Social Networking Sites and Selection Decisions:

The Impact of Privacy Settings of Facebook Profiles on Hiring

Jade Pech

University of Central Oklahoma

Author Note

Jade Pech, Department of Psychology, University of Central Oklahoma.

The completion of this paper was done to fulfill a requirement for the Master's level Thesis.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Jade Pech, Department of Psychology, University of Central Oklahoma, 100 N. University Drive, Edmond, OK, 73034. E-mail: jpech@uco.edu.

Social Networking Sites and Selection: The Impact of Privacy Settings of Facebook Profiles in Employment Selection Decisions

A THESIS

APPROVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

June 11, 2013

By Jon Vyner	
Thomas W. Hancock	Committee Chairperson
Mark Hand	
Mark Hamlin	Committee Member
500 17	

Committee Member

Ethan Waples

Abstract

Social networking sites (SNS) such as Facebook and LinkedIn have gained popularity in the recent years. As long ago as 2009 and recent as 2012, some organizations have required the login credentials for potential employees for some SNS to complete background checks before hiring. While this practice was short lived, it is important to assess empirically the impact that SNS have on hiring decisions. Research in this domain has been limited, but it seems of value to examine the impact that setting privacy settings in such a way as to provide no information or very limited information can have on ratings of a job candidate. According to missing information bias (cf., Jagacinski and colleagues, 1978, 1991, 1994), the ratings of candidates are lower when compared to other candidates showing complete information. Findings suggest that those with public profiles are rated more favorably and have stronger evaluations regarding characteristics and skills than those with private or no SNS profile.

Keywords: selection, missing information, employment, social networking

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Introduction

The average American spends over seven hours a month devoted to mobile Facebook (www.Facebook.com) applications. This is in addition to the six and a half hours each month devoted to the website (Constine, 2012). This trend of users spending time using a social networking site (SNS) has increased exponentially over the last six years (Facebook, 2012). People are posting anything on their SNS profiles from a thought, an irritation, a recipe, to a new picture or a video. As time has progressed and updates have been created to improve the access and usability of Facebook (Facebook, 2012), several changes to privacy settings have resulted in unintended shared information with those not originally intended to have access to a network of individuals (Golijan, 2012). With the amount of information that is being posted or uploaded to SNS and constant alterations to privacy settings by SNS operators, it is time to consider two key questions. First, who is accessing the personal information on Facebook? Second, how can this access to information impact decisions? To address these/this question, the present study aims to investigate the impact of SNS on employment decisions based on privacy settings and qualifications of potential job candidates.

SNS have become a significant method of connecting and reconnecting with people, agencies, and companies. One of the most widely used SNS is Facebook (www.Facebook.com) with a mission "to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected" (Facebook, 2013). Facebook currently has over one billion active users as of the end of March 2013 (Facebook, 2013) with over 800 million more users than LinkedIn.com (LinkedIn, 2013), over 900 million more users than MySpace.com (MySpace, 2013), and 500 million more users

than Twitter.com (Twitter, 2013). With a short collection of personal information required to establish a Facebook account, new users sign up for the website every day. Members can include pictures, personal interests, music preferences, movie preferences, religion, age, political preference, personal phone numbers, email addresses, and employment histories that can be viewed by anyone who has access to the profile (Facebook, 2013). But with the proliferation of SNS use, and the information we can post to these sites, many begin to worry about whom is accessing this information and what for what purpose can that information be used.

To date, privacy settings on Facebook have a variety of options regarding the amount of content can be accessed by the network, specific people within a social network, and by the user only. Privacy settings can be set in such a way that a particular profile cannot be found; show the profile with no identifying information; show the profile with very limited information; and show the entire collection of information available. There are also varying degrees of privacy settings that make it very difficult to find two profiles containing the same information. Often when updates for the website go into effect, privacy settings need to be altered to ensure or maintain a desired level of security (Facebook, 2013). The changes in privacy settings have often opened up content thought to be private to be viewed by a wide array of people.

With the frequent changes and various settings for privacy, it may be difficult to determine what information is available to anyone using Facebook. This concern is especially salient for those individuals who are seeking employment – as information once thought to be private may now be accessible by potential employers. For example, according to data collected by the Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM), more than 25% of organizations use search engines such as Google.com to screen job candidates during the hiring process while 18% use SNS in order to screen job candidates (SHRM, 2011). Similar findings were identified by

Haefner (2009) indicating that over 29% of background checks involved sites such as Facebook. Similar studies have been conducted by other surveying agencies. For example, Reppler conducted a study in 2011 surveying 300 hiring professionals using random sampling. Of the 300 professionals, 91% indicated that they use SNS in order to screen a candidate. Similarly, 69% stated that they have rejected an applicant over material that was discovered on a SNS. Of those 69% (who rejected an applicant due to SNS content), specific reasons for rejection were lying about their qualifications (13%), inappropriate photos or comments (11%), poor display of communication skills (11%), and alcohol content within SNS page (9%) (Swallow, 2011). The most significant difference between these two surveys is the fact of the target populations of the surveys. SHRM participants are members who are actively participating in human resources research or education (SHRM, 2011), whereas the Reppler study targeted hiring managers in general (Swallow, 2011). The differences in the populations could indicate that those who have training in the human resources (i.e., SHRM) are less likely to use SNS compared to a general population (e.g., the typical manager or business owner) that may be responsible for hiring new employees. Considering that over 99% of businesses in the United States are small businesses (Small Business Association, 2012), such findings have wider implications for the usage of SNS in selection decisions.

SNS Assessments

SNS are used as a means to communicate with others and share an online image of the self to others within a network (Facebook, 2012). When Facebook first began, the only way to view someone's profile was to join their network or be accepted with a friend request. This included people within the original college association and accepted friends. As Facebook expanded, the privacy dissipated and allowed users to examine some information of profiles

without having the relationship (Golijan, 2012). It is no surprise that people have been frustrated by the access to personal information when it was originally thought to be private.

Employers doing a simple search can now find more and more information about job candidates by looking at SNS. For example, profiles provide easy access to personal information that may be protected by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), such as age, race, and sex. EEOC law prohibits the discrimination of a job candidate based on the membership in a protected class (EEOC, 2009). Unfortunately, much of the information available on a SNS profile could be considered protected information. In the profile picture alone, an employer can determine gender, approximate age, and race (Davison, Maraist, & Bing, 2011). Also, if a profile contains elements of drugs or alcohol, potential discrimination could occur if a candidate has a protected disability with an addiction (Brown & Vaughn, 2011; Davison, Maraist, Hamilton, & Bing, 2011). While several publications have made suggestions in regards to policy development for organizations wishing to use SNS in the selection process, few policies have been implemented and fewer have been tested for validity (Clark & Roberts, 2010; Jones & Behling, 2010; Kennedy & Macko, 2007; Smith & Kidder, 2010).

As there are such a large number of candidates who could potentially be disqualified due to content on their profiles, it is interesting to determine the reasons why people use them in the first place. In examining the reasons for SNS use, Joinson (2008) found that there are three reasons for use of SNS. First, people use SNS is in order to communicate with others. Second, people are using SNS as a method of surveillance and checking up on others. The third main reason people use SNS is in order to surf the pages of others within the network in order to keep up with what it is that is posted by others (Joinson, 2008). Employers would fit into the category of checking up on others as they attempt to learn more about potential candidates.

It seems interesting to think about why the information that can be found on SNS can be used to screen potential candidates. Particularly, one thing that can be determined by the information found on SNS is personality traits, such as extraversion, conscientiousness, openness, and agreeableness, but not neuroticism, from the Five Factor model (Moore & McElroy, 2012) and narcissism (Buffardi & Campbell, 2008). In examining personality traits, the trait that seems to be most favorable and sought after for work settings, and in determining potential fit and success of a candidate is conscientiousness, with perceived intelligence or mental ability greatly contributing to favorable assessments of candidates (Behling, 1998).

According to the work of Kluemper and associates, these two indicators can be identified reliably by examining SNS profiles. Examining these traits by using SNS, participants were able to rate SNS profiles for Big 5 personality traits and IQ and were able to find correlations with supervisor-rated job performance, hirability, academic performance, and cognitive ability (Kluemper, Rosen, & Mossholder, 2011). Similarly, it has also been found that trained observers of SNS are able to accurately judge candidates on perceived IQ, Big Five personality traits, and identify perceived success of a candidate by only examining the SNS content (Kluemper & Rosen, 2012). This work provides additional support to the findings of Behling (1998) with reasons to hire landing on conscientiousness ratings and mental ability as the higher those assessments were, the more the profile owner was viewed as successful. Using SNS to measure personality and perceived IQ can be one potential realistic use in the selection process. However, screeners in both cases were trained on these processes, whereas many hiring scenarios may not include similar training.

Fit and Profile Content

With an economy struggling and large unemployment numbers, the applicant pool for open jobs can reach hundreds, if not thousands of individuals. Interviewers need to find as much information as possible about job candidates in order to determine the best fit for the organization in order to hire the right people for the right positions. The perceived fit of a job candidate has been shown to reduce turnover and dishonest employee behavior (Weiss & Feldman, 2006). Some employers may find information in SNS of job candidates and use this information to screen potential new hires. In 2012, at least one incident of SNS review became public and led to widespread anger when an employer requested applicants' passwords and login credentials in order to review the information contained on Facebook (Kauffman, 2012). This is similar to an incident in Bozeman, Montana in 2009 in which city government officials required applicants to provide login information in order to complete applications and refusing to do so resulted in disqualification for the position. Within one month, this practice was discontinued due to the outrage (McCullagh, 2009). Since then, several states have outlined rules and legislation to ban the practice of employers requesting passwords and username information for potential candidates (Choney, 2013).

Hiring managers may attempt to learn more about job candidates by using SNS profiles to attempt to determine how well a person may fit within an organization's values, as shown by the Reppler study (Swallow, 2011). This study identified hiring managers belief that SNS are a means of identifying the person-organization fit for the company. This conclusion aligns with the findings from the empirical literature on selection. For example, Weiss and Feldman (2006) found that person-organization fit leads to an increase in revenue, more customers, more sales leads, increased efficiency, and a more pleasant work environment. Similarly, Cable and Judge (1996) found that the person-organization fit perceptions were better predictors of job

satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction when focusing on more of a person-job fit (i.e., demands-abilities fit).

One of the main methods of obtaining the information regarding the person-organization fit is gathered during the interview process (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990), where it can be determined by the assessment of the candidate's values in comparison to the organization's values.

According to Cable and DeRue (2002), the value-congruence fit is an important assessment of a potential candidate. In contrast to this, person-organization fit assessments during the job interview process have been shown to be predominately inaccurate and yet it is one of the major contributing factors in selection decisions (Cable & Judge, 1997). If the interview is an inaccurate measure of fit, how accurate can the review of SNS be in comparison?

Often potential employees may not realize that their profiles are being looked at by potential employers because employers often look at SNS information without the candidate's knowledge (Swallow, 2011). This can be considered passive observation, which means that assessments are made in regards to the impression of the candidate collected in a natural way that often is unknown to the candidate (Berger & Douglas, 1981). This passive observation can be done examining the SNS of candidates to gain a sense of the candidates to provide a more detailed look at social interaction without the candidate's knowledge (Boyd, 2007; Boyd & Ellison, 2007). In doing so, employers may see items or materials on SNS profiles that do not pertain to the job of interest, may differ from the personal attitudes or beliefs of the hiring manager, or may be taken out of context (Brown & Vaughn, 2011). Without fully examining the concerns of the content of a profile, it is hard to determine how to use the information found on SNS.

Few studies have been conducted in which the content of SNS have been examined in an empirical manner. As mentioned previously, according to the study reported by Swallow (2011), employers have rejected applicants based on content surrounding alcohol use. With the controversy surrounding the use of SNS for selection, it becomes important to know how selection methods are impacted when SNS are utilized. For example, in a study by Bohnert and Ross (2010), it was found that the general orientation of a SNS profile can influence hiring decisions. By assessing one candidate, participants looked at resumes, SNS profiles, and a job description. The conditions were manipulated to allow for content of a profile to exhibit content creating an alcohol oriented profile, a family oriented profile, or a professional oriented profile. The profiles were paired with resumes that indicated candidates were either marginally qualified or well qualified. A professional orientation provided participants with a profile that showed the candidate in a suit and tie, as well as comments relating to conferences, jobs, and networking. The family oriented profile consisted of images of a couple and comments regarding the couple making plans together. The alcohol content profile contained images of a candidate intoxicated, as well as statements about frequently drinking.

Participants were asked to indicate how likely they were to interview the applicant, the perceived qualifications of the candidate, a potential starting salary for the candidate, and other ratings tied to perceptions of the candidate. The results of the study indicate that the presence of alcohol on a profile decreased the overall ratings and the starting salaries of the potential candidates. Interestingly, a profile containing an alcohol orientation yielded similar ratings when compared to the marginally qualified condition with similar starting salaries and intention to hire the candidate. Comparing the starting salary of job candidates, proposed starting salary was higher for the professional profile than the profile with alcohol content. Another interesting

finding of this study was the presence of a family orientation had the highest ratings and the highest starting salary, and the highest rating for success when compared to the alcohol oriented profile and the professional profile. Also of interest, when it was rated that the resume was the most valuable tool for making an employment decision, the same pattern was observed between the alcohol, professional, and family oriented profiles. This pattern indicates that a bias existed among group members whether or not they were aware of the impact of the SNS profile (Bohnert & Ross, 2010). Based on these findings, it seems logical to hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: Candidates who are highly qualified for a position will receive higher evaluations for a position that those who have low qualifications.

Similar biases were found when comparing job candidates indicating gambling and alcohol consumption on their SNS (Weathington & Bechtel, 2012). Participants rated candidates on the five categories of: recommendations to interview; perceived ability; recommendations to hire; anticipated performance; and likelihood of quitting. Participants had access to potential candidates' resumes and SNS content. It was rated that the resumes indicated that all six candidates were equally qualified for the position in the study. The only difference between the applicants was the content on the SNS, either gambling, alcohol, both, or neither. It was found that alcohol consumption had a negative impact on all five of the categories. Gambling, however, only showed an influence on the expected likelihood to quit the job (Weathington & Bechtel, 2012). These studies have shown some potential pitfalls of utilizing SNS in selection decisions when the activity is not a work related behavior. But what happens to those profiles that are presented in such a way as to promote a positive impression to observers?

Impression Management

Impression management techniques are the methods in which people present themselves to others in a favorable way. The use of impression management has been determined to be one of the key factors in building an image to potential employers and assists in being viewed as successful in the interview process (Fletcher, 1990). One of the most common times people attempt to maximize impression management techniques is during the selection process. One study examined the self-presentation and impression management techniques used during an interview and determined that impression management techniques do not correlate with actual personality variables. It was also found that candidates who used impression management techniques may be rated as being more prepared and assertive. An example of this can be from the amount of eye contact made during the interview (Fletcher, 1990). These findings indicate that by using impression management techniques, ratings of candidates can be increased.

Impression management techniques can also be used in order to present an ideal self. For example, by using impression construction techniques, someone can control the desired and undesired identity image. In this respect, people will try to convey an image consistent with goals and motives. This can be done with statements about desired attributes and behaving consistently with the desired identity (Leary & Kowalski, 1997). Similarly, making a statement to attempt to conform to opinions or taking more than earned credit for outcomes are additional methods of impression management techniques (Ellis, West, Ryan, & DeShon, 2002).

Examples of impression management techniques that can be used in the selection process include the tactics used on the cover letter or resume. For example, the applicant may make complimentary statements about the company or self-enhancements such as taking more credit for success in previous roles than may be true (Knouse, Giacalone, & Pollard, 1988). While it has been found that some personality traits of candidates can be determined by reviewing

resumes and cover letters (Cole, Feild, & Stafford, 2005), impression management techniques may also have an impact. For example, in a study examining the impact of impression management techniques in a resume, it was determined that those who used the techniques of acclaiming statements, enhancement statements, and a favorable self-descriptive statement were rated more favorably and increased the ratings of hirability. Candidates also had higher ratings of impressing the reader and self-confidence. However, the impression management techniques also led to more desire to completing a background check. Although it is unclear as to the nature of the background check; be it as the next step of hiring someone or to verify the information presented; impression management tactics created a desire for additional information (Knouse, 1994). Additionally, if any discrepancies are discovered, concerns with misrepresentation and inaccuracies may cause employers to doubt the traits of a job candidate (Knouse, Giacaolone, & Pollard, 1988). As such, when employers feel as though they have information contradicting information obtained via typical job searching avenues (resume and cover letter for example), intentions to hire candidates decrease significantly (Wood, Shmidtke, & Decker, 2007).

Impression management techniques can also reach out to online social profiles. In evaluating the accuracy of the content on SNS profiles, it has been identified that the content on Facebook is more accurate to what a person is actually like in real life (Back, et al., 2010).

Because Facebook is a SNS that is devoted to socializing with friends and family from real life translated into a virtual environment, Facebook tends to show accurate interactions and perceptions of the person. LinkedIn, however, is used for professional social networking, where profiles are comprised of recommendations, work history, and general information regarding vocational desires and experiences. A LinkedIn profile is comparable to having an online version of a more detailed resume that encourages employers to look. Because of the target

audience differences between the professional SNS of LinkedIn and the informal audience of Facebook, differences arise in the posting habits of users. Facebook does not allow for much in the way of impression management techniques because of the connections in a network are able to make comments about content on a profile and potentially discredit any unrealistic or excessive comments made. As such, LinkedIn would be more susceptible than Facebook to using impression management techniques (Back, et al., 2010).

As mentioned previously, the differences between target audiences for SNS (LinkedIn vs. Facebook) can lead to impression management. A LinkedIn profile can indicate a desire to work with a particular organization or reflect values and skills that are consistent with an organization or desired job. A Facebook profile is less likely to consistently make these goals or values known because the online social interaction is more informal. If a candidate is able to convey an online image on a Facebook page or desired traits are abundant on a page, what happens to the perceptions of a job candidate when another candidate sets privacy settings in such a way that employers can't get the same additional information?

Missing Information

People tend to feel more comfortable making a decision when they know more about what they are deciding on. In a seminal article on decision making regarding probability, Ellsberg (1961) designed an experiment in which two colors of balls were in an urn in a set proportion. Participants were given the opportunity to identify the chance of a particular color of ball being picked at random from the urn. In the condition in which the ratio of colors was 50/50, participants preferred to bet on this situation as opposed to gambling on an urn with the same color ball but no known ratio. According to the findings of this study, people identified preferring to bet on a known probability as opposed to unknown probabilities. As an extension

of this work, Fox & Tversky (1995) examined the reactions people have regarding missing information. In instances where comparisons can be made between the probabilities of winning in a lottery, it seems as though those who can compare the probabilities tend to prefer to bet on a probability that is known than one that is unknown. Essentially, participants preferred to choose a something they can identify as opposed to taking a chance on what is not known. In comparison, those who only saw one choice or the other and did not know there were other probabilities for the same sample made similar bets across the board. Knowing information is missing yielded the result that participants preferred to bet on a situation with complete information (Fox & Tversky, 1995).

Knowing information is missing can impact overall assessments of many situations. For example, Yates, Jagacinski, and Farber (1978) examined the impact of missing information of college course descriptions. Participants rated courses with four dimensions of information including interest, level of instruction, grade leniency, and work load based on expectation for an elective course and how attractive the participant viewed the course. Approximately one week later, the courses were rated a second time, only several of the courses were missing information regarding the level of instruction, as it was listed as "unknown". Of course, participants did not realize that information was missing compared to having all four dimensions of information available previously. It was found that a course with missing information received lower ratings, regardless of the importance of the item when compared to the previous ratings. The only time this was not true was when a course with full information was not a preferred option (Yates, Jagacinski, & Farber, 1978).

In terms of employment decisions, by submitting applications with incomplete information, participants are often rated negatively in general. For example, Jagacinski (1991)

conducted a study on the impact of scores when choosing to offer a position to an employee when the requirement for computer programming and management skills were considered equally important. When one of the test scores was missing, participants indicated that they averaged or assumed the missing test score was lower than the given test score. This is true regardless of the value of the original test scores given (Jagacinski, 1991).

Another example of the missing information being devalued is from follow up work by Jagacinski (1994). Participants were to make judgments for a potential promotion of employees of a company based on management ability and foreign language aptitude. Participants were told to consider either the management score as the most important test or consider both tests equally important. What Jagacinski (1994) found was that when the test scores indicated as most important were missing, the missing score led to lower evaluation s of candidates and more negative ratings.

The perceived importance of missing information can be detrimental to some applicants. For example, Stone and Stone (1987) examined responses to applications for either a cashier job or a road laborer job. The information presented on the applications indicated no response to a question regarding prior conviction, an indication of yes to a prior conviction, or an indication of no to a prior conviction. Participants rated the candidates on qualifications and perceived success if hired. The candidates who left the conviction blank were rated comparable to those who had indicated "yes" to having a conviction on the application and much lower than those who indicated no conviction on the application (Stone & Stone, 1987).

Interestingly, it has also been found that those choosing to withhold information due to concerns of inadequacy may actually hinder their assessments. For example, a study by Cole, Feild, and Giles (2003) found that if concerned with an inadequate GPA, leaving GPA off a

resume resulted in lowered ratings of mental ability and intelligence when compared to others providing the data.

When candidates have information missing in their application packages, general ratings of the candidate's potential may be devalued. According to Highhouse and Hause (1995), a comparison is made between potential job candidates based on the attributes of interest.

Candidates were rated as high, average or low on five attributes consisting of stress management, oral communication, standards, analysis abilities, and judgment. Candidates were rated as average on two attributes, low on one attribute, and high on one attribute. On the attribute of judgment, depending on condition, one candidate had a missing score compared to the other candidate rated as high, average or low. If a candidate is rated average or high on a focal attribute (in this case judgment), by having complete information, participants preferred the candidate with the complete information over the candidate with incomplete information. However, if the candidate with complete information was rated low, then the preference for a candidate shifts to the one with missing information (Highhouse & Hause, 1995).

More recently, Bonaccio and Dalal (2010) examined the missing information bias when receiving advice is sought after. Participants rated potential college advisors based on advisor expertise, advisor confidence, advisor intentions, and if the advisor was the only source of available advice. Similar to the work of Jagacinski (1991; 1994) and Highhouse and Hause (1995), factors determined to be of greatest importance, when missing, led to lower evaluations. However, when the missing information was deemed as an important characteristic, ratings of potential advisors decreased more when compared to missing information on characteristics that may not have been viewed as important. For example, when a potential advisor was missing information on the important characteristic of expertise or intentions and a comparable advisor

had positive ratings, the missing information advisors' ratings decreased. However, when the complete information advisor's information was negative on an important characteristic, the ratings of the missing information advisor increased (Bonaccio & Dalal, 2010). These findings indicate that missing information on higher weighted characteristics can have significant impact on evaluations.

With the body of work focusing on making decisions in the absence of information, it seems reasonable to predict the following in regards to employment decisions:

Hypothesis 2: Assessments of candidates with public profiles will be higher than those candidates with private or no profiles available.

To date, a majority of the empirical literature surrounding SNS has been limited to content involving alcohol and gambling impacting selection decisions, personality traits and perceived intelligence, identity presentation, and the motivations for using SNS. Without a comprehensive look at using SNS for selection purposes, it has only been speculation as far as the impact of SNS. This research is a first step in examining how privacy settings may have an impact on ratings and evaluations of a potential candidate.

Method

Participants

Participants were 32 students ($M_{age} = 24.4$; $n_m = 17$, $n_f = 15$) enrolled in organizational behavior classes at a large regional university in the southwest. Participants were provided extra credit for their participation in the study.

Design

A 2 between (high qualifications or low qualifications) by 3 within (public, private, or no profile) mixed design was used. Participants were randomly assigned to either high or low qualification conditions.

Procedure

Participants arrived in a computer lab in the business building or library on campus and chose a seat. Participants then randomly drew a piece of paper out of a pouch with either an "A" or "B" on it to indicate condition. The survey software was loaded on the computer that participants chose.

The experimenter provided basic instructions to the participants to follow the directions on the computer screen, noting that the survey software would guide participants through the study. The experimenter remained in the room for the duration of the experiment and made note of any incidents that could have impacted study validity. In order to participate in the study, participants needed to digitally sign the informed consent at the beginning of the survey. If they chose to not participate, they were taken to the end of the survey.

Task. Next, the participants were asked to take on the role of the hiring manager for a fictitious company. They were informed that they had three candidates to consider for employment. Their task, as the hiring manager of this company, was to identify which potential candidate should be hired.

Group assignment. The high qualifications group (those who chose "A" randomly) received information regarding three equally highly qualified candidates. Participants had a folder for each of the job candidates, which contained a resume and corresponding fictitious Facebook profiles of the candidates if available. Participants were guided to look at one candidate first and then look at the second candidate, and then the third in a randomized order.

The only material difference between the candidates was the level of privacy setting established on the Facebook profiles; public, private, or no profile.

The low qualifications group (those who randomly chose "B") received similar materials with the difference of the job candidates having low qualifications for the position. Each low qualification candidate had fewer work experiences, a shorter amount of time employed, and irrelevant education. The Facebook profile conditions were identical to high qualifications group content and privacy settings, with the exception of the public profile contained one modification in the work experience section to remain consistent with the presented materials.

Ratings. Regardless of the group, participants were asked to rate the candidate's perceived fit for the job, perceived fit for the organization, and perceived conscientiousness. They also rated their own (i.e., the participant's) likelihood of offering the job to the candidate, their confidence in offering a job to that candidate, their perceived success of their selected candidate within the organization, perceived candidate longevity with the company, the salary offered to the candidate, and the perceived IQ of the candidate. These measurements were on a seven-point Likert type scale, similar to the scales used by Bohnert & Ross (2010).

The participants were also asked to rank order the candidates on order of preference for hire (1 = "most preferred" to 3 = "least preferred"). Participants were then asked preference between the three candidates and what document was most important in their decision.

Demographic information was collected at this point including age, employment history, supervisory experience, hiring experience, familiarity with SNS, the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison, Steinfeld, & Lampe, 2007) and attitudes about using SNS in employment decisions.

Independent Variables

Qualifications. Qualification for the position was identified in the job description given to participants. The job description listed requirements (i.e., KSAOs) that were necessary for the position. In addition to the requirements, a section was listed to indicate preferred qualifications. Resumes were initially developed for both qualification levels with the subtle differences between degree and relevant work experience. Initial review of the resumes indicated that there were slight areas of preferences between the candidates and feedback was provided as to the reasons why some resumes would be preferred over the others. Using the feedback, the resumes were updated to remove preferential items and replace them with more consistent information.

In the high qualification condition, resumes included experiences that were linked to the preferred qualifications. For example, in the requirements section of the job description, one year of retail and a bachelor's degree in a business discipline were listed. In the preferred qualifications section, two years of retail management and six months experience with inventory, hiring, training, scheduling, and trending business data were requested. The high qualification candidates possessed the requirements for the position as well as the experience desired for the preferred qualifications. The low qualifications group met the requirements, but few to none of the preferred qualifications (as did the high qualification condition).

Privacy Settings. The Facebook profile privacy settings were manipulated so that each participant was able to view public, private and no profile information specific to each candidate. As this was a within subjects variable, all participants were able to see each of the profile conditions. The public profile contained a profile image, a location, a short friends list, and some comments regarding enjoying his current job as well as quotes with language consistent with the definition of conscientiousness. The private profile only showed a profile picture and location. No profile was available for the no profile condition.

Dependent Variables

Fit. Person-organization fit was assessed using the three item measure from Cable and DeRue (2002) measuring the value congruence aspect of fit. These items were modified to determine participants' perceptions of the fit of the candidate. For example, "The things [the candidate] values in life are the things the organization values." The reliability of Cable and DeRue's (2002) scale was Cronbach's alpha (α) = .91. To ensure participants understood the values of the organization – and could thus evaluate fit of the candidate with the organization – the values of the organization were clearly listed in the job description.

Person-job (i.e., demands – abilities) fit were from Cable and Judge (1996). These items, designed for participants to evaluate whether the candidate's skills fit the position, yielded a Cronbach's alpha of $(\alpha) = .89$. For example, "to what extent do you agree that [the candidate's] abilities and training are a good fit with the requirements of this job?" Both items were measured using a seven item Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Conscientiousness. Goldberg (1992) defined conscientiousness as the degree to which an individual is reliable, dependable, and temperate. Participants assessed the perceived conscientiousness of the candidates using the ten-item IPIP (Goldberg, 2006). An example of this was, "To what extent do you agree that [the candidate] is always prepared?" The reliability of Goldberg's (1992) scale was Cronbach's alpha (α) = .79.

Job Offer. Participants were asked "how likely would you be to offer the position to [the candidate]?" This question was similar to the question asked by Bohnert and Ross (2010) and was rated on a seven point Likert type scale (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely).

Confidence in hire. The question of confidence asked participants to identify how confident they were in their decision to hire the candidate (1 = not confident at all, 7 = very confident).

Success. Next, participants were asked to rate their "confidence that [the candidate] would be successful in the position." The perceived success measureme was similar to Weathington and Bechtel (2012) in assessing the perceived performance (1 = not confident at all, 7 = very confident).

Longevity. Using a seven point Likert type scale (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely), participants were asked to indicate how likely it was that [the candidate] would remain with the organization for three years. Although Weathington and Bechtel (2012) asked this question in terms of likelihood to quit, it was kept positive to remain consistent with the other scales.

Salary. Participants had the information regarding the average starting salary on the job description listed as \$27,000. Participants were told to indicate what the starting salary for the candidate should be. The salary was listed on a continuum with the lowest salary being \$18,000, the average (i.e., middle) salary being \$27,000 and the highest salary being \$36,000. According to Bohnert & Ross (2010), differences in salary ratings were observed based on the content of Facebook profiles.

Intelligence. According to the work of Kluemper & Rosen (2012), mental ability and intelligence can be an indicator of potential success and longevity with a company. Our proxy measure for intelligence was the perceived IQ of the candidate. Participants were asked "The average IQ is 100 and the majority of the population IQ ranges from 85 to 115. Based on the information you have available to you, indicate what you believe [the candidate]'s IQ to be."

Candidate Preference. Participants were asked to choose their top choice candidate, then their second choice candidate, followed by the lowest candidate. The question read, "Please rank the candidates in order of your preference for hire, 1 would be your first choice, 2 would be your second choice, and 3 would be your third choice." This measure is similar to the decision making statement used by Weathington & Bechtel (2012).

Preferred Document. Participants were asked to identify what document was most helpful in making their assessments of the candidates. Participants then had to indicate either "the resume" or the "other sources of information".

Results

Participant data for all 32 participants is included in the analysis of the results. As there were three scales with determined reliability used in the measure, reliability analysis was conducted to determine the reliability of the scales along with the other measures of the study. The first measure, value congruence fit (also referred to as person-organization fit) taken from Cable and DeRue (2002) yielded high reliability with a Cronbach's alpha (α) = .89 to .93 for the public, private, and no profile conditions. Also yielding high reliability, demands abilities fit (also referred to as person-job fit) taken from Cable and Judge (1996) was highly reliable for public, private, and no profile conditions, with a Cronbach's alpha (α) = .78 to .93. Assessments of candidate's conscientiousness (Goldberg, 1992) was also reliable with a Cronbach's alpha (α) = .90 to .94.

Multivariate Analysis. As the expectation was that the variables would have some correlation due to the measures obtaining an overall assessment of the job candidates, correlations were analyzed in order to determine how strong the correlations were. Most of the dependent variables were moderately correlated, as shown in Table 1, Table 2, and Table 3.

According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) works best for variables that are moderately correlated. Next we conducted a 2 (qualification) by 3 (candidate) MANOVA to compare the means using the established measures of person-job fit, person-organization fit, conscientiousness, longevity, perceived success, likelihood to extend the offer, and confidence in extending the offer. A main effect of qualification was found Wilks' $\lambda = .327$, F(7, 24) = 7.07, p < .01, partial $\eta^2 = .673$, which supports hypothesis 1. A significant main effect for candidate was also found, Wilks' $\lambda = .340$, F(14, 17) = 2.358, p < .05, partial $\eta^2 = .660$.

The follow up univariate tests of significance between and within subjects variables were significant. Table 4 shows the significance of the univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) conducted as the follow up to the MANOVA for the qualification differences. Table 5 shows the significance of the univariate ANOVA results for the candidate.

Table 6 shows the pairwise comparisons of the within subjects variables to test the differences between groups. The general trend of the data suggests that the public profile candidate is rated significantly higher on the dependent variables than the private profile condition. All of the ratings of the variables were higher ratings for the public profile group. These findings support hypothesis 2.

Discriminant Function Analysis. Following the significant main effect of qualifications, a discriminant analysis was run to determine the weights of each dependent variable. This was done in order to determine the contribution of individual variables in the significant MANOVA. Different profile conditions resulted in different weighted variables used to help make decisions. Table 7 shows the weights of the variables with the structure matrix as well as the discriminant function of each profile type.

For the no profile condition, all seven dependent variables were identified as important as their loadings in the structure matrix were all above .5 on the one discriminant function, Wilks' $\lambda = .464$, χ^2 (7, N = 32) = 27.41, p = .05. The no profile condition was most impacted by the perceived success, longevity, demands-abilities fit, confidence, conscientiousness, offer, and person-organization fit. The classification resulted in 87.5% accuracy in correctly identifying high or low qualified conditions, with 93% accuracy for the high and 82% accuracy for the low.

The private profile condition resulted in one discriminant function and four of the dependent variables had loadings over .50, Wilks' $\lambda = .355$, χ^2 (7, N = 32) = 27.41, p < .00. The private profile was most impacted by ratings of perceived conscientiousness, demands-abilities fit, offer, and success. The accuracy of the model resulted in 90.6% accuracy overall, with 86.7% correct classification for the high qualification group and 94% accuracy for the low qualification group.

The public profile condition resulted in one discriminant function which was not significant, Wilks' $\lambda = .638$, χ^2 (7, N = 32) = 11.92, p > .1. The public profile was most, however, was most impacted by the perceptions of demands-abilities fit, success, confidence, and conscientiousness, which were the only variables to have loadings on the structure matrix above .30.

Examining the extracted centroids, it was found that the centroids for the high and low qualifications groups were different, especially when examining the profile privacy settings for comparison.

Logistic Regression. To further analyze the findings, a forward stepwise logistic regression was completed to assess the prediction of qualification group on the basis of the seven dependent variables for each within group variable. According to the Hosmer and Lemeshow

test, the model fit the data well, χ^2 (4, N = 32) = 2.88, p = .58. For the no profile condition, overall classification of the groups was 78%, with 66.7% of the highly qualified group accurately predicted and 88.2% of the low qualifications group accurately predicted. Looking at the variables in the equation, the only retained variable was the perceived success of the candidate.

Overall classification of the private profile condition resulted in two iterations. During the first iteration, an overall accuracy was at 81% with 80% accuracy for the high qualification condition and 82% accuracy for the low qualification condition. The private profile condition indicates that conscientiousness and demands-abilities fit were most influential.

According to Hosmer and Lemeshow test, the model of fit for the public profile condition was a good fit, χ^2 (5, N = 32) = 9.27, p = .1. The overall accuracy was 81% with 80% accuracy at correctly classifying the high qualification condition and 82% accuracy identifying the low qualification condition. The one iteration produced one variable that was most influential in the model, indicating that demands abilities fit was most important.

ANOVA. While IQ was excluded from initial analysis, a 3 candidate by 2 qualification ANOVA was conducted to examine the means. A significant main effect for qualification was found for qualification, F(1,26) = 7.298, p < .05, partial $\eta^2 = .219$. Pairwise comparisons indicate that those in the highly qualified conditions were rated as having a higher IQ than those with lower qualifications. Similarly the salary ratings of candidates were also analyzed using the 2 qualification by 3 candidate ANOVA. A significant main effect of qualification was found, F(1,27) = 22.701, p < .01, partial $\eta^2 = .457$. Pairwise comparisons indicate that those who are highly qualified receive higher starting salaries than those who have lower qualifications.

To examine any differences between the groups based on qualifications and preferences for a particular candidate, three Kruskal-Wallis tests were utilized. It was found that the

differences observed between the two groups were not significantly different, indicating that both the qualified and unqualified groups produced comparable patterns of preference (public preference, p > .5, private preference, p > .8, and no profile preference, p > .8). Comparing the ranking of the candidates, it was apparent that the public profile was preferred. Using a chi square analysis, significantly more preference was given to the public profile for ranking one (p < .01) and the private profile was significantly preferred for the second choice (p < .01).

Discussion

Limitations. Prior to discussing the implications of the present study, some limitations should be noted. First, the sample size was only 32. While significance was found using this population, it would be beneficial for the research area to include more participants from various locations and backgrounds. This would help provide generalization for the study. Also the target population was chosen as a class of students taking the introductory course in the business discipline. While the recruitment process was done to keep the participant population consistent, more diversity in majors could have examined different mindsets when it comes to decision making processes. Again, more participants could create more generalization.

Another limitation was the controlled nature of the Facebook profiles examined. While the materials were created to maintain timelines and control for external comments from other network members, external validity of the study may be threatened. It would be important to follow up with additional studies examining the content of the profiles and how slight adjustments or comments, statements or posts can contribute to alternative assessments. The use of fictional profiles allowed for the content to be manipulated remaining as neutral as possible.

One last limitation was the format of the resumes. The resumes were created to be as similar as possible while containing different information. As there are not typical standardized

resume templates for everyone to use, the fact that all three resumes were in the same format, length, and content, a lack of external validity could also be found in the materials.

Implications. The majority of the findings support the hypothesis that those who are highly qualified for a job are more likely to be hired, have a higher starting salary, be viewed as more intelligent, and employers are more confident in their assessments of the candidate makes sense. However, it is interesting to note that those who have SNS profile privacy settings may actually hinder some of their own assessments by potential employers. While we were able to replicate several findings of Bohnert and Ross (2010) regarding the qualifications of the candidate, we were able also to find differences in candidate preference when profile privacy settings were manipulated. According to the findings of the discriminant analysis and the logistic regression, missing information resulted in participants attempting to find reasons to select candidates in terms of overall view of the candidate. This was observed with the differences of dependent variables of importance depending on profile type. With completely missing information, it seems as though perceptions of the overall candidate may contribute to an opinion of success, as observed by the weight of the perceived success. Therefore, without complete information, a reliance of perceptions and how well someone will do in a position will contribute to a hiring decision.

Similarly, in the private profile condition, the dependent variables contributing to the preference of a candidate relies on the perceived fit for the job as well as perceptions of conscientiousness. In comparison to the public profile condition, which contained information that could be interpreted as conscientiousness ratings, the private profile should have contained the similar information. Because it did not, ratings of perceived conscientiousness became more important in the decision-making process. The private profile condition also relied on the

perception of the candidate's fit for the job. The findings for the private profile condition lend some support to the work of Cable and Judge (1997) and Behling (1998).

In contrast to these two conditions, the most important variable for the public profile group was the perception of the fit of the candidate for the job. Basically, participants were able to draw all necessary conclusions as to what the candidate was like and the decision came down to whether or not the candidate had the necessary skills to perform the job tasks.

These findings are important to note because those who are responsible for making employment decisions may be faced with missing information. If they are choosing to use SNS as a means of obtaining additional information, it becomes important to note how that information can impact their decisions. The missing information bias was found in this study and determined to occur regardless of the importance of the information available. Smaller organizations or those without automated screening processes may be more susceptible to the bias.

One thing of interest that is important to note is some of the personal interactions participants had after participating in the experiment. At least two participants verbally indicated that they firmly believe that SNS should not be used in the selection process and others indicated that a LinkedIn profile would be more telling. Other comments from participants indicated that one of the candidates was missing a profile and that one of the candidates' profiles was practically blank. Overall, comments from participants indicated that they felt as though assessments based on resumes were limited and that using SNS was helpful in making attribution assessments of the candidates. One participant even indicated a surprise on how much information can be found on a profile that can help in making assessments like the one in the study. Of greatest interest, one participant mentioned that the public profile seemed like he knew

someone was going to be looking at the profile because everything on there was something that an employer would want to see. The participant then proceeded to mention his belief that if you are job searching, one should get rid of SNS and reactivate an account after being hired. This insight into a participant's mindset was beneficial because it indicates a reaction to the obvious nature of the profile that is set up to show certain aspects.

Previous research on the use of SNS in employment decisions has been limited to the content of the profile as opposed to the levels of privacy settings. A majority of the research conducted to date centering on the use of social media in selection processes has been limited due to the recent increases and usages in society. While this study has been the first to look at privacy settings exclusively in comparing potential job candidates, so many questions are left unanswered.

Future Research. While this research has focused on the presence or absence of social media in selection decisions, it is important to continue and follow up with research surrounding the impact the content of the social media can have on decisions. Although limited research has already determined some extent of the content of a profile (see Bohnert & Ross, 2010; Weathington & Bechtel, 2012), content as far as preferences, experiences, and comments can all be studied. Since the comments left on a page are hard to control in a natural setting for Facebook users, the content of friend's posts should also be evaluated.

Another area that should receive examination is the area of adverse impact. While it has been shown that gender and race biases can negatively impact a job candidate (Brown & Vaughn, 2011), this information may be present in a profile photo alone along with other EEOC protected information. Similarly, according to the findings of Grubbs-Hoy and Milne (2010), gender differences exist in privacy setting preferences. Apparently, women tend to be more

concerned about what personal information is available and easier to access then men. Also, women are more likely than men to set rigid privacy settings that only allow friends to view their profiles, monitor profile activity on a regular basis, and are more careful about who is friended. As this is a difference in amount of information that is public based on gender, assessments of candidates with gender differences may be harmed.

Following the work of Kleumper & Rosen (2012), additional research on the topic of personality and SNS should be done in order to determine what types of jobs benefit from having an assessment of personality before hire and any improvements to the hiring process that free to use service can provide. Also, it becomes evident that there is a lack of standardization of how to treat the information on SNS and standardized guidelines on how to implement any practices that arise.

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Table 1

Correlations for the Private Profile Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Conscientiousness	.94					
2. P-O Fit	.65**	.89				
3. P-J Fit	.55*	.79**	.78			
l. Offer	.71**	.61**	.68**			
. Confidence	.49*	.31	.34	.48*		
6. Longevity	.74**	.56*	.64**	.77**	.50*	
. Success	.67**	.65**	.68**	.72**	.72**	.71**

 ${\it Reliability for multi-item measures reported along the diagonal.}$

Table 2

Correlations for the No Profile Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Conscientiousness	.90						
2. P-O Fit	.68**	.93					
3. P-J Fit	.71**	.74**	.93				
4. Offer	.75**	.68**	.76**				
5. Confidence	.52*	.60*	.68**	.67**			
6. Longevity	.41*	.48*	.71**	.61**	.82**		
7. Success	.61**	.49*	.71**	.63**	.80**	.73**	
Note: *=two-tailed significance < .01, ** < .001, n for all is 32							
Reliability for multi-item	measures repo	rted along the	diagonal.				

Table 3

Correlations for the Public Profile Condition

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Conscientiousness	.92						
2. P-O Fit	.74**	.92					
3. P-J Fit	.75**	.73**	.89				
4. Offer	.67**	.55*	.81**				
5. Confidence	.56*	.55*	.66**	.58**			
6. Longevity	.60**	.45*	.53*	.55*	.70**		
7. Success	.72**	.63**	.75**	.72**	.78**	.66**	
Note: *=two-tailed sign	ificance < .01,	** <.001, n for	all is 32				
Reliability for multi-iten	n measures repo	orted along the d	diagonal.				

Table 4 Dependent Variable ANOVA for Qualification

	df	F	Partial η ²	p
P - J Fit	1, 30?	27.28	.48	.000
P- O Fit	1	9.41	.24	.005
Conscientiousness	1	25.53	.46	.000
Longevity	1	17.75	.37	.000
Perceived Success	1	26.10	.47	.000
Likelihood to Extend the Offer	1	21.22	.41	.000
Confidence in Extending the Offer	1	17.40	.37	.000

Table 5

Dependent Variable ANOVA for Candidate

	df	F	Partial η ²	p
P - J Fit	2, 28?	3.68	.11	.042
P- O Fit	2	7.08	.19	.002
Conscientiousness	2	4.74	.14	.019
Longevity	2	4.17	.12	.020
Perceived Success	2	4.95	.14	.010
Likelihood to Extend the Offer	2	4.65	.13	.022
Confidence in Extending the Offer	2	5.74	.16	.005
Significant at the p-	0.05 level			

Pairwise Comparisons of Within Subjects Dependent Variables Significant Differences

P - J Fit	Public profile is rated higher than no profile
P-O-Fit	Public profile is rated higher than no profile
Conscientiousness	Public profile is rated higher than no profile
Longevity	Public profile is perceived to stay with the company at least 3 years
Perceived Success	Public profile has higher ratings of success than private profile
Likelihood to Extend the Offer	Public profile has higher likelihood to have the offer extended than the private profile
Confidence in Extending the Offer	 Public profile offers are more confident than public or private profiles No profile offers are more confident than private profile

Table 7
Structure Matrices from Discriminant Analyses

No Profile Structure N	Iatrix	Private Profile Structure		Public Profile Structure	e
Success	.787	Matrix		Matrix	
Longevity	.672	Conscientiousness	.747	Demands Ability Fit	.811
Demands Abilities	.658	Demands Abilities	.694	Offer	.753
Fit		Fit		Success	.613
Confidence	.653	Offer	.521	Confidence	.608
Conscientiousness	.629	Success	.519	Conscientiousness	.553
Offer	.549	Person Organization	.478	Person Organization	.360
Person Organization	.508	Fit		Fit	
Fit		Confidence	.475	Longevity	.302
		Longevity	.425		

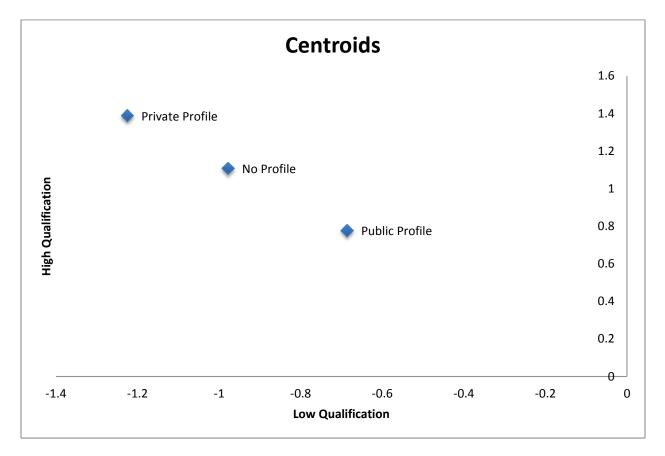


Figure 1. Centroids by Qualification1 shows the centroids extracted from the discriminant analysis.