

PHATIC COMMUNICATION USE IN EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWS: PREDICTED
OUTCOME VALUE, LIKING, RELATIONAL CLOSENESS, AND COMMUNICATION
SATISFACTION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine phatic communication use in employment interviews and whether or not phatic communication use affects applicant perceptions of the interviewer. A lab experiment was conducted with three conditions: the absence of phatic communication, phatic communication, and phatic communication violation. Ninety-nine participants were interviewed and then they completed a survey that measured predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. First, the current data revealed that when interviewers used some kind of phatic interaction, applicants rated the future relationship with the interviewer (i.e., predicted outcome value) positively; when phatic communication was absent, applicants rated predicted outcome value more negatively. Second, predicted outcome value was positively related with liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the first elements of any interaction is phatic communication. Phatic communication is informal, scripted interactions that function to defuse silence, ease conversations, and manage interpersonal relationships (Laver, 1975; Malinowski, 1923). An example of phatic communication is when someone asks, “How are you?” and you respond, “Good, how are you?” This type of interaction happens daily and most likely is not remembered as something impactful. However, phatic communication is likely to have an impact on the impressions formed in those first few precious seconds of an interaction such as in an employment interview. The window to make a first impression is only 7 seconds long (Pitts, 2013). First impressions are very important in employment decisions (Barrick, Swider, & Stewart, 2010) for the applicant, interviewer, and the organization (employee-organization relationship; see Tsui, Pearce, Porter, & Hite, 1995). Employment interviews have high stakes because of the potential costs of the employment interview process (e.g., employee turnover, training).

Many factors such as applicant qualifications, self-presentation, behaviors, and labor market conditions combine to determine whether or not an applicant will become a member of the organization. Applicant qualifications such as work experience, education, and skills and abilities may affect one applicant’s chances of getting a job over another. Research (Barrick, Shaffer, & DeGrassi, 2009) shows that applicant self-presentation, appearance, impression management, verbal behaviors, and nonverbal behaviors affect interview ratings. Even seemingly minor communication behaviors during the employment interview can weigh heavily upon employment decisions (Stewart, Dustin, Barrick, & Darnold, 2008).

The employment interview is one of the most frequently used methods for employee selection and recruitment in organizations and has been studied for a century (Ruben, Hall, & Schmid Mast, 2015; Scott, 1915). Although much employment interview research focuses on how applicants can compete to obtain jobs (e.g., Kristof-Brown, Barrick, & Franke, 2002; Longhi, 2012), when competition is high among organizations for the best applicants, it is important for the interviewer to make a positive impression on the applicant to increase the likelihood of the most desired candidate accepting the job. Interviewer behavior indirectly represents the organization (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011) and applicants extrapolate evaluations of the organization from this initial interaction. For example, interviewer use of phatic communication during the rapport building phase of the employment interview could affect applicants' impression of the interviewer and perhaps the organization. Previous interviewing approaches have focused on the importance of rapport building (Chapman & Zweig, 2005); however, unstructured rapport building is thought to prime interviewer biases before the formal interview takes place. Phatic communication provides a structured interaction, potentially minimizing these biases.

It is likely that the person interviewing the job applicants will be the new hire's direct manager or boss (Clark, 2012). Because of this, the applicant's interaction with the interviewer will likely affect not only impressions of the interviewer and the organization, but also expectations for the future employee-manager relationship. Evaluations of this relationship are important because they may determine whether the applicant finds the job desirable. Predicted outcome value theory (POV; Sunnafrank, 1986) makes predictions about how people will behave based on their evaluation of potential relational outcomes in initial interactions. POV argues that during initial interactions, such as job interviews, interactants evaluate potential relational

outcomes as positive or negative. For example, the use of a simple phatic script might provide comfort to the applicant, potentially leading him or her to have positive impressions and therefore evaluate the potential future relational outcomes as positive. In addition to POV, expectancy violations theory (EVT; Burgoon & Hale, 1988) provides direction on why particular use of phatic script may influence applicant impressions during employment interviews.

The current study uses POV and EVT to predict how interviewers' use of phatic communication will impact applicant impressions of the interviewer (i.e., future manager) based on their liking for the interviewer, their rating of the relational closeness of the interviewer, and their communication satisfaction during the employment interview.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Informal Communication in the Workplace

Informal communication plays an important role in organizations (Fay, 2011; Holmes, 2000). Informal communication serves the purpose of personal disclosure, sociality, support giving and getting, commiserating and complaining, and business update or exchange (Fay). Informal communication in the workplace can include casual talk (e.g., simple greetings, a shared joke, small talk), catching up, or gossip.

Informal workplace communication can serve as a “bridge” to business or work talk (Holmes, 2000). Business talk is defined as relevant talk, maximally informative, context-bound, and transactional (Holmes, 2000), whereas informal communication is defined as irrelevant talk, minimally informative, context-free, and social (Holmes, 2000; Laver, 1975; Mak & Chui, 2013). For example, discussing the weather with a coworker is informal communication; as it is minimally informative, can be discussed in any context, and informally connects interactants. In the opposite vein, other kinds of talk are highly informative, limited to particular situations, and formally connect interactants. For example, discussing a specific point in a meeting with a coworker is more formal; as it is highly informative, limited to the particular situation, and formally connects the coworkers. Informal communication can be used to ease conversation, defuse silence (Laver, 1975), and facilitate the transition from informal talk to formal or business talk between organizational members (Holmes, 2000).

Informal communication can also provide insight into how organizational members interact in the organization (Holmes, 2000). This is commonly referred to as the “water cooler effect” (Pentland, 2009). The “water cooler effect” is the notion that work relationships are managed through informal communication between coworkers, rather than through formal or

business talk (DiFonzo, 2008; Pentland, 2009). Conversations that take place at the “water cooler” can showcase the goings-on of the organization in an informal manner. Although these conversations tend to be more informal, they are rather important to the organizational culture and more complicated than previously thought (Fayard & Weeks, 2007).

Informal communication in the workplace can occur in both ongoing work relationships (e.g., coworkers; DiFonzo, 2008) and new work relationships (e.g., applicants and future bosses; Clark, 2012). For example, interviewers use informal communication with applicants, referred to commonly as rapport building (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). Regardless of the type of relationship or context, informal communication can manage the relationship and ease conversations (Laver, 1975). Some informal workplace communication takes the form of small talk exchanges.

Small talk or “shooting the breeze” is one kind of informal communication (Fay, 2011). Small talk has the capability to meet relational goals (Mak & Chui, 2013), but also functions to allow interaction with strangers. Small talk consists of two subcategories: social talk and phatic communication (see Table 1; Holmes, 2000; Mak & Chui, 2013). Phatic communication differs from social talk based on the goal or focus, content structure, content, frequency of use, proficiency, and acquaintance. The main goal of phatic communication is the contact between interactants, whereas for social talk, the content is more important. Phatic communication content is scripted unlike social talk, which is unscripted. For example, a scripted phatic response to “How are you?” is an almost automatic “Good” when the question is posed. Phatic communication is independent of the context and relationship, and is not meant to establish relations, whereas social talk depends upon the context and previous relationship with the interactant (Goldsmith & Baxter, 1996; Holmes, 2000). For example, “How are you?” can be used in any context, whereas, “How was your meeting this morning?” is more suitable at lunch

with a coworker than with a neighbor. Social talk may not be used every day, whereas phatic communication is a basic skill that is essential to daily life (Laver, 1975). As for proficiency, social talk is a skill that can be learned, improved, and is referred to as an art (Fine, 2005). This may be more difficult for some individuals than for others (e.g., those with sociolinguistic disabilities (Holmes, 2005; Holmes & Fillary, 2000); introverts, (Zack, 2010)). Prior acquaintance with the interactant may have an impact on the type of small talk used, but not necessarily. In other words, strangers may partake in social talk, but are more likely to partake in phatic communication; and prior acquaintances may only partake in phatic communication, but are more likely to partake in social talk.

Table 1

Small Talk Subcategories

	<u>Phatic Communication</u>	<u>Social Talk</u>
<i>Goal/Focus</i>	Contact	Content
<i>Content structure</i>	Scripted	Unscripted
<i>Content</i>	Context-free	Context-bound
<i>Frequency of use</i>	Nearly every interaction	Most interactions
<i>Proficiency</i>	Culturally embedded	Learned
<i>Acquaintance</i>	Strangers with partner	Prior acquaintance with partner
<i>Example</i>	How are you?	How was your meeting this morning?

Phatic communication has most recently been studied with regard to digital and social media (Schandorf, 2012), intercultural communication (Isurin, Furman, & White, 2015; Mak & Chui, 2013), and workplace communication (Fay, 2011). In her study, Fay conducted an empirical studying and provides a general overview of informal communication and its use in the

workplace; informal communication is complex and a narrower lens is needed to expand this field of research. Because phatic communication can help manage workplace relationships, more research into the use of phatic communication in a workplace context is needed.

Phatic Communication

Phatic communication is used in almost all interpersonal communication interactions. Based on research by Malinowski (1923), Laver (1975) and Jakobson (1960), phatic communication is defined as scripted communication interactions that function to ease conversation and manage relationships. For example, Jill greets a new employee for the first time by saying, “Good morning, how are you?” The new employee responds, “Good thanks, how are you?” Jill responds, “Good, see you around.” This initial interaction is highly scripted, enabling two strangers to interact with relative ease. Phatic communication is a universally used phase of interaction, and according to Malinowski, it “...fulfills a function to which the meaning of its words is almost completely irrelevant” (p. 313). The words are irrelevant because the function of phatic communication is not about the content of the message, but the mere contact between the interactants. This increased contact is also known as mere exposure (Zajonc, 1968) and has been shown to increase liking of stimuli due to perceived similarity and familiarity through repeated encounters (Bornstein, 1989; Moreland & Zajonc, 1982).

Phatic communication is pertinent in interpersonal interactions because it serves a few important purposes (Bickmore & Cassell, 2000; Laver, 1975; Malinowski, 1923; McCarthy, 2003). The purposes of phatic communication include easing conversation, defusing silence, and managing interpersonal relationships. Phatic communication is used with interaction partners ranging from strangers (e.g., new client, new organizational member) to familiar individuals (e.g., spouse, coworkers). Phatic communication allows strangers to communicate without any

prior knowledge of the other person and without the expectation of any future interactions (Andersen, 1991). Phatic communication also has a number of defining features: it is culturally embedded, noncontextual, and ritualistic.

Culturally embedded. Phatic communication is embedded in American culture (Malinowski, 1923), learned (Jakobson, 1960), and normally understood (Laver, 1975; Zegarac, 1998). This communication phase is so deeply embedded into social interaction that responses to phatic script require little to no conscious effort (Andersen, 1991). Responses to questions like “how do you like the weather?” or someone asking about your welfare are almost instantaneous with the question posed (Zegarac). As a result of the conditioned nature of the initiation and response, phatic utterances are sometimes considered to be trivial. As described by Malinowski:

Inquiries about health, comments on weather, affirmations of some supremely obvious of things—all such are exchanged, not in order to inform, not in this case to connect people in action, certainly not in order to express any thought... Each utterance is an act of serving the direct aim of binding hearer to speaker by a tie of some social sentiment or other. Once more language appears to us in this function not as an instrument of reflections but as a mode of action.” (p. 313-315).

In Malinowski’s description, phatic communication is not meant to escalate interpersonal relationships, but to connect people. Although the words being said may be trivial and scripted, phatic communication is expected according to cultural establishment (Laver, 1975).

Noncontextual. Phatic communication use occurs independent of the context (Coupland, Coupland, & Robinson, 1992). According to Malinowski (1923), “...[A phatic utterance] is not dependent upon what happens at that moment, it seems to be even deprived of any context of situation. The meaning of any utterance cannot be connected with the speaker’s or hearer’s

behaviour, with the purpose of what they are doing” (p. 313). For example, a phatic communication exchange with your boss at the grocery store can be the same as a phatic communication exchange with your boss in the office. When phatic communication becomes a function of the context, it is no longer considered phatic communication. In other words, when the content becomes specific to the context, the context is no longer the most important aspect of the interaction. The context of the interaction does not influence phatic communication (Coupland et al., 1992).

Ritualistic. Phatic communication has become ritualistic in its use (Laver, 1975; Myllyniemi, 1986; Pratt, Wiseman, Cody, & Wendt, 1999), meaning it is formulaic in response type and initiation. For example, phatic communication takes place at an administrative assistant’s desk when a coworker walking by asks, “How are you today?” and the administrative assistant responds automatically with “good” or “fine.” The coworker most likely says this to every colleague, and each colleague is conditioned to respond with a short, formulaic depiction of how he or she is. Phatic interactions are easy to conduct because most people know what is expected of the script. Interactants are able to insert a programmed question (e.g., “How are you?”) and answer with a predetermined response (e.g., “Good”). Ritualistic scripts allow for interactants to engage in conversation in a formulaic, simple manner.

Phatic communication is culturally embedded, noncontextual, and ritualistic. Phatic communication also helps ease conversation, defuse silence, and manage interpersonal relationships via propitiatory, exploratory, and initiatory functions (Laver, 1975).

Propitiatory. The propitiatory function serves to defuse silence and fill gaps in activities (Holmes, 2000; Laver, 1975). Propitiate means to appease or conciliate; in other words, to make things more comfortable (Merriam-Webster, 2015). For example, when coworkers Helen and

Pete are waiting during a break in a meeting for the next presentation to begin, phatic communication can be used as a tool to fill the silence (e.g., discussing the weather). In this example, Helen and Pete also use phatic communication to manage interpersonal relationships (Laver, 1975). Using phatic communication during interpersonal interactions is considered polite (Malinowski, 1923; Tracey & Coupland, 1990); when silence is present between interactants, it would be polite for an interactant to fill the gap, and using a phatic script is one way to do so. Phatic communication also manages face-threatening acts (Tracey & Coupland, 1990); for instance, if a face-threatening act results in silence, phatic communication can fill this gap in conversation. Phatic communication can be used to fill silence with familiar people, as demonstrated in the previous example, or with strangers. For example, if Helen is sitting next to a new client in a marketing meeting, she might comment on how she cannot believe it is only Tuesday. This interaction fills the silence and enables two strangers with no previous interpersonal relationship to converse. The propitiatory function of phatic communication facilitates contact between two people by filling gaps and defusing silence in perhaps any situation.

Exploratory. The second function of phatic communication, the exploratory function, enables the interactants to create a consensus of the interaction through indexical information (e.g., he has a nice suit on, so he has money) and phonetic features (e.g., high pitch of voice may show nervousness, or a low voice may mean he or she is in a leadership role). The content of information spoken during phatic communication is not relevant, but the way words are spoken and other observed information gives interactants the opportunity to assess other qualities of each other (Laver, 1975). Phatic communication exchanges provide an opportunity to gather useful information from other sources (i.e., indexical, phonetic).

Because phatic communication exchanges are scripted, interactants are more able to pay attention to other facets of the interaction. For example, an intern, Joe, says “Good Afternoon” to Helen and Pete as they walk by into their meeting. While enacting this phatic script, Joe can gather indexical and phonetic information. Joe might notice that Pete’s voice was very loud as he shouted, “Good Afternoon” back and conclude that Pete must be an obnoxious guy. Joe might also notice that Helen was dressed very sharply, so she may be the head manager on the firm’s marketing project. For subsequent interactions, Joe may approach Helen instead of Pete because Helen seems to be the more significant superior to build a connection with for his future career. This information is based on observation and may or may not be accurate, but it provides some concrete information about the individual (i.e., Pete is loud and Helen dresses well). Indexical and phonetic information acquired during phatic interactions can help interactants manage relationships and understand future interactions better.

Initiatory. The final function of phatic communication, the initiatory function, allows for the interaction to begin or end comfortably. Two main phases during which phatic communication takes place are the opening phase of interaction and the closing phase of interaction (Laver, 1975). For instance, Pete and Helen have been working on a project together all day. The workday ends, and as Pete leaves the office he says, “Have a good night” and Helen replies, “You too.” In this scenario, phatic communication is used to end the interaction comfortably. Phatic communication also aids in consolidating the relationship (Laver, 1975). For example, “See you later,” promises the continuation of the relationship and supports future meetings (Holmes, 2000; Laver, 1975).

Although the content of phatic communication is predominantly meaningless, managing relationships via propitiatory, exploratory, and initiatory functions (Laver, 1975) arguably gives

importance to phatic communication use in all interpersonal interactions. When phatic script is maintained by the interactants, this enables ease of conversation, defusing of silence, and management of relationships.

Phatic communication can be useful in relation to organizations, such as interviewing for a job position, starting a new job, meeting new clients for the first time, waiting for a meeting to start, and greeting or saying goodbye to coworkers. The current study examines the effect of phatic communication in employment interviews. For example, an applicant arrives at his or her employment interview and sits in the lobby waiting to be summoned by the interviewer. The interviewer indicates to his or her assistant that he or she is ready to see the applicant. The applicant enters the room or office, shakes the interviewer's hand and takes a seat. During this time, the interviewer will most likely greet the applicant and engage in phatic communication. The use of phatic script by the interviewer can create a degree of comfort for the applicant because the applicant can effortlessly respond to questions like, "How are you today?" This is because phatic communication is so culturally embedded and ritualistic that responses are automatic. Phatic communication will ease the start of the conversation, defuse silence, and manage the interpersonal relationship between the interviewer and the applicant. In the following section, more detail on employment interviews will be provided.

Employment Interviews

Employment interviews allow organizations and applicants the opportunity to gain insight into potential work relationships. Employment interviews' purpose is twofold: for organizations to determine if the applicant possesses necessary knowledge, skills, and abilities for the position (Macan, 2009) and to recruit the best employee possible. For the current study, the latter purpose is of interest.

Employment interviews are crucial because they showcase the applicants, interviewers, and the organization. Organizations aim to hire the best employees for the job and applicants want to choose the best job. Despite a decrease in unemployment (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015b) in the United States over the last 5 years, job openings have steadily increased (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015a). In other words, organizations must compete to hire the best applicants because of the broad availability of jobs. Applicants have become more selective in the jobs they will take (Crotty, 2012; Lucas, 2014). Eighty percent of recent college graduates reported they were willing to move to a new city for a job if they felt it was a good career opportunity (Dame, 2013). Applicants are looking for jobs that will improve their careers. Not only is it important for applicants to present themselves well, but also for interviewers to do all they can to positively represent the organization to appeal to selective applicants.

The employment interview is used for recruitment and selection in organizations (Rynes, 1989). “In general, the relative emphasis placed on recruitment versus selection is hypothesized to flow from the labor market (e.g., relative supply and demand) and vacancy characteristics (e.g., job and organizational attractiveness)” (Rynes, 1989, p. 128). That is to say, an employment interview is used for recruitment when 1) demand for workers is high, 2) the supply of workers is low, and 3) job attractiveness and organizational attractiveness are low for prospective employees. In the opposite vein, employment interviews are used for selection when 1) demand for workers is low, 2) the supply of workers is high, and 3) job and organizational attractiveness are high. Given the favorable labor market conditions for applicants, this study focuses on the recruitment function of employment interviews to learn more about how interviewers can influence applicant impressions of the interviewer and indirectly, the

organization. The impressions formed about the interviewer may affect the future working relationship.

Employment interviewers can be human resources professionals (e.g., hiring manager; Grigoryev, 2006), staff from outside hiring or recruiting firms (e.g., headhunters; Finlay & Coverdill, 2000), or the potential future boss of the applicant (Clark, 2012). Depending upon the organizational makeup and the job that needs to be filled, the employment interviewer will differ. For example, if a large company is recruiting a CEO, then the company is likely to hire a headhunter to obtain the best candidates (Finlay & Coverdill, 2000). Headhunters and hiring managers presumably will not be in direct working relationships with the individuals they interview. That is, the relationship between these interviewers and applicants concludes after the interview process. However, in other cases, it is relatively common for the direct supervisor to conduct interviews (Clark, 2012; Garrett, 2013). In these cases, the interview takes on more importance because of the expectation that the interviewer and the applicant will work together if the applicant is hired. The focus here is on this latter type of interview; particularly of interest is the applicant's evaluation of the potential continuing relationship between the interviewer and the applicant and whether the applicant perceives this relationship as having positive or negative outcomes.

The process of hiring and onboarding (e.g., socializing, assimilating) new employees is expensive for organizations. Recruiting, interviewing, and training applicants costs the organization time and money (Boushey & Glynn, 2012; Mornell, 1998). It generally costs an organization about one-fifth of an employee's salary to replace that employee (Boushey & Glynn, 2012). The cost of turnover can lead to consequences concerning productivity (e.g., sales and output), financial performance, customer outcomes (e.g., service quality), and safety (e.g.,

accident rates; Hancock, Allen, Bosco, McDaniel, & Pierce, 2013). The average U.S. worker today has approximately 11 jobs in a career; sixty-nine percent of workers from the ages of 18-24 will leave their organizations less than a year after being hired (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015c). Workers are changing jobs frequently; therefore, organizations want to do what they can to reduce the likelihood of turnover. Employment interviews may be used for preliminary screening of applicants or used during later stages of the selection process to determine who will be chosen for the job (Eder, Kacmar, & Ferris, 1989; Macan, 2009). Organizations have to work hard not only to hire applicants with the best talent, but ones with a foreseeable future with the organization via the interviewing process.

Although the purpose of job interviews is purportedly to find out whether the candidate is able to do the job, employment interview research has found that aspects apart from job-related criteria have an influence on hiring decisions. For example, the handshake (Stewart et al., 2008) and other nonverbal cues (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Baron, 1989; Frauendorfer, Schmid Mast, Nguyen, & Gatica-Perez, 2014; Huffcutt, 2011; Ruben et al., 2015; Tullar, 1989) affect hiring decisions. Even the smallest of contributions to a job interview (e.g., quality of handshake; Stewart et al., 2008) could lead to significant outcomes for the applicant. Although the impacts of these elements on the outcomes for applicants are well documented, the impact on employers' outcome is less so. The same elements are likely to impact applicants' impressions of the interviewer and indirectly, the organization. For example, if the interviewer is shabbily dressed, the applicant might draw a conclusion about salaries at the organization. Interviewers may want to carefully manage their behavior during employment interviews because of the potential impact these elements can have. In a market where the best candidates are in high demand and highly

selective, it is beneficial for the organization to appear desirable so when a job offer is extended, there is no question that the candidate will accept.

Employment interview structure. According to Tullar (1989), employment interviews consist of five phases of interaction, which include precontact activities, greeting and rapport building, asking job related questions, answering applicant questions, and disengagement. Precontact activities may include applicants researching the organization they will be interviewing with, or the interviewer looking over the applicant's résumé. Greeting and rapport building happens next. This is followed by the asking and answering of job related questions. These questions can either be structured (i.e., predetermined) or unstructured (i.e., particular to each interview); structured job related questions are more commonly used in employment interviews and are more valid than unstructured interview questions (Dipboye, 1994). After questions are asked of the applicant, there is an opportunity for applicants to ask questions of the interviewer. Finally, disengagement concludes the interview; this phase includes the departure of the applicant from the interview. Each organization has a particular way they conduct interviews, though research (e.g., Dipboye, 1982; Laskowski, 1997) suggests these five phases constitute the accepted framework when conducting employment interviews.

A relatively new area of research explores the second phase of interaction, greeting and rapport building, and its impact on hiring decisions. Greeting and rapport building is an unstructured period of time before the employment interview begins where interviewers and applicants partake in small talk (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). During the greeting and rapport building phase, the applicant and interviewer talk informally about various topics such as their hobbies or hometown. Rapport building is referred to in the literature as small talk that creates initial impressions of the applicant (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). Greeting and rapport building has

been measured as a 2-3 minute time period at the beginning of the employment interview (Barrick, Swider, & Stewart, 2010; Swider, Barrick, Harris, & Stoverink, 2011). The impression created during this time period is influential; Barrick et al. (2010) found that the initial impression of the applicant was positively related to interview rating and whether or not the applicant was offered an internship. However, greeting and rapport building may bias the interviewer's impression of the applicant before gathering information in the structured interview (Barrick, Dustin, Giluk, Stewart, Shaffer, & Swider, 2012; Dipboye, 1994) or it may bias the applicant's impression of the interviewer and organization. Biases create a false impression and mask other aspects of the individual. These false impressions are not representative of whether the applicant has the ability to do the job. Although interviewers may think that rapport building is benefiting their outlook, it may lead them to evaluate applicants based on a bias (e.g., similar-to-me bias, halo effect, contrast error; Arvey & Campion, 1982; confirmatory bias; Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002). Therefore, organizations may hire people who are incapable of doing the job simply because of a false impression gathered during that 2-3 minute time period.

Recent findings suggest that rapport building should be eliminated, minimized, or standardized to lessen the effect rapport building has on job applicant selection because of its unstructured nature (Levashina, Hartwell, Morgeson, & Campion, 2014). Unstructured rapport building enables applicants and interviewers to discuss, essentially, anything, which could then lead to interview bias from this information (e.g., same favorite baseball team; opposite political views). However, eliminating rapport building is unlikely due to the customary format of the employment interview (Chapman & Zweig, 2005; Levashina et al., 2014). In other words, it would be awkward to start an interview with no introduction of any kind. Also, during rapport building, applicants are more open in providing information and interviewers are able to gauge

personality aspects of the applicant before the formal interviewing process begins; thus, there is a desire to preserve rapport building (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). Every rapport building interaction is subject to change and creates the potential for incorrect information to influence employment decisions from the interviewer. These biases can apply to applicants' judgments of the interviewer as well.

Research suggests that putting limitations on the rapport building phase of the interview will decrease the effects of interview bias. To lessen the effects of interview bias, it is suggested to limit the length of time for rapport building (Barrick et al., 2010) and to structure the content of rapport building (Levashina et al., 2014). One potential solution to this problem is the strategic use of phatic communication during this initial interaction. Phatic communication provides a structured interaction, and by following phatic scripts, the interviewer can establish comfort for the applicant while minimizing bias that may develop from other methods of rapport building. Because phatic communication is ritualistic it can be used to ease entry into the interview while avoiding the biases created during unstructured rapport building. Research is limited on the potential effects of phatic communication use and its use as a means to avoid these biases during employment interviews

The employment interview may be considered an initial interaction, if this is the first time the applicant and interviewer meet. Communication theory on initial interactions can suggest how applicants may respond to the use of phatic communication during employment interviews, particularly when the interviewer is the potential future manager of the applicant.

Initial Interactions

An initial interaction is the first encounter between two strangers (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). From this interaction, interactants gather impressions of each other, whether positive or

negative. Initial interactions have inspired theories such as uncertainty reduction theory (URT) and predicted outcome value theory (POV). These theories propose alternative approaches for examining initial interaction and will be discussed further.

Uncertainty reduction theory. URT predicts that uncertainty (i.e., doubt, hesitation) is high during initial interactions and interactants try to reduce it (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). URT proposes the amount of uncertainty in any given interaction is affected by the amount of verbal communication, nonverbal affiliative expressiveness, and interactant similarities; as these variables increase, uncertainty decreases. In addition, the amount of uncertainty influences both behaviors and attitudes, including information-seeking, intimacy level of communication content, reciprocity rates, and liking (Berger & Calabrese, 1975). URT is one of the first known approaches to explaining behavior and attitudes in initial interactions. Research in URT is saturated (e.g., Berger, 2006; Kellerman & Reynolds, 1990; Kramer, 1999) and focuses specifically on reducing uncertainty in interactions. As an alternative to URT, Sunnafrank (1986) posited POV, which focuses on evaluations of relational outcomes based on initial interactions. POV is particularly relevant to the context of this study, as applicants during an employment interview are evaluating the potential outcomes of a relationship with the interviewer (i.e., potential future supervisor).

Predicted outcome value theory. POV argues that rather than being driven by a need to reduce uncertainty as suggested by URT, interactants' main goal in initial interactions is to maximize relational outcomes determined by predicting whether the value of the interaction is positive or negative (i.e., reward-cost ratio). For example, when an individual assesses the interaction to be positive, he or she will want to continue the interaction; when an individual assesses the interaction to be negative, he or she will want to terminate the interaction and avoid

future interaction (Sunnafrank, 1986). POV is based in part on social penetration theory (see Altman & Taylor, 1973) in that POV stems from the first phase of interpersonal interactions.

POV suggests that interactant efforts in initial interactions affect perceived relational outcomes. Relational outcomes consist of the potential drawbacks and benefits associated with the interaction. For example, loyalty and satisfaction (Clark & Melancon, 2013) has been studied as relational outcomes. In his initial studies, Sunnafrank (1988; 1990) paired dyads of students on the first day of class and had them interact with each other for several minutes. The students then answered a series of questions to assess predicted outcome value and other outcomes from the initial interactions. Predicted outcome value is an interactant's evaluation of potential relational outcomes, whether positive or negative (Sunnafrank, 1988). Sunnafrank (1988; 1990) found that information-seeking increased when predicted outcome value was positive and decreased when predicted outcome value was negative. He accounts for these results by suggesting that when individuals deem the predicted outcome value to be positive, they desire to continue the interaction and the relationship; therefore, information-seeking by the individual increases. Sunnafrank (1990) also proposes that, "positive predicted outcome value leads individuals to communicate in a manner calculated to continue, expand, or escalate their interaction and relationship with initial interaction partners" (p. 82). In other words, evaluations of a potential future relationship based on an initial interaction will impact the current interaction and interactant behavior.

Recent work in POV has expanded from initial interaction studies to brief encounters (Sunnafrank & Ramirez, 2004) to ongoing relationships (Ramirez, Sunnafrank, & Goei, 2010) and has focused on student-teacher relationships as the leading area of interest (e.g., Bippus, Kearny, Plax, & Brooks, 2003; Horan & Houser, 2012; Horan, Houser, Goodboy, & Frymier,

2011). Previous POV research found predicted outcome value is positively related to other variables such as conversational skills (Horan et al., 2011), amount of communication (Sunnafrank & Ramirez, 2004), and social accessibility (Bippus et al., 2003).

In an organizational context, POV has been used to study newcomer socialization (Madlock & Horan, 2009). Madlock and Horan found that positive predicted outcome value was positively associated with higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment. POV research in workplace settings is relatively limited and more empirical work is needed to test the predictions proposed by Sunnafrank (1986) in new contexts and with different outcomes.

The current study uses predicted outcome value assessments during employment interviews to predict applicant responses to the interviewer's use of phatic communication. It is argued that during employment interviews, applicants are evaluating the predicted outcome value of the potential future relationship. Phatic communication use (i.e., phatic communication, phatic communication violation, or absence of phatic communication) may impact predicted outcome value as phatic communication use in initial interactions could hinder or enhance perceptions of the interviewer. In cases where the interviewer is the applicant's potential future manager, the interviewers' behavior during the employment interview may have particular importance for applicant impressions.

Phatic Communication and POV

POV (Sunnafrank, 1986) proposes that when predicted outcome value is assessed as positive during initial interactions the interactant will want to continue the relationship. Phatic communication that follows phatic script is the expected norm for initial interactions. For example, responding with a short, vague utterance such as "good" to the question, "how are you?" is the expectation during initial interactions. Following phatic script may enhance

perceptions of the interactants because of the functions phatic communication serves. Phatic communication eases conversation and defuses silence (Laver, 1975); this can create a positive interpretation of the interaction and therefore the interactant. It is expected that initial interactions that begin with and follow phatic script will create a positive predicted outcome value for the interactants.

When predicted outcome value is assessed as low (or less positive), interactants will desire to terminate the interaction and discourage a future relationship. However, POV does not address the contributing factors of a less positive predicted outcome value. Here, it is argued that phatic communication is relevant because lower ratings of predicted outcome value could be produced by behaviors that might occur during a phatic interaction (e.g., oversharing, expectancy violation). These behaviors might include responses to phatic script that are unusual (Laver, 1975), adverse (Malinowski, 1923), or nonphatic (Coupland et al., 1992). POV does not address violations of phatic communication directly, but it is expected that they will result in a lower predicted outcome value. Expectancy violations theory (EVT; Burgoon & Hale, 1988) can shed some light on why phatic communication violations might lead to lower predicted outcome values.

EVT suggests that interactants develop expectations about the communication behaviors of others (Burgoon, 1978). According to EVT, when an expectation violation occurs and perceived as negative, the interactants may experience uneasiness (i.e., heightened arousal), misinterpretation, or change in attitude toward the violator. Research (e.g., Burgoon, 1993; Gudykunst, 1995; Mendes, Blascovich, Hunter, Lickel, & Jost, 2007) shows that individuals who interpret a violation as negative form negative impressions and display less positive behavior towards the person that violated the expectation. Although phatic communication is the expected

norm, phatic script is not always followed by the interactants. Phatic communication violations may lead to negative impressions, including negative predicted outcome value.

One way people may violate phatic script is by responding in ways that are seemingly unusual. For example, Jill greets her boss every morning by saying, “Good morning, how are you today?” Her boss responds, “Marvelous, how are you?” Jill replies, “Good, thanks.” The boss walks past Jill’s desk into his or her office and thus, the interaction concludes. This unexpected or differing response (e.g., marvelous, dandy, terrible) goes against phatic script and therefore constitutes a violation of phatic script. Another way people may violate phatic script is by responding with a more adverse response. According to Malinowski (1923), phatic communication is “a mere phrase of politeness” (p. 313); the content of phatic communication tends to be more affirmative than adverse. In a previous example, Jill greets a new employee and his or her response is “Good.” An affirmative response (i.e., good) is the expected, scripted norm. However, it is possible for a phatic response to be adverse. For example, Jill asks her boss, “how are you?” and he or she responds, “Terrible, how are you?” An adverse response is not the expected norm and is therefore a violation of phatic script. Phatic communication violation occurs because of an unusual, adverse, or nonphatic response to a basic phatic question like, “How are you?” Combining POV and EVT would suggest that violations of these kinds would result in a negative predicted outcome value.

During phatic communication exchange, interactants may choose to respond with a phatic response, or a nonphatic response. In the previous examples, Jill may choose to respond with phatic script, “Good, see you around.” Or Jill may choose to break phatic script and elaborate by saying, “I’m good; why marvelous/terrible? Would you like to talk about it?” If Jill were to elaborate, then a phatic communication violation has occurred. Coupland et al. (1992) found that

responses to phatic script differ and may be reciprocated with a nonphatic response; accordingly, a nonphatic response is an expectancy violation. In this case, if the content ever were to become more important than the contact, the interaction would no longer be phatic communication exchange; however, if the contact remains more important than the content, the interaction remains a phatic communication exchange.

It is possible for an unusual or adverse response to become an expected response. If Jill's boss responds the same unusual way every morning, "Marvelous, how are you?" the repetition of this interaction each morning becomes scripted, so there is no violation and the interaction is phatic. In a similar vein, if Jill's boss responds "Terrible" each time when asked, "How are you?" phatic communication is still taking place, for "terrible" is the expected response. Because Jill expects her boss to respond with "marvelous" or "terrible" each morning, the content ceases to have meaning and the contact becomes the most important part of the interaction. The words exchanged between Jill and her boss every morning are not important, but the interpersonal contact that takes place every day is. Therefore, because there is no violation of phatic script, predicted outcome value is likely to be assessed as positive.

Phatic Communication and POV: Employment Interviews

Both applicants and interviewers want to make a good impression; here the focus is on the efforts of the interviewers to recruit applicants. POV (Sunnafrank, 1986; Sunnafrank & Ramirez, 2004) argues that impressions during initial interactions predict whether the interactant will want to continue the relationship. In an employment interview, initial impressions may determine whether or not the applicant believes the manager is someone he or she would like to work with or for. In essence, the interview is the start of a working relationship between the applicant (i.e., employee) and the interviewer (i.e., manager); and also, the start of an employee-

organization relationship. If the predicted outcome value is judged to be positive, then the applicant will want to continue the relationship; if the predicted outcome value is judged to be negative, then the applicant will want to terminate the interaction and discourage a future relationship.

It is expected that if the interviewer follows phatic script, this will create a more positive predicted outcome value for the applicant; therefore, the applicant will want to continue the relationship with the interviewer. If the interviewer violates an expected phatic script, predicted outcome value will likely be judged to be less positive; in this case, the applicant will want to terminate the interaction. Based on POV and EVT predictions, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H1: When phatic communication follows the script, predicted outcome value will be higher than when a phatic communication violation occurs in employment interviews.

Unstructured interactions during the rapport building stage or eliminating the rapport building stage may influence applicant perceptions of the interviewer differently. Some research (Barrick et al., 2010; Levashina et al., 2014) suggests rapport building is not a good idea for the interview process because of potential interview biases developed in this stage of the interview. However, the complete removal of rapport building goes against research (Chapman & Zweig, 2005) that supports rapport building because it allows interviewers to gauge interactant personalities. In the same vein, the complete absence of phatic communication in initial interactions would go against previous research (Laver, 1975; Malinowski, 1923) that suggests phatic interactions serve to manage interpersonal relationships; therefore, the absence of phatic communication may influence predicted outcome value. For example, if a cheerful applicant says, "Hello, nice weather we are having!" and the interviewer blatantly ignores the statement

and begins the structured interview questions, then as a result, the applicant's predicted outcome value is likely to be lower. Previous research is unclear about predictions between phatic communication violation and the absence of phatic communication during initial interactions.

The following research question is posed:

RQ1: How will predicted outcome value be rated when a phatic communication violation occurs compared to when phatic communication is absent in employment interviews?

POV Outcomes

The current study focuses on outcomes expected to be relevant to the employee-manager relationship: from POV, liking will be included. Communication satisfaction and relational closeness are also examined as they are expected to be relevant to the interview setting.

Liking. A positively associated feeling or fondness towards an individual is known as liking (Seligman, Fazio, & Zanna, 1980). It is important for interviewers to be liked by applicants. Liking for the interviewer may predict further positive relational outcomes for the applicant and interviewer relationship, such as job satisfaction (Simon, Judge, & Halvorsen-Ganepola, 2010). According to POV, when interactants rate predicted outcome value more positively, liking increases and when they rate predicted outcome value more negatively, liking decreases. It is predicted that if the applicant evaluates the employment interview as having a positive predicted outcome value, then his or her liking for the interviewer will also be more positive.

H2: During initial interactions, predicted outcome value and liking will be positively correlated.

Relational closeness. Relational closeness is the level of relational connection individuals perceive during an interaction. Research (Burgoon & Hale, 1987) indicates there are

several dimensions of relational closeness (e.g., similarity, formality, intimacy); in somewhat accordance with POV, the intimacy dimension of relational closeness is of interest. This dimension of relational closeness is how people perceive others to attempt to establish a relational connection during a conversation (Burgoon & Hale, 1984; 1987). Examining this dimension of relational closeness provides an extension of POV. This dimension is included in this study because of the emphasis on impressions of the interviewer, rather than the interpretation of the specific content of the conversation. This study proposes that relational closeness will be higher when predicted outcome value is rated positively and will be lower when predicted outcome value is rated negatively. When the applicant expects the outcome of the employment interview to be more positive (i.e., future interactions with the interviewer; getting the job), then relational closeness will also be more positive; and when the predicted outcome value is rated more negatively, then relational closeness will also be rated more negatively.

H3: During initial interactions, predicted outcome value and relational closeness will be positively correlated.

Communication satisfaction. Communication satisfaction is the amount of satisfaction an individual gains from a conversation (Hecht, 1978). Communication satisfaction is included in the study because of its relevance to organizational communication research. It also represents an extension of POV into communication-focused variables. Research shows that communication satisfaction is positively related to organizational outcomes, such as job performance (Tsai, Chuang, & Hsieh, 2002), job satisfaction (Pettit, Goris, & Vaught, 1997), and organizational commitment (Putti, Aryee, & Phua, 1990; Varona, 1996) and negatively associated with turnover (Tsai et al., 2002). Communication satisfaction in employment

interviews may predict future organizational outcomes for the applicant. It is predicted that if the applicant rates predicted outcome value of the interviewer more positively, then his or her communication satisfaction will also be higher.

H4: During initial interactions, predicted outcome value and communication satisfaction will be positively correlated.

The proposed hypotheses test a POV prediction with phatic communication use in an employment interview context, and potentially expand POV with the addition of relational closeness and communication satisfaction. This study examines the impact of phatic communication use, phatic communication violation, and the absence of phatic communication during employment interviews on outcome variables. A model was created in order to show the predicted relationships between phatic communication use, predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. A structural equation model (SEM) is useful for a variety of reasons. SEM allows for greater overview of the data (Stull, 2008), helps control Type I error (i.e., incorrectly rejecting the null hypothesis, Kline, 2004), corrects for measurement error (Nachtigall, Kroehne, Funke, & Steyer, 2003), institutes content validity of indicators, informs construct validity of constructs (Garver & Mentzer, 1999), and encourages careful theoretical considerations. Figure 1 shows the structural model for the predictions of this study. The structural model rather than the measurement model is shown to highlight the relationships between the latent variables.

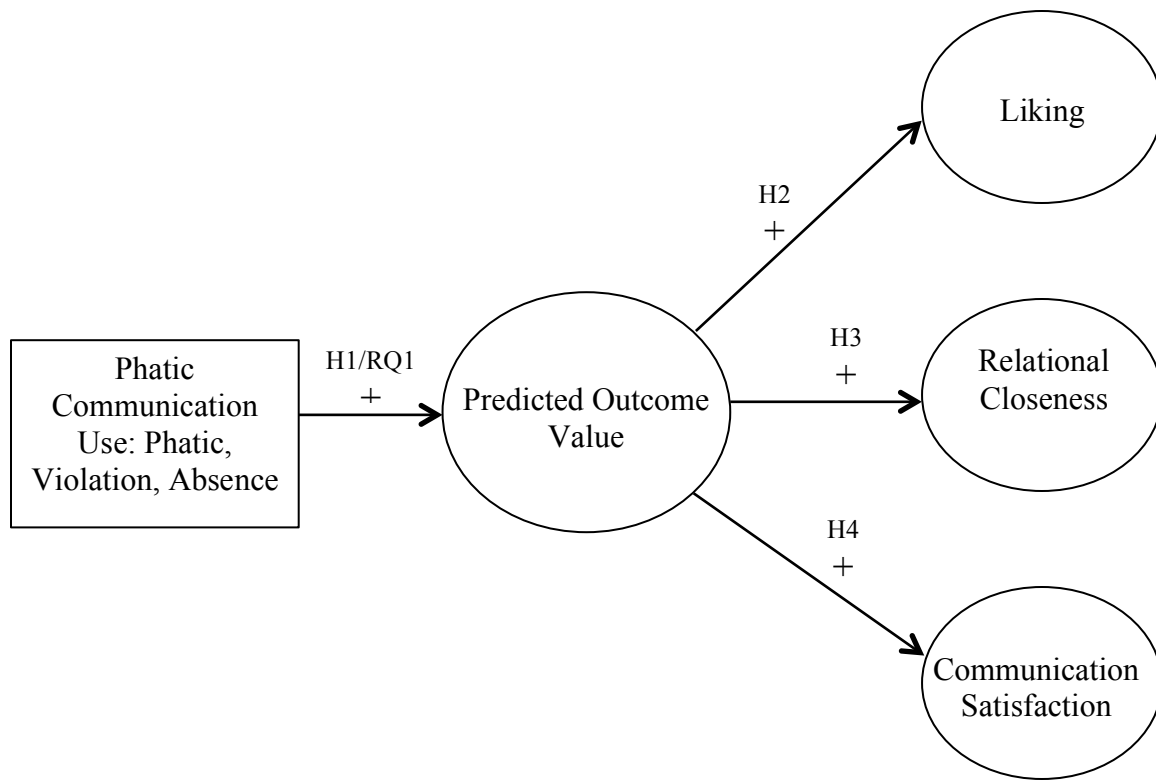


Figure 1. Proposed Structural POV Model

METHOD

Participants

The participants (N= 99) for this study were recruited through communication classes. The participants were awarded class credit for their participation in accordance with the requirements of their instructors. College students were targeted for participation because they were expected to be relatively similar to first-time job applicants and their responses to the interview stimulus should provide a good approximation for responses of real job applicants. See Table 2 for demographic information.

Table 2

Participant Background Demographics

		(N=99)
Sex	Male	44 (44.4%)
	Female	55 (55.6%)
Ethnicity	Caucasian	84 (84.8%)
	African American	5 (5.1%)
	Hispanic	4 (4.0%)
	Asian American	3 (3.0%)
	Other	3 (3.0%)
Year in school	Freshman	57 (57.6%)
	Sophomore	31 (31.3%)
	Junior	6 (6.1%)
	Senior	4 (4.0%)
	Other	1 (1.0%)
Age		19.26 (2.81)

Participants were asked to identify if they were international students because it was anticipated that phatic communication might not produce the same responses for this group. Phatic communication has been studied in terms of American culture and other cultures may or

may not use this type of communication during initial interactions. Ten participants indicated they were international students. Independent samples t-tests were used to test for a difference between native United States citizens and international students on all the dependent variables. Results show non-significant differences between international students and non-international students on the main variables (See Table 3), so all participants were retained in the main analyses.

Table 3

Non-International Students vs. International Students Independent Samples T-tests

	Non-International (N=89)	International (N=10)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> -value
Predicted Outcome Value	5.12 (.93)	5.34 (.77)	-.74	.46
Liking	5.35 (1.07)	4.75 (1.03)	1.70	.09
Relational Closeness	4.56 (.91)	5.01 (.86)	-1.51	.13
Communication Satisfaction	4.84 (.91)	4.95 (.83)	-.39	.70

**p*<.05

Note. The sample size might be too small to have power to say with confidence that the scores were not different for these comparison groups.

The majority of participants (N=94) reported they had previous work experience; five participants did not. Of those with previous work experience, 90.3% indicated they were interviewed by their future boss or manager, 6.5% were interviewed by human resources and 3.2% reported they were unsure of who interviewed them or were interviewed by both human resources and their future boss or supervisor. About half (N = 53) of the sample reported they were currently employed. Those who were currently working averaged 13.42 hours a week (*SD* = 8.64).

Design

To test the hypotheses and answer the research question, a lab experiment was conducted with three conditions: the absence of phatic communication (N=30), phatic communication (N=33), and phatic communication violation (N=36). Using a die, each participant was randomly assigned to one of three conditions. Random assignment to conditions decreases the likelihood that personal characteristics of the participants will have a systematic effect on the dependent variables. Each interview was audio recorded for the purpose of the manipulation check.

Procedure

Participants were invited to join in a mock job interview with an interviewer, who was played by a confederate. Upon arriving at the lab, the participant was met by the researcher. The researcher followed the same script with each participant (see Appendix A). In the script, the researcher informed the participant that we are conducting mock job interviews and the student will be the applicant interviewing for a research assistant position and the interviewer is his or her potential future supervisor.

Following this introduction, the researcher escorted the applicant to the interview room. The applicant entered the room and he or she was greeted by the interviewer using one of the three conditions (see Appendix B for conditions). As part of the interview premise, participants (i.e., applicants) answered three structured interview questions (Bureau of Human Resources, 2005; see Appendix C). After the interview concluded with the last structured interview question, the interviewer opened the door. This act signaled to the researcher that the interview was complete. The researcher then escorted the applicant to another room to complete the survey items. The applicant was moved to a separate room to complete the survey so he or she would feel more comfortable answering questions that asked for opinions about the interviewer. The

survey included measures for demographic information (see Appendix D), predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. The employment interview and survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete. After completing the survey, participants were given a handout with general advice about employment interviews and their performance and then thanked for their participation.

Confederates

Two female confederates were the interviewers for all participants. The sex of the interviewer was held constant to eliminate any effect on the dependent variables. An independent samples t- test showed a non-significant difference between the interviewers on the main variables of the study (See table 4). Each of the confederates practiced the mock interview with the researcher prior to data collection multiple times to ensure consistency in message delivery. During training some wording of the script was modified slightly to come across as more conversational (e.g., “I am” was changed to “I’m”). Table 4 shows comparisons between the two confederates on each of the main variables (i.e., predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction). Because there were no significant differences, data from both interviewers were collapsed for the main analyses.

Table 4

Interviewer 1 vs. Interviewer 2 Independent Samples T-tests

	Interviewer 1 (N=62)	Interviewer 2 (N=37)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> value
Predicted Outcome Value	5.18 (.88)	5.07 (.97)	-.61	.54
Liking	5.38 (1.00)	5.15 (1.19)	-1.03	.31
Relational Closeness	4.56 (.88)	4.68 (.96)	.62	.54
Communication Satisfaction	4.73 (.90)	5.05 (.85)	1.76	.08

* $p < .05$

Note. The sample size might be too small to have power to say with confidence that the scores were not different for these comparison groups.

Message Manipulation

Participants were exposed to one of three conditions in this study (scripts for all three conditions are in Appendix B). In the first condition, the absence of phatic communication, the interviewer began the interview by saying, “Hi, let’s get started” and immediately followed that by asking structured interview questions. The second condition used phatic communication before the structured questions were asked. Specifically, the interviewer initiated phatic communication by asking the participant “How are you?” and then followed the expected responses. If the participant did not respond with a phatic response, the interviewer continued the script as presented. In the third condition, phatic communication violation, the interviewer used phatic communication that deviated from phatic script. The interviewer initiated the same phatic script by asking the participant “How are you?” but then committed a phatic communication violation by oversharing personal information. The violation used in this condition also violates conversational norms; specifically, the third condition violates Gricean maxims of relation and quantity (Grice, 1975). The relation maxim states that information presented in conversation

should “be relevant” (Grice, p. 46). This maxim is violated as the interviewer interjects irrelevant information into the conversation. Quantity has two maxims: 1) “Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)” and 2) “Do not make your contribution more informative than is required” (Grice, p. 45). Both maxims are violated as the interviewer provides more information than is required.

A check was performed after approximately 10% of the data were collected to determine if any adjustments to the script or planned behavior of the confederate were needed. At that point, the question, “That’s all the questions I have for you; is there anything else you’d like to add?” was added to the interviewer’s script to create a smoother transition to end the interview. After the data were collected, any deviations from phatic responses by the participant were noted and reviewed by the researcher. These deviations were reviewed for adherence to the definition of phatic communication as presented earlier in this paper. In three instances, a deviation from the absence of phatic communication condition occurred and the participants were removed from the sample. One case was removed because the participant said, “have a good day” after the interview concluded and the interviewer responded, “you too.” Two more cases were removed for use of phatic communication by the interviewer in the absence of phatic communication condition; 1) The interviewer accidentally said, “how are you” at the beginning of the interview and 2) the applicant said “how are you” and the interviewer responded, “good.” These two cases were removed because the interviewer used phatic communication, when the condition was meant to remain free of phatic communication from that of the interviewer. However, if the applicant were to partake in phatic communication during the absence of phatic communication condition, then the case was not removed. This is because the study was concerned about the

applicants' perceptions of the interviewer's use or absence of phatic communication, not on whether the applicant initiated or followed phatic interaction or not.

Measures

This study included measures for predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. All of the measures used for the current study were assessed using 7-point Likert-type scales.

Predicted outcome value. To gauge predicted outcome value, Sunnafrank's (1988) 10-item measure was used. The questions measured the extent to which a participant found the interaction more or less positive on a scale from 1 (much less positive) to 7 (much more positive). The scale was modified slightly to match the interview context (e.g., changing "partner" to "interviewer"). For example, one item reads, "What is your general expectation of a future relationship with your interviewer?". Higher scores on this scale indicate that future interactions are perceived as more positive. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted in AMOS. To improve model fit, three scale items were removed. After this, the model fit indices showed overall acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(14) = 34.95$, Confirmatory Fit Index (CFI) = .94, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) = .12. Therefore, 7 of the 10 items were retained. Table 5 shows generally accepted model fit statistics. This measure had a reliability (Cronbach's α) of .86. The previously reported reliability was .93 (Sunnafrank, 1988).

Table 5

Generally Accepted Model Fit Statistics

	<u>Poor fit</u>	<u>Mediocre fit</u>	<u>Acceptable fit</u>	<u>Close fit</u>	<u>Exact fit</u>
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)*	>.10	.08-.10	.05-.08	.01-.05	.00
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	<.85	.85-.90	.90-.95	.95-.99	1.00

Note. This information was found in Hooper, Coughlan, & Mullen (2008).

*RMSEA is an anomaly; and with a smaller sample size, RMSEA too often falsely indicates a poor fitting model (Kenny, Kaniskan, & McCoach, 2014).

Liking. Liking was assessed using McCroskey and McCain's (1974) Social Attraction measure. This measure consisted of five items measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated a greater level of liking for the interviewer. For example, "I think he could be a friend of mine" is one item from the measure. CFA was conducted in AMOS. To improve model fit, one scale item was removed. Model fit indices showed acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(2) = 13.52$, CFI = .95, RMSEA=.23. Therefore, 4 of the 5 items were retained. This measure had a reliability (Cronbach's α) of .86. The measure has a previously reported reliability of .82 (Sunnafrank, 1988).

Relational closeness. Relational closeness was measured with the intimacy dimension of Burgoon and Hale's (1987) relational communication measure. The intimacy dimension included seven items measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated higher relational closeness with the interviewer. For example, "The interviewer wanted me to trust her" is one item from Burgoon and Hale's measure. CFA was conducted in AMOS. Model fit indices showed mediocre fit to the data,

$\chi^2(14) = 37.70$, CFI = .87, RMSEA=.13. All 7 items were retained. From the data, this measure had a reliability (Cronbach's α) of .79. Burgoon and Hale reported a reliability score of .72.

Communication satisfaction. Communication satisfaction was measured with Hecht's (1978) 19-item communication satisfaction measure. This scale measured the level to which the conversation was satisfying or dissatisfying to the interactant. Hecht's communication satisfaction scale was modified slightly to match the interview context (e.g., changing "partner" to "interviewer"; changing "intimate" to "personal"). One item ("I had something else to do") was removed before data collection, because it did not pertain to the current study, leaving 18 items in the scale. A sample item reads as follows, "I would like to have another conversation like this one." The measure was assessed on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicated higher satisfaction with the interaction. CFA was conducted in AMOS. Two scale items were removed to improve model fit. Model fit indices for the remaining 16 items showed mediocre fit to the data, $\chi^2(90) = 182.41$, CFI = .86, RMSEA= .10. This measure had a reliability (Cronbach's α) of .89.

Structural POV Model: AMOS

In order to run the proposed model in AMOS, the data were dummy coded to account for the three phatic communication conditions (i.e., absence, phatic, violation). AMOS is programmed only to function with continuous variables or nominal variables with two categories; dummy coding allows for a variable with three or more categories to be tested (See Aiken, Stein, & Bentler, 1994; Russell, Kahn, Spoth, & Altmaier, 1998). For the current study, dummy codes (i.e., 1 or 0) were assigned to two designated variables that substitute for phatic condition in the model. After the data were dummy coded, the model was built in AMOS (See Figure 2). Dummy code 1 represents a comparison between phatic communication and phatic

communication violation. Dummy code 2 represents a comparison between the phatic communication violation and the absence of phatic communication conditions. A third dummy code is not needed, as the comparison between the absence of phatic communication and phatic communication conditions is embedded in the codes.

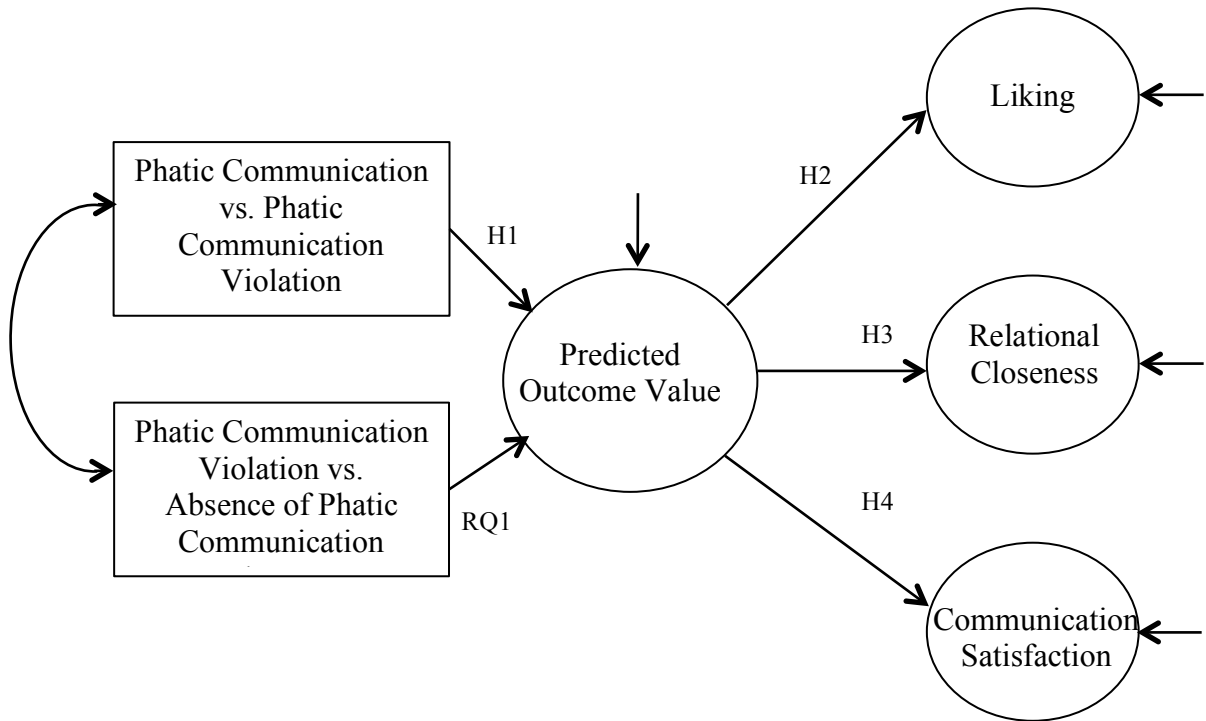


Figure 2. Proposed Structural POV Model with Dummy Codes

RESULTS

Structural POV Model: AMOS

The model was tested with structural equation modeling using AMOS. The model has three types of arrows representing different components. First, the double-sided arrow connecting the dummy codes (i.e., observed, exogenous variables) is a covariance showing that the observed variables are related to one another. Second, the five different arrows connecting the observed and latent variables in the path sequence show the coefficients. Third, the freestanding arrows pointing to the latent variables represent the error terms. Error terms signify unknown variables related with the latent variables; all endogenous variables (i.e., latent, unobserved variables) have an error term.

The proposed model indicated poor model fit, $\chi^2(9) = 75.89$, CFI = .56, RMSEA = .28. Modification indices, reported by AMOS, suggested correlating the error terms for liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. Correlating the error terms improved the overall fit of the model. Figure 3 shows the modified structural POV model. The modified model indicates acceptable fit to the data, $\chi^2(6) = 14.85$, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .12 (see Table 6 for model fit comparisons). After adjusting the model, all other modification indices were under 10. This indicates that the adjusted model is the most parsimonious model and more modifications will not improve the fit any further.

Table 6

Model Fit Comparisons of Original Model and Modified Model

Statistic	Original Model Value	Modified Model Value
Chi Square	75.89**	14.85*
CFI	.56	.94
RMSEA	.28	.12

* $p < .05$ *, $p < .001$ **

Hypothesis 1 and Research Question 1

H1 predicted that when phatic communication is used, predicted outcome value would be higher than when phatic communication violation occurred in employment interviews. The model shows when phatic communication was used ($M = 5.30$, $SD = .81$), predicted outcome value was not higher than when phatic communication violation occurred ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.02$), $p = .88$. The data were not consistent with H1.

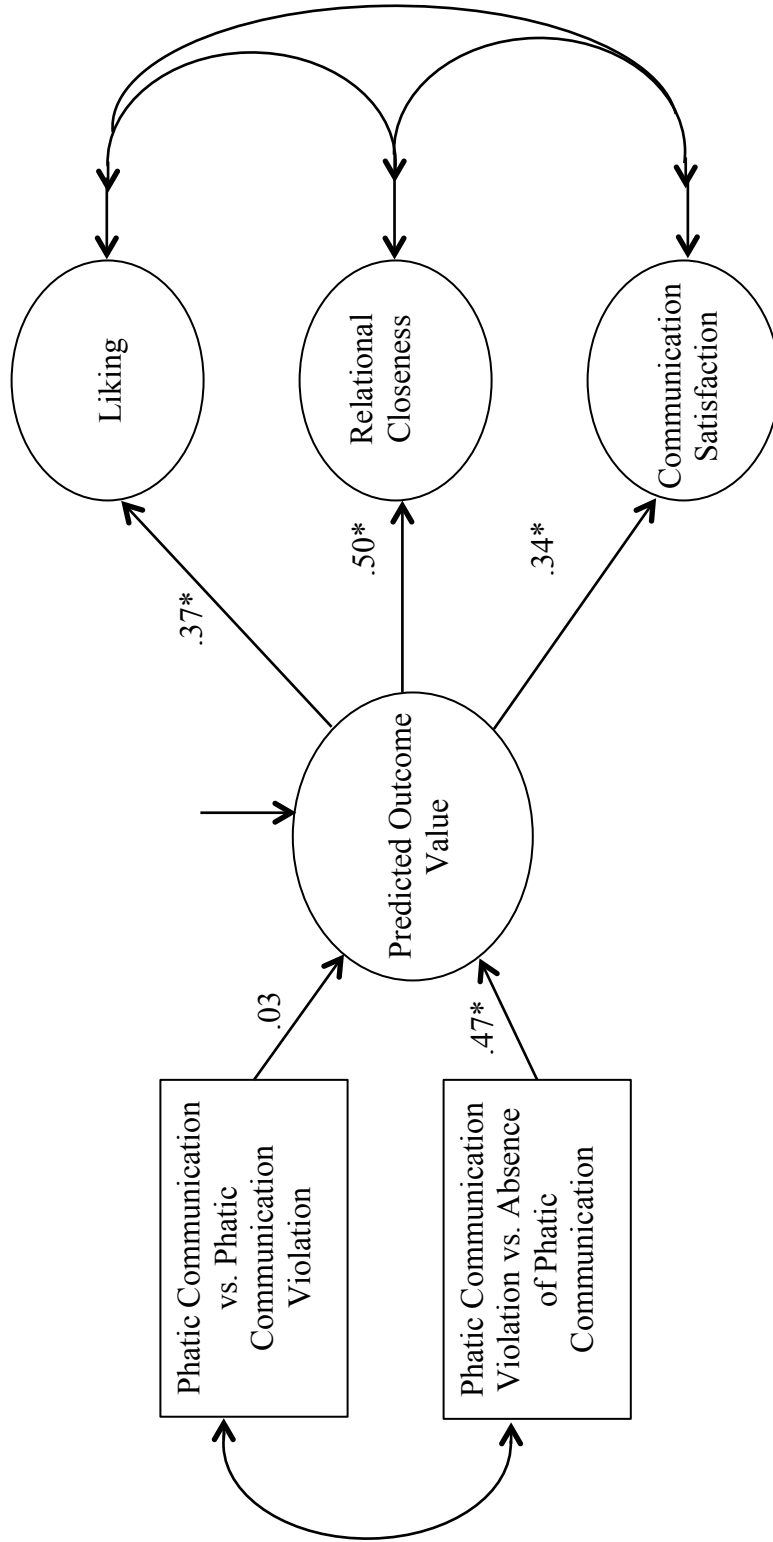


Figure 3. Modified Structural POV Model with Factor Loadings

RQ1 asked how predicted outcome value would be when comparing phatic communication violation and the absence of phatic communication in employment interviews. Predicted outcome value was significantly higher for phatic communication violation ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.02$) than when phatic communication was absent ($M = 4.80$, $SD = .82$), $p < .05$. This means that when phatic communication violation was used compared with when phatic communication was absent, predicted outcome value was on average .47 points higher on the 7 point Likert-type scale.

When phatic communication was used ($M = 5.30$, $SD = .81$), predicted outcome value was higher than when phatic communication was absent ($M = 4.80$, $SD = .82$), $p < .05$. In other words, when phatic communication was used compared with when the absence of phatic communication, predicted outcome value was on average .5 points higher on the 7 point Likert-type scale.

Table 7 shows the direct effects (i.e., relationship between variables) of the modified model. The table shows the path, estimate (unstandardized value determined from the 7-point Likert-type scale), standard error (S.E.), critical ratio or z-score (C.R.), and significance (p value) for each path. Each row is specific to an element of the model. "Cov," represents a covariance (i.e., the unstandardized version of a correlation). The "e." that is located before a variable, for example, "e.liking," represents the error term of the variable.

Table 7

Modified Model Direct Effects Results

Path	Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	<i>p</i>
POV←Phatic vs. Absence	.50	.22	2.24	.03
POV←Violation vs. Absence	.47	.22	2.14	.03
POV←Phatic vs. Violation	.03	.21	.15	.88
Liking←POV	.37	.11	3.27	.00
Relational Closeness←POV	.34	.09	3.66	.00
Communication Satisfaction←POV	.50	.08	5.83	.00
cov(e.liking, e.relclo)	.24	.09	2.72	.01
cov(e.liking, e.comsat)	.34	.09	3.98	.00
cov(e.relclo, e.comsat)	.38	.08	4.99	.00
cov(phatic vs. violation)	-.12	.03	-4.69	.00

Hypotheses 2, 3, & 4

This study predicted that during initial interactions, liking (H2), relational closeness (H3), and communication satisfaction (H4) would be positively correlated with predicted outcome value. The data were consistent with all three hypotheses. Predicted outcome value and liking were positively correlated, $r = .31, p < .01$. Predicted outcome value and relational closeness were positively correlated, $r = .35, p < .001$. Finally, predicted outcome value and communication satisfaction were positively correlated, $r = .51, p < .001$. Table 8 shows bivariate correlations, means, and standard deviations among these variables

Table 8

Correlation Matrix With Means and Standard Deviations

	Predicted Outcome Value	Liking	Relational Closeness	Communication Satisfaction
Predicted Outcome Value				
Liking	.31*			
Relational Closeness	.35**	.36**		
Communication Satisfaction	.51**	.52**	.64**	
<i>M</i>	5.14	5.29	4.61	4.85
<i>SD</i>	.91	1.08	.91	.89

*Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

**Correlation is significant at the .001 level.

DISCUSSION

Phatic communication is used in almost every interaction. The current study looked at how phatic communication use in the recruitment employment interview influences perceptions of the interaction and the interviewer from the point of view of the applicant. Predicted outcome value, liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction were tested using three conditions for phatic communication use. The three conditions consisted of the absence of phatic communication, phatic communication, and phatic communication violation. The model, findings, practical and theoretical implications, limitations, and future research will be explained further.

The model shows that whether people followed a phatic script or a violation of phatic script occurred, having some kind of phatic interaction was preferred to having no phatic interaction at the beginning of the interview. This was evident because people rated predicted outcome value of the interviewer higher in both phatic communication conditions compared with the condition where phatic communication was absent. This is interesting to note, because not only was phatic script being violated, but maxims of conversation (i.e., relation, quantity) were also violated (Grice, 1975). One reason for this could be that people need the functions that phatic communication serves (e.g., ease conversations, defuse silence; Laver, 1975). In this case, phatic communication functioned to begin the conversation comfortably for the applicant, which then allowed the interviewer to ease the applicant into the conversation before the structured interview questions.

Another explanation according to EVT (Burgoon & Hale, 1988) could be that the violation to the phatic script was perceived as a positive violation. For example, during the phatic communication violation condition, the interviewer said, "I'm having a terrible day. I had a

headache and almost missed a meeting with my advisor...” The applicant may have sympathized with the interviewer and felt that what might normally be perceived as an “overshare” made the interviewer relatable. It was expected that this phatic communication violation would be perceived as a negative violation, but it seemed that compared with no phatic communication that the violation did not matter, or was perceived as positive.

The model also shows the relationships between predicted outcome value and liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. First, predicted outcome value and liking had a positive relationship with one another. Consistent with POV predictions, when the applicant believed the potential outcomes of the relationship (i.e., predicted outcome value) to be positive, he or she liked the interviewer more. This makes sense because we would expect people to like someone when they believe there are positive outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, Simon et al., 2010) associated with a future relationship with that person. Phatic communication use by the interviewer during employment interviews influenced the applicant’s desire to continue the working relationship with the interviewer because of the perception of potential positive outcomes; liking people you are considering as colleagues influences these potential positive outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction).

Second, predicted outcome value and relational closeness had a positive relationship with one another. The current research shows that when the applicant perceived the relationship to have potential positive outcomes, the applicant also believed the interviewer was attempting to establish a relational connection during the conversation. Therefore, arguably, when applicants saw potential positive outcomes in continuing a relationship with the interviewer (i.e., future boss), then they recognized the interviewer’s attempt to establish a relational connection with them. The current data also show that when phatic communication was used in employment

interviews, applicants' predicted outcome value for the interview was higher than when phatic communication was absent; it could be argued then that phatic communication use by the interviewer was one way the interviewer attempted to manage the relationship and that it led to more positive applicant perceptions of the interviewer attempting to establish a relational connection.

Third, predicted outcome value and communication satisfaction had a positive relationship with one another. The current research demonstrates when the applicant believed the potential outcomes of the relationship to be positive, he or she enjoyed the interaction more. It is particularly useful to know about communication satisfaction because previous research shows that communication satisfaction is positively related with future organizational outcomes such as such as job performance (Tsai, Chuang, & Hsieh, 2002), job satisfaction (Pettit, Goris, & Vaught, 1997), and organizational commitment (Putti et al., 1990; Varona, 1996). Because communication satisfaction is positively related to predicted outcome value, other future organizational outcomes may be positively associated with predicted outcome value as well. Considering the model as a whole, it can be said that when phatic communication was used in employment interviews, applicants perceived a future relationship with the interviewer to have potential positive relational outcomes such as communication satisfaction.

The modified model shows relationships between liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. The connecting arrows indicate that there are unknown, but strong, relationships among these three variables. It could be that when we have a lot of relational closeness with people, we tend to like them more, and then are more likely to be satisfied with the interaction. Previous research (e.g., Hecht, 1978; Sunnafrank, 1986; Tevan, 2007) also suggests that these three variables are measuring interpersonal outcomes from initial interactions

and this could be the reason for the strong relationships. Future research can investigate what these variables have in common.

Theoretical Implications

According to POV, when people report higher predicted outcome value, they will want to continue the relationship with their partner. First, this study revealed phatic communication use influences predicted outcome value. Previous POV research has not focused on the influence of specific communication behaviors on predicted outcome value. Phatic communication is a seemingly minor, yet essential, communication behavior that influences predicted outcome value; future research could explore other communication behaviors (e.g., disclosure) that may also influence predicted outcome value. Second, this study provides additional support for the propositions of POV because it demonstrates that the relationship between predicted outcome value and liking holds in a workplace context, specifically in an employment interview. Third, previous research has focused on other dyadic relationships (e.g., student-teacher relationships, Bippus et al., 2003; Horan & Houser, 2012; Horan et al., 2011); the current data revealed the relationship predicted by POV held for an applicant-interviewer relationship. Fourth, the current study extends POV theory to include additional outcome variables; the current data revealed relational closeness and communication satisfaction are positively related to predicted outcome value. Previous POV research has found that other variables (e.g., conversational skills; Horan et al., 2011) are positively related to predicted outcome value as well.

Practical Implications

This study provides several practical implications for applicants, interviewers, and organizations. The current research reflects the importance of informal communication (i.e., phatic communication) prior to more formal communication (i.e., structured interview questions)

in a workplace context. The data show that when phatic communication is used, applicants rate predicted outcome value positively and show evidence of other positive outcomes (e.g., liking); when phatic communication is absent, applicants evaluate the future relationship with the interviewer more negatively. This supports previous research that argues against eliminating the rapport building phase of employment interviews (Levashina et al., 2014). The current data suggest that interviewers may use either scripted phatic communication or unscripted phatic communication during the rapport building phase of interaction and predicted outcome value will be rated positively and then positive perceptions (e.g., liking) will result. When applicants want to continue the working relationship, interviewers can assume that the applicant will also like, perceive a relational connection, and enjoy interactions with him or her (i.e., their future manager).

The use of phatic communication aids interviewers and organizations in recruiting the best candidates for the job. When phatic communication is used, an applicant may be more likely to accept a job because he or she foresees positive relational outcomes will result from continuing the relationship with the interviewer (i.e., future manager). If the applicant were to accept the job, then the interview would be the start of an employee-organization relationship and the start of a working relationship between the employee and the manager. Because these relationships begin to develop early at the interview stage, this may eventually impact other variables such as job satisfaction (Luthans, Avolio, Avey, & Norman, 2007) and turnover (Bouchenooghe, Raja, & Butt, 2013).

The absence of phatic communication during initial interactions reflected negatively on the interviewer. When phatic communication was absent in employment interviews, predicted outcome value was low, and liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction were

also low. This suggests that even though phatic communication may seem minor, individuals need the functions it serves. Phatic communication use in employment interviews serves these functions and can create a more comfortable interaction for the applicant; from this interaction, the applicant rated perceptions of the interviewer as positive and may then view the organization as a more desirable place to work and may be more likely to accept a job offer. Phatic communication should be implemented in employment interviews because predicted outcome value and other positive outcomes will then result. Applicants rated the interviewer more positively in interviews where phatic communication was present than when phatic communication was absent. Interviewers can incorporate phatic communication in employment interviews not only to create comfort for the applicant, but also as a means of encouraging positive perceptions of themselves and indirectly the organization.

Organizations should encourage or at least not hinder, the use of phatic communication or informal communication in the workplace because this can lead to positive perceptions of managers such as liking, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction. The current study found that a violation to phatic script during initial interactions really did not matter; however, further research should continue to test if this finding will hold. Future research exploring phatic communication in other workplace contexts can provide more insight on the importance of informal communication in the workplace.

Limitations

One limitation to the current study is the sample size. The model would benefit from a larger sample size (e.g., N=500), because a larger sample may influence the effect size. It is common for the sample size to be about 10 times the number of free parameters in the model or 50 times the number of variables (Westland, 2010). More interviews would also allow for better

generalization from the results because a larger sample size more reliably reflects the population mean. The limited sample size hinders the application of these results, as it is difficult to generalize from these numbers (N=99). Limited research resources (e.g., research assistant schedules, a shared interview space) prevented a larger sample size.

This study is also limited because it was conducted in a lab. A lab study lacks realism and other contextual variables such as an authentic interview and professional setting, actual expectation of future interaction with the interviewer, and a situation where the applicant is actually applying for a job. In this case, a lab setting was preferred to allow for experimental control, and for the ability to establish causality of the outcomes from the data. To mitigate the lack of realism, the lab room was set up to resemble an office space, the interviewer had experience in a superior role (i.e., graduate teaching assistants), and a scenario was created for the applicant in which he or she was interviewing for a role as a research assistant.

A potential limitation to the current study could be the strength of manipulation for the phatic communication violation condition. Predicted outcome value was rated similarly for both the phatic communication and phatic communication violation conditions; this could mean that the violation was not negative enough to have an effect, or that the phatic communication violation was perceived as a positive violation; EVT suggests that when violations are perceived as positive, positive evaluations of the violator occur (Burgoon, 1993). A more negative manipulation to the phatic script may influence predicted outcome value differently. For example, if the interviewer were to tell the applicant about an illegal act they committed, this could serve as a more negative manipulation to a phatic script violation. A more negative manipulation was not used because it was thought to be unrealistic for an interview context and would draw too much attention to the true purpose of the mock interview.

Future Research

This study suggests several areas for future research including studying different types of relationships, the effect of a more negative manipulation to phatic script violation, and other workplace contexts. First, the current study found that POV predictions held for an applicant-interviewer relationship; future research might expand these findings to test different types of dyadic relationships (e.g., ongoing coworker relationships, or employer-client relationships) and to see how phatic communication use affects predicted outcome value of those relationships. In accordance with this study, if coworkers did not use phatic communication during interactions at work, this may affect a person's desire to want to continue the relationship with said coworker. This could show more insight into how phatic communication can be used to foster, hinder, or perhaps manage future working relationships. A second area of interest for future research may be to explore a more negative manipulation to the phatic script violation condition. The violation of phatic script condition may not have had a negative enough manipulation to influence applicant perceptions of the interviewer. A more negative manipulation (e.g., illegal activity) to the violation of phatic script could influence applicant perceptions of the interviewer negatively. Future research should perform a manipulation check to test that a violation is seen as a violation prior to data collection. Third, employment interviews are important in establishing relations with a future manager, but it would be interesting to study the effects phatic communication use could have during other situations in the workplace such as socialization of new coworkers.

CONCLUSION

This study examined phatic communication and POV research in a workplace context. Employment interviews are high stake interactions for the applicant, the interviewer, and indirectly the organization. In these interactions, even minor behaviors may influence employment decisions. An experiment showed that phatic communication use during the initial interaction in employment interviews affects applicant impressions of the interviewer positively. Phatic communication use affected the applicant's perceptions of the interviewer such as liking for the interviewer, relational closeness, and communication satisfaction with the interview. Results from this study suggest that seemingly meaningless phatic communication use influences applicant perceptions of interviewers and perhaps could have sway in whether an applicant accepts a job or not.

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APPENDIX A. RESEARCHER SCRIPT

Before the Interview

The researcher will say the same script for all 3 conditions. This is meant to keep consistency between each interview.

Researcher: Are you here for the research study?

Participant: [Wait for response]

Researcher: What is your name?

Participant: [Wait for response]

Researcher: Please read over this consent form.

[Wait as participant reads]

Do you agree to participate in this study?

Participant: [Wait for response]

Researcher: [If yes, continue the script]

Please think of a fake name to use for the study. Just a first name is enough. This is to protect your identity so your real name is not on the audio recording. When you go into the interview, just introduce yourself using the fake name.

Researcher: You will be participating in a mock interview. You will be the applicant applying for a job as a research assistant. Any previous work experience you have at a job or completing a project for a class is relevant. The interviewer will be your future supervisor, if you get the job. Please take this process seriously, and thank you for your participation.

You can wait here while I see if the interviewer is ready for you and then I

will come back and get you.

[When the interviewer is ready]

Follow me please.

You can head into the door on the left marked “Interview In Progress”

After the Interview

When the interviewer opens the door, read the following script.

Researcher: Follow me please.

[Escort participant to the next room]

Please answer the online survey questions to the best of your ability. Let me know when you are finished.

[Wait for participant to complete survey]

APPENDIX B. SCENARIO CONDITIONS

Condition 1: The Absence of Phatic Communication

[Prior to the interview]

The researcher escorts the applicant to the room. The interviewer shakes the applicant's hand and repeats the line(s). Once the interviewer is finished with the script below, the interviewer will begin asking the structured interview questions.

Interviewer: Hi, let's get started.

(Ask structured interview questions)

[After the last structured interview question]

Interviewer: That's all the questions I have for you; is there anything else you'd like to add?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: Here's some feedback to take with you.

[Open door]

Condition 2: Phatic Communication

[Prior to the interview]

The researcher escorts the applicant to the room. The interviewer shakes the applicant's hand and repeats the line(s). Once the interviewer is finished with the script below, the interviewer will begin asking the structured interview questions.

Interviewer: Hi, how are you today?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: (If he or she reciprocates) Good, thanks. Beautiful/Ugly day we are having today, huh?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: Ok, well let's get started.

(Ask structured interview questions)

[After the last structured interview question]

Interviewer: That's all the questions I have for you; is there anything else you'd like to add?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: Here's some feedback to take with you.

[Open door]

Condition 3: Phatic Communication Violation

[Prior to the interview]

The researcher escorts the applicant to the room. The interviewer shakes the applicant's hand and repeats the line(s). Once the interviewer is finished with the script below, the interviewer will begin asking the structured interview questions.

Interviewer: Hi, how are you today?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: I'm having a terrible day. I had a headache and almost missed a meeting with my advisor and I was 5 minutes late, she hates it when I'm late. It was about a project I'm doing and I felt underprepared and was hoping to get here early to go over my notes, but because I was late, I had to wing it. I think it went ok though, she did not have too many changes to my project idea. But next time I need to be more prepared. My headache is gone though, so that's good I guess.

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: Ok, well let's get started.

[After the last structured interview question]

Interviewer: That's all the questions I have for you; is there anything else you'd like to add?

Applicant: [Wait for response]

Interviewer: Here's some feedback to take with you.

[Open door]

APPENDIX C. STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Give an example of a problem you faced on the job and tell me how you solved it.
2. Give an example of a time when you had to go above and beyond the call of duty in order to get a job done.
3. Describe the worst customer, coworker, or work group member you have ever had and tell me how you dealt with him or her.

APPENDIX D. DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY QUESTIONS

1. What is your gender? (Male/Female/Other)
2. Please enter your age: _____
3. What is your year in school? (Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior/Other-please specify)
4. What is your ethnicity? (Caucasian/African American/Hispanic/Asian American/Other-please specify)
5. Are you an international student? (No/Yes)
6. Do you have work experience? (No/Yes)

If Yes:

7. Who interviewed you? (Boss or Manager/Human Resources/Other-please specify)
8. Are you working currently? (No/Yes)

If Yes:

9. How many hours do you work a week?
10. For your current job, by whom were you interviewed? (Boss or Manager/Human Resources/Other-please specify)