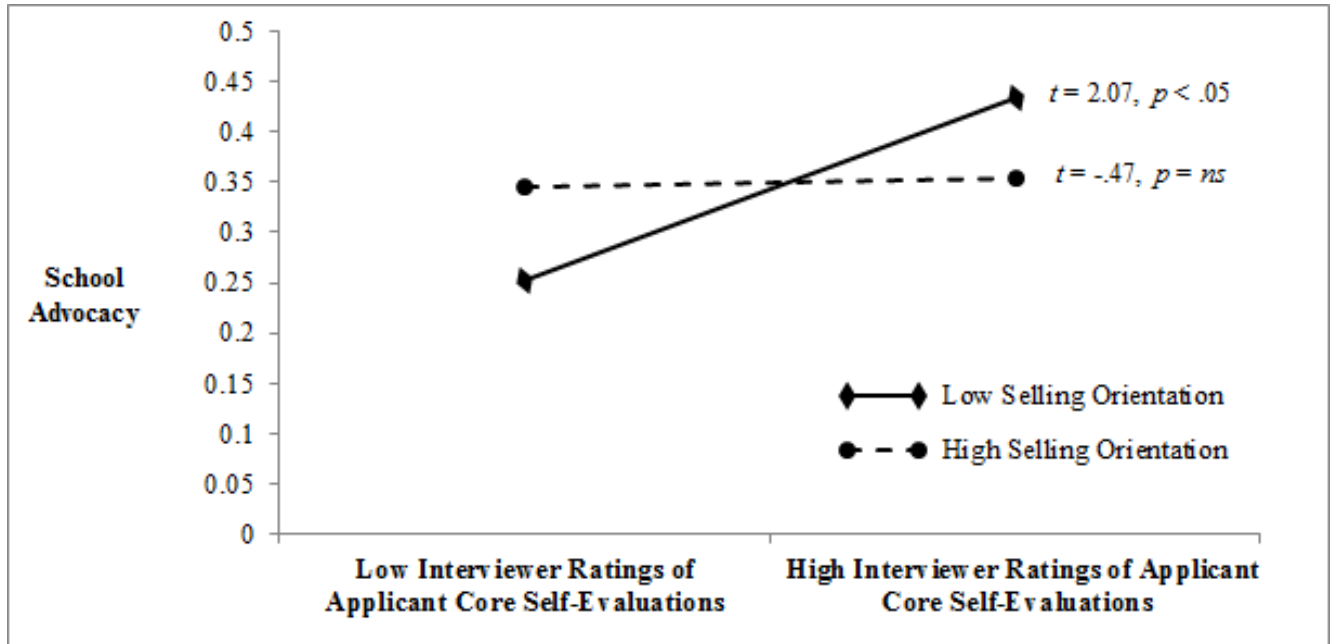


FIGURE 3
Probability of Receiving Job Offers by Core Self-Evaluations
and Selling Orientation in Sample A

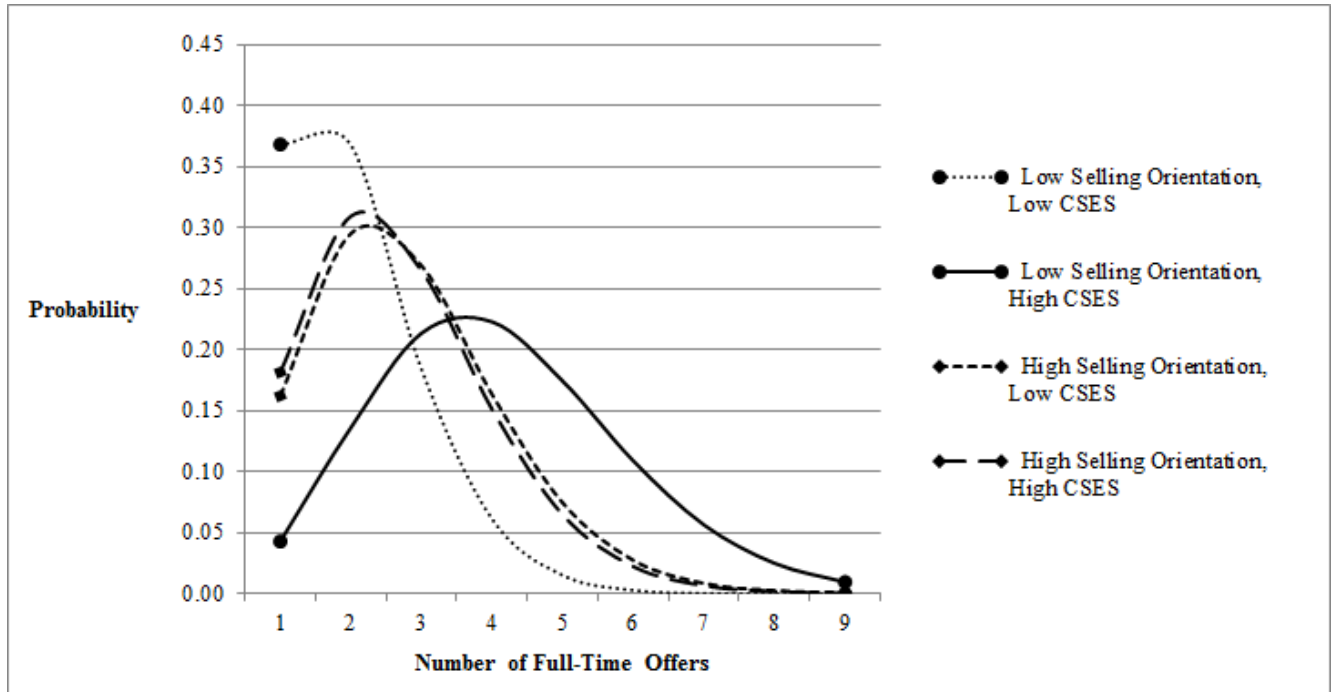


FIGURE 4
Interaction Effect of Core Self-Evaluations by Selling Orientation on
Citizenship Behavior in Sample B

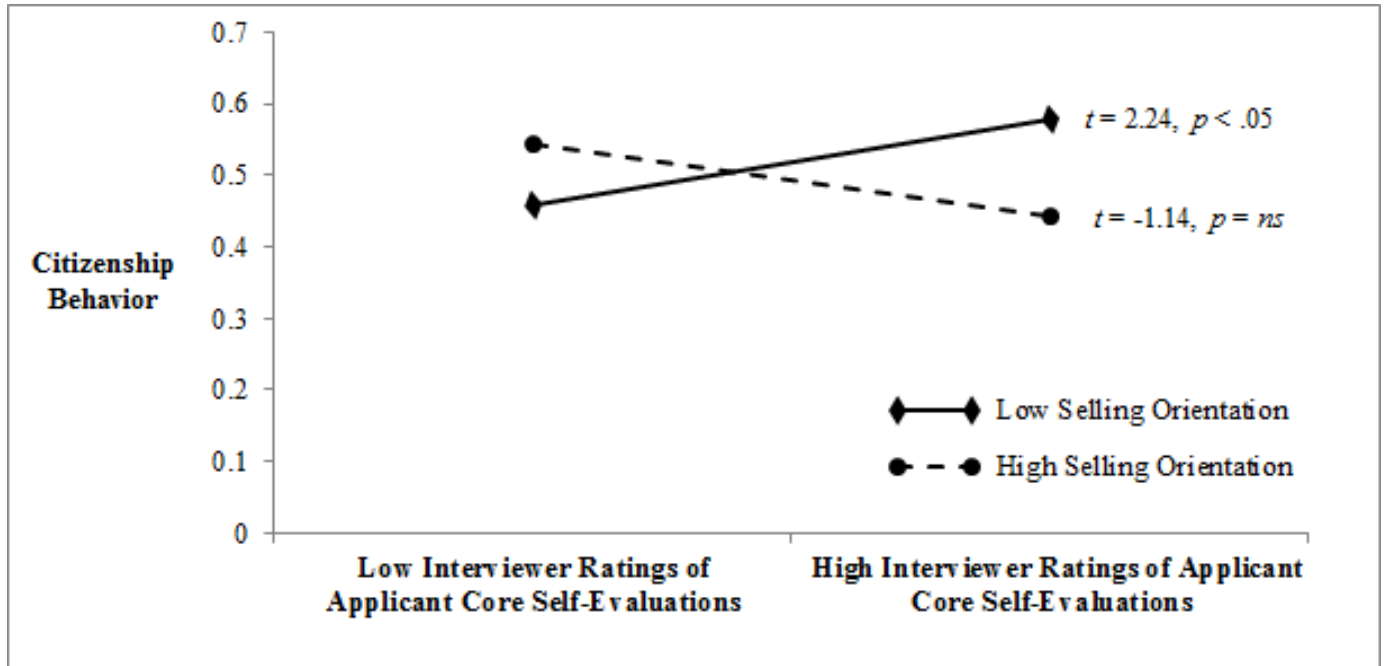


FIGURE 5
Interaction Effect of Core Self-Evaluations by Selling Orientation on Value Congruence in Sample B

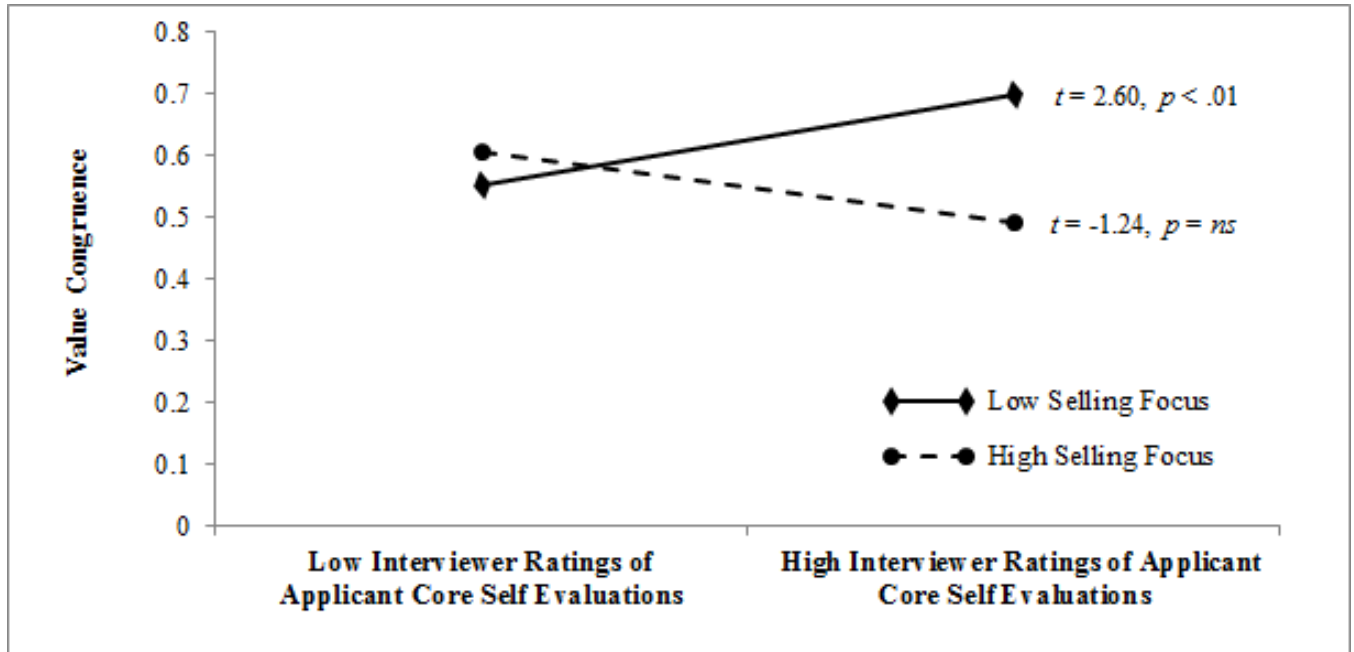


TABLE 1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Sample A

| Variables | Mean | s.d | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|--|--------|-------|-------|--------|------|--------|------|-------|------|------|--------|-------|-------|-------|
| <i>Applicant Characteristics^a</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Age | 32.11 | 3.51 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Gender | .74 | .44 | .16** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Education (GPA) | 3.23 | .40 | -.06 | -.22** | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Education (GMAT) | 673.63 | 53.26 | .04 | .13* | .12 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. College reputation (Ivy league) | .05 | .21 | -.02 | -.08 | -.05 | .10 | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Work experience (Months) | 62.54 | 30.85 | .84** | .12 | -.07 | .04 | .02 | | | | | | | |
| 7. Previous salary (000s) | 53.64 | 35.89 | .23** | .15* | -.01 | -.03 | .02 | .27** | | | | | | |
| 8. Employer reputation | .11 | .32 | .02 | .00 | .09 | -.14* | -.02 | .02 | .03 | | | | | |
| <i>Interviewer Ratings^a</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. Interview structure | 5.29 | .91 | -.02 | .03 | -.02 | .07 | -.12 | .03 | .03 | -.03 | | | | |
| 10. CSES | 4.96 | .76 | -.01 | -.02 | .02 | -.18** | .02 | -.03 | .07 | -.05 | -.19** | (.93) | | |
| 11. Selling orientation | 4.01 | 1.55 | .06 | -.06 | .04 | -.06 | -.09 | .09 | .09 | .03 | .22** | .17* | (.94) | |
| <i>Newcomer Outcomes^a</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. School advocacy _{inv} | .75 | .27 | -.01 | -.04 | .01 | -.11 | -.03 | -.04 | -.01 | -.03 | .03 | .07 | .11 | (.94) |
| 13. Job offers ^b | 1.88 | 1.35 | -.14 | -.04 | -.01 | -.19** | -.06 | -.09 | .10 | -.02 | -.11 | .07 | -.05 | -.06 |

^a $n = 262$. ^b $n = 192$. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Two-tailed test.

TABLE 2
Results of Multilevel Analyses of School Advocacy and Job Offers in Sample A

| Variables | School Advocacy^a | Job Offers^b |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Controls</i> | | |
| Gender | -.01 (.06) | -.21 (.18) |
| Education (GPA) | .04 (.06) | -.04 (.21) |
| Education (GMAT) | .01 (.04) | -.11 (.13) |
| College reputation (Ivy league) | -.08 (.12) | -1.16 (1.01) |
| Work experience (Months) | .00 (.00) | -.00 (.00) |
| Previous salary (000s) | -.00 (.00) | .00 (.00) |
| Employer reputation (Fortune 500) | .02 (.07) | .02 (.21) |
| Interview structure | .04 (.03) | -.08 (.08) |
| <i>Main Effects</i> | | |
| CSES | .06 (.04) | .12 (.11) |
| Selling orientation | .01 (.02) | .04 (.06) |
| <i>Interaction</i> | | |
| CSES*Selling orientation | -.04* (.02) | -.17* (.07) |

^a $n = 142$. ^b $n = 109$. Unstandardized estimates (based on grand mean centering) are reported, with standard errors in parentheses.

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Two-tailed test.

TABLE 3
Cumulative Probability^a of Receiving Job Offers Based on Interviewer Selling Orientation and Ratings of Core Self-Evaluations

| Job Offers | Interviewer Ratings of Core Self-Evaluations | | | |
|------------|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Low | | High | |
| | Low Selling Orientation | High Selling Orientation | Low Selling Orientation | High Selling Orientation |
| 0 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 |
| 1 | 0.63 | 0.84 | 0.95 | 0.82 |
| 2 | 0.26 | 0.54 | 0.81 | 0.51 |
| 3 | 0.08 | 0.27 | 0.60 | 0.25 |
| 4 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.38 | 0.09 |
| 5 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.03 |
| 6 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| 7 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| 8 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.00 |

^a Probability estimates based on poisson distribution.

TABLE 4
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Sample B

| Variables | Mean | s.d | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|--|-------|------|--------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Applicant Characteristics^a</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Age | 39.30 | 8.31 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Gender | .27 | .45 | .16** | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Married | .66 | .48 | -.27** | -.19** | | | | | | | |
| <i>Interviewer Ratings^b</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Interview structure | 5.83 | 1.42 | -.05 | .05 | .01 | | | | | | |
| 5. CSES | 5.26 | .80 | -.02 | -.02 | -.10* | .20** | (.93) | | | | |
| 6. Selling orientation | 2.08 | 1.23 | -.01 | -.11** | .10** | -.17** | -.16** | (.87) | | | |
| <i>Newcomer Outcomes^c</i> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Citizenship behavior _{inv} | .58 | .22 | -.01 | -.06 | -.04 | -.05 | .12 | -.08 | (.91) | | |
| 9. Value congruence _{inv} | .46 | .25 | -.06 | -.10 | -.08 | -.01 | .21* | -.21* | .61** | (.95) | |
| 10. Organizational Contributions _{inv} ^d | .41 | .21 | -.16 | -.13 | -.12 | -.07 | -.08 | .10 | -.04 | .26 [†] | (.94) |

^a $n = 667$.

^b $n = 1102$.

^c $n = 145$.

^d $n = 128$.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, [†] $p < .10$

TABLE 5
Results of Multilevel Regressions for Citizenship Behavior, Value Congruence and Organizational Contributions in Sample B

| Variables | Citizenship Behavior ^a | Value Congruence ^a | Organizational Contributions ^b |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>Controls</i> | | | |
| Age | -.01 (.02) | -.01 (.01) | -.06 (.03) |
| Gender | -.03 (.04) | -.06 (.05) | -.03 (.05) |
| Married | -.02 (.04) | -.05 (.05) | -.12* (.05) |
| Interview structure | -.02 (.02) | -.02 (.02) | -.03 (.02) |
| <i>Main effects</i> | | | |
| CSES | .01 (.03) | .01 (.03) | -.02 (.03) |
| Selling orientation | -.01 (.02) | -.03 (.02) | .02 (.02) |
| <i>Interaction</i> | | | |
| CSES X Selling orientation | -.06* (.03) | -.07* (.03) | -.04 [†] (.02) |

^a $n = 125$. ^b $n = 98$. Unstandardized estimates (based on grand mean centering) are reported, with standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, [†] $p < .10$

Two-tailed test.

APPENDIX

To validate our measure of an interviewer's selling orientation, we conducted a separate study. One-hundred participants (65 males, 35 females), between 18 and 65 years old ($M = 29.07$, $SD = 8.84$), who were working (82% full-time, 18% part-time) and had conducted an organizational interview in the past three years, were recruited from Mechanic Turk to participate a research study on job interviews. Participants lived in the U.S., were Caucasian (83%), Asian (9%), and African-American (5%), and the majority (98%) spoke English as their first language.

In this validity study, participants were asked to imagine that they were a top recruiter for El Fresco who would be conducting a job interview for a Customer Services Manager. They read the same materials as interviewers in the experiment including information about the company, job role and specific instructions for conducting the job interview (i.e., the high vs. low selling orientation manipulation). Participants then spent a few minutes thinking about and planning for the interview. Finally, they responded to a series of questions about how they would conduct the interview, including: 1) their selling orientation (i.e., the two items developed by the authors for this research), 2) the extent to which they would engage in hard versus customer-focused selling using Saxe and Weitz's, (1982) SOCO scale (i.e., we adapted the selling orientation – customer orientation scale to the job interview context by replacing references to “customers” with “applicants” and references to “product” with “opportunity), and 3) the extent to which they expected the applicant to be a good fit for the role (demands-abilities fit; Cable & DeRue, 2002).

We then conducted a series of CFAs to provide additional support for the validity of the selling orientation construct. First, to examine whether our measure of selling orientation is distinct from the selling dimension (i.e., negative items) of the SOCO scale, we conducted a two-factor CFA where the two correlated factors included the 12 SOCO selling items and our two

selling orientation items. The two-factor model provided a good fit to the data χ^2 (df = 76) = 200.00, $p < .001$; CFI = .88; RMSEA = .13) and was a significantly better fit ($p < .001$) than the one-factor model (χ^2 (df = 77) = 268.37, $p < .001$; CFI = .82; RMSEA = .16).

Jennifer Carson Marr (jennifer.marr@scheller.gatech.edu) is an Assistant Professor in Organizational Behavior at Georgia Tech. Her research focuses on understanding how status hierarchies and motivational goals influence people's perceptions and behaviors. She received her Ph.D. in Management from London Business School.

Dan M. Cable (dcable@london.edu) is a Professor of Organisational Behavior at the London Business School. He likes to draw with his daughters, Daisy and Violet. Dan's areas of teaching and research include culture and value congruence, employee engagement, and organizational entry. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University.