

Making it Hard to Lie: Cultural Determinants of Media Choice for Deception

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Abstract

In today's business environment, deception is commonplace. In hiring situations, successful deception by job candidates can lead to a poor fit between the candidate's abilities and the requirements of the job, and this can lead to poor performance. This study seeks to inhibit successful deception by job candidates by suggesting that managers limit communication with job applicants to the media that the applicant is least comfortable using for deception.

In today's multicultural business environment, job applicants can come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Taking this into account, the current study seeks to predict media choice for deception based on a subject's espoused national culture. A scenario-based media choice task was given to subjects in the United States and China, and the results indicate that espoused collectivism, power distance and masculinity influence media choice. Implications for research and practitioners are discussed.

1. Introduction

Deception is an omnipresent component of modern society, occurring on a daily basis throughout the world [5, 32]. In an organizational context, for example, deception by job applicants with the goal of presenting themselves in a positive light is commonplace [33], and detection of such deception can sometimes result in a better fit between the applicant's abilities and the requirements of the job [35].

The detection of deception in hiring situations is a topic of interest for managers in both the private and the public sectors. In evaluating employment applications for law enforcement positions, Borum & Stock [5] state that "the applicant's honesty in disclosure is also of critical importance" (pp. 165). When evaluating candidates for positions that are sensitive with regard to national security, the applicant's honesty in his/her job application and

interview is of critical importance [23]. Should an applicant for such a position successfully lie about a qualification, national security could be endangered.

The recent technological revolution along with increased globalization has led to a workforce that exhibits more cultural heterogeneity within organizations in most developed nations [19]. It stands to reason that as our workforce becomes more multicultural, there will be greater cultural heterogeneity among applicants for positions that are sensitive with regard to national security. As such, traditional (western focused) methods for job application and interview administration may not be completely effective. This study proposes a culturally targeted media selection process, where an applicant's culture is classified based on four dimensions, and from this classification, media recommendations are suggested.

Understanding media preference for sending a deceptive message will assist human resource managers, who wish to ensure that job applicants are honest during the application procedure, to develop employment application systems which hinder deception. In addition to job applicants, managers may wish to control deceptive communication on the part of subordinates. By understanding their subordinates' media choices for deception, and forcing subordinates to use a different media, managers can make deception more difficult.

The objective of the current study is to assist managers in selecting media that will minimize a subordinate's (or job applicant's) ability to lie successfully in a multicultural context. This study proposes to achieve this objective by suggesting that managers should vary the media used for a communication event based on the espoused national culture of each subordinate. In order to suggest media for different espoused national cultures, it is necessary to understand the relationship between espoused national culture and media choice. Our research question is targeted toward this relationship: *How does espoused national culture influence media choice in a deceptive context?*

2. Literature Review

The current study draws on literature about deception, media choice and culture. This literature is reviewed in the following three subsections.

2.1. Deception

Following [4], we define deception as the act of intentionally sending false information to a receiver in order to create a false impression in the receiver. Bond & Robinson [4] point out that deceiving and the ability to detect deception are genetic and have developed via natural selection. Deception researchers have been motivated by a number of goals, such as identifying cues that might indicate when an individual is deceiving [12], understanding what makes some individuals better at effectively deceiving [10] and better at identifying deception than others [14], and understanding individuals' attitudes about deceiving and being deceived [36].

Freud [15] wrote "if his lips are silent, he chatters with his fingertips; betrayal oozes out of him at every pore" (p. 94). In this statement Freud implies that individuals are sometimes unable to control their physical behavior, and that this uncontrolled behavior has the potential to communicate a message. A number of studies have focused on the role of cues as indicators of deception [27]. Cues are behaviors that receivers recognize, and cues alert the receiver that deception may be taking place. The premises are that: 1) a sender experiences more arousal and cognitive load when deceiving because he/she needs to construct a false statement rather than simply state interpretations [42], and 2) when the sender is motivated to be successful in the deception, he/she will experience tension [29]. The state of arousal and tension will sometimes be manifested physically as behavioral cues. This tendency is described by leakage theory [13].

The presence of a cue does not always mean that deception is actually taking place; indeed receivers tend to over-rely on cues, often times returning false-positive judgments that a sender is deceiving [14]. An example of such an unreliable cue is aversion to eye-contact, which is widely believed by participants to be an indicator of deception. However, research has shown almost no connection between a lack of eye-contact and deception [12].

Empirical research on the effectiveness of cues as indicators of deception is mixed. DePaulo et al. [12] conducted a meta-analysis on the results of several studies and examined 158 cues to determine their effectiveness in predicting deception. They found that senders exhibited stronger visible cues when they

were motivated to deceive, making the senders less effective at deception. They found that nonverbal and paralinguistic cues were more effective than physical cues. While they did identify some specific cues that seemed to serve as indicators of deception, and others that did not seem to serve as indicators, the authors point out that researchers have not been able to establish discriminate validity. This sentiment is congruent with that of a number of researchers who point out that the arousal and tension that results in the exhibition of cues can be triggered by a number of other factors, such as fear of being accused of lying, social anxiety and ambivalence [3].

2.2. Media Choice

The popularization of new communication media in the 1980s and 1990s opened several doors for communication researchers [16]. Among the accomplishments of that time was the development of a theory of media richness. Richness refers to a variation among different media in their ability to facilitate understanding [8]. Richness is measured on a continuum from lean to rich and is determined by four criteria: 1) speed of feedback, 2) language variety (diversity of meaning that can be encoded in symbols), 3) multiple cues (including body language, vocal inflection,) and 4) personal focus (ability to transmit emotions). Face-to-face communication is very rich, while telephonic communication is less rich (there are fewer opportunities for feedback, less language variety, fewer cues and more limits to personal focus). Text based communication is generally considered to be the most lean. Daft & Lengel [8] argue that managers prefer richer media when faced with an ambiguous decision and leaner media when faced with a routine decision.

Media synchronicity has been identified as another way to evaluate the characteristics of a communication medium. According to Media Synchronicity Theory, regardless of the goal of a communication event, there are two primary processes, conveyance and convergence [9]. Each process has requirements, and media vary in their ability to meet those requirements. The theory identifies five media characteristics that are predicted to impact the effectiveness of communication: immediacy of feedback, symbol variety, parallelism, rehearsability, and reprocessability.

Several researchers have attempted to determine which media best facilitate different types of communication. Daft et al. [8] argue that a communication medium should fit the requirements of the message being sent. One might be tempted to conclude that the richest medium, face-to-face, is the

best in all situations, because it has the ability to transfer the most information. However, richness has a cost associated with it [34], and there are times when senders prefer less richness, such as when they are trying to deceive someone [7]. In addition, it has also been shown that too much richness sometimes leads to confusion and misunderstandings in certain situations [8].

Carlson & Zmud [6] built on media richness theory by arguing that a media user's experience with the media, the topic of communication, the organizational context and the sender will impact his/her ability to perceive feedback, language variety, cues and personal focus, and will thus influence his/her perception of media richness. Carlson & George [7] found empirical evidence of this, showing that individuals who were looking for deception preferred rich media over lean media.

For over a decade, researchers have sought to understand what factors influence an individual's choice of media. Two theories have been widely used to explain differences in preferences for communication media: social presence theory (SPT), and the aforementioned media richness theory. Both theories argue that a fit between the perceived requirements of a task and the perceived characteristics of the media determine media choice.

In an interaction, social presence refers to the degree of salience between the participants [32], that is, the extent to which the participants feel psychologically close to each other. Media vary in their ability to foster social presence, face-to-face communication facilitates social presence better than text-based communication [39], and individuals tend to prefer more social presence when the task that they are engaged in is interpersonal in nature, such as relationship building, conflict resolution and negotiation [25]. Similarly to media richness, social presence is determined by characteristics of the media, such as its ability to transmit multiple cues. Specifically, individuals feel more isolated when using media that do not effectively transmit facial gestures and tone of voice.

In addition to the two media choice theories identified above, a number of factors have been shown to impact media choice; these factors include familiarity and severity. Familiarity and severity have been shown to impact media choice in a deceptive context in previous studies (e.g. [7]). According to channel expansion theory, the familiarity between the sender and the receiver has an impact on perceptions of media richness [6]; that is, if a sender is familiar with his/her receiver, he/she may be able to use a leaner media and still realize the benefits of using a richer media. Haythornthwaite & Wellman [21]

found that the number of interactions between a pair of coworkers had a positive impact on the variety of media that the pair used to communicate with each other. Taking the point of view of a receiver attempting to detect deception, Carlson & George [7] found that a receiver's familiarity with the sender had more of an impact on media selection than the receiver's familiarity with the media.

Deceptive communication events vary in their severity; some lies have trivial consequences, while others have substantial consequences. More severe lies are expected to lead the deceiver to put more cognitive effort into communicating the lie, which should impact media choice. Straub & Karahanna [39] employed a set of hypothetical administrative communication scenarios to determine the effect of task urgency, receiver availability, social presence, and proximity of the counterpart on media choice. One hundred knowledge workers at a Fortune 500 company participated, and the authors found that severity had an impact on the preference for all four of the media types used in the study. Recipient availability, however, had larger effects on preference for each media type.

2.3. Culture

Researchers have noticed that individuals in different societies tend to share common sets of values, beliefs, norms, and customs [26]. The socially constructed force that embodies these factors is referred to as culture. The study of culture is rooted in anthropology, however Kroeber & Parsons [28] brought the study of culture to the social sciences, defining culture as "transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior" (p. 583).

Cultures can be segmented based on a variety of boundaries, including geological boundaries, organizational boundaries and temporal boundaries. Owing to a trend toward globalization [19], interactions in organizations as well as in research include more individuals from different national backgrounds [37], making national culture the most relevant conceptualization of culture for this study. According to Straub et al. [40], cross-cultural researchers frequently make the mistake of associating culture strictly with geological, organizational or other boundaries. While countries do exhibit cultural patterns, it is the individual who actually experiences the values, beliefs, norms and customs, and it is the individual who exhibits behavior [40]. Individuals within any country vary in their scores on each cultural dimension [30]. The

national patterns are comprised of individual instances, however, the term culture is used to refer to patterns shared by some group of individuals, making culture seem unsuitable to be used at the individual level [24]. According to Srite & Karahanna [38], the use of an individual difference variable called espoused national culture allows researchers to use an individual's self reported cultural scores to predict individual behavior. Srite & Karahanna [38] (p. 681) state:

One can argue that culture is a collective phenomenon and, thus, irreducible to the individual level of analysis. Nonetheless, culture can only manifest itself through the individual [40] and then be aggregated to the collective. The effect of culture is not homogeneous but rather dependent on the extent to which the individual subscribes to various cultural values. As such, assessing each individual's espoused cultural values is both appropriate and meaningful for predicting individual behavior.

This use of espoused national culture as an individual difference variable is consistent with several other studies that were published in MIS journals, e.g. [40]. Espoused national culture is used in this study, as it allows culture to be measured at the individual level, and used to predict individual behavior. Consistent with Srite & Karahanna, espoused national culture is defined here as the degree to which an individual reports embracing certain values, beliefs, norms and customs associated with national culture. Unlike culture, espoused national culture is an individual level variable that is not aggregated to countries, and as such is used here to predict individual behavior rather than to identify differences between countries.

While there are several topologies that have been used to classify culture, Hofstede's four dimensions is the most frequently used [38]. Hofstede's dimensions include collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity. Collectivism refers to the extent to which individuals value relationships with family, friends and co-workers. Power distance refers to the degree of separation between individuals at adjacent levels of rank. Uncertainty avoidance is related to the risk propensity of individuals, and refers to the tendency of an individual to avoid actions where the outcome is unclear. Finally, Masculinity refers to the extent to which individuals view the world as competitive rather than nurturing. Masculinity does not refer to the way that women are viewed or treated – in masculine cultures, both men and women tend to be competitive, while in less masculine cultures, both men and women tend to be nurturing.

3. Model and Hypotheses

The objective of the current study is to assist managers in determining which media they should use to hinder their subordinates (and job applicants) from deceiving them. By understanding the relationship between espoused national culture and media choice, not only are we prepared to assist managers who are concerned about deception on the part of their subordinates, but we contribute to media choice and deception research in a meaningful way as well. The following model uses an individual difference variable, espoused national culture, to predict media choice.

Figure 1 illustrates the proposed relationships between our constructs. In this study, espoused national culture is conceptualized as consisting of four dimensions: espoused collectivism, espoused power distance, espoused uncertainty avoidance and espoused masculinity. Media choice is conceptualized as the preference for one of three categories of media: visual, audio, and text based. Media classified within each category all share several characteristics. For example, all visual media are relatively rich, having immediate feedback, multiple cues, strong personal focus, yet low rehearsability and reprocessability. Visual media would include face-to-face communication and videoconferencing. Audio media includes such media as the telephone. Text-based media would include letters and memos as well as e-mail and instant messenger (IM). Familiarity refers to the relationship between the sender and the receiver, who can either friends or strangers. Severity refers to the seriousness of the situation about which the lie is being told. The subject's reported feelings of social presence associated with each media are included as a control variable.

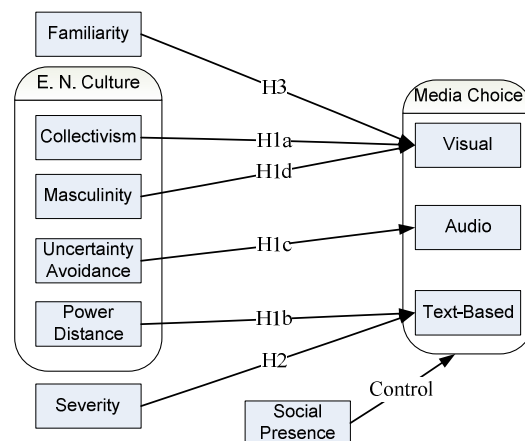


Figure 1: Research model

Collectivists value relationship building because they are able to communicate more efficiently and develop trust more quickly when they have established a relationship with their counterparts [22]. Indeed, strong in-group relationships are a central component of several aspects of life for collectivists that impact their communication [41]. Researchers in marketing and management have found that personal focus facilitates relationship building and trust [1]. It stands to reason that collectivists, will prefer more personal focus in the media that they use to deceive. Visual media have the highest degree of personal focus, and thus should facilitate relationship building and trust more than the other media identified in this proposal. Ergo:

H1a: The higher an individual's espoused collectivism, the more he or she will prefer to use visual media for deception.

When interacting with their bosses, individuals who are high in espoused power distance experience more stress than individuals who are low in espoused power distance [22]. Behaviors that receivers use as cues to indicate that they are being lied to are triggered by stress states [29]. As such, individuals who are high in espoused power distance can be expected to display more cues when they are trying to deceive their supervisors than individuals who are low in espoused power distance. Text-based media transmit the fewest cues among the media categories used in this proposal, making them appealing to individuals who score highly on espoused power distance and who plan to lie. As such, we predict that:

H1b: The higher an individual's espoused power distance, the more he or she will prefer to use text-based media for deception.

Individuals high in espoused uncertainty avoidance prefer information that is as complete as possible [22]. When an individual who is high in espoused uncertainty avoidance decides to lie, the time lag between the communication and knowing if the lie was successful should be uncomfortable. As such, they will prefer immediate feedback in the media that they use to deceive. Visual and audio media provide immediate feedback, making them acceptable media for these individuals.

However, text-based media are highly reprocessible. Reprocessability can increase the odds of getting caught and may increase the consequences should the deceiver get caught. Should receivers become suspicious, the use of reprocessible media will allow them to go over the message again, this time with raised suspicion, which has been shown to lead to better deception detection accuracy [16]. The possibility of getting caught creates uncertainty, as

does the possibility that the message will be used later as evidence. As such, individuals who score high on espoused uncertainty avoidance are predicted to prefer a media that is low in terms of reprocessability, such as visual or audio.

Because audio provide immediate feedback, and is low in terms of reprocessability, we predict that:

H1c: The higher an individual's espoused uncertainty avoidance, the more he or she will prefer to use audio media for deception.

Because they tend to be very confident and have an internal locus of control, individuals who score highly on espoused masculinity are expected to seek opportunities to use as much of their personal talent as possible to successfully deceive. We predict that individuals who score highly on espoused masculinity will view the ability to communicate more meaning via symbols, to communicate emotion via personal focus and to use multiple cues as opportunities to be more successful in their deception, and will seek media that allow for more language variety, personal focus, and multiple cues. Visual media is high in terms of personal focus, language variety and cues, as such we predict that:

H1d: The higher an individual's score on espoused masculinity, the more he or she will prefer to use visual media for deception.

Straub & Karahanna [39] demonstrated that the urgency of a given situation has an impact on media choice. In situations where the implications of the lie are severe, the deceiver's motivation to lie successfully will also be stronger than if the implications of the lie were less severe [31]. When their motivation to lie successfully is stronger, deceivers are expected to extend more cognitive effort and to experience more intense stress during the conversation than those who are not as strongly motivated to successfully deceive [10]. To minimize the effects of the leakage of cues associated with a stronger motivation to lie successfully, deceivers in severe contexts are expected to prefer media that are low in personal focus, low in language variety, low in synchrony, and low in multiplicity of cues. As such, we predict that:

H2: Deceivers who are faced with a high-severity scenario will prefer text-based media more than deceivers who are faced with a low severity scenario.

When communicating with an individual with whom the deceiver has a relationship, the deceiver is predicted to try to use the receiver's familiarity with the deceiver to distract the receiver, in hopes of preventing the receiver from noticing the lie. This can be accomplished when the communication medium has a high degree of personal focus and social presence. Also, channel expansion theory tells us as a

party gains experience with another party, leaner media can seem richer. because visual media offer the most personal focus and social presence, we predict that:

H3: The higher a deceiver's familiarity with the receiver, the stronger his or her preference will be for visual media.

4: Methodology

Our research question seeks to explain the relationship between culture, familiarity and severity, and media choice. A cross-sectional survey with a scenario-based media choice exercise was employed to test our hypotheses. The scenario-based research methodology is consistent with that of other media choice studies [7, 25, 39].

4.1 Subjects

The research objective of the current study is to assist managers in determining which media they should use to hinder their subordinates and job applicants from successfully deceiving them. The population of interest for the proposed study consists of employees of organizations as well as job applicants. Our sampling pool consisted of upper level undergraduate students, as many upper level undergraduate students will soon become job applicants, and then employees. In order to ensure adequate variation on the espoused national cultural dimensions, subjects were sampled from universities in the United States and in the People's Republic of China. These two countries were chosen because their citizens tend to vary, relative to the other country, in terms of the four espoused national cultural dimensions.

4.2 Measures

The items used to assess the four espoused national culture variables were taken directly from Srite & Karahanna [38], which were adapted from Hofstede's original work. Multiple items based on a 7 point Likert scale were used to measure each variable, with some items reverse coded. Familiarity with the recipient and severity of the lie were both dichotomous variables, and both were manipulated in the scenarios. The instrument (available from the first author) was translated into the native language of the subjects with the help of three bilingual translators. The perceived social presence for each media was measured as a control, the items used to measure social presence were taken from [2].

4.3 Procedures

Data was collected using a scenario based survey. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of four scenarios, with an even number of individuals from each country assigned to each scenario. The instrument was administered online. Participation was solicited from the students' instructors, and course credit was given for participation.

The scenarios put the subjects into a hypothetical situation in which their immediate supervisors asks them to lie to another employee within their hypothetical company. After reading their scenario, subjects were asked to "please select the one method that you would use in this scenario." Here, they were given the opportunity to refuse to lie.

The scenarios differed in terms of the familiarity between the deceiver and the target (friends or strangers), and in terms of the severity of the lie (high or low severity). The back story for all four scenarios was the same: the subject played the part of an employee in the contracting department of a hypothetical automaker which learned that a problem had been identified with a part (manufactured by an external vendor) that had found its way into the company's line of vehicles. The subject's supervisor had asked the subject to communicate a deceptive message to someone outside the department. In the friends scenario, the target of the lie was a friend working in the accounting department. In the strangers scenario, the target of the lie was simply "another department." In the high severity scenarios, the part in question failed to meet design specifications and was linked to the failure of some vehicles to start, and in some cases the part was linked to engine fires. In the low severity scenarios, the part did meet design specifications and was not linked to any mechanical problems, however, it cost slightly more than an alternative part. Some of the more expensive parts were used before the problem was identified, and the less expensive parts were used, resulting in a minor difference in the total cost of assembly.

5. Results

A total of 467 subjects took the survey, 262 from the United States, and 205 from China. Reliabilities for each dependent variable are presented in Table 1. Of the 467 respondents, 50 (11%) refused to lie. Espoused uncertainty avoidance was dropped from analysis because the Chronbach's α for the variable did not exceed 0.7.

Table 1: Reliabilities for independent variables

	Collectivism	Power Distance	Uncertainty Avoidance	Masculinity
α	0.722	0.714	0.673	0.755

Table 2 provides descriptive statistics about the independent variables. Table 2 includes descriptive statistics for the total usable sample, as well as for the Chinese and U.S. subsamples.

Social presence for each media choice was included as a set of eight control variables. Four of these eight had a significant influence on media choice: the perceived social presence of face-to-face communication ($F(3, 370) = 5.887, p < 0.001$), memos ($F(3, 370) = 4.632, p < 0.003$), video conferencing ($F(3, 370) = 2.748, p < 0.048$), and instant messaging ($F(3, 370) = 5.304, p < 0.001$). The perceived social presence of the other media (telephone, e-mail, letters and voice mail) did not affect media choice.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

Variable		U.S.	China	Total
Collectivism	Min	1	1	1
	Max	6.17	7	7
	Mean	4.01	4.648	4.285
	s.d.	0.813	1.052	0.975
Power Distance	Min	1	1.25	1
	Max	6	7	7
	Mean	3.112	3.431	3.247
	s.d.	1.021	1.26	1.138
Masculinity	Min	1	1	1
	Max	7	6.75	7
	Mean	3.1	3.867	3.425
	s.d.	1.333	1.218	1.339
Severity	Min	0	0	0
	Max	1	1	1
	Mean	0.494	0.495	0.4945
	s.d.	0.501	0.501	0.501
Familiarity	Min	0	0	0
	Max	1	1	1
	Mean	0.502	0.479	0.4923
	s.d.	0.501	0.5	0.5

5.1 Data Analysis

The hypotheses outlined above employed a categorical dependent variable and independent variables that were either interval or dichotomous. As such, multiple discriminant analysis was the appropriate data analysis technique [20].

In order to assess the overall fit of our model, we conducted discriminant analysis and evaluated the Wilks' lambda associated with our model. Our Wilks' lambda of 0.858 ($\chi^2 = 51.36, p < 0.001$) indicated that the discriminate function predicted

media choice at a rate significantly better than chance.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that individuals who score highly on espoused collectivism would prefer to use visual media when lying. This hypothesis was not supported. While espoused collectivism did have a significant impact on media choice ($F(3, 370) = 2.811, p=0.039$), individuals who scored highly on espoused collectivism preferred to lie using text-based media.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that individuals who score highly on espoused power distance would prefer to use text-based media when lying. This hypothesis was not supported. While espoused power distance did have a significant impact on media choice ($F(3, 370) = 3.01, p=0.030$), individuals who scored highly on espoused power distance preferred to lie using voice-based media.

Hypothesis 1c predicted that individuals who score highly on espoused uncertainty avoidance would prefer to use audio-based media when lying. This hypothesis cannot be assessed in the current study, because our reliability for espoused uncertainty avoidance was not adequate to include the variable in the model.

Hypothesis 1d predicted that individuals who score highly on espoused masculinity would prefer to use visual media when lying. This hypothesis was supported ($F(3, 370) = 7.683, p < 0.001$).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that individuals who were given a high severity scenario would prefer to use text-based media when lying. This hypothesis was not supported. While severity did have a significant impact on media choice ($F(3, 370) = 2.964, p = 0.032$), individuals who were given the high severity scenario preferred not to lie.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that individuals who were given a high familiarity scenario would prefer to use visual media when lying. This hypothesis was not supported ($F(3, 370) = 1.599, p = 0.189$).

6. Discussion

Of the three hypotheses that could be assessed and that included an espoused national culture dimension as an independent variable, only one was supported. However, all three espoused national culture variables did have a significant impact on media choice for deception.

We predicted that individuals who scored highly on espoused collectivism would seek to establish a relationship and build trust with the target of their lie. However, we found that individuals who scored highly on espoused collectivism actually preferred the media with the least personal focus, text-based

media, when lying. It is possible that while individuals who scored highly on espoused collectivism would prefer to use a medium with a high degree of personal focus for the purpose of relationship building, when their objective was to lie, they preferred to keep their relationship distant. This may have had less to do with successfully lying and more to do with social presence and maintaining the norms associated with relationships, as people engaged in close relationships tend to hold expectations of honesty [18].

We had predicted that individuals who scored highly on espoused power distance would experience higher degrees of stress when interacting with their bosses, and thus would seek to mask any leakage associated with these stress states by choosing a medium that could limit the potential transmittal of cues, and would thus prefer to lie using text-based media. However, our data indicated that they preferred audio-based media. It seems that our subjects were attempting to avoid media that allowed for the transmission of the most cues (their order of preference was: voice-based, followed very closely by text-based, then visual). The small difference in preference between the preference for voice-based media and text-based media may be explained by the subjects' perception of a professional norm to avoid e-mail (the predominantly chosen text-based media in the current study) for corporate communication situations involving mistakes. Such a perceived norm could trump the perceived benefits of rehearsability and less immediate feedback associated with text-based media.

We had predicted that individuals who scored highly on espoused masculinity would be confident in their ability to deceive effectively, and that they would seek media that would allow them the flexibility to use their communication skills to be effective at deception. Thus, we predicted that such individuals would prefer to use media that maximized the transmittal of cues, maximized the conveyance of emotion, had the most language variety and had the closest level of social presence: visual media. In our sample, individuals who scored highly on masculinity did prefer to use visual media (overwhelmingly face-to-face). Voice-based media came in as a distant second and text-based media third, indicating that indeed, the higher an individual's score on espoused masculinity, the stronger his/her preference for media that allow for the transmission of multiple cues.

Of the two scenario-based independent variables, only one had a significant impact on media choice. We had predicted that an increase in the severity of the lie would lead the deceiver to expend more cognitive effort and exhibit more cues, so the

deceiver would prefer to use text-based media in order to constrict the transmittal of cues. However, our results indicated that those faced with the severe scenario preferred not to lie at all. This finding may be the consequence of a combination of accountability avoidance and the subjects' perception of the availability of the target of their lies. The scenarios do not specify if the target of the lie is located at the same facility. If a subject imagined that the target of his or her lie is located in a different building, he/she would probably be less likely to choose face-to-face. This would leave him/her with several choices, all of which would potentially leave a record. It is reasonable for the subject to refuse to use media that would leave a record, if they fear the consequences of being caught. If the subject perceived that face-to-face communication would be difficult, it makes sense that subjects simply refused to lie.

Based on channel expansion theory, we had argued that senders would not benefit from the cue concealing effects associated with lean media as much if the receiver was familiar with the sender, and because personal focus could provide the sender with more opportunities to distract the receiver, so senders would prefer visual media when lying to people with whom they are familiar. However, our results did not provide support for a relationship between familiarity and media choice. This finding is consistent with the findings of Haythornthwaite & Wellman [21], who were able to demonstrate that the more experience that coworkers had with each other, the greater the number of different media types they would use to communicate with each other. It stands to reason that the subjects who were informed that the target of the lie was a friend did not tend to choose any one media over any other. The subjects who were informed that the target of the lie was a person in another department were not given any reason to believe that they had interacted before, and thus no precedent had been set in terms of communication media. So it stands to reason that the sender's choice of media would not depend on their familiarity with the receiver.

6.1 Implications

Research thus far has provided us with little insight into deception from the point of view of the deceiver [11]. By understanding more about deception from the point of view of deceivers, researchers may be able to determine what personality factors make deceivers feel more and less comfortable while lying. With this understanding, researchers could develop recommendations for

managers that could make deceivers less likely to lie and more likely to leak cues, and thus be more likely to get caught while lying.

In addition, information systems [30] research thus far has largely been conducted in a western context using western subjects. In our rapidly globalizing business environment [19], the population of interest to organizational researchers involves people from myriad cultural backgrounds. As such, many of the relationships that have been identified using western sampling pools may not hold in a more culturally diverse population.

By contributing to our understanding of cultural determinants of various deception and information systems outcomes, this study extends our understanding of those fields to a highly relevant and important context. Our finding that three espoused national culture variables do impact media choice in a deceptive context, even though not quite in the ways predicted, suggests that espoused national culture may have an impact on other deception and information systems outcomes.

This study also contributes to media choice research. Media richness theory and social presence theory have been used to explain differences in media choice for some time, however, these theories largely only consider two types of factors: media characteristics and task requirements, the current study contributes to a number of recent studies that investigate individual level determinants of media choice [17].

This study also carries implications for practitioners. In order to make successful deception more difficult, managers will first need to assess the sender's scores on espoused collectivism, espoused power distance, and espoused masculinity. Once scores are computed for these three variables, the manager should then refer to Table 3 to determine which media they should use to communicate with the sender. By being forced to use the media that they are least comfortable with, senders should either leak more cues, making their lies easier to detect, or simply decide not to lie.

Table 3: Suggested Media

If the receiver scores highly on	Then the best medium for hindering deception is		
	Best	Second Best	Worst
Collectivism	Audio	Visual	Text-Based
Power Distance	Visual	Text-Based	Audio
Masculinity	Text-Based	Audio	Visual

6.2 Conclusion

This study sought to help managers avoid a poor fit between the abilities of job applicants and job requirements that might stem from successful deception in a multicultural context by suggesting that managers limit communication media to those that the deceiver prefers the least. We were able to identify and measure three espoused national cultural determinants of media choice: espoused collectivism, espoused power distance and espoused masculinity. By forcing the applicant to use their least preferred media, the manager should be more effective at catching applicants who lie, should hire fewer applicants whose abilities do not match the descriptions of the jobs for which they apply, and should thus experience better performance. While substantial progress had been made in the study of deception, only a few researchers have looked beyond western cultures and studied non-western subjects. In doing so, we contributed to a growing branch of deception research that looks beyond the west and into the increasingly relevant global labor market.

7. References

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