Underestimating the importance of expressing intrinsic motivation in job interviews

Kaitlin Woolley[a,*], Ayelet Fishbach[b]

[a] *Johnson Graduate School of Management, Cornell University, United States*
[b] *Booth School of Business, University of Chicago, United States*

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ABSTRACT

Across five studies ($N = 1428$), we documented an important prediction problem in recruitment: Job candidates mispredicted how much recruiters valued expressions of intrinsic motivation (e.g., learning that a candidate desired meaningful work). In contrast, candidates more accurately predicted how much recruiters valued expressions of extrinsic motivation (e.g., learning that a candidate desired opportunities for career advancement). Social distance produced this discrepancy: People failed to realize others cared about intrinsic motivation as much as they did; therefore, they underestimated how much expressing that they valued intrinsic motivation mattered to others. Indeed, recruiters giving recruitment pitches also mispredicted how much admitted candidates valued learning that a company emphasized intrinsic motivation. As a consequence of the misprediction, candidates chose suboptimal pitches that failed to express their intrinsic motivation during job interviews, unless explicitly encouraged to take the recruiters' perspective.

1. Introduction

When applying for a job, what qualities about yourself should you highlight to impress a recruiter and secure a job offer? Obviously, you should state your skills, ambitions and long-term goals. But to what extent should you also emphasize your intrinsic motivation—that you value interesting, meaningful work? Similarly, if you want to persuade a job candidate to accept an offer to join your company, how much should you emphasize that employees at your company, including yourself, are not only extrinsically motivated to do work that is important, but are further intrinsically motivated to do work that is interesting and meaningful? Naturally, the extent to which you would emphasize your intrinsic motivation depends on how much you think the other person in the conversation (e.g., the recruiter or job applicant) values it. And if you think they care little for intrinsic motivation, chances are you will understate your intrinsic motivation to them in your pitch.

In general, people wish to make good impressions in recruitment situations. However, knowing what another person finds impressive is not always straightforward, as taking another person's perspective is a not a simple matter (Birch & Bloom, 2007; Epley & Caruso, 2008; Lin, Keysar, & Epley, 2010). How well, then, can people predict how others value their work motivation? To address this question, we tested for a discrepancy between predicted and actual valuations of intrinsic

motivation. We suggest that when predicting what another person finds impressive, people underestimate intrinsic motivation. For example, job candidates do not realize the extent to which recruiters want to hire candidates who are intrinsically motivated. Consequentially, job candidates underemphasize their intrinsic motivation during interviews.

2. Impression management in recruiting

People want others to like them and think highly of them. As a result, they manage their behavior and in particular, reveal information about themselves, in such a way as to make the best impression on others across social and professional settings (Baumeister, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Schlenker, 1980). Managing impressions is fairly automatic by adulthood (Paulhus & Levitt, 1987), yet it is more effortful and deliberate when the importance of making the right impression is salient, such as in recruiting situations (Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Vohs, Baumeister, & Ciarocco, 2005).

Indeed, job candidates use a variety of self-presentation tactics to manage recruiters' perceptions of them, realizing that recruiters' knowledge is often limited to the information candidates choose to disclose (Ferris, Russ, & Fandt, 1989; Gilmore & Ferris, 1989; Hazer & Jacobson, 2003; Judge & Ferris, 1993). Likewise, a recruiter persuading a job candidate to join a company aims to present the company, and company employees, in such a way as to convey a favorable impression

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to the admitted candidate. In both situations, people manage what information they share with others in order to reflect positively on themselves or their company, choosing to emphasize details that they think others will find impressive.

Having the motivation to make a good impression is one thing, but knowing what will impress others is not as straightforward. Taking another person's perspective is often difficult (Waytz, Schroeder, & Epley, 2014), especially in a recruitment situation where there may be limited attentional resources available for perspective taking (Apperly, Riggs, Simpson, Chiavarino & Samson, 2006; Vorauer, Martens, & Sasaki, 2009). And even if people are able to understand the general impression they convey to others, it can be challenging to work out one specific individual's impression of them (Kenny & DePaulo, 1993), as is the goal in recruiting.

In particular, a large part of the conversation in recruitment situations focuses on people's source of motivation, such as a candidate's intrinsic and extrinsic motives for applying to a particular position. Accordingly, people selectively emphasize the motivations that they think others want to hear. Certain extrinsic motivators can potentially impress the other party—recruiters, for example, want a candidate that expresses stamina and is able to commit to long-term goals in the absence of immediate rewards. However, what is less obvious is whether expressions of intrinsic motivators also impress others, for instance, whether a candidate is more impressive if she says she is looking to enjoy her job than if she fails to mention this.

3. Intrinsic motivation

The distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is central to recruiting, specifically, and to the workplace, more broadly (Amabile, 1993; Heath, 1999; Herzberg, 1966; Vroom, 1964; Wrzesniewski et al., 2014). When people do something for the sake of pursuing the activity, they are intrinsically motivated—they find the process rewarding and the means and the ends collide (Fishbach & Choi, 2012; Kruglanski et al., 2018; Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973; Wrzesniewski et al., 2014). For example, intrinsically motivated employees are working to achieve a positive experience (Quinn, 2005), and they invest effort because they enjoy what they do (Grant, 2008). In comparison, extrinsically motivated employees work in order to achieve an outcome for which their work is instrumental; the means and the ends are separated. Importantly, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are not mutually exclusive, as most jobs offer a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. For example, jobs provide a salary and an opportunity to advance one's career (extrinsic rewards) as well as some level of interest and self-expression (intrinsic rewards). And intrinsic and extrinsic rewards are often positively correlated, such that in many organizations, higher positions are associated with better intrinsic as well as extrinsic rewards. Indeed, it is hard to imagine prolonged employment absent the presence of either intrinsic or extrinsic rewards.

Existing research documented that people believe others are less motivated by intrinsic rewards than they themselves are (DeVoe & Iyengar, 2004; Heath, 1999). For example, people hold the belief that friendly colleagues and interesting work tasks are more important to themselves than they are to others. This occurs in part because others' internal states are less cognitively accessible than one's own (Kruger & Gilovich, 2004) and less valued (Pronin, Berger, & Molouki, 2007). Because intrinsic motivation involves pursuit of internal rewards (e.g., interest) that are inaccessible to an observer, people assume others are less intrinsically motivated than themselves. In contrast, because extrinsic motivation involves pursuit of external rewards (e.g., end-of-the-year bonuses), people see the rewards and infer others are as extrinsically motivated as themselves. Thus, although all motivations are unobservable (e.g., whether it is love of money or love of work), because intrinsic rewards are unobservable, intrinsic motivation is particularly hard to intuit from an outside perspective.

In addition to occurring across social distance (self vs. other), a similar intrinsic bias also occurs across temporal distance (current vs. future self). Specifically, people care more about receiving intrinsic rewards when they are currently pursuing an activity than when they are thinking about pursuing an activity in the future (Woolley & Fishbach, 2015). For example, people in the middle of a work task value the enjoyment the work provides them more than those who will pursue the task in the future do. In this way, people not only fail to perceive that others value intrinsic motivation; they also fail to perceive that their future selves will care about it.

4. Discrepancy in valuing expressions of intrinsic motivation

People's lack of awareness that others value intrinsic rewards might in turn influence what motivations people express when trying to impress others. Potentially, people not only underestimate how much others are intrinsically motivated, but also underestimate how much others are impressed by expressions of intrinsic motivation. This misprediction could lead people to underemphasize their intrinsic motivation in recruiting. As an illustration, imagine an MBA applicant applying to business school. To create an application that will impress admissions officers, the applicant tries to predict what admissions officers value. Whereas the applicant can predict that admissions officers want students who are extrinsically motivated, she may not realize that admissions officers also want to admit students who are intrinsically motivated (e.g., find enjoyment in learning).

Yet, because recruiters are part of the organization and hold an inside perspective, they are likely impressed by candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation. From an inside perspective, recruiters realize intrinsic motivation is valuable, as it is associated with important organizational outcomes including fostering volunteering and prosocial behaviors (Gagné, 2003; Grant, 2007), increasing engagement in organizational citizenship behaviors (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Penner, Midili, & Kegelmeyer, 1997), and enhancing creativity (Amabile, 1985). For example, recruiters may realize that intrinsically motivated employees, who are curious and interested in learning, are more cognitively flexibility, willing to take risks, and open to complexity, expanding their access to ideas and potential solutions (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Grant & Berry, 2011). Indeed, intrinsic motivation is often more strongly associated with long-term commitment to goal pursuit than extrinsic motivation (Woolley & Fishbach, 2016, 2017).

To verify that recruiters seek to hire intrinsically motivated employees, we conducted a survey with 85 MBA students at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business.. The MBA students were all enrolled in a weekend program (82.4% full-time employed; $M_{age} = 31.78$, $SD = 8.25$; 22 women) and they ranked a list of 10 traits.[1] Intrinsic motivation was ranked as third most important, after only hardworking and reliable, highlighting the importance that business people place on intrinsic motivation for hiring decisions.

Clearly candidates' intrinsic motivation matters to recruiters, but why do candidates not intuit this? We reason that when making predictions, candidates assume an outside perspective. They do not realize that those inside the organization care about expressions of intrinsic motivation for themselves and for the people they bring in. For example, whereas everyone wants an engaged colleague to some degree, recruiters care about this more than what those outside the organization applying for the job predict.

We compare this potential discrepancy in valuing intrinsic motivation to another possible discrepancy in valuing extrinsic motivation. We expect people to more accurately predict how much others are

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[1] The list was modified from a survey used by CareerBuilder to assess popular soft skills companies say they look for when hiring (Grasz, 2014). It included: hardworking, intrinsically motivated, reliable, friendly, team-player, organized, level-headed, well-spoken, adaptable, and confident.

influenced by expressions of extrinsic motivation (e.g., hearing that a candidate wants to advance her career). This is consistent with the finding that extrinsic rewards are valued similarly from proximal and distal perspectives (Woolley & Fishbach, 2015). Putting it formally, our first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. Job candidates underestimate the positive influence expressions of intrinsic motivation have on recruiters' hiring decisions. In comparison, job candidates more accurately predict how expressions of extrinsic motivation influence recruiters' hiring decisions.

We suggest this effect occurs whenever people predict what others find impressive about them. We therefore expect a similar effect when roles are reversed, such as when a recruiter for a company tries to predict how impressed a job candidate is that the company supports intrinsic motivation (e.g., that employees there are intrinsically motivated). Taking the earlier example, when an admissions officer is attempting to persuade an admitted MBA student to enroll in the school, the admissions officer might predict that the student is extrinsically motivated and cares about job placements, however he or she may not realize that the admitted student also cares that people at the university are intrinsically motivated and are interested and engaged in their work. We therefore predict:

Hypothesis 2. Recruiters underestimate the positive influence expressions of intrinsic motivation have on job candidates' decisions to accept a job offer. In comparison, recruiters are more accurate at predicting how expressions of extrinsic motivation influence job candidates' decisions to accept a job offer.

In short, we expect that predictors, either job candidates or recruiters, underestimate how much targets value predictors' expressions of intrinsic motivation in recruiting decisions. Notably, this comparison between what predictors think will be most desirable and what targets actually find most desirable is not subject to a self-serving bias: any discrepancy we find would reflect differences in what both parties find desirable, rather than differences between how people want to be seen (self-serving) and how they are actually seen by others (more realistically), as for example, in demonstrations of the extrinsic incentives bias (Heath, 1999).

We further suggest that because people fail to realize others care about receiving intrinsic rewards at work, they underestimate how impressed others will be by their expressions of intrinsic motivation. For example, because an applicant may believe the recruiter cares less about intrinsic rewards (e.g., doing work that they are interested in) than the recruiter actually does, she will fail to mention that she is intrinsically motivated during an interview. Formally stated:

Hypothesis 3. Candidates fail to appreciate how much recruiters value intrinsic rewards for themselves (i.e., for the recruiters), which mediates candidates' undervaluation of how much recruiters value candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation.

Moreover, we predict that social distance underlies the discrepancy between candidates and recruiters; therefore, perspective taking should attenuate this discrepancy. Perspective taking diminishes the perceived distance between the self and other, such that perspective takers' thoughts toward the target become more "self-like" (Ames, 2004; Davis, Conklin, Smith, & Luce, 1996; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Perspective taking should therefore lead candidates' representation of recruiters to more closely resemble candidates' own self-representations. Because people care about intrinsic rewards for themselves, we hypothesize that when job candidates are encouraged to consider what they would value if they were the recruiter, they are more accurate at intuiting the value recruiters place on intrinsic motivation. Stated formally:

Hypothesis 4. Perspective taking moderates candidates' misprediction of recruiters' valuations: When candidates are encouraged to take the recruiter's perspective they more accurately predict the importance of expressing intrinsic motivation.

We next report five studies that explored whether people value intrinsic motivation in recruiting decisions more than predictors anticipate. We also test for an implication of this misprediction for how people decide to present themselves when interviewing for a job, exploring whether candidates indeed deemphasize their intrinsic motives during job interviews.

5. Study 1: Undervaluing intrinsic motivation in interviewing

Study 1 tested our theory that recruiters value job candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation more than candidates predict. In a pre-registered study (aspredicted.org/pz5qh.pdf), participants acting as recruiters or job candidates read motivations (both intrinsic and extrinsic) that candidates could express during an interview and indicated how much each motivation would influence recruiters' hiring decision. To allow for generalizability across jobs, we used content-free motivational traits that were similarly positive across intrinsic and extrinsic categories. We predicted that recruiters value candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation more than candidates anticipate, whereas recruiters and candidates similarly value the influence of expressing extrinsic motivation for hiring decisions.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

We requested responses from 200 full-time employees through Prolific, a survey platform that allowed us to pre-screen based on employment status. A total of 200 participants (M_{age} = 35.04, SD = 9.44; 98 women; 100% full-time employed) responded to the survey for £1.00 (no participants dropped the survey after random assignment, see Zhou & Fishbach, 2016).[2]

5.1.2. Procedure

The study employed a 2 (perspective: candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator; between-subjects) × 2 (expressions of motivation: intrinsic vs. extrinsic; within-subjects) mixed model design. All participants viewed a list of general motivations that a job candidate could use to describe him or herself during an interview (i.e., his or her "motivational traits"). We assigned half of participants in the role of job candidate to consider "How each trait will shape how the interviewer views you during the interview and how each individual trait influences the interviewers' immediate decision to hire you for the job." We assigned the remaining participants in the role of recruiter to consider "How each trait will shape how you view the candidate during the interview and how each individual trait influences your immediate decision to hire the candidate for the job."

For each motivational trait, participants rated whether it would "Lead the interviewer to be more or less likely to hire you" (candidate-predictor condition) or "Lead you to be more or less likely to hire the candidate" (recruiter-evaluator condition). All participants rated four traits mapping onto intrinsic motivation, modified from previously used measures (Grant, 2008; Hackman & Oldham, 1976; Woolley & Fishbach, 2018): (1) "I find meaning in my work," (2) "I find work enjoyable," (3) "I love doing my work," and (4) "I value making work fun." These traits mapped onto intrinsic motivation because they are internal to the job—they portray a person motivated by the positive

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[2] We report all attrition, data exclusions (if any) and measures for all studies. The raw data for all studies are available in an online data repository (http://osf.io/cqw56). For online studies, we aimed for a sample size of 100 participants per experimental condition. For classroom studies, we predetermined a sample size of 40 participants per experimental condition to have 80% power to detect a small to medium effect (η_p^2 = 0.08).

experience she achieves while working. Participants also rated four traits mapping onto extrinsic motivation: (1) "I find work important," (2) "I value advancing my career," (3) "I find work useful for my long-term goals," and (4) "I value completing work tasks" on 7-point scales (-3 = *less likely to hire*, 3 = *more likely to hire*). These traits mapped onto extrinsic motivation because they are external to the job—they portray a person motivated by the final outcome she achieves as a result of working.[3]

5.2. Results and discussion

We collapsed the items measuring intrinsic (α = 0.76) and extrinsic motivation (α = 0.75; $r_{\text{intrinsic, extrinsic}}$ = 0.54, p < .001). A repeated measures ANOVA of perspective (candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator) × motivation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) on likelihood of hiring revealed a main effect of motivation ($M_{\text{intrinsic}}$ = 1.78, SD = 0.86; $M_{\text{extrinsic}}$ = 1.91, SD = 0.83; $F(1, 198)$ = 5.28, p = .023, η_p^2 = 0.03, and no significant effect of perspective, $F(1, 198)$ = 1.03, p = .310. More importantly, we found the predicted interaction between perspective and motivation, $F(1, 198)$ = 9.35, p = .003, η_p^2 = 0.05 (Fig. 1). In support of the hypothesis, candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation had a greater influence on recruiters' decisions (M = 1.92, SD = 0.85) than candidates expected (M = 1.64, SD = 0.85), $F(1, 198)$ = 5.35, p = .022, η_p^2 = 0.03. However, there was no significant effect of perspective on extrinsic motivation ($M_{\text{candidate}}$ = 1.94, SD = 0.78; $M_{\text{recruiter}}$ = 1.88, SD = 0.88), $F(1, 198)$ = 0.31, p = .580, suggesting candidates were generally accurate at predicting importance of extrinsic motivation for recruiters.

Consistent with job candidates more accurately predicted how their extrinsic motivation shaped a recruiter's hiring decision, however they underestimated the influence of their intrinsic motivation. For a conceptual replication of this study using a different group of participants, see Study 1 in the Supplemental Materials.

We contend that the discrepancy in valuing intrinsic motivation is driven by perspective. Predictors assume an outside perspective of the organization and underestimate how much evaluators (i.e., recruiters from within the organization) are influenced by predictors' expressions of intrinsic motivation. However, an alternative is that intrinsic motivation is simply less important to candidates than to recruiters, such that our effect is driven by different roles (candidate vs. recruiter) rather than by different perspectives (predictor vs. evaluator). Accordingly, our next study measured both recruiters' and candidates' mispredictions of what the other party in the interaction valued.

6. Study 2: Undervaluing intrinsic motivation in both interviewing and recruiting

Our theory assumes mispredictions—predictors fail to appreciate the extent to which their intrinsic motivation matters to others—yet, our theory does not imply that only job candidates mispredict. Recruiters will also underestimate the extent to which admitted candidates value a work place that emphasizes intrinsic motivation when deciding to accept a job offer. Accordingly, Study 2 tested both sides simultaneously.

Participants assumed the role of a recruiter or job candidate either in a job interview (where candidates were predictors) or a recruitment pitch (where recruiters were predictors). In addition to conceptually replicating the job interview scenario from Study 1, we included a recruitment scenario where participants acting as recruiters versus job candidates evaluated intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that recruiters could express about employees at their company when persuading an admitted candidate to accept their job offer. Participants in this scenario indicated how much each motivation would influence the candidates' deliberation about a job offer.

We predicted an interaction between perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) and motivation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) such that expressions of intrinsic motivation would influence evaluators more than predictors anticipated, whereas evaluators and predictors would similarly value expressing extrinsic motivation. We expected this to be true regardless of whether predictors assumed the role of job candidate or recruiter, and therefore did not expect scenario (interviewing vs. recruiting) to significantly affect expressions of motivation.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

We collected data from 158 MBA students at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business during three class sections (M_{age} = 28.76, SD = 3.33; 44 women; 6 participants did not fill out demographics) in exchange for a granola bar. This population included people with prior (and for some, also present) work experience as full-time employees. Within each class, we randomly assigned students to condition and instructed them to work independently.

6.1.2. Procedure

The study employed a 2 (scenario: interviewing vs. recruiting; between-subjects) × 2 (perspective: predictor vs. evaluator; between-subjects) × 2 (expressions of motivation: intrinsic vs. extrinsic within-subjects) mixed model design. We assigned half of participants to an interview scenario, in which a job candidate was interviewing for a position at a company, and assigned the other half to a recruitment scenario in which a recruiter was trying to persuade a job candidate to accept a job offer at his or her company.

In the interview scenario, participants either served as job candidates predicting what recruiters valued in a hiring decision or served as recruiters indicating what they themselves valued. Specifically, we asked job candidates to "Analyze each trait on its own for whether you think it will lead the interviewer to be more likely to hire you or not" and asked recruiters to "Analyze each trait on its own for whether you think it will lead you to be more likely to hire the candidate or not." We modified the measures from Study 1 to better fit an MBA sample. Participants rated general traits candidates' could express about their intrinsic motivation: (1) "I find my work enjoyable to do," (2) "I value doing work that I love," (3) "I value making work interesting," (4) "I try to make work exciting," and (5) "I care about having a positive experience at work" and extrinsic motivation: (1) "I find my work useful for advancing my career goals," (2) "I value success and moving up the professional ladder," (3) "I value having job security at a company," and (4) "The compensation I receive at a company is important for me" (0 = *not more likely to hire*, 5 = *more likely to hire*).[4]

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[3] To confirm that these trait items mapped onto different motivations, participants in a pilot study (n = 101 Mturk workers) rated the degree to which each trait expressed intrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all intrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much intrinsically motivated*) and extrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all extrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much extrinsically motivated*). Pairwise comparisons revealed that traits expressing intrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more intrinsically motivated (M = 5.72, SD = 1.36) than extrinsically motivated (M = 3.20, SD = 1.79), $t(100)$ = 9.61, p < .001, d = 0.96. Traits expressing extrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more extrinsically motivated (M = 4.99, SD = 1.27) than intrinsically motivated (M = 4.09, SD = 1.57), $t(100)$ = 4.12, p < .001, d = 0.41.

[4] To confirm that these trait items mapped onto different motivations, pilot participants rated the degree to which each trait expressed intrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all intrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much intrinsically motivated*) and extrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all extrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much extrinsically motivated*). Pairwise comparisons revealed that traits expressing intrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more intrinsically motivated ($M_{\text{intrinsic}}$ = 5.70, SD = 1.33) than extrinsically motivated (M = 3.78, SD = 1.38), $t(100)$ = 9.61, p < .001, d = 0.96. Traits expressing extrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more extrinsically motivated (M = 5.89, SD = 1.19) than intrinsically
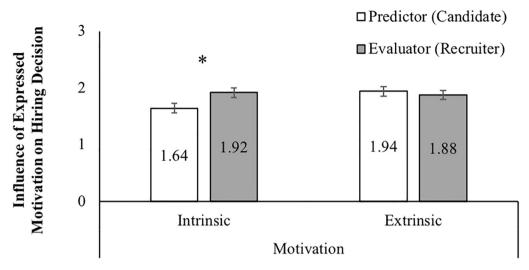
Fig. 1. In Study 1, job candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation influenced recruiters' hiring decisions more than candidates predicted. However, candidates more accurately predicted how much expressions of extrinsic motivation influenced hiring decisions (*p < .05; lines in bars represent ± 1 SE).

In the recruitment scenario, participants served either as recruiters predicting what job candidates cared about when deciding to accept a job offer or as admitted job candidates indicating what they themselves would care for when accepting an offer. Specifically, we asked recruiters to "Analyze each item on its own for whether you think it will lead the job candidate to be more likely to accept the offer or not" and asked candidates to "Analyze each item on its own for whether you think it will make you more likely to accept the offer or not." Participants rated traits about company employees that a recruiter could express to an admitted job candidate to convey company culture. These traits highlighted employees' intrinsic motivation: (1) "Employees say that they find their work enjoyable to do," (2) "Employees here value doing work that they love," (3) "Employees at this company value interesting work," (4) "Employees try to make work exciting," and (5) "Employees care about having a positive experience at work" and employees' extrinsic motivation: (1) "Employees find their work useful for advancing their career goals," (2) "Employees value success and moving up the professional ladder," (3) "Employees value the job security this company offers," and (4) "Employees value the compensation this company offers" (0 = *not more likely to accept*, 5 = *more likely to accept*).

6.2. Results and discussion

We collapsed the items measuring intrinsic ($\alpha = 0.83$) and extrinsic motivation ($\alpha = 0.71$) across scenarios ($r_{\text{intrinsic, extrinsic}} = 0.17$, $p = .036$). A repeated measures ANOVA of scenario (interviewing vs. recruiting) × perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) × motivation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) on likelihood of hiring or accepting the position revealed the predicted perspective × motivation interaction, $F(1, 154) = 5.80$, $p = .017$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$. There was no significant effect of motivation, $F(1, 154) = 1.53$, $p = .217$, nor a three-way interaction, $F(1, 154) = 0.76$, $p = .386$, suggesting we found similar results across scenarios. That is, predictors (candidates and recruiters) underestimated how much the other party valued expressions of intrinsic motivation ($M_{\text{predictor}} = 3.26$, $SD = 1.07$; $M_{\text{evaluator}} = 3.75$, $SD = 0.71$), $F(1, 154) = 11.24$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$, with no significant effect of perspective (predictors vs. targets) on the influence of expressing extrinsic motivation ($M_{\text{predictor}} = 3.37$, $SD = 0.82$; $M_{\text{evaluator}} = 3.42$, $SD = 0.99$), $F(1, 154) = 0.18$, $p = .672$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.001$ (Fig. 2).

We found a similar pattern within each scenario. For the interviewing scenario, candidates expected that their expressions of intrinsic motivation mattered less to recruiters ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.18$) than they did ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.66$), $F(1, 77) = 5.28$, $p = .024$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$, with no significant difference for extrinsic motivation, $F(1, 77) = 1.15$, $p = .286$. Similarly, for a recruiting scenario, recruiters expected that expressions of employees' intrinsic motivation mattered less to admitted candidates ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 0.97$) than they did ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 0.76$), $F(1, 77) = 6.03$, $p = .016$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$, with no significant difference for extrinsic motivation, $F(1, 77) = 0.40$, $p = .527$. Overall, evaluators cared more about intrinsic motivation than predictors anticipated, with no difference for extrinsic motivation.

We further found an unpredicted interaction between scenario (interviewing vs. recruiting) and motivation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic), $F(1, 154) = 14.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.09$. Extrinsic motivation received higher ratings in the recruiting scenario ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 0.75$) than in the interviewing scenario ($M = 3.04$, $SD = 0.91$), $F(1, 154) = 28.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.16$, with no significant effect of scenario for intrinsic motivation, $F(1, 154) = 0.03$, $p = .859$.

Overall, Study 2 found that the discrepancy in valuing intrinsic motivation documented in Study 1 was driven by differences in perspective, rather than systematic differences between candidates and recruiters. Regardless of scenario (interviewing vs. recruiting) predictors underestimated the extent to which others were impressed by their expressions of intrinsic motivation (Hypothesis 2). However, predictors more accurately assessed the value others placed on extrinsic motivation for these decisions. Having documented that the discrepancy in valuing intrinsic motivation operated independent of role, the next study examined the process underlying this effect.

7. Study 3: Candidates underestimate recruiters' valuation of intrinsic rewards

We predicted that the discrepancy between predictors and evaluators is driven by people's belief that intrinsic rewards are less important for others (vs. themselves), leading people to mispredict the extent to which their own intrinsic motivation will impress others. To test whether the belief that recruiters care less about intrinsic motivation (i.e., intrinsic rewards) than they do underlies the assumption that recruiters care less about candidates' intrinsic motivation, Study 3 first examined whether recruiters cared about intrinsic motivation (e.g., having work that they find enjoyable to do) more than job candidates anticipated. Then, conceptually replicating our earlier finding, we examined whether candidates underestimated how much recruiters valued
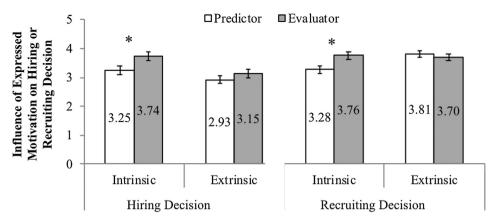

(footnote continued)

motivated ($M = 3.37$, $SD = 1.91$), $t(100) = 9.49$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.94$.

Fig. 2. In Study 2, evaluators (recruiters and admitted candidates) were influenced by expressions of intrinsic motivation more when making a decision to hire a job candidate or accept a job offer than predictors (job candidates and recruiters) anticipated (*p < .05; lines in bars represent ± 1 SE).

candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation. Finally, we tested whether candidates' underestimation of how much recruiters valued being intrinsically motivated mediated the extent to which candidates' underestimated how much recruiters valued candidates' own expression of intrinsic motivation in recruiting (Hypothesis 3).

7.1. Method

7.1.1. Participants

We opened the survey for 207 HITs on Mturk and 208 participants (M_{age} = 34.76, SD = 10.33; 92 women) responded to the survey for $0.40 (3 participants dropped the survey after assignment to the recruiter-condition).

7.1.2. Procedure

This study employed a 2 (perspective: candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator) between-subjects design. We assigned half of participants to "Imagine that you are a job candidate interviewing for an open position you hope to fill at a company." We assigned the remaining participants to "Imagine that you work for a particular company and that you are an interviewer interviewing a job candidate to fill an open position."

To measure recruiters' (predicted vs. actual) motivation, we asked participants in the candidate-predictor condition to provide their best estimate for what recruiters care about at work, whereas those in the recruiter-evaluator condition evaluated what they actually cared about. Specifically, all participants answered, "How much do you think interviewers care about each of the following?" for intrinsic and extrinsic rewards (modified after Heath, 1999). Intrinsic rewards included: (1) "Having work that they [you] find enjoyable to do" (2) "Getting along with their [your] co-workers and bosses at work" (3) "Doing work that they [you] are interested in," and (4) "Having a positive experience at work." Extrinsic rewards included: (1) "Doing work that advances their [your] career goals," (2) "Being successful and moving up the professional ladder," (3) "Having job security at their [your] work," (4) "Receiving appropriate compensation for their [your] work," (−3 = interviewers [I] care less about this, 3 = interviewers [I] care more about this).[5] We counterbalanced trait presentation order (there was no

significant effect of order or interactions involving this variable, order × reward, $F(1, 204) = 1.73$, $p = .190$; order × reward × perspective, $F(1, 204) = 0.18$, $p = .669$).

To measure what recruiters looked for in hiring, we next asked all participants to think about what influences recruiters' hiring decisions at work. All participants viewed the list of intrinsic and extrinsic motives from Study 1 that candidates could express to the recruiter during an interview.[6] They indicated how each trait would influence the recruiters' decision to hire the candidate (−3 = less likely to hire, 3 = more likely to hire). We counterbalanced trait presentation order (there was no significant effect of order or interactions involving this variable, order × motivation, $F(1, 204) = 0.61$, $p = .435$; order × motivation × perspective, $F(1, 204) = 0.67$, $p = .415$).

7.2. Results and discussion

We first analyzed the effect of perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) on recruiters' intrinsic ($\alpha = 0.84$) and extrinsic ($\alpha = 0.80$) motivation ($r_{intrinsic, extrinsic} = 0.47$, $p < .001$). A repeated measures ANOVA of perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) × reward importance (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) yielded a main effect of reward, such that extrinsic rewards were valued more than intrinsic rewards ($M_{extrinsic} = 1.90$, $SD = 0.89$; $M_{intrinsic} = 1.58$, $SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 206) = 21.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.10$. More importantly, we found the predicted interaction between perspective and valuation of recruiters' rewards, $F(1, 206) = 7.49$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$ (Fig. 3; left panel). Recruiters valued receiving intrinsic rewards at work ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 0.83$) more than candidates expected ($M = 1.31$, $SD = 1.17$), $F(1, 206) = 14.91$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.07$. However, there was no significant difference between recruiters and candidates for recruiters' valuation of extrinsic rewards at work, $F(1, 206) = 1.87$, $p = .173$.
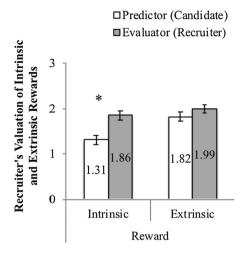
We next analyzed the effect of perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) for how much expressions of motivation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) influenced recruiters decision to hire a job candidate ($\alpha_{intrinsic\ motivation} = 0.79$; $\alpha_{extrinsic\ motivation} = 0.79$; $r_{intrinsic, extrinsic} = 0.52$, $p < .001$). A repeated measures ANOVA of perspective (predictor vs. evaluator) × motivation valuation (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) yielded a main effect of motivation, such that expressions of extrinsic motivation were perceived as more likely to influence a hiring decision than expressions of intrinsic motivation ($M_{extrinsic} = 1.84$, $SD = 0.91$; $M_{intrinsic} = 1.49$, $SD = 0.92$), $F(1, 206) = 34.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.14$. More importantly, we found the predicted perspective × motivation

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[5] To confirm that these rewards mapped onto different motivations, pilot participants rated the extent to which these rewards were intrinsically motivating (1 = not at all intrinsically motivated, 7 = very much intrinsically motivated) and were extrinsically motivating (1 = not at all extrinsically motivated, 7 = very much extrinsically motivated). Rewards expressing intrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more intrinsically motivating ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.61$) than extrinsically motivating ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.67$), $t(100) = 7.58$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.75$. Rewards expressing extrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more extrinsically motivating ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 1.17$) than intrinsically motivating (M

(footnote continued)

= 3.34, $SD = 1.90$), $t(100) = 9.83$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.98$.

[6] In Study 3, instead of "I find meaning in my work" participants rated "I find work fun." All other items were identical to Study 1.
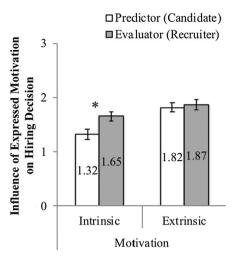
Fig. 3. In Study 3, predictors (job candidates) underestimated how much recruiters valued receiving intrinsic rewards at work, although they more accurately predicted how much recruiters valued receiving extrinsic rewards (left panel). As such, job candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation had a greater influence on recruiters' hiring decisions than candidates predicted (right panel; *p < .05; lines in bars represent ± 1 SE).

interaction, $F(1, 206) = 5.31$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$ (Fig. 3; right panel). Recruiters valued candidates' expressions of intrinsic motivation ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 0.86$) more than candidates anticipated ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 0.95$), $F(1, 206) = 6.95$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$. However, there was no significant effect of perspective on the valuation of candidates' extrinsic motivation, $F(1, 206) = 0.16$, $p = .693$.

7.2.1. Mediation analysis

Do candidates mispredict how much recruiters value expressions of intrinsic motivation because they fail to realize that recruiters value intrinsic rewards at work? To test this, we conducted a mediation analysis. As predicted, the effect of perspective (candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator) on the valuation of intrinsic motivation was mediated by recruiters' valuation of intrinsic rewards from work ($\beta_{indirect} = 0.23$, $SE = 0.06$; 95% CI [0.12, 0.36]; based on 10,000 bootstrap samples, Hayes, 2012).

Overall, we found that job candidates underestimated the extent to which expressions of intrinsic motivation influence recruiters' evaluations, partially because candidates underestimated how much recruiters value intrinsic motivation for themselves (Hypothesis 3). In our next study, we examined an implication of this discrepancy between predicted and actual valuation of intrinsic motivation in hiring decisions: whether candidates fail to select pitches that are persuasive to recruiters.

8. Study 4: Candidates choose less persuasive job pitches

Could this difference between what candidates expect impresses recruiters and what recruiters actually find impressive, hurt job candidates' chances of securing a job offer? Study 4 addressed this question, examining whether an implication of the discrepancy between predicted and actual valuations of expressing intrinsic motivation is that job candidates fail to emphasize their intrinsic motivation, choosing to deliver the wrong job pitch during an interview.

To test this, we assigned MBA students to the role of job candidate or recruiter. Participants received two different job pitches to read. To ensure the pitches were similarly attractive such that one did not dominate choice, the pitch expressing intrinsic motivation also lacked extrinsic motivation (i.e., "Intrinsic Pitch"), whereas the pitch that lacked intrinsic motivation expressed extrinsic motivation (i.e., "Extrinsic Pitch"). Recruiters chose the job pitch for the candidate they preferred to hire, whereas we incentivized job candidates (i.e., a lottery for $100) to select the pitch that they thought our sample of recruiters preferred to hear. Each pitch included information about the person's general orientation as well as intentions toward a particular job.

Additionally, in this study we included both positive and negative motives, addressing a limitation in the previous studies that all motives were inherently positive. Thus, the Intrinsic Pitch highlighted the presence of intrinsic motivation as a strength (e.g., I love doing my work) and included the absence of extrinsic motivation as a weakness (e.g., I care less about how useful this work is for my long-term goals). The opposite was true for the Extrinsic Pitch, which highlighted the presence of extrinsic motives as strengths, and the absence of intrinsic motives as weaknesses. We predicted that job candidates would fail to select the pitch recruiters found most persuasive, even when incentivized to accurately predict recruiters' preference: Whereas recruiters prefer to hear an Intrinsic Pitch, job candidates expect an Extrinsic Pitch to be more persuasive.

8.1. Method

8.1.1. Participants

We collected data from 168 MBA students at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business during three class sections ($M_{age} = 28.74$, $SD = 3.04$; 59 women; 4 participants did not fill out demographics) in exchange for a granola bar. This population included people with prior (and for some, also present) work experience as full-time employees. Within each class, we randomly assigned students to condition and instructed them to work independently.

8.1.2. Procedure

This study employed a 2 (perspective: candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator) between-subjects design. We assigned half of participants to the role of job candidate: "Imagine you are interviewing with a company [Samsung] that is looking to hire a new employee." Participants read that they could choose to give one of two job pitches to a recruiter. After reading both pitches, we asked participants to "Indicate which pitch you think is more likely to get you hired by the interviewer at the company. Do your best to accurately predict what interviewers value. A group of interviewers selected one of the pitches below that they think is most likely to lead them to hire a candidate. If you correctly guess the pitch interviewers prefer, you will be entered into a lottery for a $100 Amazon gift card." Participants learned the interviewers were other MBA students and that their job was to select the pitch this group of student interviewers preferred.

We assigned the other half of participants to the role of recruiter; they read, "Imagine that you are working for a company [Samsung] that is looking to hire a new employee. You have been put in charge of interviewing job candidates and deciding which candidate you want to offer a position to at your company." After reading both pitches, we asked these participants to "Indicate which pitch is more likely to lead you to hire a job candidate to work at your company." Only predictors were incentivized to give a correct answer with the chance to earn $100.

All participants read the same two pitches labeled "Pitch #1" and "Pitch #2," which we refer to here as the Intrinsic Pitch and the Extrinsic Pitch (see Appendix A for full stimuli). To make it natural for candidates to provide both positive and negative information, participants learned that the application asked candidates to detail both their strengths and their weaknesses, which is a common feature of job interviews. Specifically, the Intrinsic Pitch highlighted the job candidate's intrinsic motivation as strengths and her lack of extrinsic motivation as a weakness. This pitch mentioned the following strengths that included a combination of general motivators characteristic of the applicant and specific motivators toward the position: (1) "I love doing my work," (2) "I believe I will find working at Samsung to be enjoyable and enriching, which is something I care about," (3) "I value having a positive experience at work," (4) "The position…would be a great atmosphere to work in" as well as two weaknesses: (1) "I care less about how useful this work is for my long-term goals" and (2) "The extent to which this job will advance my career is not very important to me."

The Extrinsic Pitch on the other hand highlighted the job candidate's extrinsic motivation as strengths and her lack of intrinsic motivation as a weakness. Specifically, this pitch mentioned the following strengths: (1) "I value the outcome of my work," (2) "I think working at Samsung will be useful for my long-term goals, which is something I care about," (3) "I care a lot about the final outcome of a project," (4) "The position…would be a great place for me to advance my career" as well as two weaknesses: (1) "I do not care a lot about loving the work I do" and (2) "Having fun at work is not very important to me."[7] The experiment ended after participants made their selection. One participant in the candidate condition, who guessed the Intrinsic Pitch, was selected to receive the $100 prize.

8.2. Results and discussion

A chi-square analysis of perspective (candidate-predictor vs. recruiter-evaluator) by pitch (intrinsic vs. extrinsic) yielded a significant effect in the predicted direction. Although the majority of recruiters selected the intrinsic pitch (69.5%), only 43% of the job candidates selected this pitch, $\chi^2(1, N = 168) = 11.95, p < .001, \phi$ (phi) = 0.27, despite being incentivized to predict recruiters' preference. One consequence that comes from candidates' mispredicting what recruiters value in hiring is that they choose less persuasive pitches.

We contend that candidates fail to select pitches that are persuasive to recruiters because from an outside perspective, intrinsic motivation does seem to matter as much. Indeed, candidates' failure to take the perspective of recruiters mediated the misprediction effect in Study 3. In our final study, we tested for moderation by perspective taking. Using the procedure developed in Study 4, we examined whether candidates who are encouraged to engage in perspective taking—actively considering their recruiter's viewpoint—are more accurate at identifying the recruiting pitch recruiters prefer hearing.

9. Study 5: Moderation by perspective taking

To further test whether candidates and recruiters' different perspectives created the documented discrepancy in valuing intrinsic motivation, Study 5 tested for moderation by perspective taking. We predicted that encouraging candidates to take their recruiter's perspective—considering what they would value if they were the recruiter—would mitigate the candidate-recruiter discrepancy (Hypothesis 4). Indeed, increasing perspective taking was found to mitigate biases resulting from misperceiving others (e.g., the underestimation of compliance effect; Bohns, 2016; Bohns, Newark, & Xu, 2016).

To test this, we assigned participants to the role of a recruiter or a job candidate. As in Study 4, recruiters chose a job candidate they would hire based on one of two pitches they read. Candidates chose one of these two pitches—the one they thought would most likely get them the job. Half of the candidates, assigned to the perspective-taking condition were further instructed to consider who they would want to hire if they were the interviewer, before choosing a job pitch. The rest of the candidates moved directly to making a choice. Job candidates in both conditions were incentivized to choose the pitch the majority of recruiters would choose (i.e., they entered a $20 lottery if they guessed correctly).

9.1. Method

9.1.1. Participants

We opened the survey for 300 HITs on Mturk and 300 participants ($M_{age} = 36.17, SD = 11.35$; 156 women) responded to the survey for $0.40 (10 participants dropped the survey after random assignment; candidate-no-perspective-taker: n = 4; candidate-perspective-taker: n = 3; recruiter: n = 3).

9.1.2. Procedure

This study employed a 3 (perspective: candidate-no-perspective-taker vs. candidate-perspective-taker vs. recruiter) between-subjects design. The candidate-no-perspective-taker and recruiter conditions were similar to Study 4. Participants assigned to the role of a recruiter imagined interviewing a job candidate and selected the pitch that was more likely to lead them to hire a candidate out of two possible pitches: an Intrinsic Pitch and an Extrinsic Pitch, modified from Study 4 for an online sample (see Appendix B).[8]

Candidates assigned to the no-perspective-taking condition imagined they were interviewing for a new job and selected from two pitches the one they would use in order to get hired. They learned that other participants served as recruiters and selected the pitch that would lead them to hire a candidate. They further learned that candidates who selected the same pitch as the majority of recruiters would enter a lottery for a $20 bonus.

Candidate-perspective-takers read these same instructions, and in addition, were encouraged to take the recruiter's perspective with the following prompt: "When answering this question, think about who you would want to work with if you were the interviewer, and who you would want to hire." The experiment ended after participants made their selection.

9.2. Results and discussion

We conducted a logistic regression predicting pitch selection (1 = *intrinsic*; 0 = *extrinsic*) from two dummy variables representing the

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[7] To confirm that these trait items mapped onto different motivations, pilot participants rated the degree to which each trait expressed intrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all intrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much intrinsically motivated*) and extrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all extrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much extrinsically motivated*). Traits expressing intrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more intrinsically motivated ($M = 5.37, SD = 1.18$) than extrinsically motivated ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.60$), $t(100) = 9.77, p < .001, d = 0.97$. Traits expressing extrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more extrinsically motivated ($M = 5.08, SD = 1.35$) than intrinsically motivated ($M = 3.29, SD = 1.60$), $t(100) = 7.90, p < .001, d = 0.79$.

[8] To confirm that these trait items mapped onto different motivations, pilot participants rated the degree to which each trait expressed intrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all intrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much intrinsically motivated*) and extrinsic motivation (1 = *not at all extrinsically motivated*, 7 = *very much extrinsically motivated*). Traits expressing intrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more intrinsically motivated ($M = 5.33, SD = 1.22$) than extrinsically motivated ($M = 3.30, SD = 1.61$), $t(100) = 8.72, p < .001, d = 0.87$. Traits expressing extrinsic motivation were indeed rated as more extrinsically motivated ($M = 5.24, SD = 1.26$) than intrinsically motivated ($M = 3.27, SD = 1.63$), $t(100) = 8.57, p < .001, d = 0.85$.

conditions (candidate-no-perspective-taker, candidate-perspective-taker), with recruiter as the reference group. Replicating the effect from Study 4, candidates not engaging in perspective taking were significantly less likely to choose the intrinsic pitch than recruiters ($31.7\%_{candidate}$; $47.5\%_{recruiter}$), $B = -0.67$, 95% CI = $[-1.25, -0.10]$, $p = .022$. However, there was no significant difference in percentage of intrinsic pitch selection between recruiters and candidate-perspective-takers ($45.9\%_{candidate-perspective-takers}$), $B = -0.07$, 95% CI = $[-0.62, 0.49]$, $p = .820$. In addition to moderating the discrepancy between candidate and recruiter, we also analyzed the effect of perspective taking within the candidate conditions. We found that candidates that engaged in perspective-taking chose an intrinsic pitch more often than candidates not encouraged to perspective take ($45.9\%_{candidate-perspective-takers}$ vs. $31.7\%_{candidate}$), $B = 0.61$, 95% CI = $[0.03, 1.19]$, $p = .040$.

As in Study 4, candidates underestimated the likelihood of recruiters selecting the intrinsic pitch. However, this discrepancy was attenuated when candidates first considered recruiters' perspective before making their pitch selection, highlighting the moderating role of perspective-taking (Hypothesis 4). Taken together, Studies 4–5 demonstrate an implication of failing to appreciate the influence of intrinsic motivation on recruiting decisions, showing this in a realistic context where job candidates were required to emphasize both positive and negative qualities about themselves (i.e., strengths and weaknesses). Whereas this design does not distinguish between the presence of intrinsic motivation and the absence of extrinsic motivation, the results from our earlier studies suggest that the reason recruiters respond more positively to an intrinsic pitch than job candidates anticipate is that recruiters value expressions of intrinsic motivation more than candidates realize.

10. General discussion

Across five studies, we documented a fundamental difference between predicted and actual influence of expressed intrinsic motivation in recruiting decisions. Job candidates underestimated the influence of expressing intrinsic motivation on recruiters' hiring decisions and recruiters underestimated the influence of expressing intrinsic motivation on impressing candidates (Studies 1–2).

This underestimation is the result of a self-other discrepancy in perceived valuation of intrinsic motivation. Because pursuit of intrinsic rewards is often private, people fail to realize that others care about these rewards and therefore value hiring candidates or joining companies that emphasize intrinsic motivation. Indeed, the extent to which job candidates underestimated the importance of intrinsic rewards for recruiters mediated the candidates' underestimation of the importance of expressing intrinsic motivation in job interviews (Study 3). Moreover, perspective taking moderated the effect. First, we found that the majority of job candidates, incentivized to correctly guess which pitch recruiters preferred to hear, selected the wrong pitch—the one that emphasized extrinsic more than intrinsic motivation (Study 4). Second, we found that this failure to intuit who recruiters would choose, even when incentivized to do so, was attenuated when candidates were directed to take the perspective of the recruiter (Study 5).

This research primarily focused on an error in predicting how influential expressions of intrinsic motivation are in recruitment. In unpacking this question, we also tested for a similar discrepancy for expressions of extrinsic motivation, and found no significant effect of perspective (predictor vs. evaluator). The one instance when people (job candidates) predicted that others (recruiters) valued expressions of extrinsic motivation more than recruiters did was when facing a trade-off between an intrinsic and extrinsic pitch (i.e., Studies 4–5). Faced with such a tradeoff, underestimating how impressed others are by expressions of intrinsic motivation necessarily means overestimating how impressed others are by expressions of extrinsic motivation, as our paradigm did not differentiate between the effect of expressing intrinsic motivation and the effect of failing to express extrinsic motivation. As a

whole, it appears that people are generally accurate at forecasting the influence of expressing extrinsic motivation, yet they underestimate the influence of expressing intrinsic motivation.

10.1. Theoretical contributions and implications

This research contributes to the literature on motivation and personnel selection, which has historically focused on motivating employee performance (Ambrose & Kulik, 1999; Emmert & Taher, 1992; Glynn, 1994; Ordóñez & Wu, 2013; Welsh, Luthans & Sommer, 1993). A major tenet in this literature is that intrinsic motivation increases persistence and engagement at work; therefore, managers want to increase employees' intrinsic motivation (Hackman & Oldham, 1976; Herzberg, 1966). We found that people who acted as employers were further impressed by potential-employees' expressions of intrinsic motivation and yet, employees fail to predict this. Our research has clear implications for how candidates should present themselves in a job interview to maximize their chances of making a positive impression. Notably, although job interviews are subject to bias (Dana, Dawes, & Peterson, 2013; Harris, 1989; Kausel, Culbertson, & Madrid, 2016; Kunda & Nisbett, 1986), they are still commonly used and heavily weighted in hiring decisions (Bureau of National Affairs, 1988; Highhouse, 2008; Lievens, Highhouse, & Corte, 2005). Self-presentation in these interviews is thus of significant consequence for candidates.

Specifically, when predicting others' preferences in recruitment decisions, predictors should be cognizant that intrinsic motivation matters. This insight has practical implications: people should highlight their own intrinsic motivation when interviewing for a position, or the intrinsic motivation of employees at their company when working toward winning over a job applicant. One useful way to ensure intrinsic motivation is emphasized is by engaging in perspective taking prior to the conversation. Trying to intuit what the other party would like to hear, in addition to what one would like to say, could improve the impression people make.

Of course, candidates should tailor their expressions of intrinsic motivation to match the requirements of the specific position they are interviewing for. Our studies used content-free motivational traits, which allowed for generalizability across jobs, but emphasizing the characteristics of the specific job one is interested in will likely go over better than a generic statement that one desires meaningful work. For example, expressing an interest in collaborating with co-workers (as an indicator of intrinsic motivation) will be impressive for a job requiring strong interpersonal skills but not for a job requiring an ability to work independently.

10.2. Exploring potential moderators

In addition to perspective taking, there are potentially other moderators for our effect. First, employment opportunities vary in the degree to which they foster or require intrinsic motivation (Grant, 2008). The job positions used in our studies allowed for the presence of both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, as is typical for most jobs people hold. However, jobs may vary with regard to the intrinsic motivation they require, and for jobs that require less intrinsic motivation, the discrepancy between predicted and actual valuation of such motivation would likely diminish as well. For example, candidates may better predict recruiters' valuation of intrinsic motivation when interviewing for occupations perceived as "callings" than as "jobs" (Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997).

Culture may also moderate the documented effect. Individuals with interdependent self-construals are more likely to be aware of others' perspectives (Heine, Takemoto, Moskalenko, Lasaleta, & Henrich, 2008) and those from collectivist cultures are more likely to engage in perspective taking (Vorauer & Cameron, 2002), and may further be better at it (Bohns et al., 2011; Wu & Keysar, 2007). It follows that for collectivist societies, where people assume that others can be similarly

motivated by both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards (DeVoe & Iyengar, 2004), the observed discrepancy between predicted and actual valuations would attenuate.

More broadly, any factor that increases the likelihood of perspective taking should moderate the effect. For example, job previews give job candidates greater insight into a particular position and what values the company holds (Bowen, Ledford, & Nathan, 1991; Kristof, 1996; Vandenberg & Scarpello, 1990; Wanous, 1992); candidates may better intuit the relevance of intrinsic motivation to the specific organization, and emphasize their intrinsic motivation more, as a result. Relatedly, familiarity or closeness to the recruiter, for example, when interning with a given company, could further reduce this effect, as individuals are more likely to take the perspective of close others (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997). Moreover, for internal recruiting decisions, when employees are interviewed and promoted within their company, employees have the inside perspective and are likely better at predicting what their employer values.

Whereas the aforementioned factors can mitigate the misprediction effect, we doubt they will completely eliminate it. Indeed, people often fail to appreciate that close others are as intrinsically motivated as they are (e.g., Heath, 1999), and even fail to appreciate that they themselves were as intrinsically motivated in the past and future as in the present (Woolley & Fishbach, 2015). Intrinsic rewards and therefore, intrinsic motivation, are generally less observable, which means that overcoming the bias of assuming others care about it less than the self is hard and unintuitive.

10.3. Conclusion

In short, these results highlight an important discrepancy between the predicted and actual valuation of expressing intrinsic motivation in recruiting. Because people underestimate how much others value intrinsic motivation, they are less likely to emphasize their own intrinsic motivation when interviewing for a job or recruiting a job candidate, leading them to be less persuasive to others.

Appendix A. Pitches used in Study 4

A.1. Pitch #1 (Intrinsic Pitch)

I am writing this letter to express my interest in joining Samsung as a summer intern and as a full time consultant. I think I am a good fit for the position you are offering. In your application, you asked me to detail some of my strengths and weaknesses:

Strengths:

For one, I love doing my work, and I believe I will find working at Samsung to be enjoyable and enriching, which is something I care about. I value having a positive experience at work, and think the position at Samsung would benefit from my skill set as well as be a great atmosphere to work in.

Weaknesses:

You also asked me to explain one of my weaknesses. I think a weakness that I have is that I care less about how useful this work is for my long-term goals. That is, the extent to which this job will advance my career is not very important to me. That being said, I think that I am particularly well suited for the position and look forward to meeting you in the future.

A.2. Pitch #2 (Extrinsic Pitch)

I am writing this letter to express my interest in joining Samsung as a summer intern and as a full time consultant. I think I am a good fit for the position you are offering. In your application, you asked me to detail some of my strengths and weaknesses:

Strengths:

For one, I value the outcome of my work, and I think working at Samsung will be useful for my long-term goals, which is something I care about. In my work, I care a lot about the final outcome of a project, and think the position at Samsung would benefit from my skill set as well as be a great place for me to advance my career.

Weaknesses:

You also asked me to explain one of my weaknesses. I think a weakness that I have is I do not care a lot about loving the work I do. That is, having fun at work is not very important to me. That being said, I think that I am particularly well suited for the position and look forward to meeting you in the future.

Appendix B. Pitches used in Study 5.

B.1. Message # 1 (Intrinsic)

Strengths:

1. I value work that is worthwhile and meaningful.
2. Enjoying the process is something I value at work.
3. I care whether doing my work makes me feel good about myself as a person.
4. I value working with friendly people.

Weaknesses:

1. Whether the outcome of my work is important or useful is not something I really care about.
2. Whether or not this job will advance my career is not something I'm focused on.

B.2. Message # 2 (Extrinsic)

Strengths:

1. I value work that has useful and important outcomes.
2. Advancing my career is something I value at work.
3. I care that the final outcome of my work is valued and recognized.
4. I value feedback on the outcome of my work.

Weaknesses:

1. Having an interesting job is not something I really care about.
2. Whether or not the job provides a chance to learn new things is not something I'm focused on.

Appendix C. Supplementary material

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2018.06.004.

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