

8-3-2010

# Pregnant job applicants and employment interviews: The consequences of stigmatization and absenteeism and an examination of strategies to overcome them

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Title page

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A Dissertation submitted to the Graduate School at the University of Missouri – St. Louis  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
Doctorate in Industrial/Organizational Psychology

August 2010

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Pregnant job applicants and employment interviews:  
The consequences of stigmatization and absenteeism and an  
examination of strategies to overcome them

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## Abstract

Discrimination against pregnant applicants may be partially explained by concerns about a pregnant employee missing work and possibly quitting (Cunningham & Macan, 2007). The purpose of the first study is to explore further the notion that pregnant applicants receive less favorable reactions during the selection process due in large part to concerns regarding potential absenteeism. This study explores whether applicants who need an equivalent amount of time off, but for different reasons, are perceived and rated similarly as a pregnant applicant. The results showed that all applicants requesting time off, regardless of reason, received less favorable hiring ratings compared to the control applicant who did not request time off. Given that everything was identical across conditions these findings indicate that absenteeism may be one of the primary concerns leading to lowered hiring ratings and not gender bias or the visual stigma of the pregnancy. This study demonstrates that qualifications and positive perceptions by a hiring manager may not be enough to overcome concerns regarding absenteeism, regardless of the reason for the request.

The second study, drawing primarily from disability research, addresses whether it is beneficial for a pregnant applicant to disclose and / or discuss the pregnancy during the course of the selection process. Some advocate for disclosure and discussion as a means to alleviate surprise and draw attention away from the stigmatizing condition, while others note that it may draw unnecessary negative attention to the disabling condition and thereby distract interviewers from job related information. The data support the overall theory that if a pregnancy is visibly showing, it is likely better to be forthcoming about it during the selection process (both disclosure and discussion). However, if a pregnancy is not visibly apparent, it is likely better to not mention it during

the hiring process, however if a candidate does want to be forthcoming, it is better to both disclose and discuss the pregnancy than to only disclose or only discuss.

Pregnant job applicants and employment interviews: The consequences of stigmatization and absenteeism and an examination of strategies to overcome them

There was a time when the issues of employment and pregnancy rarely overlapped for most women. In the time leading up to the 1950's the majority of women would leave the workforce once they were married to become full time wives and eventually mothers. In fact, there was even a period of time in this nation's history when married women were barred from working. Once organizations began lifting the marriage bars it was still highly unlikely for a pregnant woman or even a woman with small children to acquire or keep a job (Goldin, 1990). Some states had legislation during the 50's and 60's that prohibited women from being hired for a certain time both before and after giving birth (Caplan-Cotenoff, 1987). In the 60's, 63% of women would quit their jobs prior to giving birth to their first child. This number dropped to 27% by the early 90's (O'Connell, 2001). Today one in six working women return to work within one month of giving birth, 41% within three months and 76% within a year of the delivery (Gordon, 2006). Given that there are 68 million women who make up half of the current U.S. workforce ("Women at Work"; Armour, 2005) and that 75% of those women are likely to give birth at some point while they are employed (Cleveland, Stockdale, & Murphy, 2000), it is important for employers and researchers alike to pay attention to the issue of pregnancy in the workplace. While this topic has received relatively little empirical attention there is important legal evidence regarding employment related pregnancy discrimination.

According to the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), pregnancy discrimination charges are increasing faster than both sexual harassment and

sex discrimination claims, showing a 39% increase since 1992 (Armour, 2005; “The Pregnancy Discrimination”, 2006), with 6,196 charge receipts filed in 2009 alone (United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2010), and are ranked among the top five issues by monthly callers to the 9to5 National Association of Working Women’s Job Problems Hotline (Shellenbarger, 1998). In fact, out of a total 4,449 pregnancy discrimination charges filed in 2005, the EEOC resolved 4,321, recovering almost \$12 million in benefits for the claimants (“Pregnancy Discrimination”). Some of the claims that have been settled, which range from charges of discrimination in hiring to benefits and promotions, have involved major companies including Walmart, Dillard’s Department Store, Verizon, and The Gap (“The Pregnancy Discrimination Act”, 2006). These cases of pregnancy discrimination, which one EEOC lawyer describes as “very blatant” (Armour, 2005) are occurring in spite of the fact that federal legislation exists to protect pregnant women in the workplace.

The Pregnancy Discrimination Act was passed in 1978 as an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth or related medical conditions. Pregnant women must be treated the same as any other applicant or employee with similar abilities or limitations. However, as one journalist points out “pregnancy doesn’t immunize a woman from adverse action” (p.D8). There are cases where the firing of a pregnant woman has been upheld (Shellenbarger, 2005). A report put out by the National Partnership for Women & Families emphasizes the importance of educating both employers and employees about the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (“Women at Work”, 2004). While this report encourages the EEOC to explore further these issues, it is

important for Industrial and Organizational Psychology to assist in this cause by empirically investigating the impact of pregnancy in the workplace.

One particularly under explored area of research concerns the impact a pregnancy can have during the selection process. A handful of empirical studies have shown that there is some evidence for discrimination against pregnant job applicants (Bragger et al., 2002; Kazama & Hebl, 2003; Cunningham & Macan, 2007; Masser, Grass & Nestic, 2007). Given the growing number of employed women who are likely to become pregnant during their career and the rising claims concerning pregnancy discrimination it is perhaps surprising that little empirical research has been conducted to understand why pregnancy discrimination is occurring and perhaps even more importantly, what a pregnant job applicant can do to mitigate these effects. Two studies are discussed here to address these particular pregnancy issues in the selection process.

In one previous study it was found that hiring discrimination against pregnant applicants may be partially explained by concerns about a pregnant employee missing work and possibly quitting (Cunningham & Macan, 2007). Therefore, the purpose of the first study is to explore further the notion that pregnant applicants receive less favorable reactions during the selection process due in large part to concerns regarding potential absenteeism. More specifically, this study explores whether applicants who will need an equivalent amount of time off, but for different reasons, are perceived and rated similarly as a pregnant applicant. Comparing a pregnant applicant with other applicants who also present some uncertainty and risk regarding the time off they will require and their potential to continue in the position once hired, will help determine if the bias



demonstrated in previous research is more attributable to pregnancy discrimination or hiring decisions favoring less risk and uncertainty with regard to absenteeism.

The second study, drawing primarily from disability research, addresses whether it is beneficial for a pregnant applicant to disclose and / or discuss the pregnancy during the course of the selection process. Disclosure and discussion are two strategies explored in research with disabled applicants (e.g. Tagalakis, Amsel, & Fichten, 1988; Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979; Roberts, 2005). This body of research, to be more thoroughly discussed later, produces somewhat mixed results with some advocating for disclosure and discussion as a means to alleviate surprise and draw attention away from the stigmatizing condition, while others note that it may draw unnecessary negative attention to the disabling condition and thereby distract interviewers from job related information. The goal of this second study is to investigate whether disclosure and / or discussion are effective strategies that a pregnant applicant might employ to lessen any potential negative reactions her pregnancy may elicit during the selection process. Together, these studies aim to provide a better understanding of the effect of a pregnancy during the selection process both with regard to how the applicant is perceived and potential steps the applicant can take to manage those perceptions.

## Study 1

Before discussing pregnancy, it is worth noting that motherhood in general may place women at a disadvantage in the work place. There is consistent evidence of a “motherhood penalty” or a “maternal wall”. More specifically, mothers suffer a per child wage penalty of 5% (Budig & England, 2001). Mothers’ advancement lags behind fathers’ advancement in the workplace and this is due to both genuine and perceived differences, however stereotypes may hinder a mother’s advancement, but not a father’s advancement (King, 2008). Some research has shown that mothers are described as less competent and committed than their non-mother counterparts, are held to harsher performance and punctuality standards, are recommended for lower starting salaries, and are rated as less promotable and less likely to be recommended for management and less likely to be recommended for hire (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007). In addition, superiors perceived that mothers were less involved in work and less flexible for advancement than fathers (King, 2008). Correll, Benard and Paik (2007) theorize that fatherhood is not seen as incompatible with being a good worker. Their research supports that fathers do not appear to suffer these same disadvantages and in fact fatherhood may be an advantage to a man in the workplace. More specifically, fathers are seen as more committed and allowed to be late more frequently and are offered higher starting salaries (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007).

Prior to discussing the specific literature pertaining to pregnant job applicants, I will review what is known about reactions to pregnancy and more specifically pregnancy in the workplace based on the research that has been conducted in this area to date.

*General Reactions to Pregnancy*

Early research suggests a woman's pregnancy can be a unique visual stimulus for observers, in other words, it sets her apart from other people, much in the same way as a physical disability may draw added attention. In fact one study found that a "crippled" woman and a pregnant woman elicited the same reactions from research participants (Taylor & Langer, 1977). Further, pregnancy can elicit starrng and avoidance, particularly from men (Taylor & Langer, 1977). However, Walton et al. (1988) argued that pregnancy is not a stigmatizing condition similar to physical disability, but elicits certain responses because pregnant women are presumed to be dependent on others. They found that pregnant women received more help after dropping items in an elevator than a non-pregnant woman or a woman who had a facial disfigurement. These authors argue that pregnant women may be reacted to differently because they are cast in a dependency role. Similarly, a pregnant woman who is a store customer is more likely to receive patronizing, benevolent treatment (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary & Kazama, 2007). Whether a pregnant woman is viewed as bearing a stigmatizing condition or is seen as dependent, or both, what is clear from these perspectives is that pregnancy is a novel stimulus that does in fact elicit unique reactions and behaviors from others. While these studies tended to focus on brief reactions made by strangers, there are potentially larger and longer-term implications for pregnant women when it comes to reactions to their pregnancy within the context of their work environment.

*Pregnancy in the Workplace**Perceptions of pregnant employees.*

While reactions such as stalling and avoidance may dissipate when the novelty of the pregnancy wears off (Taylor & Langer, 1977), some research has shown that the notion of dependency carries through to the workplace. In a survey, Pattison et al. (1997) found the items that received the most negative responses were those that had to do with physical limitations associated with pregnancy, indicating that participants had concerns about a pregnant employee being able to fulfill her work commitments. Other surveys concerning pregnancy in the workplace indicated that participants believed the pregnant worker would be less efficient in her work and lower the productivity of her workgroup (Franco et al., 1983). Pregnant women may be viewed as less dedicated because their attention is diverted from career concerns to family concerns (Halpert & Hickman Burg, 1997). They may also be seen as emotional or irrational (Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993). In fact, there is some evidence that employed pregnant women show higher levels of stress, anxiety and depression (Peddicord, 1992) and that these emotional symptoms as well as others such as nervousness, insomnia and nightmares are particularly experienced later in the pregnancy (Rofe, Blittner, & Lewin, 1993). There is mixed evidence regarding whether a pregnant woman's cognitive functioning is actually impaired during pregnancy. One study found that while women may perceive a decline in memory performance, there is not objective evidence of a decline (Casey, 2000). However, other studies have shown that women actually do experience physiological changes in the brain during pregnancy, including the brain actually shrinking in size (Oatridge, et al., 2002) as well as declined performance on memory tasks that involve higher level thinking

processes (Henry & Rendell, 2007). Various perceptions of the pregnant applicant will be measured in this study.

Sometimes reactions to a woman's pregnancy have less to do with how it may affect her work, but the impact the pregnancy may have on the work load of others. People report concerns about the distribution of work and responsibility while a fellow employee is out on maternity leave (Halpert & Hickman Burg, 1997). Similarly if allowances are made for a pregnant worker, such as reduced workload or extra time off, co-workers may become resentful of the perceived inequity (Gueutal & Taylor, 1991). In one study, the vast majority of respondents reported that working with a pregnant co-worker caused them and their workgroup personal inconvenience (Franco et al., 1983).

Reactions to a woman's pregnancy may be affected by her status in the organization. Corse (1990) found that participants had more negative impressions of a pregnant manager and reported lower satisfaction with their interaction compared to a non-pregnant manager. The study indicates that some of these negative impressions arose because the participants expected the pregnant manager to act in a certain way (i.e. not aggressive or authoritarian) and when the pregnant manager violated those expectations by acting with authority, it led to more negative reactions. This study suggests that although a pregnant employee may not act differently after becoming pregnant, others expectations of her may change which could in turn lead to adverse reactions by others in the workplace. The present study looks at a pregnant applicant who is in a subordinate role and not a management role, but by comparing the pregnant applicant to other equivalent applicants this study examines if perceptions or perhaps expectations differ for the pregnant applicant in relation to others.

Other than concern about a pregnant woman's commitment to her work and potential lowered productivity, a pregnancy in the workplace may quite simply make some people uncomfortable. As one researcher states, "a pregnancy is a powerful souvenir of home life" (Gross & Pattison, 2001, p. 512). Pregnancy causes the private and public boundaries to blur which could cause some to see a pregnancy in the workplace as inappropriate, embarrassing or offensive. It may cause some people to have to face their own beliefs about women and work-family roles in general (Gross & Pattison, 2001; Pattison & Gross, 1996). As one researcher states "Reproduction is undeniably a private phenomenon – involving as it does intimacy, sex, and of course babies – and so when it emerges in the middle of the workplace, in the burgeoning form of a pregnant woman, it may present a stark challenge to those long-standing assumptions about what belongs in the public sphere" (Major, 2005, p.84).

Although much of the literature indicates that reactions to pregnancy in the workplace may be negative, there is some evidence of positive reactions as well. Some women report that their supervisors seemed happy for them during their pregnancy. The women who had positive experiences reported that communication and joint decision making was important (Halpert & Hickman Burg, 1997). Similarly, while some people report concern about being inconvenienced by a co-worker's pregnancy, many are also in favor of providing special arrangements (Franco et al., 1983). Coworkers and supervisors may be more supportive if the pregnancy is planned, well-timed, and happens within the planned timeframe (Evans & Rosen, 1997). In fact, one study found that participants gave higher ratings on a number of positive characteristics (e.g. competent, mature, intelligent, self-confident, etc.) to a pregnant applicant in comparison to an identical non-

pregnant applicant (Cunningham & Macan, 2007). This study also examines if the pregnant applicant elicits positive reactions on a number of dimensions.

*Gender differences.*

One question examined by much of the research on pregnancy is whether men and women perceive and react to pregnant women in a similar fashion. The findings are mixed. Several studies have found that women in general have more positive views of pregnant employees (Pattison, Gross, & Cast, 1997; Gueutal & Taylor, 1991; Franco et al., 1983; Halptert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993); however Gueutal and Taylor (1991) found that men and women differ in some regards with men having more conservative views regarding maternity leave and legislation, while women had more conservative views concerning workload assistance. The males in their study were more likely to indicate that they would discriminate against a pregnant employee. Corse (1990) found no gender difference in participant's negative reactions to a pregnant manager. Instead she found that both male and female participants had negative reactions to a pregnant manager, namely because the pregnant manager violated their expectations about how a pregnant woman should act (i.e. passive and not authoritative). Similarly Cunningham and Macan (2007) found no gender differences with regard to hiring ratings, with both genders giving lower ratings to a pregnant applicant compared to a non-pregnant applicant. However, Gueutal and Taylor (1991) found that opinions concerning appropriate practices and behavioral intentions regarding pregnant employees varied based on sex, age (also see Pattison, Gross, & Cast, 1997), nationality and past experiences of the respondent. In general, females, younger people, non-U.S. citizens and those who did not have experience supervising a pregnant employee were more

supportive regarding pregnant employees and specifically, legislation to support them. Gender differences as well as differences across various other demographic characteristics are explored in this study.

*Pregnancy and performance appraisals.*

Although the majority of literature indicates negative perceptions of pregnant employees, there is little to no evidence that a pregnant employee's performance is actually adversely affected. In spite of increased discomfort as pregnancy progressed, one study found there was no adverse affect on performance (Nicholls & Grieve, 1992). Similarly, research conducted with the military has found that pregnant women had comparable absenteeism and turnover as other personnel (Evans & Rosen, 1997). In fact, one study (Gueutal, Luciano & Michaels, 1995) found that pregnant women actually received better performance ratings during their pregnancy, both compared to their pre-pregnancy ratings and their non-pregnant counterparts. The authors provide two possible explanations for these findings. The pregnant employee could be working especially hard to combat any concerns about her pregnancy affecting her performance. Likewise, the pregnant employee's manager may be overly lenient in the performance ratings to compensate for the pregnancy. However, contrary to these findings, another study found that a pregnant employee received a significantly lower performance rating compared to a non-pregnant employee (Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993). An additional study found that pregnancy only influenced non-job related performance ratings (e.g. physical mannerisms, creativity, appearance), but did not impact job related performance ratings such as job ability, promotion or salary recommendation (Haynes, Halpert, Marantette, Lueck, 2010). While the current study addresses the selection process and not the



performance appraisal process, this study does incorporate a decision-maker (i.e. the participant) making judgments about the applicant's future within the organization (i.e. fit, risk, potential future absenteeism). In this regard, these studies are informative in that in some cases they found that judgments were harsher against a pregnant incumbent and in some cases they were more favorable or lenient.

*From the pregnant employee's perspective.*

Pregnant women report both positive and negative workplace experiences. Some women report that there is no change in their supervisor's or coworkers' attitudes toward them while they are pregnant (Brown, Ferrara, & Schley, 2002). These same women reported no change in their own career goals or abilities as a result of the pregnancy; however, these women also reported lower job satisfaction during their pregnancy. While that particular study did not address why this may be the case, they did find a significant positive correlation between job satisfaction and satisfaction with the companies' leave policies. Most women felt the policies could be improved.

Some women work to actively manage how they are perceived by others. In other words, they see themselves as the same and want others to see them the same as well and therefore take actions to preserve their work identity. Some of the strategies include maintaining the same pace, not requesting accommodations, and shortening maternity leave. In general all these identity management tactics are motivated by the perceived threat of stigmatization and the possible consequences of being stigmatized. Even though many of these women never reported actually being mistreated, they had the fear of the possibility (Major, 2005).

Some women report receiving more support during their pregnancy, although this additional support may not always be appreciated as it may be viewed as overly protective (Correnti, 1989). Although many women have reported positive working experiences while pregnant, it is important to remember that many women may be reluctant to report problems they face in the workplace as a result of their pregnancy for fear of being viewed negatively (Pattison & Gross, 1996).

Some women report that the work environment and working conditions are not well-suited for pregnancy (Pattison & Gross, 1996). Halpert and Hickman Burg (1997) found that while about half of the women they spoke to reported receiving positive reactions from their supervisor, just as many reported negative or ambivalent reactions. Chief concerns seemed to center on how work would be covered. They point out that “deliberate, malicious discrimination” is rare. A more likely occurrence may be inappropriate or uncomfortable interactions that result from poor communication, faulty assumptions and confusion about how best to handle the situation.

In general, maternity leave is characterized by incompatible goals between the needs of the organization and the needs of the pregnant employee (Buzzanell & Liu, 2007). Following the announcement of a pregnancy, employers make assumptions about a woman’s return-to-work intentions and her level of organizational commitment (McDonald, Dear, Backstrom, 2008). Some research has focused on the decisions concerning maternity leave and returning to work. Research concerning this decision making process has shown that a number of factors may be influential including the woman’s work commitment, as well as her mother’s working pattern, economic concerns, psychological needs, child care concerns, traditional gender role values,

perceived spouse preference, education level, job-specific training, organizational policies, work-family culture, and attitudes towards parenting (Amstey & Whitbourne, 1984; Spies Sorenson & Tschetter, 1994; Werbel, 1998; Desai & Waite, 1991; Lyness, Thompson, Francesco, & Judiesch, 1999; Ranson, 1996). Additionally, there is evidence of a correlation between a woman's intention and her behavior, such that if a woman intends to return to work, she most likely will. Further, there is evidence that a more positive attitude toward returning to work predicts a greater intention to return to work (Mackey Degler, 1995). Women who felt discouraged associated maternity leave with problematic manager-employee relationships, while those who felt encouraged believed they were valued by their superiors. Interestingly, one study found that all the women who felt encouraged remained with their employers, however, more than half of those who felt discouraged left their companies after their maternity leave (Buzzanell & Liu, 2007).

While the applicant's experiences are certainly important, the current study will use a confederate to play the applicant and will focus on the reactions of the hiring manager. However, this line of research concerning pregnant employees' experiences indicates that coworker and supervisor attitudes may impact a pregnant woman's experience. In the context of the present study, the interviewers' (i.e. the participants) own experiences with the various types of absenteeism discussed in this study will be assessed as well as their perceptions on how legitimate the reason for absenteeism is. This may demonstrate that favorable supervisor attitudes or experiences are related to favorable outcomes for pregnant applicants.

*Pregnancy and the Selection Process*

While pregnancy in the workplace has received relatively little research attention, a particularly under-explored area concerns the effect of pregnancy on the selection process. One study (Kazama & Hebl, 2003; see also Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary & Kazama, 2007) examining visibly pregnant women applying for retail jobs found no evidence of formal discrimination (i.e. they received the same number of call-backs), but did find that the pregnant applicants were more likely to experience what they call interpersonal discrimination (i.e. hostility, shortened interactions, frowning, use of diminutive references). These authors point out, however, that their measure of formal discrimination was not based on whether the applicant was actually hired. Other research has indicated that there is sometimes an inconsistency between employers' interpersonal behavior and their hiring decisions regarding stigmatized applicants (Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002). One study found that even when hiring managers may have positive impressions of a candidate (i.e. warmth and competence), a pregnant candidate may still be less likely to be hired (Maser, Grass, & Nesic, 2007). The current study aims to look at not only the reactions to a pregnant applicant, but also one's intention to hire that applicant.

Further research has examined whether bias against a pregnant job applicant would be reduced if structured interviews were used during the selection process (Bragger, Kutcher, Morgan, & Firth, 2002). They found that pregnancy did have a significant effect on the hiring decision, yet the structured interview reduced the bias. In addition these findings did not differ across position (i.e. high school teacher, a traditionally feminine job & sales representative, a traditionally masculine job). While these authors

state that these findings are encouraging, they acknowledge that the cause of the bias is still unknown and that further research needs to be conducted.

To explore further these ideas, Cunningham and Macan (2007) conducted a study to not only examine whether pregnancy impacts hiring decisions, but also to understand the cause of the bias. They found that a pregnant applicant was viewed as equally qualified and well-suited for the position compared to a non-pregnant applicant; however the pregnant applicant received significantly lower hiring recommendation ratings. Although this study utilized a structured interview format the authors did not find that the structured interview reduced bias against the pregnant job applicant. One explanation for this differing finding may be that Bragger et al. (2002) assessed hiring decisions by asking “On a 5-point scale, how qualified is the individual to be hired?” Given the results of Cunningham and Macan, that the pregnant applicant received significantly lower hiring recommendation ratings in spite of being viewed as equally qualified, there is a potential confound between hiring decision and qualification ratings in the Bragger study.

There are a number of reasons why an applicant may be viewed as qualified, yet not be recommended for hire. For example, decision makers may have difficulty combining and weighting the various pieces of information they have available to help them make a decision (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). One study (Hitt & Barr, 1989) found that variables that are defined as job-irrelevant, for example, race or sex, are often used by managers when making selection decisions and may even be more important than other job-relevant variables, for example, education and experience. It is possible for even one unfavorable bit of information about a candidate to lead to rejection (Schmitt, 1976). All

this is to say that a decision maker evaluates information beyond simply qualifications to determine their ultimate decision. The fact that an applicant could be viewed as qualified, as well as positive in many regards, and yet still not receive favorable hiring ratings demonstrates how complex and often subjective the selection process can be.

In addition to evaluating qualifications and hiring ratings separately, the participants in the Cunningham and Macan (2007) study were able to make an overall hiring decision while the participants in the Bragger study used a rating scale for each interview question which was used to come up with the overall rating. While it is encouraging that their more structured format demonstrated a reduced bias for the pregnant applicant, the methodology used in the Cunningham and Macan study is perhaps a more realistic representation of how hiring decisions are actually made in many organizations. We know from the decision making literature that most decisions tend to be quasi-rational (i.e., include both intuition and analysis) (Hammond, 1996) which is afforded by a global assessment approach but not by a statistical one. This study will follow the same methodology as the Cunningham and Macan study and assess hiring separately from qualifications and with a format that allows for overall judgments to be made based on all the information provided.

Cunningham and Macan (2007) also addressed several possible reasons for pregnancy bias in hiring decisions, including stereotyping and concerns about absenteeism. Role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) indicates that there is incongruence between the typical female gender role which consists of communal qualities such as affectionate, nurturing, and gentle and the male or “leader” gender role which consists of qualities such as assertive, confident, and self-sufficient. A visible pregnancy makes the feminine

gender role particularly salient and it is possible that this female stereotyping may make a pregnant candidate an unappealing job candidate. Cunningham and Macan found that although the pregnant applicant was viewed as more stereotypically female, the pregnant applicant was also rated more positively in a number of cases (e.g. competence, communication, maturity, intelligence, leadership and supervisory ability). Given that the candidate was rated as equally qualified and well-suited for the job, it does not appear that the female stereotyping, which may be heightened by the pregnancy, was the likely explanation for the hiring rating discrepancy.

Although perhaps logical as an explanation, no study had previously explored whether concerns about absenteeism were the likely cause for potential pregnancy discrimination in the selection process. A number of studies have documented the concerns of pregnant women, supervisors and coworkers concerning how work will be covered in the absence of the pregnant employee (Halpert & Hickman Burg, 1997; Gueutal & Taylor, 1991). Cunningham and Macan (2007) found that the pregnant applicant was rated as more likely to miss work, need time off, and quit compared to the non-pregnant applicant. These findings suggest that one of the predominant explanations for discrimination against pregnant job applicants is concern about absenteeism.

Although one study (Cunningham & Macan, 2007) has demonstrated that bias against pregnant job applicants may, in part, be due to concerns about missing work and quitting, it is of interest to know if these concerns would similarly affect other job applicants who may need to be absent for the same period of time but for reasons other than pregnancy and maternity leave. As one person stated with regard to a woman missing work due to the birth of her child, "It is very much the same as when a male CEO becomes ill, or

breaks his leg skiing, or has an accident and is out of the office” (Dorman, 1995).

However, it is possible that absenteeism due to pregnancy is not perceived the same as absenteeism for other reasons. If this were the case it may suggest unique stereotyping faced by pregnant applicants that cannot simply be explained by concerns regarding absenteeism. Further research is needed to help determine if the results found in Cunningham and Macan (2007) are a result of pregnancy discrimination or hiring decisions that favor less risk and uncertainty with regard to absenteeism. The present study is designed to examine this idea.

#### *Absenteeism.*

Some define absenteeism as a single day of missed work (Martocchio & Jimeno, 2003), while others define it as a “lack of physical presence at a behavior setting when and where one is expected to be” (Harrison & Price, 2003, p. 204). Harrison and Price note that attendance at one’s job is a social expectation and therefore absenteeism is a violation of that expectation. In addition, they note that the absence is the behavioral outcome and not the behavior, as many things could have lead to the absence.

Absenteeism is often one criteria used to measure job performance. According to Muchinsky (2006), “Absence from work, like turnover, is an index of employee stability” (p. 79) and can be broken down into either excused or unexcused absences.

Absenteeism can be caused by a number of things including job dissatisfaction, family, health, personality, mood, etc. (Muchinsky, 2006). Some research suggests that women have higher absenteeism rates than men (see Johns, 2003); while others argue that research regarding gender differences in absenteeism is inconclusive. Part of this issue involves whether maternity leave should be part of the female absenteeism rates (see



Sanders & Nauta, 2004). Regardless of the cause, we know that absenteeism costs employers billions of dollars a year (Muchinsky, 2006). The hiring manager's concerns about both short-term and future or long-term absenteeism will be assessed in this study.

*Absenteeism concerns for other applicants.*

The primary purpose of study 1 is to determine if a pregnant applicant is a less desirable applicant primarily because of absenteeism concerns, as one previous study has suggested (Cunningham & Macan, 2007) or because she is also pregnant. This study will isolate these issues by comparing the pregnant applicant to various other applicants who are not pregnant but will also raise concerns about absenteeism. When addressing the issues of pregnancy and absenteeism, there are several factors that should be considered. For example, we know that pregnancy is a condition unique to females. We also know, from the research previously discussed, that the pregnancy itself may be a stigmatizing condition. In addition, we know that absenteeism concerns with regard to pregnancy may involve work missed both in the short-term (i.e. maternity leave) and possibly the long-term (i.e. future child-care issues). Given these various dimensions that may raise concerns about a pregnant applicant, several different comparison applicants have been selected to help isolate the different issues and hopefully ultimately determine if absenteeism is the root concern with regard to pregnant applicants or if absenteeism alone cannot explain why a pregnant applicant may be a less desirable applicant.

There are many reasons any employee may need to take an extended period of time off from work, for example, recovery after an operation, care for an aging parent, military duty, illness, etc. In order to isolate the specific issues identified, the pregnant applicant in this study will be compared to a female applicant who will need time off for the care of

a newly adopted child, a female applicant who will need time off to care for a spouse who will be recovering from a medical procedure, and a male applicant who will need paternity leave to care for a new baby, as well as a female control applicant who will not present with any immediate need for time off during the selection process.

As no framework exists to help make comparisons of this nature, I have created the following table to assist in showing how these various applicants differ along the dimensions of interest in this study.

<u>Applicant:</u>	DIMENSIONS				Gender
	Reason for Absence: Care of Another	One-Time Absence	Potential Recurring Absence	Stigmatizing Condition: Pregnancy	
Pregnancy	■	■	■	■	Female
Adoption	■	■	■		Female
Care of Spouse	■	■			Female
Paternity Leave	■	■			Male
<i>Control Applicant</i>	<i>No Need for Time Off</i>				<i>Female</i>

For the purpose of this study, all comparison applicants will need time off for the care of another person, either a child or a spouse. Also, all the applicants will be presenting the need for a one-time extended absence of the same duration (e.g. requesting 8 weeks of maternity leave). The other dimensions in the table, to be discussed in more detail shortly, show that both the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant may elicit concerns regarding long-term or future absences based on child-care issues. The next dimension shows that it is only the pregnant applicant that is presenting with a visually

stigmatizing condition (i.e. the pregnancy) in addition to absenteeism concerns. Lastly, the issue of gender is addressed by including a male applicant requesting paternity leave. Perceptions regarding whether pregnancy is a stigmatizing condition and whether the pregnant and adopting applicants may present future absenteeism concerns are assessed in this study.

*Applicant 1: Adopting.*

In order to isolate the fact that the pregnant applicant is not only presenting both short term and long term absenteeism concerns, but also is bearing a stigmatizing condition, the pregnant applicant will be compared to an applicant who will need time off for a newly adopted child. A female applicant with an impending adoption may be seen very similarly to a pregnant applicant in that work will need to be taken off in the immediate future for the care of a new child and long-term child care issues may be a concern. One primary difference, however, is that a woman adopting a child does not bear any of the visual cues that a pregnant woman does and therefore may not fall prey to the associated stereotypes. From the research previously discussed, we know that pregnancy itself may be a stigmatizing condition. An applicant presenting with a visually stigmatizing condition in addition to absenteeism concerns may be viewed more negatively than a non-stigmatized applicant with absenteeism concerns. In other words, absenteeism concerns alone may not be enough to harm an applicant's chance of getting hired, but absenteeism concerns coupled with a stigmatizing condition may be harder to overcome. The "additive" effect of an applicant presenting with both a stigmatizing condition and absenteeism concerns will most clearly be seen in a comparison between the pregnant applicant and the applicant that will need time off for an adoption as they are

the most similar across dimensions except with regard to bearing a stigmatizing condition. In other words, the comparison between the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant allows for the issue of gender to be controlled as they are both female and allows for the issue of potential long-term absences due to child care to be controlled as it is expected that this could be a perception of either applicant. Therefore this comparison allows for a more direct evaluation of the pregnant applicant bearing a stigmatizing condition. Given the potential combined impact, for a pregnant applicant, of bearing a stigmatizing condition as well as presenting both short-term and long-term absenteeism concerns, the following is hypothesized in relation to an applicant who will need time off for a newly adopted child.

**H1a: The pregnant applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the female applicant who plans to take leave for an adoption.**

Given that both the pregnant applicant and the applicant requesting time off for an adoption are both requesting short term time off during the hiring process, the following is hypothesized in relation to the applicant who is not presenting with any absenteeism concerns.

**H1b: Both the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant.**

These hypotheses will help examine the assumption that pregnancy may be perceived as a stigmatizing condition. In addition, the assumption that both the pregnant and the adopting applicant may be viewed as posing potential future / long term absenteeism risk will be examined.

It is possible that a pregnant applicant may also be perceived differently than an applicant planning an adoption due to potential pre-natal issues the pregnant applicant

may face. While I don't control for this issue explicitly, the pregnant applicant will indicate during the selection process that she has had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy in order to alleviate potential concerns about prenatal complications.

*Applicant 2: Care of a spouse.*

As just described, in terms of the dimensions examined in this study, the adopting applicant differs from the pregnant applicant with regard to bearing a stigmatizing condition. It is anticipated that both the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant will elicit concerns about future or long-term absenteeism due to child-care issues. To isolate the impact of eliciting concerns about future or long-term absenteeism both the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant will be compared to a female applicant who will need time off for the short-term care of a spouse recovering from a surgical procedure. This applicant obviously differs from the pregnant applicant, in that she does not bear the stigma of pregnancy. This applicant will request time off to care for her spouse who will be recovering from knee-replacement surgery. The nature of this applicant's absenteeism is such that she will not likely be perceived to pose any future or long-term risk of absenteeism because although recovery time for this procedure is lengthy, once recovered there are typically no long-term care issues, although this perception is verified in the study. By comparing this applicant to both the adopting and the pregnant applicant, I am able to determine whether the stigma of the pregnancy and the potential for long-term or future absenteeism affect judgments about the pregnant applicant. In other words, the comparison between the applicant caring for a spouse and the adopting applicant controls for the dimensions of gender and bearing a stigma as both applicants are similar in that regard and allows for a comparison on the issue of future or

long-term absenteeism. By further comparing the applicant caring for a spouse to the pregnant applicant I am able to control for gender and look at the combined effect of bearing a stigmatizing condition and posing a potential long-term absenteeism risk.

**H2a: The pregnant applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse.**

**H2b: The adopting applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse.**

**H2c: The applicant needing time off to care for a spouse will receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant.**

*Applicant 3: Male requesting paternity leave.*

Lastly to isolate the effect of gender, a male applicant will be compared to the other applicants. In this case, the male applicant will present absenteeism concerns due to his request to take time off to be at home with his new baby in the near future. This applicant is similar to the non-pregnant female applicants in that he does not bear the stigma of pregnancy and as I will discuss further in a moment, will not likely elicit concerns about future or long-term absenteeism.

Although less common, fathers can take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave under FMLA in order to be home with their new baby. In addition, some companies offer separate paternity leave for fathers. However, according to the National Partnership for Women and Families, women are three times as likely to request parental leave (McGaw, 2004). Fathers may pose some absenteeism concerns similar to their pregnant wives in many regards. For example, the father may take time off to be present at each pre-natal doctor appointment and will likely take some time off after the birth of the baby. However, there are many reasons to expect that a male applicant who plans to take

paternity leave will be viewed differently from a pregnant applicant. For instance, there may be less concern with regard to the father's long-term absenteeism, as most fathers are not the primary care givers and will likely not miss as much future work due to child care issues as a mother would (Crouter, Bumpus, Head, & McHale, 2001). Research shows that women who are employed outside the home still put in more time in household chores and childcare than men and that women are more likely to make adjustments to their work lives when there is a conflict between family and work (Crouter, Bumpus, Head, & McHale, 2001). By comparing this applicant to the previously discussed applicants it will be possible to determine the combined impact of a pregnant applicant being female, bearing a stigmatizing condition and potentially requiring future or long-term absenteeism. In other words, the comparison between the male applicant and the applicant taking time off to care for a spouse will isolate the issue of gender as it is expected that both the male applicant and the applicant caring for a spouse will not be viewed as bearing a stigmatizing condition and will not be perceived to pose future or long term absenteeism concerns. By comparing the male applicant to the adopting applicant, I am able control for the issue of stigma and examine the effects of gender and potential long-term / future absenteeism. Lastly, by comparing the male applicant to the pregnant applicant I am able to see the combined effect of gender, stigma and long-term / future absenteeism on hiring perceptions. The following is hypothesized:

**H3a: The male applicant and the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse will receive equivalent hiring ratings.**

Although this hypothesis is essentially stating the null, it is important to demonstrate that the rating differences between applicants are not due to gender. Given that the job in question, to be described later, will be gender neutral, it is expected that

there will be no difference between the male applicant and the applicant needing time off to care of a spouse, given that neither should be perceived as presenting with a stigma or posing long-term absenteeism concerns (again, these assumptions will be verified).

**H3b: The pregnant applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the male applicant.**

**H3c: The adopting applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the male applicant.**

**H3d: The male applicant will receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant.**

It should also be noted that while a male applicant who plans to take paternity leave may be viewed more favorably because he may not pose long-term or future absenteeism risk, a man who chooses to take an extended paternity leave, thereby effectively putting his family above his work, could be seen as a violation to the stereotype or expectation of a man's role inside versus outside the home. In fact only about 15% of men, who are eligible to take leave, do in fact take it. Many men say they worry others will disapprove. In 1991, 63% of 1,500 CEO's surveyed by the Catalyst Foundation said fathers should take no time off upon the birth or adoption of a child (McGaw, 2004). In order to examine these ideas, participants were asked to judge how appropriate they think it is for a man to take paternity leave after the birth of a child, as well as how appropriate they think it is for women to take maternity leave.

*Other general differences between the applicants.*

While anticipated absenteeism from any prospective applicant may not be preferable, it may be possible that a manager can overlook the short term inconvenience in light of a highly qualified applicant if he or she believes that there is a high likelihood that this person will return after their absence and that long term or future absenteeism



will not be an issue. In other words there may be some judgment about the overall risk posed by hiring the applicant. With regard to pregnancy, we know that managers worry about not only the impact that the absence during maternity leave will have but if the woman will return at all to her job after the birth of her child. As one article stated, “The unfortunate truth is that a pregnancy can be seen as a liability, and most companies aren’t willing to take that kind of risk with a new hire” (Sellers, 1999, p. 61). Therefore, participants will be asked to make judgments concerning how “risky” it would be to hire each candidate.

**H4a: The pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant will receive higher risk ratings than the applicant requesting time off to care for a spouse and the male applicant requesting paternity leave** (*presumably due to their potential for future or long-term absenteeism or the possibility that they may not return to work after the arrival of their child*).

**H4b: All applicants who will need time off, regardless of reason, will receive higher risk ratings compared to the control applicant who will not need time off.**

In addition, applicants presenting with absenteeism concerns may be perceived differently depending on the beliefs and experiences of the person making the hiring decision. For example if the interviewer believes the absenteeism is for a legitimate or reasonable reason they may tolerate the inconvenience the absence may bring. Perhaps the manager has had some sort of personal experience with the applicant’s situation (e.g. the hiring manager took 12 weeks of maternity leave after the birth of her child) or they have sympathy for the applicant and her / his situation. A hiring manager may also worry about how the hire of a “high-risk” applicant may reflect on them and their judgment. It is likely that the manager’s perceptions of and feelings about the reason for the absenteeism will play a role in how negatively it is perceived and is assessed in this

study. Dovidio and Hebl (2005), in their model of discrimination, point out the importance that individual differences can make in the perception of others. They note that “although there are significant commonalities in process, there are also strikingly divergent ways in which different individuals react to members of specific stigmatized groups in various situations” (p. 12). Given that individual rater’s perceptions of and reactions to the reason for the absenteeism will likely have an impact on their ratings, these impressions were measured. The following is hypothesized:

**H5: There will be a positive relationship between ratings of the legitimacy of the absence and favorability of the candidate.**

**H6: Participants with similar personal experience with one of the absenteeism situations will give more favorable ratings to the applicants presenting with absenteeism concerns.**

In addition to the stated hypotheses, this study will also explore whether ratings of each applicant differ by gender of the participant. As stated earlier, research concerning pregnant applicants has found mixed findings with regard to gender differences and therefore no formal hypotheses are presented.

In addition to the different explanations for needing time off, it is important to examine when that request takes place during the interview. Regardless of the specific circumstances, essentially all of these hypothetical applicants are making a request for an accommodation during the interview by asking for an extended period of time off. The ultimate question then, is whether the organization views that request as reasonable. If we frame the “time off” request as an accommodation, one thing to consider is when it is best to make the accommodation request. For the purpose of this study, the conversation regarding time off will take place at the end of the interview. While there is some debate about whether disclosures, for example the disclosure or acknowledgement of a

disability, should be made at the beginning or the end of the interview (for example see Hebl & Skorinko, 2005; Roberts, 2005; Roberts & Macan 2006), there is some evidence to suggest that when it comes to requesting an accommodation, it is best to wait until the end of the interview (Roberts, 2001). However, it is also important to note that there is evidence that even asking for an accommodation lowers perceptions that a candidate is suitable for a job (Hazer & Bedell, 2000).

By in large all these ideas about why pregnant applicants may be perceived differently from other applicants who will also need time off are all speculative as there is no actual empirical research that has examined this notion. However, it is possible that there would be no difference in these applicants. Perhaps any applicant who poses a risk due to absenteeism concerns will not be seen as an attractive hire even in spite of being qualified or performing well in an interview. Hiring manager's positive impressions about qualifications, fit, and interview performance may not be enough to overcome an applicant's label of "high-risk" due to absenteeism concerns, regardless of the reason for the absence. Consequently, it is imperative that research explore these issues.

### Study 1 Methods

#### *Design*

A 5 (type of applicant: pregnant, adopting, caring for spouse, male asking for paternity leave, and control) x 2 (participant gender) between-subjects factorial design was utilized in this study.

#### *Participants*

The participants in this study included 213 undergraduate college students; 45 in the pregnant condition (32 females, 13 males), 40 in the adopting condition (22 females,

18 males), 42 in the spouse condition (29 females, 13 males), 40 in the male condition (26 females, 14 males), and 46 in the control condition (25 females, 20 males).

Participants ranged in age from 19 to 55 years with an average age of 24.68 years ( $SD = 6.25$ ). Sixty three percent of the sample was female ( $n = 134$ ). Seventy percent were Caucasian (13.9% African American/Black, 8.5% Asian/Pacific Islander, 1.9% Hispanic/Latino, 4.2% other), and 89.2% were US citizens. The majority did not have children (79.3%). The majority of the participants were employed (78.9%), with 34.3% working full time and 44.6% working part time. Overall, the group reported having some to no interviewing experience ( $M = 2.10$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ). The majority of the sample had never missed work for an extended period of time (83.6%) and was not familiar with FMLA (64.3%). Assuming a potential medium effect size (using Cohen's convention of .25) and an alpha level of .05, the sample size of 213 produces 84% power to detect an effect if there is one (power calculations were conducted using the program G\*power, Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996).

Students were recruited from business and psychology classes at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and at the instructor's discretion were offered extra credit for their participation. Participants were randomly assigned to condition and each participant was exposed to only one applicant condition.

### *Procedure*

Participants were told that they were participating in a study that examines interviewers' perceptions of applicants and how interviewers make hiring decisions based on their perceptions. Participants were told that they were assuming the role of a hiring manager interviewing people for a mid-level computer programmer position. The job of

computer programmer was used in this study because it has been shown to be viewed as a neutrally sex-typed position (Macan, Detjen, & Dickey, 1994; Cunningham & Macan, 2007). A neutrally sex-typed position was chosen so that applicant gender would not affect the hiring decision.

Participants were asked to review information concerning the hypothetical company that they work for as well as information concerning the position for which the applicants were interviewing (See Appendix A). Participants were asked to review several resumes, one of which depicted the target applicant (i.e. one of the 4 participants requesting time off or the control applicant). With regard to the resumes for the applicants of interest in this study, the resumes were identical across applicants, except that a male name appeared in the case of the male applicant (See Appendix B for a copy of the resume). The “target” resume depicted the candidate with average to above average qualifications for the position in question. The job description and resume were the same as those used in Cunningham and Macan (2007). The job description was created using information from The Department of Labor’s Occupational Information Network (O-Net) website (<http://online.onetcenter.org/>), and included information such as a brief company description, general job description, education and experience requirements, job tasks, and work environment. The resume was based both on the job description requirements created for the study as well as a review of resumes and interviews with people currently working in the IT field. The applicant was asked to review a total of 3 resumes. The other two resumes served as comparison applicants. These “decoy” resumes (see Appendix C) were pre-tested to demonstrate that they did not deviate in any significant way from the control applicant (i.e. the applicant equivalent

to the other target applicants, but who does not make a time-off request). See Appendix D for a copy of the resume pilot test rating form. Having the participants initially review several resumes should reduce demand characteristics regarding the target resume and simulate a more realistic selection situation.

The resumes were evaluated by 41 undergraduate students. Pilot tests of the resumes revealed there were no significant differences across any of the resumes on any of the characteristics tested including overall appearance, readability, clarity, technical skills, education, work experience, qualifications, and well-suitedness for the job.

Participants were asked to make brief ratings of all the applicants based solely on the resume (i.e. hiring rating, qualification rating). See Appendix E for a copy of this rating form. Previous researchers (Cunningham & Macan, 2007) asked half of the participants in their study to make pre and post interview ratings and half to make only post interview ratings. This was done in order to determine if the participants had a consistency bias in their ratings (i.e. if they said they would hire the applicant based on the resume, would they still say they would hire her after finding out she was pregnant just to remain consistent with their prior ratings even if their feelings about the applicant changed). Cunningham and Macan (2007) found that there was no evidence of consistency bias and therefore it will not be examined in this study.

After completing these initial ratings and returning them to the experimenter, participants viewed a brief videotaped interview. Participants were told that in the interest of time, they would only watch a video-taped interview for one of the applicants, which they were told was selected at random.

The videos were identical except for the case where the gender of the applicant was male and depending on which absenteeism request was presented or in the case of the control applicant, no absenteeism request. The same female confederate was used in all female interviews. In the case of the pregnant applicant, the confederate wore a pregnancy prosthesis to make her appear around 7 months pregnant. All applicants were seen entering and exiting the interview room. This entrance and exit allowed participants in the pregnant applicant condition to visibly see her pregnant stomach (a manipulation check question was used to verify that participants noticed the pregnancy). The conversation portion of the interview was taped from the chest up such that the pregnancy was not visible. This ensured that the interview portion of the video was consistent across applicants except for the explanation of the need for time off.

The interview consisted of the same 10 structured interview questions used in Cunningham and Macan (2007). A sample question is “This job is very team oriented. I see you have some experience working in teams. Tell me about your experiences working in a team environment?” The scripted responses to these questions were shown in the previous study to be average to above average. It is necessary for the responses to be viewed as average to above average so that the variables of interest in this study (i.e. type of absenteeism request) is not confounded with poor interview responses which the participant might use as a basis for a poor hiring rating. See Appendix F for a copy of the interview script.

The responses in the video only differed based on a brief statement each of the applicants made at the end of the interview concerning their need for time off. This statement was made in response to the question “Is there anything else you would like to

share with me today or are there any questions I can answer for you? At this point each of the applicants requiring time off briefly indicated they would need 8 weeks off in the next 2 to 3 months for whatever reason (i.e. maternity leave, recovery of spouse, paternity leave). While the Family Medical Leave Act allows for 12 weeks of leave, the legislation would not apply to someone who was new to a position. Given that an applicant would likely recognize that requesting 12 weeks at the beginning of a new job may be viewed as excessive but that 8 weeks may be the minimum of reasonable time for most of these conditions (i.e. recovering from delivery and adjusting to life with a newborn), 8 weeks was chosen as the amount of time requested. In addition, the requested time off would take place in 2-3 months. This timeline was chosen such that it was relatively soon, but would also allow for some time on the job. See Appendix G for the actual script each candidate used to explain their need for time off.

After viewing the interview video, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire that assessed their hiring rating of the candidate as well as other perceptions of the candidate.

*Dependent measures.*

The primary dependent measure of interest was the hiring rating, which was made on the following 5-point scale:

5 – Yes, I would definitely hire this person. This person is an extremely good candidate.

4 – Yes, I would hire this person with a few reservations.

3 – I'm not sure if I would hire this person.

2 – I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look



at some additional information about her.

1 – No, I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

Participants were also asked to assess the candidate on a number of other dimensions including qualifications and fit. Previous research (Cunningham & Macan, 2007) found that an identical pregnant and non-pregnant applicant did not differ on ratings of qualifications and job-fit. This was further examined by comparing the five applicants of interest in this study on those dimensions. Participants also made ratings concerning their perceptions regarding the level of risk associated with hiring the applicant and their perception of the legitimacy of the reason for requesting time off shortly after starting the job. Participants also made a judgment about the likelihood of future or long-term absenteeism, a rating of interview performance, as well as an overall favorability rating of the applicant. Additionally, a four item scale measuring family interference with work (Burley, 1989) was modified for this study (see Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). In order to further assess different perceptions of the candidates a number of individual characteristics, originally used in Cunningham and Macan (2007) were rated (e.g. reliable, intelligent, etc.) on a 1 (not characteristic) to 5 (very characteristic) scale. In addition to these ratings, there were also a number of open ended items including a question that asked what stood out positively or what the participant liked about the applicant, any concerns the participant had about the applicant, and what other questions the participant would have liked to ask the applicant. Also, the participant was asked to explain the “risk” rating they gave for the applicant. In other words, trying to determine what caused the participant to view the applicant as a “risky” hire.

Lastly, participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire that asked for information regarding gender, race, age, whether they have children, interviewing experience, as well as personal experience with the various types of absenteeism assessed in this study. A copy of the measurement instrument is in Appendix H.

### Study 1 Results

See Table 1 for means, standard deviations and inter-correlations of all hypothesized study variables as well as selected other variables of interest. All of the “positively oriented” variables show means above the midpoint (on the 5 point scale), as should be expected given that the materials were designed such that the candidate should be perceived as qualified, well suited for the job, etc. In addition, the variable “likely to need immediate extended time off” was above the midpoint which makes sense given that 4 out of the 5 applicants in the study made a time off request during the interview. The means for the variable “likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis” and “likely to quit” had overall means below the midpoint indicating that overall, even though 4 out of the 5 applicants made a time off request, the participants didn’t indicate a strong concern about future, recurring absences or the possibility of the candidate quitting. It is also interesting to note the almost zero correlation between “likely to need immediate extended time off” and “qualified” indicating that participants were able to separate their perceptions of the applicants’ qualifications for the job from their awareness of the extended leave being requested.

#### *Manipulation Checks*

It was confirmed that the job of computer programmer was viewed as neutrally sex-typed (i.e. equally suitable for both men and women) based on a scale with 1 = more

suitable for women to 5 = more suitable for men ( $M = 3.22$ ,  $SD = .57$ ). However, there were some unexpected differences between conditions for this item  $F(4, 208) = 3.01$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .06$ . Post hoc tests indicate that participants in the male applicant condition gave significantly higher ratings on this item ( $M = 3.47$ ,  $SD = .72$ ) compared to those in the adopting applicant condition ( $M = 3.10$ ,  $SD = .38$ ) and the pregnant applicant condition ( $M = 3.11$ ,  $SD = .57$ ). Although these ratings are statistically significantly different, they are still all within a range to indicate that regardless of condition the job was viewed as equally suitable for both men and women. In addition, in the pregnancy condition, all participants recognized the applicant as pregnant and that she was requesting time off shortly after the position was to start.

### *Analyses*

I analyzed each dependent variable of interest using a 5 x 2 between subjects factorial ANOVA. Pair-wise comparisons were examined. Comparison between each of the different applicants allows for different inferences to be made based on what dimensions (i.e. gender, bearing a stigmatizing condition, or potential for future or long-term absenteeism) are represented by each applicant.

The table below shows all the pair-wise comparisons of interest (i.e. each applicant-pair being compared and which dimensions were examined). The main effects were of primary interest in this study, although any interaction between applicant type and gender were examined as this would demonstrate that male and female participants viewed the applicants and or the various dimensions represented by the applicants differently. While relatively high correlations (based on previous research by Cunningham & Macan, 2007) were expected between many the dependent variables, each were analyzed using

individual ANOVAs instead of using a MANOVA because each dependent variable is conceptually distinct. See Table 1 for correlations between hypothesized dependent variables and other variables of interest.

Hypotheses	Applicants Compared			Independent Variables Controlled (i.e. the applicants are the same on these dimensions)	Independent Variables Examined (i.e. the applicants differ on these dimensions)
Hiring Ratings:					
1a	Pregnant	vs	Adopting	Gender, Long-term / Future Absenteeism	Stigma
1b	Pregnant	vs	Control	Gender	Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism, Immediate Absenteeism
1b	Adopting	vs	Control	Gender, Stigma	Long-term / Future Absenteeism, Immediate Absenteeism
2a	Pregnant	vs	Spouse	Gender	Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism
2b	Adopting	vs	Spouse	Gender, Stigma	Long-term / Future Absenteeism
2c	Spouse	vs	Control	Gender, Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism	Immediate Absenteeism
3a	Male	vs	Spouse	Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism	Gender
3b	Pregnant	vs	Male	-	Gender, Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism
3c	Adopting	vs	Male	Stigma	Gender, Long-term / Future Absenteeism
3d	Male	vs	Control	Stigma, Long-term / Future Absenteeism	Gender, Immediate Absenteeism

*Note the primary DV of interest in all cases is the hiring rating*

Each participant, in a condition where the applicant requested time off, was asked if, in their opinion, the request was reasonable. Analyses showed that whether a participant viewed the request for time off as reasonable depends in part on the reason for the request (i.e. the condition);  $\chi^2(3) = 13.72, p = .003, \phi = .29$ . Twenty-seven out of 163 participants in a “time-off” condition responded that the request was not reasonable (12 in spouse condition, 7 in adopting condition, and 8 in male condition). In order to control for this variable and determine that it was not the perceptions regarding reasonableness

affecting the findings on my stated hypotheses I re-ran all the 5x2 ANOVAs excluding those 27 participants to determine if the findings of significance were impacted. There were no differences in these analyses for any hypothesis concerning the hiring recommendation.

With regard to the risk ratings, there were minor differences in the post hoc findings (i.e. 4 out of the 10 comparisons showed a change: the control condition was no longer significantly different from the spouse and male condition; the difference between the male and the pregnant condition changed from approaching significance to significant; the difference between the spouse and the pregnant condition was now approaching significance). For all the other characteristics there were only minor differences. Findings based on this reduced sample are displayed within Tables 3-5 in blue text for easy comparison to the findings on the same variables with the full sample. Overall, there is little impact of the 27 participants who did not view the request as reasonable and therefore no need to control for that variable in the analyses.

### *Tests of Hypotheses*

Hypotheses 1-3 concern predicted differences in hiring ratings between the various applicant conditions. A 5x2 ANOVA (including applicant type and participant gender) was conducted for the statement “Would you recommend this person to be hired?” There was a significant main effect for condition,  $F(4, 201) = 5.38, p = .00, \eta^2 = .10$ . Each condition was further explored via the post hoc tests below for each specific hypothesis. There was no significant main effect ( $p = .20, \eta^2 = .008$ ) or interaction ( $p = .20, \eta^2 = .03$ ) with participant gender. These findings remain the same even when the 27

participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable were removed,  $F(4, 175) = 4.30, p = .001, \eta^2 = .09$ .

### *Hypothesis 1*

Hypothesis 1a stated that the pregnant applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the female applicant who plans to take leave for an adoption. Contrary to the hypothesis, post hoc tests indicated that there was no significant difference in the hiring ratings of the pregnant applicant ( $M = 3.80, SD = .84$ ) and the adopting applicant ( $M = 3.62, SD = .94$ ), ( $p = .58$ ).

Hypothesis 1b stated that both the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant. Post hoc tests support this hypothesis and show that both the pregnant and adopting applicants received significantly lower hiring ratings compared to the control applicant ( $M = 4.36, SD = .65$ ) ( $p = .002$  and  $p = .001$ , respectively).

### *Hypothesis 2*

Hypothesis 2a stated that the pregnant applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse. Contrary to the hypothesis, post hoc tests indicated that there was no significant difference in the hiring ratings of the pregnant applicant ( $M = 3.80, SD = .84$ ) and the spouse applicant ( $M = 3.64, SD = .93$ ), ( $p = .45$ ).

Hypothesis 2b stated that the adopting applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse. Contrary to the hypothesis, post hoc tests indicated that there was no significant difference in the hiring

ratings of the adopting applicant ( $M = 3.62$ ,  $SD = .94$ ) and the spouse applicant ( $M = 3.64$ ,  $SD = .93$ ), ( $p = .82$ ).

Hypothesis 2c stated that the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse would receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant. Post hoc tests support this hypothesis and show that the spouse applicant received significantly lower hiring ratings compared to the control applicant ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) ( $p = .001$ ).

### *Hypothesis 3*

Hypothesis 3a stated that the male applicant and the applicant needing time off to care for a spouse will receive equivalent hiring ratings. Although this hypothesis is essentially stating the null, it is important to demonstrate that the rating differences between applicants are not due to gender. Given that the job in question is gender neutral, it was expected that there would be no difference between the male applicant and the applicant needing time off to care of a spouse, given that neither should be perceived as presenting with a stigma or posing long-term absenteeism concerns. It was verified that there was not a significant difference between the male ( $M = 2.82$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ) and spouse ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ) conditions regarding the likelihood the applicant would miss work in the future on a recurring basis, ( $p = .17$ ). Post hoc tests showed that there was in fact not a significant difference between the hiring ratings of the male applicant ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = .95$ ) and the spouse applicant ( $M = 3.64$ ,  $SD = .93$ ), ( $p = .43$ ).

Hypothesis 3b stated that the pregnant applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the male applicant. Contrary to the hypothesis, post hoc tests indicated that there was no significant difference in the hiring ratings of the pregnant applicant ( $M = 3.80$ ,  $SD = .84$ ) and the male applicant ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = .95$ ), ( $p = .97$ ).

Hypothesis 3c stated that the adopting applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the male applicant. Contrary to the hypothesis, post hoc tests indicated that there was no significant difference in the hiring ratings of the adopting applicant ( $M = 3.62$ ,  $SD = .94$ ) and the male applicant ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = .95$ ), ( $p = .56$ ).

Hypothesis 3d stated that the male applicant would receive lower hiring ratings than the control applicant. Post hoc tests support this hypothesis and show that the male applicant received significantly lower hiring ratings compared to the control applicant ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = .65$ ), ( $p = .002$ ).

In summary for hypotheses 1-3, it was found that the control applicant received significantly higher (i.e. more favorable) hiring ratings compared to all other applicant conditions, but no other applicant conditions were significantly different from each other on the hiring rating.

#### *Hypothesis 4*

Hypothesis 4a and 4b concern the risk ratings made for the various applicants. A 5x2 ANOVA (including applicant type and participant gender) was conducted for the statement “Based on everything you know about this job and this candidate, as the hiring manager, rate the amount of risk you think you would be taking if you offered this candidate the job.” Ratings were made on a scale of 1 = A Lot of Risk to 5 = No Risk, therefore higher means equal less perceived risk. The results indicate that there were significant differences between some of the conditions, each of which is further explored below for each specific hypothesis,  $F(4, 200) = 4.25$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .08$ . The main effect for gender was approaching significance,  $F(1, 200) = 3.00$ ,  $p = .09$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; with the males ( $M = 3.36$ ,  $SD = .81$ ) giving higher risk ratings compared to the females ( $M = 3.11$ ,



$SD = .87$ ). There was no significant interaction with participant gender, ( $p = .81$ ,  $\eta^2 = .008$ ). When these analyses were run without the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable, there was still a significant main effect for condition,  $F(4, 174) = 4.10$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .09$ , and the main effect of gender was still approaching significance,  $F(1, 174) = 3.48$ ,  $p = .06$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ; with the males ( $M = 3.44$ ,  $SD = .80$ ) giving higher risk ratings compared to the females ( $M = 3.17$ ,  $SD = .88$ ). Post hoc differences found with this sample are included below.

Hypothesis 4a stated that the pregnant applicant and the adopting applicant would receive worse (i.e. lower ratings showing more risk) risk ratings than the applicant requesting time off to care for a spouse and the male applicant requesting paternity leave (presumably due to their potential for future or long-term absenteeism or the possibility that they may not return to work after the arrival of their child). Contrary to the hypothesis, the results indicated that there were no significant differences in the risk ratings of the pregnant applicant ( $M = 2.93$ ,  $SD = .65$ ) or the adopting applicant ( $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = .80$ ) compared to the spouse applicant ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = .74$ ), ( $p = .22$  and  $p = .46$ , respectively). There also were no significant differences in the risk ratings of the pregnant applicant and the male applicant ( $M = 3.28$ ,  $SD = .93$ ), ( $p = .09$ ) or the adopting applicant and the male applicant ( $p = .23$ ), although the difference between the pregnant and the male applicant risk ratings was approaching significance. However, when the analyses were conducted with the data set not containing the 27 individuals who did not view the time off request as reasonable, there was a significant difference between the risk ratings of the pregnant applicant ( $M = 2.95$ ,  $SD = .14$ ) and the male applicant ( $M = 3.44$ ,  $SD = .16$ ), ( $p = .02$ ), as well as a difference approaching significance between the

pregnant applicant and the applicant requesting time off to care for a spouse ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = .16$ ), ( $p = .07$ ).

Hypothesis 4b stated that all applicants who will need time off, regardless of reason, would receive worse risk ratings compared to the control applicant who would not need time off. Post hoc tests support this hypothesis and show that the all applicant conditions received significantly lower (i.e. worse or more risk) ratings compared to the control applicant ( $M = 3.62$ ,  $SD = .96$ ), (spouse  $p = .02$ , adopting  $p = .001$ , pregnant  $p = .001$ , male  $p = .05$ ). However, the analyses with the 27 participants removed, showed that only the pregnant and adopting conditions received significantly lower risk ratings compared to the control condition ( $M = 3.64$ ,  $SD = .12$ ), ( $p = .001$  and  $p = .006$ , respectively) while the male and spouse conditions did not ( $p = .34$  and  $p = .13$ , respectively).

#### *Hypothesis 5*

Hypothesis 5 stated that there would be a positive relationship between ratings of the legitimacy of the absence and favorability of the candidate. To evaluate this hypothesis I ran correlations. I represented the legitimacy of the absence with the items that asked if the request for time off was reasonable and if the amount of time requested was reasonable. Only twenty-seven out of 163 participants in a “time-off” condition responded that the request was not reasonable (12 in spouse condition, 7 in adopting condition, and 8 in male condition). I represented the favorability of the candidate with a number of individual items: overall rating of the candidate, hiring recommendation, evaluation of qualifications, evaluation of suitability for the job, and overall evaluation of applicant based on interview.

All the favorability items individually showed a significant small correlation with the item that asked if the request for time off was reasonable. Similar results were found for the item asking if the amount of time requested was reasonable. In addition to running the correlations for the entire sample I also ran them for each condition (with the exception of the control condition) individually with the results similar in nature. See table 2 for the correlations for the full sample.

In addition to correlations, chi-square analyses showed that there was a significant relationship between the overall rating of the candidate and whether the request for time off was viewed as reasonable,  $\chi^2(4) = 11.74, p = .02, \phi = .27$  and if the amount of time requested was viewed as reasonable,  $\chi^2(4) = 11.48, p = .02, \phi = .27$ . In addition there was a significant relationship between whether the request for time off was viewed as reasonable and the following favorable ratings of the candidate: hiring rating,  $\chi^2(4) = 15.31, p = .00, \phi = .31$ ; ratings on how well-suited the candidate is for the job,  $\chi^2(3) = 12.32, p = .01, \phi = .28$ ; and favorability ratings of the candidate based on what was said in the interview,  $\chi^2(4) = 20.25, p = .00, \phi = .35$ .

The evidence suggests that there is some relationship between the ratings of the reasonableness of the absence and favorability of the candidate. All t-tests between those who viewed the request as reasonable and those who did not were significant for each favorability rating. For the ratings regarding whether the amount of time off requested was reasonable, there was a significant difference between those who said yes ( $n = 96$ ) and those who said no ( $n = 59$ ) for the following items, overall candidate rating, hiring rating, and favorable evaluation of qualifications. In all cases the participant who viewed the amount of time requested as reasonable gave higher (more favorable) ratings.

*Hypothesis 6*

Hypothesis 6 stated that participants with similar personal experience with one of the absenteeism situations will give more favorable ratings to the applicants presenting with absenteeism concerns. Of the 213 participants, only 32 (15%) indicated that they had ever missed work for an extended period of time (i.e. 6 weeks or more). There is little correlation between whether or not a participant has missed work for an extended period of time and the various favorability ratings ( $r$  ranges from -.03 to -.07). Chi-square analyses for each of the favorability items indicated that there was only a significant relationship for the item “I would evaluate this applicant’s qualifications for this position favorably”,  $\chi^2(4) = 11.27, p = .02, \phi = .26$ . This indicates that there appears to be a moderate relationship between whether someone has taken an extended time off from work and how they rate the qualifications of a candidate who requests an extended amount of time off during the interview. There were no significant findings for any independent sample t-tests between those who have missed an extended period of time off work and those who have not on the various ratings as well. Generally speaking, there is very little evidence that participants with personal experience with absenteeism gave more favorable ratings to the applicants presenting with absenteeism concerns, however, only 15% of the sample reported having experienced extended absenteeism.

*Additional Analyses*

All participants were asked how appropriate it is for a mother to take maternity leave and for a father to take paternity leave. The response scale ranged from 1 = very inappropriate to 5 = very appropriate. In addition, participants were asked, in their opinion, what the appropriate amount of time off is for both maternity and paternity

leave. Across all participants maternity leave was rated as very appropriate ( $M = 4.64$ ,  $SD = .84$ ) and paternity leave was rated closer to the mid rating of neither appropriate nor inappropriate ( $M = 3.54$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ). The average amount of time off viewed as appropriate for maternity leave was around 3 months ( $M = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 2.08$ ) ranging from 1 week to 1 year. The average amount of time off viewed as appropriate for paternity leave was around 1 month ( $M = 1.25$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ) ranging from no time off to 7 months.

There were no significant main effects for condition ( $p = .95$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ ) or gender ( $p = .89$ ,  $\eta^2 = .001$ ), nor a significant interaction ( $p = .29$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ ) for the maternity leave item. There was a significant main effect for gender for the paternity leave item,  $F(1,202) = 7.60$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ; with the males ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) giving lower ratings regarding the appropriateness of paternity leave compared to the females ( $M = 3.69$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ). A pairwise comparison showed that maternity leave is viewed as significantly more appropriate than paternity leave,  $t(212) = 13.11$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $d = 1.01$ .

There was a significant main effect for condition on the 5x2 ANOVA on the average score across the four item scale measuring family interference,  $F(4, 202) = 11.96$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $\eta^2 = .19$ . With higher scores indicating a more favorable rating (i.e. less family interference with work), post hoc results showed that there was a significant difference between the control applicant ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) and all other applicants (pregnant:  $M = 2.73$ ,  $SD = .79$ ; adopting:  $M = 2.91$ ,  $SD = .81$ ; spouse:  $M = 2.80$ ,  $SD = .82$ ; male:  $M = 2.90$ ,  $SD = .73$ ; all with  $p = .001$ ). However, none of the other applicants were rated different than each other with regards to family interference with work.

All candidates were rated on a number of individual characteristics. I ran a 5x2 ANOVA for each characteristic. The list of characteristics that showed statistically

significant differences for the main effect of condition are shown in Table 3. In blue are the findings for the same analyses run on the sample without the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable. The following were notable findings. The pregnant applicant was rated as significantly more nurturing compared to all other applicants but also viewed as significantly more physically limited than all the other applicants. For the rating on dependability, the applicant taking time off to care for her spouse received the lowest rating out of all the conditions (although it was only statistically significantly different from the control condition). The control condition applicant was viewed as significantly more flexible than all other applicant conditions, except for the male applicant. All applicants compared to the control condition applicant were viewed as significantly more likely to miss work and need immediate extended time off. Only the spouse condition was seen as significantly more likely to quit compared to the control condition. Perhaps more notable are some of the characteristics that did not show significant differences between applicant conditions, for example: interview performance, overall favorability rating based on the interview, qualifications and fit with the job.

In addition to the stated hypotheses, this study also explored whether ratings of each applicant differed by gender of the participant. As stated earlier, research concerning pregnant applicants has found mixed findings with regard to gender differences and therefore no formal hypotheses were presented. The list of characteristics that showed statistically significant differences for the main effect of gender are shown in Table 4. In blue are the findings for the same analyses run on the sample without the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable. It is interesting to note

that for most of the characteristics that showed a significant gender difference, the females gave higher ratings with the exception of the rating on nurturing.

Significant interactions between applicant condition and participant gender for the individual applicant characteristics are in Table 5. With the full sample, there were two interactions approaching significance, enthusiastic and likely to need immediate time off. With the sample minus the 27 who viewed the time off request as not reasonable there were two significant interactions, committed and likely to need time off.

When further explored, the variable, enthusiastic, only resulted in a significant main effect of condition for the female participants,  $F(4,129) = 4.08, p = .00, \eta^2 = .11$ . Post hoc results showed that female participants rated the adopting ( $M = 3.05, SD = .95$ ) and pregnant applicant ( $M = 3.22, SD = .98$ ) as significantly less enthusiastic compared to the control applicant ( $M = 3.76, SD = .78$ ) and the male applicant ( $M = 3.92, SD = .80$ ). In addition they rated the adopting applicant as significantly less enthusiastic compared to the applicant requesting time off to care for her spouse ( $M = 3.59, SD = 1.02$ ).

For the variable, likely to need immediate time off, further analyses with the full sample showed that the main effect of condition was significant for both the male participants,  $F(4,73) = 18.53, p = .00, \eta^2 = .50$  and the female participants,  $F(4,129) = 80.95, p = .00, \eta^2 = .72$ . Post hoc results for both the male and female participants showed that they rated all applicants (pregnant, adopting, spouse, and male) as significantly more likely to need immediate extended time off compared to the control condition (Male Participants: pregnant  $M = 4.77, SD = .60$ , adopting  $M = 4.28, SD = 1.23$ , spouse  $M = 4.31, SD = 1.38$ , male  $M = 4.64, SD = .84$ , control  $M = 2.10, SD = 1.12, p = .001$  for each post hoc comparison; Female Participants: pregnant  $M = 4.69, SD =$

.78, adopting  $M = 4.82$ ,  $SD = .50$ , spouse  $M = 4.59$ ,  $SD = .91$ , male  $M = 4.54$ ,  $SD = .95$ , control  $M = 1.52$ ,  $SD = .65$ ,  $p = .001$  for each post hoc comparison).

Additional analyses on the significant interactions on the sample minus the 27 showed that for the variable, committed, there was only a significant main effect for condition for the female participants,  $F(4,112) = 3.63$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .12$ . Post hoc analyses showed that female participants rated the control applicant ( $M = 4.40$ ,  $SD = .76$ ) as significantly more committed compared to the applicant requesting time off to care for a spouse ( $M = 3.53$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) and the adopting applicant ( $M = 3.78$ ,  $SD = .81$ ). However, the pregnant ( $M = 4.09$ ,  $SD = .69$ ) and male ( $M = 4.13$ ,  $SD = .82$ ) applicants were rated as significantly more committed compared to the spouse applicant. Analyses on the variable, likely to need immediate time off, using this sample, showed the same pattern of results for both male,  $F(4,63) = 15.92$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $\eta^2 = .50$  and female participants,  $F(4,112) = 84.74$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $\eta^2 = .75$ , as the full sample. Again, the analyses showed that for both the male and female participants, all applicants (pregnant, adopting, spouse, male) were rated as significantly more likely to need immediate extended time off compared to the control condition.

### Study 1 Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine if a pregnant applicant is a less desirable applicant primarily because of absenteeism concerns or because she is also pregnant and her pregnancy may cause additional concerns for a hiring manager. This study compared a pregnant applicant to various other applicants who were not pregnant but also presented with absenteeism concerns. Based on the research we know that there are several potential issues to consider with regard to a pregnant job applicant. Specifically, there



could be gender concerns given that pregnancy is a condition unique to females. We also know that the pregnancy itself may be a stigmatizing condition. In addition, absenteeism concerns with regard to pregnancy may involve work missed both in the short-term (i.e. maternity leave) and possibly the long-term (i.e. future child-care issues). Comparison applicants were used in this study to help isolate these issues and gain insight on whether absenteeism may be the root concern with regard to pregnant applicants or if absenteeism alone cannot explain why a pregnant applicant may be a less desirable applicant.

While at least one study (Cunningham & Macan, 2007) has demonstrated that bias against pregnant job applicants may, in part, be due to concerns about missing work and quitting, the present study was aimed to determine if these concerns would similarly affect other job applicants who will need to be absent for the same period of time but for reasons other than pregnancy and maternity leave. This study was needed to help determine if the results found in Cunningham and Macan (2007) were a result of pregnancy discrimination or hiring decisions that favor less risk and uncertainty with regard to absenteeism, or perhaps both.

The first three hypotheses concerned predicted differences in hiring ratings between the various applicant conditions (i.e. pregnant, adopting, caring for a spouse, male taking paternity leave, and control). Contrary to expectations the only significant differences in hiring ratings were found between all the conditions that involved a time off request and the control condition which did not. In other words, all other things being equal, the applicant who did not request time off shortly after the start of the position, regardless of reason for the request, received a significantly more favorable hiring rating. Given that everything was identical across conditions these findings indicate that absenteeism may

be one of the primary concerns leading to lowered hiring ratings and not gender bias, the visual stigma of the pregnancy, or concern about additional long-term absenteeism.

This is further demonstrated by the fact that there were no differences across any applicants regarding ratings of interview performance, favorability based on the interview, applicant qualifications, and fit for the job. Given that the applicants were identical with the exception of the various absenteeism conditions, there really shouldn't have been any differences in these ratings. However, if there were differences, it might demonstrate that participants gave lower ratings to a candidate to help justify their lower hiring recommendation of a candidate who requested time off. Instead, what this shows is the applicants are rightly viewed as qualified, a good fit for the job and performing well in the interview, yet still all applicants with an absenteeism concern received significantly lower hiring ratings compared to the control applicant. This demonstrates that qualifications and positive perceptions by a hiring manager may not be enough to overcome concerns regarding absenteeism, regardless of the reason for the request.

Although absenteeism appears to be the primary concern, it is interesting to note that this study found some relationship between whether the request for time off was viewed as reasonable and the reason for the request. However, this should be interpreted with caution given that out of the 163 participants in an absenteeism condition, only 27 said they did not think the request for time off was reasonable. However, of those 27, none of them were in the pregnancy condition which may indicate that pregnancy is viewed as a reasonable condition for which to request time off. This may indicate that although any form of time off request may not be viewed favorably by a hiring manager, they may be

more likely to view the request itself as more reasonable if it is for a pregnancy as opposed to other reasons.

It is interesting; however, that there were 7 participants in the adopting condition that said that the time off request was not reasonable. Given that the only difference between the pregnancy and the adopting conditions is the visual presentation of the soon to be mother, there may still be something about the condition of pregnancy or giving birth or perceptions of a pregnant woman that set her apart from other applicants regardless if they all present with the same absenteeism request. While perceptions of reasonableness may be an important consideration it did not have any impact on findings related to hiring recommendation, which were of primary interest for this study. Future studies may want to explore further what is and is not viewed as a reasonable reason to request time off and when these views may impact other perceptions of a candidate or employee.

Hypothesis 4 concerned the risk ratings made on the various applicants (i.e. “Based on everything you know about this job and this candidate, as the hiring manager, rate the amount of risk you think you would be taking if you offered this candidate the job.”). It was hypothesized that the pregnant and adopting applicants may receive worse risk ratings given the potential concern for long-term or future absenteeism. Contrary to expectations this was not the case when compared to risk ratings for the spouse and male applicants. However, given that the difference between the pregnant and male applicant was approaching significance and that the relative rank order of the risk ratings show the pregnant applicant was viewed as the most risky decision and the male as the least risky decision, there is some evidence to suggest that, again, even though a request for time off

is not favorable for any applicant there may still be something unique in regard to the pregnant applicant.

In addition, when these same analyses were run with the 27 who did not view the request for time off as reasonable excluded, there was a significant difference between the pregnant and the male applicant. The design of the study was such that it was expected that both the pregnant and the adopting applicants would be viewed as a higher risk choice compared to the male and spouse applicants due to the potential for long term absenteeism issues. However, once again, it appears there may be something unique about the pregnancy condition itself that distinguishes it from an applicant who is adopting. Given that all the applicants requesting time off for any reason received worse risk ratings compared to the control applicant, this is consistent with the findings for hiring rating such that any request for time off from an applicant, regardless of reason, may be a disadvantage for an applicant. This is also consistent with the fact that risk and hiring rating are significantly correlated ( $r = .49$ ).

When these same risk ratings were examined with the sample minus the 27, only the pregnant and adopting applicants were viewed as a significantly more risky choice compared to the control. This is consistent with my original hypotheses that they may be viewed as a more risky hire due to the potential for future absenteeism for child care. This shows that there is some evidence that the need for immediate time off may cause an applicant to be viewed as a more risky hire, regardless of the reason for the absenteeism, but that the potential for future or long-term absenteeism above and beyond the immediate request may cause even higher perceptions of risk.

Lastly, with regard to risk, with this smaller sample there was a significant gender main effect showing that overall the male participants gave higher risk ratings than the female participants. This may indicate that men have less risk tolerance when it comes to applicants or potential employees taking time off for family matters. This would require further research, especially given that research previously discussed shows inconsistent findings with regard to gender differences regarding perceptions of pregnant employees.

Hypothesis 5 explored the relationship between the legitimacy/reasonableness of the absence and the “favorability” of the candidate (favorability was examined with several different variables). Using several different types of analyses, the findings converged to show that there is a relationship between the perception of the reasonableness of the request for time off and a positive view of the applicant. Again, these findings should be interpreted with some caution given the small number of participants overall that rated the request as not reasonable. However, the findings already discussed would indicate that although a hiring manager may find the request to be reasonable they may also still view it as high risk and have a lower likelihood of hiring an applicant who will need time off shortly after starting the job.

Hypothesis 6 examined whether participants with a personal experience taking extended time off from work would give more favorable ratings to the candidates who were also asking for time off. Only 32 out of the 213 participants (15%) had ever missed work for 6 weeks or more. With this sample, there was almost no evidence of a relationship between their personal experience missing work and their favorability of the applicants. Perhaps with a larger sample of participants who had experience missing

work or participants with experience missing work that was the same as those examined in this study, there would be a relationship.

In general, analyses based on the hypotheses show that absenteeism concerns (as represented by the request for time off) may potentially result in an applicant being viewed as a more risky hire and a hiring manager being less likely to recommend that applicant to be hired. This appears to be the case regardless of reason for the request, whether the hiring manager views the request as reasonable or whether they themselves have experience with needing extended time off work. There is, however, still some evidence that being a pregnant applicant may present some unique challenges beyond just absenteeism concerns, although contrary to expectations regarding gender bias, visual stigma and long-term absenteeism concerns, it appears that the request for time off can lead to negative implications for an applicant regardless of a pregnancy.

In addition to the stated hypotheses, there were a number of additional findings of interest to discuss. Three out of the four applicants requesting time off were specifically asking for maternity leave or, in the case of the male applicant, paternity leave. Findings showed that participants viewed maternity leave as more appropriate than paternity leave and that it was more appropriate to take longer time off for maternity leave. Given that women are three times as likely to request parental leave (McGaw, 2004), it would be interesting to determine if people view maternity leave as more appropriate because it occurs more frequently or if maternity leave occurs more frequently than paternity leave because it is viewed as more appropriate. It is also interesting to note that male participants viewed paternity leave as significantly less appropriate than female participants. Given that paternity is a less likely occurrence than maternity leave, it seems

somewhat consistent that the male participants in this study (predominantly young men, and therefore perhaps less likely to have been faced with or familiar with this issue) might rate it as less appropriate. However, given this finding, it is somewhat surprising that more people (or at least more male participants) did not rate the male applicant's request for time off for paternity leave as not reasonable. It would be interesting for future research to explore further the current state of perceptions regarding men taking paternity leave and what circumstances may prevent or encourage a man to take paternity leave.

Given that all applicants requesting time off were for family related reasons, I also explored perceptions regarding family interference with work. All the applicants requesting time off were rated having more perceived family interference with work compared to the control applicant, but there were no differences between any of the applicants requesting time off. This may indicate that concerns between short term absenteeism and long term absenteeism may not be a differentiator in terms of hiring manager concerns. It appears that regardless of gender, visual stigma, and potential future absenteeism for child care, any potential absence may lead to a perception that one's family may interfere with work. Understanding the nuances of work-family conflict is important given that spillover from one's home life to work life can have implications for career advancement (King, Botsford, & Huffman, 2009).

As part of this study, participants also rated the applicants on a number of individual characteristics. Consistent with typical perceptions of pregnant women, the pregnant applicant was rated as significantly more nurturing compared to the other applicants. "Nurturing" is a typical characteristic of the female gender role that may be made more

salient by the visible pregnancy (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In addition, the pregnant applicant was rated as significantly more physically limited which is also consistent with previous findings regarding concerns about the physical limitations of a pregnant employee and her inability to fulfill her work commitments because of those limitations (Pattison et al., 1997).

There is some evidence that managers may be concerned that a pregnant employee may decide not to come back to work at all after the birth of her baby. In this study, participants rated the applicants on the variable “likely to quit”. While it may have been expected that the pregnant or adopting applicants would receive less favorable ratings on this variable given that they were both expecting a new baby, analyses showed that only the applicant requesting time off to care for her spouse recovering from surgery was viewed as significantly more likely to quit compared to the control applicant. This may show that, at least within this study, there may be a lack of concern that a woman may choose not to come back to work after the arrival of the baby. It is uncertain why the applicant caring for her spouse would be viewed as more likely to quit given that out of all the absenteeism conditions, this one is presumably the most likely to be a one time, rare occurrence. However, it also may be a moot point that a hiring manager does or does not view the applicant as likely to quit given that the evidence shows they are less likely to recommend any applicant with absenteeism concerns at all be hired in the first place.

### *Implications*

Pregnancy discrimination charges are on the rise and this includes discrimination that occurs during the selection process. Although legislation exists to protect pregnant job applicants, it is important for researchers to more closely examine the issues associated



with potential pregnancy discrimination. Previous research has demonstrated that there is the potential for discrimination against pregnant job applicants and that absenteeism is likely one of the major concerns that hiring managers may have regarding a pregnant applicant. This study extended previous research by further exploring concerns regarding absenteeism by comparing applicants that differed along various dimensions such as gender, whether they bear a visible stigma, and if they are perceived to pose future or long-term absenteeism concerns. This study aimed to determine if absenteeism concerns alone could be used as an explanation for bias against a pregnant applicant or if absenteeism concerns coupled with other issues may cause a pregnant applicant to be at more of a disadvantage compared to other applicants who also pose absenteeism concerns.

These findings suggest that a request for time off is in fact a concern for hiring managers and may cause a candidate to be viewed as a higher risk choice and less likely to be recommended for hire. In this study, this appears to be consistently the case regardless of the reason for the request. While decision makers may view the absenteeism request as legitimate, and recognize the qualification of the applicant, that may not be enough to cause the decision maker to make a favorable hiring recommendation. It does not appear that the pregnant applicant is additionally disadvantaged beyond the absenteeism concerns simply due to her pregnancy.

It may be somewhat comforting to know that the majority of the problem leading to lower hiring recommendations for a pregnant applicant may be explained by concerns about absenteeism and that those concerns would equally extend to others needing time off for different reasons. However, this doesn't improve the hiring prospects for actual

pregnant women given that some amount of time off after the birth of the baby will in fact be necessary. It is further complicated by the fact that pregnancy discrimination is covered by legislation (The Pregnancy Discrimination Act, 1978, an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) and it may be difficult, in the case of an accusation of discrimination, to prove that it was legitimate concerns about the time that would be missed from work and not simply discrimination based on pregnancy. However, an employer that is legitimately not discriminating based on pregnancy should rightly be able to make the hiring decision that is best for the needs of the organization. It simply may not be in their best interest to hire someone new, train them, and then somehow cover their absence for 2 months shortly after they have started.

#### *Limitations and Future Research*

Although this study adds valuable insight to this slowly growing area of research, there were some limitations that should be addressed. First, although every effort was made to create a realistic selection situation, video-taped interviews were used. In addition, given time constraints, the participants only viewed one interview, although they did review resumes for multiple candidates.

In this study, a select number of dimensions were chosen to differentiate the applicants requesting time off (i.e. gender, stigma, long-term / future absenteeism). There are other dimensions that could have been examined in addition to those chosen, for example, whether the applicant had control over the reason behind needing to take time off or whether the applicant will be caring for themselves instead of another person during the time off (e.g. as in the case of post-partum recovery). This is to say that there could be other factors that contribute to the participants perceptions regarding each

applicant and their request for time off. It was not possible to examine all possible dimensions in this study. Future research may want to examine further other factors that could influence a decision maker's perceptions of absenteeism issues given additional factors not measured in this study. To assess some of these other dimensions, different types of comparison applicants could be used, for example, someone who needs time off for military reserve duty or someone who requests time off for a religious mission trip out of the country.

The participants in this study were college students. Although the majority of the sample was employed and had some interviewing experience, the participants may still not be a realistic representation of actual hiring managers. It is possible that the results of this study (and perhaps Study 2 as well) would be different if actual hiring managers were used as participants. Given that actual hiring managers would be more aware of and perhaps sensitive to employment law; it would be interesting to see how their ratings of the applicants would compare to the present sample. Future research would also be well served to explore how much of a concern potential absenteeism is to actual hiring managers as this could have implications for other applicants, for example, applicants with small children or with medical issues. It would be instructive to know if different occupations or organizations view these concerns differently and how actual hiring managers would address these concerns were they to present themselves in a selection situation as in this study. In addition, future research could explore how the amount of time off requested, as well as the amount of time on the job before the requested leave, affects hiring managers' perceptions. This is further complicated by the fact that, despite all good intentions, a pregnant applicant may not be able to work right up to her due date

due to unforeseen circumstances with the pregnancy and therefore may need more time off than initially requested.

This study added insight regarding how absenteeism concerns may largely account for lower hiring recommendations for a pregnant applicant. The following study attempted to determine if discussing one's condition during the selection process can help reduce any potential concerns on the part of the decision maker. Taken together, these two studies give an overall better picture of both what challenges a pregnant applicant faces regarding how she is perceived and what, if anything, she can do to help mitigate any negative effects.

## Study 2

Several studies have demonstrated that pregnant job applicants are likely to face varying degrees of bias or discrimination during the selection process. There is no current empirical research that investigates what a pregnant applicant could do in order to potentially alleviate or lessen any negative impressions brought on by her pregnancy. For example, should she openly discuss her pregnancy during the interview or try to downplay or ignore it? People often use self-presentation tactics in order to control how they are perceived by others. Drawing from research conducted on other stigmatized groups (e.g. physically disabled), the following study will explore whether it is beneficial for a pregnant applicant to disclose her pregnancy, visible or not, prior to the face-to-face interview and / or discuss her pregnancy during the interview.

When a job applicant appears with some sort of stigmatizing condition or appearance (i.e. pregnancy, obesity, physical disability), there is a novelty to her appearance and a risk that she will be responded to based on her condition or stigma and not her individuality (Taylor & Langer, 1977). Weiner (1995) points out that “being different in and of itself is not stigmatizing”, it is that one’s deviation from normal either in character or physical appearance or behavior is perceived as undesirable (p. 54). Despite the fact that there are clear differences between some stigmatizing conditions (i.e. permanent vs. temporary, controllable vs. not controllable, visible vs. not visible, elicits hostile vs. benevolent reactions, etc.), research conducted with one stigmatized group may be informative for others. Many tactics used by stigmatized groups are somewhat universal including “passing” for normal or overcompensating (Goffman, 1963; Major, 2005). However, there may be cases where research does not translate across different

stigmatizing conditions. For instance, with regard to disability, the type and cause are important considerations (Bordieri & Drehmer, 1986). There is evidence of differences in how non-disabled people react to different disabilities, with physical disabilities receiving more positive reactions than sensory or mental disabilities (Collella & Stone, 2005; Hennessy & Bartels, 2002). Given differences across stigmatizing conditions, researchers need to be cautious in assuming research will generalize across groups. With that in mind, I will present what is currently known about the use of disclosure and discussion with other stigmatized groups in an effort to determine if these approaches might be beneficial for a pregnant job applicant.

For the purpose of this study, the concepts of disclosure and discussion are differentiated along two dimensions: timing and content. A disclosure refers to either a) revealing information about one's self that is not observable or b) revealing something that is not initially known prior to meeting, but may become evident upon meeting. More specifically, a disclosure will take place prior to a face-to-face meeting or interview, but after the interview has already been scheduled. The reasons for this will be further discussed later. The content of the disclosure is merely to inform another party of one's condition, but does not involve any further dialogue about the condition. A discussion, however, takes place during the face-to-face meeting or interview and could involve discussing what was previously disclosed or a condition that was not disclosed, regardless if that condition is visibly evident upon meeting. The discussion could consist of a number of things including an explanation of the condition, defending the condition, persuading the other party that the condition will not interfere with the job, and / or allowing the other party to ask questions about the condition.

What I refer to as “discussion”, some literature refers to as “acknowledgment”. The concepts of disclosure and acknowledgment are sometimes used interchangeably and the lines between them are often blurred. For example some definitions of acknowledgement hold that the acknowledgement can happen before an interview and may not include a discussion of the condition, while others define disclosure as happening during the interview and may include a discussion of the condition. While I will discuss the distinctions between these two concepts in more detail, it is important to emphasize how they are defined in the context of this study before further presentation of the existing research. In addition, I opt to use the label “discussion” instead of “acknowledgment” throughout this paper to more clearly define the nature of this construct and distinguish it from disclosure.

### *Social-Cognitive Theories*

Prior to discussing the specific studies that examine disclosure and discussion, I will first review a number of social-cognitive theories that may be applied to argue both for and against the notion that disclosure and discussion may be effective strategies for a stigmatized person to use in the context of the selection process. For example we know that people have limited cognitive capacity to process information (Fiske, 1995). Because of the limited processing capacity, it is possible that when an interviewer is introduced to an applicant that bears a visible stigma their cognitive resources are diverted to thinking about the stigma and therefore leaves fewer resources available to focus on the interview and the applicant’s qualifications.

We also know that attention is limited and that a novel stimulus, for instance a pregnant applicant or an applicant in a wheelchair, is more salient and thus captures one’s

attention (Fiske, 1995). Effortful processing of information is affected when one's attention is focused elsewhere (Gilbert, 1995). In this case perhaps it would be better to disclose one's pregnancy ahead of time in order to give the interviewer time to adjust and prepare. It may also be possible that openly discussing the pregnancy during the interview may allow the interviewer to process his or her surprise with the condition and then divert cognitive resources to the interview process.

When people interact, particularly an interaction between a stigmatized and a non-stigmatized person, there is a need to reduce uncertainty brought on by the presence of the stigma (see Herold, 2000). A discussion in this case may also be beneficial because, as Gilbert (1995) puts it, "If we spend our energy selecting, choosing, and planning our own behavior, then we may have less energy with which to think about the behavior of others" (p. 139). An interviewer may be so focused on trying to act appropriately that they are not able to focus on the candidate or her interview responses (see Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2000).

On the other hand, it is also important to consider that the act of disclosure or discussion may draw additional attention to the stigmatizing condition thereby causing the interviewer to focus on the condition more and thus not focus as much on the applicant's qualifications. In many cases people take shortcuts in making judgments and often those shortcuts are based on stereotypes and schemas. We know from previous research discussed that there are a number of potentially negative stereotypes associated with pregnancy, particularly pregnancy in an employment situation, including a pregnant woman being physically limited, emotional, dependent, etc. The stereotypes do not have to be consciously endorsed in order to still be influential (Dovidio & Hebl, 2005). The



use of stereotypes and schemas allow people to be more efficient in processing information, but can also lead to errors (Fiske, 1995). People often make impressions based on trying to fit all the pieces of information together, but certain traits are more central in shaping the overall impression (Fiske, 1995), and a visually prominent physical feature (such as a wheel chair or a large pregnant belly) often cue schemas, which may create a biased overall impression.

In addition, people typically don't pay attention to information that disconfirms their stereotype (von Hippel, Sekaquaptewa, & Vargas, 1995), particularly when they are anxious (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). The disclosure of one's condition or the appearance of the condition may activate negative stereotypes which may then dominate the impression that is formed about the candidate. This can then result in biased processing of information about the candidate. According to Fiske (1995), schemas determine both what we notice and how we interpret that information, as well as how we encode, remember and judge the information that we receive after the activation of the schema. For example, if an interviewer holds a stereotype of pregnant women as overly emotional, he may look for evidence to confirm that stereotype during the interview. According to Gilbert (1995), "Our beliefs about people, right or wrong, determine our behavior toward them – specifically, they determine the sorts of opportunities we provide for others to corroborate or rectify our first impressions...we also create special opportunities for them to confirm what we suspect." (p. 133). In fact, the schemas or stereotypes may even affect what the interviewer remembers from the interview (Fiske, 1995). Again, if interviewers believe pregnant women to be overly emotional, they may have a better memory for content in the interview that confirms this belief than for

content that contradicts it. Given the effect that a negative schema or stereotype can have on information processing and even memory, it is possible that disclosure or discussion of a stigmatizing condition may activate a negative stereotype and work against the candidate. However, it is also possible that discussion of the condition may be a way to counter the negative stereotype and help the interviewer judge the candidate more objectively.

A number of studies have actually explored the effects of disclosure and discussion, mainly with regard to physically disabled job applicants. In fact there are a number of books that advocate disclosure and discussion as potential interviewing strategies for applicants with disabilities (e.g. Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992).

### *Disclosure*

Collins and Miller (1994) simply define disclosure as the “act of revealing personal information about oneself to another” (p.457). Disclosure typically refers to one of two situations, either revealing information about oneself that is not observable (i.e. a mental illness, criminal history) or revealing something that is not initially known by the person you will be interacting with (i.e. telling a prospective employer you are confined to a wheelchair prior to going in for an interview) (e.g. Hebl & Skorinko, 2005). In addition, disclosures can be descriptive (i.e. a fact about you) or evaluative (i.e. your feelings about something) and can vary in degree (i.e. quality or intimacy and quantity or the amount of information disclosed) (Collins & Miller, 1994).

Remember, for the purposes of this study, a disclosure refers to either revealing information about one’s self that is not observable or revealing something that is not initially known prior to meeting, but may become evident upon meeting. The disclosure

involves only informing the other party about the condition but not any further discussion of the condition at that point and takes place prior to the interview.

As stated previously, there is no uniform understanding of what disclosure really is. For many researchers, the act of disclosure includes more than informing someone of your condition, but also includes further discussion. For example, some advocate “disclosure” of a clearly visible condition prior to a face-to-face meeting in order to clarify any misconceptions or to explain why the condition will not interfere with the job (Tagalakis, Amsel, & Fichten, 1988; Witt, 1992). For the purposes of this study, a dialogue meant to clarify any misconceptions would be considered discussion and not disclosure. It is important to examine these strategies separately in order to more clearly determine their impact on interview interactions.

Some advocate disclosure because it is possible that an interviewer may feel tricked if he/she did not know about the applicant’s condition prior to the face-to-face interaction, and this may alter any previous positive impressions he/she had about the applicant (Tagalakis, Amsel, & Fichten, 1988). In one study, individuals with various disabilities (visual, auditory, or orthopedic) were asked their perspectives on disability disclosure based on their own experiences (Huvelle, Budoff & Arnholz, 1984). The majority preferred to disclose their disability prior to the interview. Several noted that disclosure allows them to weed out interviewers who would likely give more attention to their disability than their credentials. Disclosure may also alleviate the “psychological surprise” that their disability may cause which could be a barrier during the interview. Many disclose their condition because they do not want to appear dishonest and also want to give the interviewer time to adjust to the idea. However some feel that disclosure puts

them at a disadvantage and instead prefer to win others over during the face to face interaction. In essence, by not disclosing the condition up front they are sending a message to the interviewer that their disability is irrelevant with regard to the job in question.

There is some evidence to suggest that early unfavorable information can negatively affect hiring decisions in comparison to early information that is favorable (Peters & Terborg, 1975). One study found that disclosure (which in their case was somewhat closer to discussion) had no impact on hiring decisions or employability and that it didn't matter if it was brief disclosure or a more detailed, lengthy disclosure (Dalgin & Bellini, 2008). Some may choose to disclose because concealing the stigma may cause emotional and psychological stress (see Ragins, 2008). This stress may be worse when there are disclosure disconnects, or differences in one's disclosure in work and non-work settings (Ragins, 2008).

While it may be beneficial to disclose a condition that will become readily apparent once you interact with someone face to face, some suggest that disclosing a condition that can be concealed may not be a good strategy (e.g. Goffman, 1963; Peters & Terborg, 1975; Witt, 1992). Some women choose to conceal their pregnancies at a new job so that they have a chance to prove themselves first and believe that disclosure prior to getting hired would jeopardize their chances (Major, 2005).

The benefits of disclosure may depend on a number of other factors, including the timing of the disclosure as well as others' perception of your responsibility for that which you are disclosing. More specifically, the timing of a disclosure may lead some to make attributions about the motivation behind your disclosure. For example, if you disclose

something up front you may be perceived as honest and open, whereas delaying may indicate embarrassment or shame. However, disclosures may be seen as an attempt to gain sympathy (Jones & Gordon, 1972). It is possible that if a woman waits to disclose her pregnancy, others are already suspicious and may resent that she didn't disclose earlier and therefore it may be better to disclose earlier rather than later (Jones & King, 2010). Although a pregnancy may be concealable for most of a pregnancy, the issues of timing brings up the predicament between fear of the pregnancy being revealed versus the need to reveal the pregnancy in order to gain access to certain organization or social support (King & Botsford, 2009). King and Botsford (2009) advocate that it may be better for both the pregnant employee and her manager and co-workers if she discloses early (but after the 1<sup>st</sup> trimester has passed).

The issue of proper timing of a disclosure can be further complicated by others' perceptions of responsibility. Jones and Gordon (1972) found that if you are responsible for the condition, it is better to disclose early, whereas if you are not responsible it is better to disclose late. These disclosures however did not concern visibly stigmatizing conditions, but were instead personal disclosures (i.e. expelled from school for cheating) that took place either at the beginning or ending of an interview. Studies concerning the perception of one's responsibility for a stigmatizing condition have shown somewhat conflicting results. One study found that disclosers who accepted responsibility received more negative reactions than disclosers who did not mention responsibility or even blamed something else (Wortman, Adesmann, Herman, & Greenberg, 1976). On the other hand, some research shows that the perception that someone was not responsible for their stigma led to higher ratings on liking, pity, and intention to help, whereas those

perceived as responsible received lower ratings. It was also demonstrated that the controllability of the cause of the stigma can affect beliefs about responsibility and that can affect feelings toward the stigmatized individual as well (Weiner, 1995).

While responsibility for some stigmatizing conditions, such as being in a wheelchair, may truly be placed on someone other than the stigmatized person, it is likely that a pregnant woman would be viewed as responsible for her condition and in relative control of the cause. While unplanned pregnancies are not uncommon, others may feel that, in most cases, it was possible for a woman to control or affect whether or not she got pregnant and whether or not she looked for a job while pregnant. King and Botsford (2009) assert that pregnancy is a controllable stigma. Given the mixed findings concerning others' perceptions of responsibility, it is possible that an interviewer's perceptions of a pregnant applicant's responsibility for her condition could negatively affect perceptions of her. The present study attempts to determine how raters view applicants in terms of responsibility for their condition.

Several books offer practical advice to disabled individuals regarding the decision to disclose or not. For example Witt (1992) says that a person should ask themselves "Does disclosure of my disability at this time and in this way support my objective of getting hired?" (p. 133). Further she says that applicants should carefully research the potential employer in order to determine if a disclosure may help or hurt their chances. In general, she advises that one should wait until after an interview is scheduled because then there is very little chance that the interview won't take place, but advises disclosing prior to the interview so that you don't look like you were trying to hide anything. The present study will follow this suggested approach by having the disclosure manipulation

take place after an interview has been scheduled but prior to the face to face interview. However, Witt (1992) feels that if you have an invisible disability, it is better to wait until after a job offer is made to disclose, although the employer may resent that you didn't tell them sooner. Above all she says that only each individual person can decide what is best for them in any given circumstance. If this same advice were applied to pregnant applicants, one might assume that a pregnant woman should research how family friendly a company is or the type of maternity leave policies they have and that if a woman is not showing yet that it would be better to not disclose the pregnancy until after a job offer has been made. To further understand these ideas, this study examines the effect of both disclosing and not disclosing for both a visibly and not visibly pregnant applicant.

To summarize, the present literature on disclosure of a stigmatizing condition shows that there are advantages and disadvantages to disclosing a condition that will become readily apparent upon meeting as well as disclosing a condition that could otherwise be concealed, at least in the short-run. In addition, it is clear that a number of other factors can affect the potential benefits of a disclosure such as timing, as well as others' perception of responsibility. While the issue of disclosure has never specifically been applied to the research on pregnant job applicants, it serves to reason that there could be potential advantages and disadvantages to a pregnant applicant revealing her pregnancy prior to an interview, particularly if she is visibly showing. If a woman is pregnant and not visibly showing, there could be benefits and drawbacks to her revealing her pregnancy upfront even though it could otherwise be concealed during the selection process. Although varied positions and findings are presented in the literature, hypotheses are based on a combination of research findings and general expectations.

**H1a: A pregnant applicant, whose pregnancy will be visibly apparent upon meeting, will receive higher hiring ratings when she discloses her pregnancy upfront than if she does not disclose her pregnancy prior to the face-to-face interview.**

**H1b: A pregnant applicant, who is not showing, will receive higher hiring ratings when she does not disclose her pregnancy upfront (*i.e. equivalent to the control condition*) than if she disclosed her pregnancy prior to the face-to-face interview.**

### *Discussion*

As explained previously, discussion, in the context of this study, differs from disclosure in that it takes place during the interview and involves discussing a condition that may or may not have been previously disclosed and may or may not be visibly evident during the interaction. In other words, an applicant may choose to discuss her condition during the interview whether or not she told you upfront about it or whether or not she is showing when she arrives for the interview. A discussion of the condition involves a dialogue that could include explanation, defense, persuasion, questions, etc. Given restrictions put in place by the ADA concerning what interviewers are permitted to ask applicants, any discussion must be initiated by the applicant. The interviewer is likely to have questions and it is up to the interviewee to determine how to reduce the interviewer's uncertainty (Herold, 2000). The stigmatized applicant is uniquely qualified to dispel any myths about his or her stigma and reduce any uncertainty on the part of the interviewer (Herold, 2000).

Several studies have demonstrated that those who discuss their disability are favored over those who do not (Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979; Hebl & Kleck, 2002; Blood & Blood, 1982) and that recruiters feel more comfortable with applicants who are willing to discuss their disability (Macan & Hayes, 1995). People who openly



discuss their disability are seen as more likeable, open, better adjusted, and not preoccupied or hypersensitive (Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979; Collins & Miller, 1994; Hebl & Skorinko, 2005; Blood & Blood, 1982). It is possible that an interviewer would appreciate a pregnant woman, particularly if her pregnancy is clearly visible, openly discussing the topic, especially given the fact that the interviewer will likely have questions and concerns that could not be addressed were the applicant not to initiate a discussion.

However, a discussion of the condition may not always help the situation. As one example, *The Wall Street Journal* reported about an attorney who was seven months pregnant and didn't get a job for which she was qualified and highly recommended once the recruiter met her in person and saw that she was pregnant. The woman's discussion of her condition and assurances that her eight weeks of maternity leave would not cause a problem did not help her secure that job (Shellenbarger, 2005).

The context under which a stigmatizing condition is discussed is important (Belgrave & Mills, 1981, Farina, Sherman, & Allen, 1968). Some evidence suggests that the benefits of discussing one's stigma may be tempered by whether others perceive the stigmatizing condition to be controllable or externally caused (Bordieri & Drehmer, 1986). Hebl and Kleck (2002) found that discussion of one's obesity, which is typically perceived as a controllable condition, was a liability in comparison to discussion initiated by physically disabled applicants. As indicated previously, it is speculated that pregnancy would most likely be viewed as a controllable condition on the part of the interviewer, although this perception is measured in this study.

There are several additional issues to address when considering discussing a stigmatizing condition such as the timing of the discussion and the wording used (Hebl & Kleck, 2002). One study found that applicants who discussed their disability earlier in the interview were perceived more favorably than those who discussed at the end or did not discuss at all (Hebl & Skorinko, 2005). Further, they found that the effect of the timing of the discussion on the hiring outcome was mediated by psychological well-being, indicating that an individual who discusses his or her disability early in the process is perceived to have greater well-being which in turn leads to positive ratings. It is unknown whether this same sort of relationship would be found if the stigmatizing condition were pregnancy instead of disability. For the purposes of this study, the timing of the discussion is controlled and takes place at the beginning of the interview.

There are potential advantages and disadvantages to having the discussion take place at the beginning, middle, or end of the interview. A discussion of the condition at the outset of the interview may allow the interviewer time to process their surprise and or concerns and then divert their cognitive resources to the interview after the discussion has concluded. However, it is also possible that having a discussion of the condition up front may draw additional attention to the condition and cause it to be the primary focus as they move on with the interview. Likewise, it may be effective for the applicant to wait until the end of the interview to discuss the condition. In this way she would not draw unnecessary attention to her condition, but would not be ignoring it all together. It may be positive to talk about it after she has had the opportunity to “sell” her qualifications and skills during the interview. However, it may also be ineffective to wait until the end of the interview in that by not addressing the interviewers likely concerns upfront, the

interviewer may have a harder time focusing on the job related information in the interview. Although perhaps not as realistic a timing as the beginning or the end, it is possible that having a discussion about one's condition in the middle of the interview would allow the applicant to "sandwich" this dialogue between more objective and hopefully positive information about her qualifications and experience.

A few studies have addressed the issue of timing. These studies have to do with discussing (or acknowledging as they call it) one's physical disability during an interview. Hebl and Skorinko (2005) manipulated the timing of a disabled applicant's acknowledgment by having it take place at the beginning of the interview (after the 1<sup>st</sup> question / 30 seconds in), the middle of the interview (after the 7<sup>th</sup> question / 3 minutes in), or at the end of the interview (after the 15<sup>th</sup> question / 7.5 minutes in). In measuring raters' impressions of the applicants they found few differences between the beginning and the middle and found that both the beginning and the middle were better than the end. Roberts (2005) did not find a clear indication of what time during the interview is optimal for acknowledging one's visibly apparent condition (beginning / after 1<sup>st</sup> question, end / after last question, or not at all). She did, however, find that ratings in the different timing of acknowledgment conditions varied based on whether a disclosure had taken place or not. With regard to ratings of anxiety, she found that the interviewers were least anxious when the discussion happened early, regardless of whether a disclosure took place. In addition, Roberts and Macan (2006) found that applicants with non-visible physical disabilities who chose to discuss their disability early (i.e. approximately 2 minutes into the interview) in an interview as opposed to late (i.e. just before the end of the interview) or not at all, were rated as more qualified and likeable. Given these

findings, I chose to keep the timing of the discussion constant and have the discussion take place at the beginning of the interview.

The content of the discussion is important as well. Research suggests that information that directly challenges stereotypic information will have different implications than sharing more general information. Directly challenging stereotypes should help to reduce more uncertainty on the part of the interviewer which may help improve ratings (see Herold, 2000). While discussion may serve to reduce anxiety or uncertainty on the part of the interviewer, because of restrictions placed on the interviewer they may not be able to gather all the information they want or need and therefore their concerns may not be reduced even in spite of the discussion about the condition (Herold, 2000). A pregnant woman would have to decide what sort of information to include in the discussion of her pregnancy. For example, does she want to include factual information about such things like how far along she is and how much maternity leave she anticipates taking or does she want to take a more defensive tactic and try to combat commonly held stereotypes about pregnant employees? Given that this study is the first to examine this idea with pregnant applicants, the discussion used in this study will incorporate both factual information as well as defensive information. Future research will likely want to more directly determine what type of content is most effective in reducing bias.

Similar to the research regarding disclosure, the benefits of discussing a stigma during the interview process are not clear cut and can likewise be affected by considerations such as timing, context and perceptions of responsibility and the controllability of the cause of the condition. Given the research on discussing one's

stigmatizing condition during the interview process, the following hypotheses will be examined:

**H2a: A pregnant woman who is visibly showing will receive higher hiring ratings if she discusses the pregnancy during the interview than if she does not discuss her pregnancy during the interview.**

**H2b: A pregnant woman who is not visibly showing will receive higher hiring ratings if she does not discuss her pregnancy during the interview (*i.e. equivalent to the control condition*) than if she does discuss her pregnancy during the interview.**

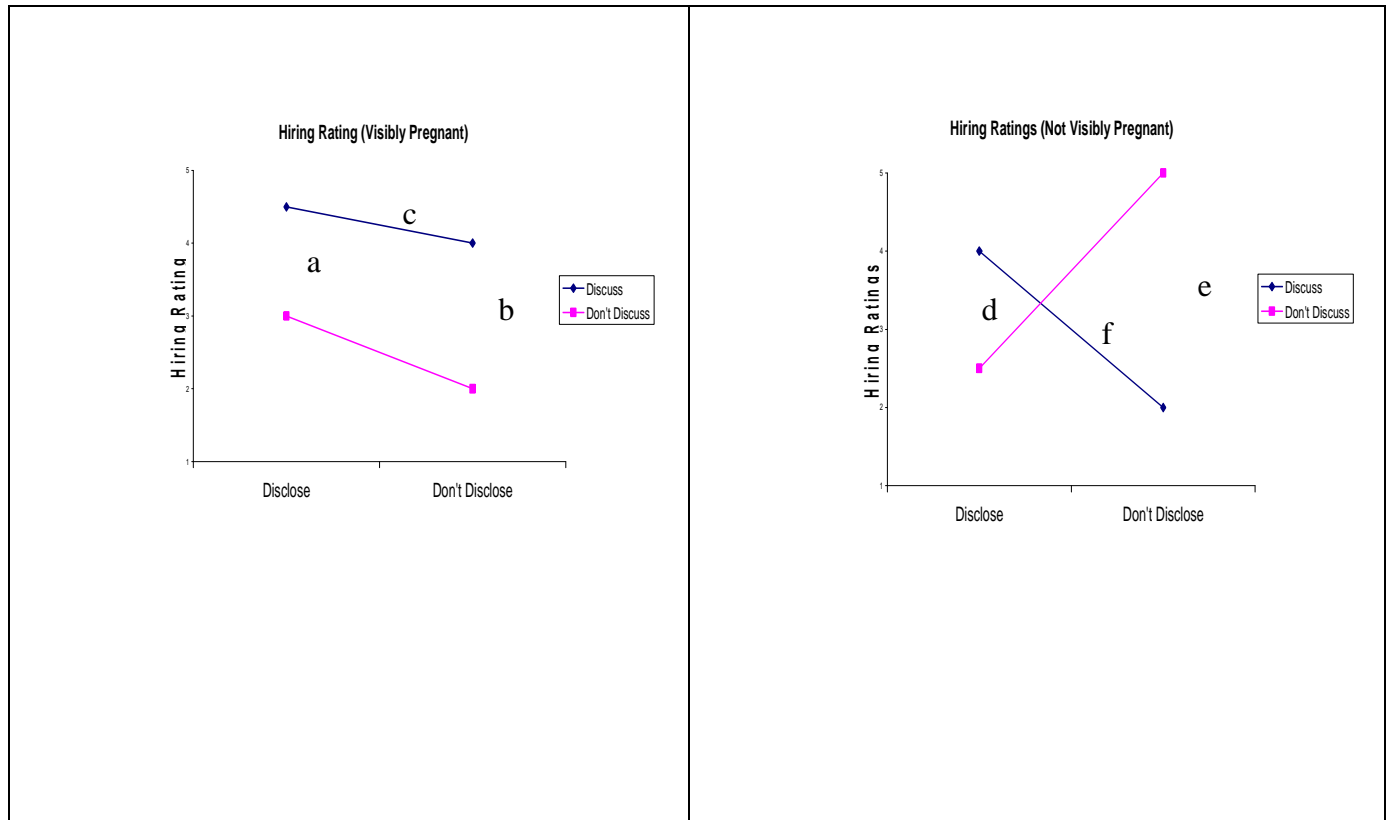
### *Disclosure and Discussion*

While most studies presented concern either disclosure or discussion, at least one study has addressed the combined impact of disclosure and discussion (referred to, in her study, as acknowledgment) for physically disabled job applicants (Roberts, 2005). In addition, Roberts explored the effect of the timing of the acknowledgement. Although Roberts speculated that disclosure and early acknowledgement would lead to unfavorable outcomes, she found no support for increased self-focused thinking or anxiety on the part of the interviewer, and no support for lowered hiring ratings. She did find, however, that the personality ratings were less favorable for those who disclosed and those who used an early acknowledgement. Although cautious in any recommendations, she found that of all the possible disclosure and acknowledgment (early, late, or not at all) combinations, that perhaps not disclosing one's condition upfront, but acknowledging at the end of the interview may lead to more positive outcomes than other possible combinations.

However, her findings suggest that if one does wish to disclose upfront it may be best to not discuss the condition during the interview. More importantly she highlights the need to examine disclosure and discussion together as "neither strategy occurs in isolation in the real world" (p. 99).

The literature examining the impact of the various disclosure/discussion combinations is limited, but the question of whether certain combinations are more successful is an important one. While the notion of timing of the discussion, as explored in Roberts (2005) study is important, given that this research will be the first time either disclosure or discussion is explored with regard to pregnant job applicants, the timing will be held constant in this study. The following hypotheses will be examined. I expect a 3-way interaction, specifically:

- H3a:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant who is visibly showing and has disclosed her condition upfront will receive higher hiring ratings if she discusses the pregnancy during the interview than if she does not.
- H3b:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant who is visibly showing and does not disclose her pregnancy upfront will receive higher hiring ratings if she discusses the pregnancy during the interview than if she does not.
- H3c:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant who is visibly showing who both discloses and discusses will receive higher hiring ratings than a pregnant applicant who is visibly showing and only discusses.
- H3d:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant who is not visibly showing, who discloses her pregnancy up front, will receive higher hiring ratings if she discusses the pregnancy during the interview than if she does not.
- H3e:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant, who is not visibly showing and does not disclose her pregnancy upfront will receive lower hiring ratings if she discusses her pregnancy during the interview than if she said nothing about the pregnancy (i.e. equivalent to a non-pregnant control).
- H3f:** There will be an interaction such that a pregnant applicant who is not visibly showing, who both discloses and discusses her pregnancy, will receive higher hiring ratings than a pregnant applicant who is not visibly showing and only discusses.



## Study 2 Methods

### *Design*

A 2 (Applicant visibly pregnant vs not visibly pregnant) x 2 (Disclosure vs No Disclosure) x 2 (Discussion vs. No Discussion) between subjects factorial design was used in this study.

### *Participants*

The participants in this study included 128 undergraduate college students serving as interview raters:

- 17 in the Showing – Disclose – Don't Discuss condition (10 females, 7 males)
- 18 in the Showing – Disclose – Discuss condition (12 females, 6 males)

- 17 in the Showing – Don't Disclose – Don't Discuss condition (12 females, 5 males)
- 15 in the Showing – Don't Disclose – Discuss condition (9 females, 6 males)
- 15 in the Not Showing – Disclose – Don't Discuss condition (9 females, 6 males)
- 18 in the Not Showing – Disclose – Discuss condition (11 females, 7 males)
- 17 in the Not Showing – Don't Disclose – Don't discuss condition (12 females, 5 males)
- 11 in the Not Showing – Don't Disclose – Discuss condition (6 females, 5 males)

Participants ranged in age from 16 to 55 years with an average of 25.86 ( $SD = 7.76$ ). Sixty three percent of the sample was female ( $n = 81$ ). Sixty six percent of the sample were Caucasian (21.9% African American/Black, 8.6% Asian/Pacific Islander, 3.1% Hispanic/Latino, .8% other), and 88% were US citizens. The majority did not have children (79.5%) and were employed (80%), with 48% working full time and 52% working part time. Overall, the group reported having some to no interviewing experience ( $M = 2.47$ ,  $SD = 1.33$ ). The majority of the sample had never missed work for an extended period of time (77%) and was not familiar with FMLA (66.4%). Assuming a potential medium effect size (using Cohen's convention of .25) and an alpha of .05, the sample size of 128 produces 80% power to detect an effect if there is one (power



calculations were conducted using the program G\*power, Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996).

Participants were recruited from business and psychology classes at the University of Missouri-St. Louis and at the instructor's discretion were offered extra credit for their participation. They were randomly assigned to condition and each participant viewed only one applicant condition.

### *Procedure*

Similar to Study 1, participants were told that they were participating in a study that examines interviewers' perceptions of applicants and how interviewers make hiring decisions based on their perceptions. Participants were told that they were assuming the role of a hiring manager interviewing people for a mid-level computer programmer position. As stated previously, the job of computer programmer was chosen because it has been shown to be viewed as a neutrally sex-typed position (Macan, Detjen, & Dickey, 1994; Cunningham & Macan, 2007).

Participants were asked to review information concerning the hypothetical company that they work for as well as information concerning the position for which the applicant is interviewing (See Appendix A). Participants were also asked to review a resume for the applicant (See Appendix B). The resumes were identical across applicants. The resume depicted the candidate with average to above average qualifications for the position. Again, the job description and resume were the same as those used in Cunningham and Macan (2007).

In addition to the resume the participants received a copy of a form that said "Recruiter Notes" (See Appendix I). It was explained that within this organization the

Human Resource Recruiters prescreen all the applicants for any position. This prescreen includes reviewing the resumes and determining whether the applicant meets the basic requirements of the job. In this process, a recruiter contacts the applicant and asks basic prescreening questions (e.g. willing to submit to a background check, verification of education). If an applicant successfully completes those steps by meeting all the basic requirements then the recruiter schedules an interview for the applicant to meet with the hiring manager. This form showed that all these steps took place and also had a place for notes. The disclosure manipulation hypothetically took place during this phone conversation between the recruiter and the applicant. For those in the disclosure condition, the recruiter's notes indicated that the applicant informed them that she was pregnant during the conversation. For equivalence in materials, the non-disclosure group also included a note at the same place on the form, but one that was neutral with regard to the applicant (i.e. "In accordance with company policy, remember, the applicant will be escorted from main lobby to conference room by one of the HR recruiters").

Participants were asked to make brief ratings of the applicant based solely on the written material they had reviewed prior to watching the interview (See Appendix E). After returning these ratings to the experimenter, the participants watched a video taped interview. The videos were identical except in the following cases. In the condition where the applicant appears visibly pregnant, a confederate was wearing a pregnancy-prosthesis to make her appear around 7 months pregnant. All applicants were seen entering and exiting the interview room. This entrance and exit allowed participants in the visibly pregnant applicant condition to see her pregnant stomach. In addition, the interview differed for participants in the discussion condition. As stated previously, the

discussion manipulation took place at the beginning of the interview. After the introductions the interviewer began by asking the candidate if there is anything she would like to share, discuss, or ask prior to the start of the actual interview questions. At this point the applicant responded with the following statement that included both factual information about her condition, as well as a “defensive” component meant to explain why her condition wouldn’t interfere with the job. After the candidate completed the discussion of her condition, the interviewer thanked her for sharing and then proceeded with the interview.

**Discussion if Showing and Previously Disclosed**

First of all I would just like to thank you for the opportunity to come in and interview today. I think this is a very exciting opportunity and I am looking forward to sharing my experience with you.

There are a few things I was hoping we could discuss before we start the interview so thanks for asking. As I told the recruiter when she called to confirm the interview, and as you can see, my husband and I are expecting a baby in a few months.

I am 7 months pregnant and have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. This will not hinder my ability to start right away or to put in a full 40 hours per week. I will of course have regular doctors visits, but I can arrange those over my lunch breaks or make up any time I may miss. I plan to only take 8 weeks of maternity leave and then will return to work full time. We already have reliable child care arranged for when I return to work.

I recognize that this is kind of a personal topic to be bringing up during an interview but I also recognize that as an employer you are likely to have questions or concerns so I just wanted to share this information up front. I know that there may be concerns about my missing work or needing 8 weeks off, but I want to assure you that I am very committed to my career and balancing my career with my family. I think this is a great opportunity and I feel I am a very qualified applicant. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

**Discussion if Showing and did Not Previously Disclose**

First of all I would just like to thank you for the opportunity to come in and interview today. I think this is a very exciting opportunity and I am looking forward to sharing my experience with you.

There are a few things I was hoping we could discuss before we start the interview so thanks for asking. As you can see, my husband and I are expecting a baby in a few months.

I am 7 months pregnant and have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. This will not hinder my ability to start right away or to put in a full 40 hours per week. I will of course have regular doctors visits, but I can arrange those over my lunch breaks or make up any time I may miss. I plan to only take 8 weeks of maternity leave and then will return to work full time. We already have reliable child care arranged for when I return to work.

I recognize that this is kind of a personal topic to be bringing up during an interview but I also recognize that as an employer you are likely to have questions or concerns so I just wanted to share this information up front. I know that there may be concerns about my missing work or needing 8 weeks off, but I want to assure you that I am very committed to my career and balancing my career with my family. I think this is a great opportunity and I feel I am a very qualified applicant. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

**Discussion if Not Showing and Previously Disclosed**

First of all I would just like to thank you for the opportunity to come in and interview today. I think this is a very exciting opportunity and I am looking forward to sharing my experience with you.

There are a few things I was hoping we could discuss before we start the interview so thanks for asking. As I told the recruiter when she called to confirm the interview, my husband and I are expecting a baby.

I am 3 months pregnant and have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. This will not hinder my ability to start right away or to put in a full 40 hours per week. I will of course have regular doctors visits, but I can arrange those over my lunch breaks or make up any time I may miss. I plan to only take 8 weeks of maternity leave and then will return to work full time. We already have reliable child care arranged for when I return to work.

I recognize that this is kind of a personal topic to be bringing up during an interview but I also recognize that as an employer you are likely to have questions or concerns so I just wanted to share this information up front. I know that there may be concerns about my missing work or needing 8 weeks off, but I want to assure you that I am very committed to my career and balancing my career with my family. I think this is a great opportunity and I feel I am a very qualified applicant. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

**Discussion of Not Showing and did Not Previously Disclose**

First of all I would just like to thank you for the opportunity to come in and interview today. I think this is a very exciting opportunity and I am looking forward to sharing my experience with you.

There are a few things I was hoping we could discuss before we start the interview so thanks for asking.

My husband and I are expecting a baby. I am 3 months pregnant. I have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. This will not hinder my ability to start right away or to put in a full 40 hours per week. I will of course have regular doctors visits, but I can arrange those over my lunch breaks or make up any time I may miss. I plan to only take 8 weeks of maternity leave and then will return to work full time. We already have reliable child care arranged for when I return to work.

I recognize that this is kind of a personal topic to be bringing up during an interview but I also recognize that as an employer you are likely to have questions or concerns so I just wanted to share this information up front. I know that there may be concerns about my missing work or needing 8 weeks off, but I want to assure you that I am very committed to my career and balancing my career with my family. I think this is a great opportunity and I feel I am a very qualified applicant. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

These scripts were pilot tested to verify that the dialogue was perceived to contain both factual and defensive components and was viewed as persuasive. See Appendix J for a copy of the pilot test instrument. The scripts were reviewed by 62 undergraduate students. There were no significant differences across the scripts on the any of the following characteristics: the candidate clearly states her point, the candidate provides specific information about her condition, the candidate attempts to persuade the interviewer that her condition will not interfere with the job, if you were the hiring manager how convincing would this argument be to you. For the last item, the means ranged from 3.44 to 3.69 on a 5-point scale with 1 = very unconvincing and 5 = very convincing.

In all cases, the conversation portion of the interview was filmed from the chest up so that the pregnancy was not visible and therefore all the interviews were identical (except for the case where the discussion is included). The same 10 structured interview questions used in Study 1 were used here (See Appendix F).

After reviewing the interview video, participants were asked to complete a questionnaire that assessed their hiring ratings of the candidate as well as other perceptions of the candidate.

### *Dependent Measures*

The primary dependent measure of interest was the hiring rating, which was made on the following 5-point scale:

5 – Yes, I would definitely hire this person. This person is an extremely good candidate.

4 – Yes, I would hire this person with a few reservations.

3 – I'm not sure if I would hire this person.

2 – I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look at some additional information about her.

1 – No, I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

Participants were also asked to assess the candidate on a number of other dimensions including qualifications and fit. Participants made ratings concerning their perceptions regarding the level of risk associated with hiring the applicant, a judgment about the likelihood of future or long-term absenteeism, a rating of interview performance, as well as made an overall favorability rating of the applicant. Additionally, a four item scale measuring family interference with work (Burley, 1989) was modified for this study (see Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). In order to assess further different perceptions of the candidates a number of individual characteristics, originally used in Cunningham and Macan (2007), was rated (e.g. reliable, intelligent, etc.) on a 1 (not

characteristic) to 5 (very characteristic) scale. In addition to these ratings, there were also a number of open ended items including a question that asked what stood out positively or what the participant liked about the applicant, any concerns the participant had about the applicant, and what other questions the participant would have liked to ask the applicant.

Lastly, participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire that asked for information regarding gender, race, age, whether they have children, and whether they have any interviewing experience. See Appendix H for a copy of the measurement instrument.

### Study 2 Results

See Table 6 for means, standard deviations and inter-correlations of the primary hypothesized variable (hiring rating) with selected other variables of interest. All of the “positively oriented” variables show means above the midpoint (on the 5 point scale), as should be expected given that the materials were designed such that the candidate should be perceived as qualified, well suited for the job, etc. In addition, the variable “likely to need immediate extended time off” was above the midpoint which makes sense given that all of the conditions, with the exception of the control condition, contained a disclosure or discussion of the applicant’s pregnancy which communicated, either directly or indirectly, the need for time off at some point in the near future. Similar to Study 1, the means for the variable “likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis” and “likely to quit” had means below the midpoint indicating that overall, even though the applicant would need time off, the participants didn’t indicate a strong concern about future, recurring absences or the possibility of the candidate quitting.

However, both of these variables were significantly correlated with the hiring recommendation, indicating that the likelihood of future absence ( $r = -.22, p = .05$ ) or quitting ( $r = -.40, p = .01$ ) may in fact impact the hiring recommendation. In study 1, there was an almost zero correlation between “likely to need immediate extended time off” and “qualified” indicating that participants were able to separate their perceptions of the applicants’ qualifications for the job from their awareness of the extended leave being requested. However, in this study there was a small, yet significant correlation ( $r = .20, p = .05$ ) between those variables, indicating in this study there is some evidence of a relationship between the rating of the candidate’s qualifications and the likelihood of that candidate needing immediate extended time off. However, there was a small, negative, non-significant correlation between the hiring recommendation and the rating of likely to need time off ( $r = -.16, p = ns$ ). Although there might be a relationship with needing time off and qualifications, it may not impact hiring decisions. This appears to be further supported by the fact that qualifications have only a small, yet significant, correlation with hiring decision ( $r = .20, p = .05$ ).

### *Manipulation Checks*

This study originally included 144 participants, but 16 participants had to be deleted from the data due to failing one or more of the study manipulations. There was one participant who failed to identify the applicant as pregnant. There were 3 participants who were in a “discussion” condition (i.e. applicant clearly stated she would need time off) who responded that the applicant did not request time off. An additional 10 were deleted because they were also in a discussion condition, but stated that the candidate did not discuss her condition during the interview. Participants who were in a



disclosure condition but failed to identify that the candidate disclosed her condition prior to the interview were not deleted. This was a much more subtle manipulation (i.e. a note on the recruiter screening sheet about a statement made during a phone call). There was no way of knowing, after the fact, if participants saw the note on the recruiter sheet, but did not consider that as a disclosure (possibly because it was made to the recruiter and not the hiring manager). In addition, it is possible that some in a non-disclosure condition confused the discussion during the interview as a disclosure. Lastly, an additional two participants were deleted because they responded that they did not think the request for time off was a reasonable request. As in study 1, if there had been a larger sample that responded this way, I would have checked my analyses to verify if the inclusion of these participants impacted the study findings. Study 1 showed that there was little impact of participants that responded this way; however it did affect some findings, therefore, given that were only two participants in this study that responded this way, it was most conservative to just delete them prior to conducting the analyses.

Lastly, it was once again verified that the job of computer programmer was perceived as neutrally sex-typed ( $M = 3.13$ ,  $SD = .38$ ).

### *Analysis*

I analyzed the dependent variables of interest using between-subjects 2x2x2 factorial ANOVAs. I examined each main effect and all possible 2 and 3-way interactions. Each of the hypotheses was based on specific 2 and 3-way interactions. The overall 2x2x2 analysis for each dependent variable revealed if each of these interactions of interest were significant.

*Hypothesis 1:*

Hypothesis 1 was examined based on the results of the 2 (pregnancy) x 2 (disclosure) interaction of the between-subjects factorial ANOVA. Contrary to the hypothesis, analyses indicated that there was not a significant interaction between showing and disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = .29, p = .59, \eta^2 = .002$ , indicating that a candidate did not receive significantly different hiring ratings whether a candidate's pregnancy was visibly showing (disclosed:  $M = 4.09, SD = .78$ ; did not disclose:  $M = 3.81, SD = .78$ ) or not showing (disclosed:  $M = 4.15, SD = .62$ ; did not disclose:  $M = 3.75, SD = 1.01$ ) and if she disclosed her pregnancy upfront or not.

Although the hypothesis was not confirmed for hiring rating, there were a number of individual characteristics on which each candidate was rated that did show a significant interaction between showing and disclosure, including: friendly, masculine, forceful, aggressive, dominant, assertive, controlling, and likely to need immediate extended time off (see Table 10).

*Hypothesis 2:*

Hypothesis 2 was examined based on the results of the 2 (pregnancy) x 2 (discussion) interaction of the between-subjects factorial ANOVA. Contrary to the hypothesis, analyses indicated that there was not a significant interaction between the pregnancy showing and discussion,  $F(1, 120) = .001, p = .97, \eta^2 = .00$ , indicating no statistically significant difference in hiring ratings for a candidate whose pregnancy was visibly showing (discussed:  $M = 3.91, SD = .77$ ; did not discuss:  $M = 4.00, SD = .82$ ) or not showing (discussed:  $M = 3.97, SD = .87$ ; did not discuss:  $M = 3.97, SD = .82$ ) and if she discussed her pregnancy during the interview or not.

Although the hypothesis was not confirmed for hiring rating, there were a number of individual characteristics on which each candidate was rated that did show a significant interaction between showing and discussion, including: mature, flexible, affectionate, gentle, demonstrates leadership ability, demonstrates initiative, emotionally stable, assertive, likely to require assistance, likely to need immediate extended time off, and helpful (see Table 11).

*Hypothesis 3:*

Hypothesis 3 was examined based on the results of the 2 (pregnancy) x 2 (disclosure) x 2 (discussion) interaction of the between-subjects factorial ANOVA. Contrary to the hypothesis, analyses indicated that there was not a significant interaction between showing, disclosure and discussion,  $F(1, 120) = 1.25, p = .27, \eta^2 = .01$  with regard to the hiring rating.

SHOWING		
	Disclosed	Did not Disclose
Discussed	$M = 4.00, SD = .91$ (hyp. a), (hyp. c)	$M = 3.80, SD = .56$ (hyp. b), (hyp. c)
Did not Discuss	$M = 4.18, SD = .64$ (hyp. a)	$M = 3.82, SD = .95$ (hyp. b)
NOT SHOWING		
	Disclosed	Did not Disclose
Discussed	$M = 4.22, SD = .43$ (hyp. f), (hyp. d)	$M = 3.55, SD = 1.21$ (hyp. e), (hyp. f)
Did not Discuss	$M = 4.07, SD = .80$ (hyp. d)	$M = 3.88, SD = .86$ (hyp. e)

In addition to the 2x2x2 ANOVA, I examined all possible contrasts using t-tests. There was one contrast approaching significance within the Not Showing condition, for those who discussed between those who disclosed ( $M = 4.22, SD = .43$ ) and those who

did not disclose ( $M = 3.55$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ),  $t(11.54) = 1.78$ ,  $p = .10$ ,  $d = .79$  (note that the  $t$ -test would have been significant had equal variances been assumed,  $t(27) = 2.18$ ,  $p = .04$ ). This indicates that for pregnant applicants whose pregnancy is not visibly showing, who choose to discuss their condition, it is better to have disclosed it upfront as well rather than not disclosing it upfront.

Although the hypotheses were not confirmed for hiring rating, there were a number of individual characteristics on which each candidate was rated that did show a significant 3-way interaction between showing, disclosure and discussion, including: friendly, assertive, and likely to need immediate extended time off (see Table 13).

#### *Additional Analyses*

All main effects and other 2-way interaction for hiring decision were examined for the 2x2x2 ANOVA analyses. There was not a significant interaction between discussion and disclosure  $F(1, 120) = .35$ ,  $p = .56$ ,  $\eta^2 = .003$ , indicating that there was not a mean difference between whether a candidate disclosed her pregnancy (discussed:  $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = .71$ ; did not discuss:  $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = .71$ ) or did not disclose her pregnancy (discussed:  $M = 3.69$ ,  $SD = .88$ ; did not discuss:  $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = .89$ ) and if she discussed her pregnancy during the interview or not with regard to hiring ratings received. There were a number of individual characteristics on which each candidate was rated that did show a significant interaction between disclosure and discussion, including: healthy, nurturing, and likely to need immediate extended time off (see Table 12).

There was not a significant main effect for showing,  $F(1, 120) = .02$ ,  $p = .89$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ ; indicating that there was not a difference in hiring rating between the candidate whose pregnancy was showing ( $M = 3.96$ ,  $SD = .79$ ) compared to the candidate who was

not showing ( $M = 3.97, SD = .84$ ). See Table 7 for additional characteristics that did show a significant main effect between showing and not showing, including: well-spoken, professional appearance, mature, disciplined, feminine, creative, able to supervise, physically limited, demonstrates leadership ability, demonstrates initiative, aggressive, likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis, nurturing, likely to require assistance, sociable, likely to need immediate extended time off, and successful.

There was also not a significant main effect for discussion,  $F(1, 120) = .44, p = .51, \eta^2 = .004$ ; indicating that there was not a difference in hiring rating between the candidate who discussed the pregnancy during the interview ( $M = 3.94, SD = .81$ ) and the candidate that did not discuss ( $M = 3.98, SD = .81$ ). See Table 9 for additional characteristics that did show a significant main effect between discussion and no discussion.

There was one significant finding, for the main effect of disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = 6.02, p = .02, \eta^2 = .05$ ; indicating that there was a significant difference in hiring rating between the candidate who disclosed the pregnancy before attending the interview ( $M = 4.12, SD = .70$ ) and the candidate who did not ( $M = 3.78, SD = .89$ ), with more favorable hiring ratings given to the candidate who disclosed. See Table 8 for additional individual characteristics that showed a significant difference between disclosure and non-disclosure.

In addition to hiring rating, a number of other related variables of interest were analyzed including fit with the job, interview performance, qualifications, well suited for the job, risk, and an overall rating. Significant findings include the following:

For the item “Rate how well the candidate fits with the job” there was a significant main effect for disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = 9.05, p = .003, \eta^2 = .07$ , such that those who disclosed received higher (i.e. better) fit ratings ( $M = 4.26, SD = .56$ ) compared to those who did not disclose ( $M = 3.87, SD = .87$ ). For the item “How did the applicant perform during the interview” there was a significant main effect for pregnancy,  $F(1, 119) = 5.52, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$ , such that those who were showing ( $M = 4.18, SD = .78$ ) received significantly higher (i.e. better) interview performance scores compared to those who were not showing ( $M = 3.89, SD = .78$ ). There was also a significant main effect for disclosure,  $F(1, 119) = 4.67, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$ , such that those who disclosed ( $M = 4.18, SD = .76$ ) received significantly higher interview performance scores compared to those who did not disclose ( $M = 3.88, SD = .80$ ). Lastly, for the interview performance variable, the 3-way interaction was approaching significance,  $F(1, 119) = 3.52, p = .06, \eta^2 = .03$ . For the similar item “Overall, I would evaluate this applicant favorably based on what was said in the interview” the interaction between showing and discussion was approaching significance,  $F(1, 120) = 3.70, p = .06, \eta^2 = .03$ .

For the item “I would evaluate this applicant’s qualifications for this position favorably” there was a significant main effect for disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = 7.43, p = .007, \eta^2 = .06$ , such that those who disclosed ( $M = 4.32, SD = .61$ ) received significantly higher (i.e. better) ratings compared to those who did not disclose ( $M = 4.05, SD = .68$ ). For this variable, the 3-way interaction was also significant,  $F(1, 120) = 7.21, p = .008, \eta^2 = .06$ . For the item “I feel this candidate would be well suited for the job” there was a significant main effect for disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = 7.03, p = .009, \eta^2 = .06$ , such that those who disclosed ( $M = 4.25, SD = .76$ ) received significantly higher (i.e. better) ratings

compared to those who did not disclose ( $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = .90$ ). For the item that stated “Based on everything you know about this job and this candidate, as the hiring manager, rate the amount of risk you think you would be taking if you offered this candidate the job” there were no significant main effects or interactions. For the item “Based on all the information, please provide an Overall Rating of the candidate” there was a significant main effect for disclosure,  $F(1, 120) = 6.82$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .05$ , such that those who disclosed received higher (i.e. better) overall ratings ( $M = 4.15$ ,  $SD = .63$ ) compared to those who did not disclose ( $M = 3.85$ ,  $SD = .73$ ).

All participants were asked how appropriate it is for a mother to take maternity leave and for a father to take paternity leave. The response scale ranged from 1 = very inappropriate to 5 = very appropriate. In addition, participants were asked, in their opinion, what the appropriate amount of time off is for both maternity and paternity leave. Across all participants maternity leave was rated as very appropriate ( $M = 4.58$ ,  $SD = .88$ ) and paternity leave was rated closer to the mid rating of neither appropriate nor inappropriate ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ). The average amount of time off viewed as appropriate for maternity leave was around two and a half months ( $M = 2.66$ ,  $SD = 2.96$ ) ranging from two weeks to two years. The average amount of time off viewed as appropriate for paternity leave was around one month ( $M = 1.06$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ) ranging from no time off to 9 months. There were not significant main effects for condition ( $p = .71$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ) or gender ( $p = .97$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$ , nor a significant interaction ( $p = .35$ ,  $\eta^2 = .07$ ) for the maternity leave item. There were not a significant main effects for condition ( $p = .27$ ,  $\eta^2 = .07$ ) or a significant interaction ( $p = .67$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ) for the paternity leave item. Similar to Study 1, there was a significant main effect for gender for the paternity leave

item,  $F(1, 111) = 4.22, p = .04, \eta^2 = .04$ ; with the males ( $M = 3.13, SD = 1.33$ ) giving lower ratings regarding the appropriateness of paternity leave compared to the females ( $M = 3.66, SD = 1.24$ ). A pair-wise comparison showed that maternity leave was viewed as significantly more appropriate than paternity leave,  $t(126) = 10.07, p = .00$ .

There was a significant main effect for gender on the average score across the four item ( $\alpha = .88$ ) scale measuring family interference with work,  $F(1, 111) = 4.86, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$  with males giving less favorable scores ( $M = 2.99, SD = .85$ ) than females ( $M = 3.34, SD = .79$ ). Higher scores indicate a more favorable rating (i.e. less family interference with work).

In addition to the stated hypotheses, this study also explored whether the hiring rating of each applicant differed by gender of the participant. As stated earlier, research concerning pregnant applicants has found mixed findings with regard to gender differences and therefore no formal hypotheses were presented. There was not a significant main effect for condition ( $p = .30, \eta^2 = .07$ ) or gender ( $p = .75, \eta^2 = .00$ ). The interaction between condition and gender was approaching significance,  $F(7, 112) = 1.99, p = .06, \eta^2 = .11$ .

### Study 2 Discussion

We know from the research presented, primarily with physically disabled job applicants, that the strategies of disclosure and discussion during the selection process may be effective at reducing potential bias. This study extended the idea of using the strategies of disclosure and discussion during the selection process to pregnant job applicants.



In terms of the hiring recommendation, it was expected to be better for a visibly showing pregnant candidate to disclose her pregnancy ahead of time while it would be better for a pregnant applicant who was not visibly showing to not disclose her pregnancy ahead of time. This hypothesis was not supported by the data (perhaps due to a lack of power), although the means were in the hypothesized direction for the showing condition.

Although this hypothesis was not supported, there were a number of characteristics that did show a significant difference between whether the pregnancy was visibly showing or not and if a disclosure occurred (see Table 5 for a complete list). It is interesting to note that the pregnant applicant who was showing was rated as significantly more forceful and dominant if she disclosed than if she did not. Somewhat contrary to that, the candidate who was not showing was rated as significantly less forceful and aggressive when she disclosed than when she did not.

The second hypothesis concerned discussion of a candidate's pregnancy during the interview. Again, this hypothesis was not supported by the data, however there were a number of individual characteristics that did show a significant relationship between whether the candidate's pregnancy was visibly showing or not and if she discussed her condition during the interview (see table 6). It is interesting to note that the candidate whose pregnancy was visibly showing was rated as significantly more flexible and self-reliant when she did not discuss the pregnancy compared to when she did. The applicant whose pregnancy was not visibly showing was rated significantly higher on mature and emotionally stable when she did discuss versus not.

Taken together, the results suggest that with regard to pregnant applicants, the strategies of disclosure in isolation as well as discussion in isolation may not be sufficient

(at least as examined in this study) to impact the overall hiring rating of the hiring manager. However, the means for disclosure were trending in the direction of the hypotheses, indicating that for a visibly pregnant applicant it may be better to disclose the pregnancy prior to the interview (after the interview has been scheduled), while for an applicant whose pregnancy is not visibly showing, it is better to not disclose prior to the interview. Given that the means were trending in the predicted direction, it is possible that with more power these hypotheses would have been significant. It is also interesting to note that for the additional characteristics examined, there seemed to be somewhat contradictory findings based on whether the candidate's pregnancy was visibly showing or not. This indicates that the visibility of one's pregnancy may have an impact on the hiring manager's perceptions of the disclosure and discussion. Future research should further explore how these strategies are impacted by the degree of the visibility of the applicant's condition.

Although examining disclosure and discussion in isolation is interesting, it is perhaps more important to know the combined impact of both disclosure and discussion together. Hypothesis three examined the three way interaction between the candidate's pregnancy (showing or not), disclosure of the condition prior to the interview, and discussion of the condition during the interview. Contrary to the hypothesis there was not a significant 3-way interaction. Although the findings were not significant, some of the means were trending in the hypothesized direction, specifically hypotheses 3 c, e, and f. Indicating that for a pregnant applicant who is visibly showing, it may be slightly better to both disclose and discuss the pregnancy as opposed to not disclosing the pregnancy upfront but then discussing it during the interview. Conversely, for an

applicant who is pregnant, but not visibly showing, it may be better to not disclose or discuss the pregnancy (in other words, making yourself equivalent to a non-pregnant candidate) than it is to be pregnant, not showing and discuss your pregnancy during the interview. However, according to the trending of hypothesis f (and the results of the contrast tests which were approaching significance), it appears that if your pregnancy is not visibly showing and you do discuss it during the interview, it is to your benefit to have already disclosed the pregnancy prior to the interview (note this hypothesis, while not significant, did have the greatest mean difference).

These trends support the overall theory that if your pregnancy is visibly showing, it is likely to your benefit to be forthcoming about it during the selection process (both disclosure and discussion). However, if your pregnancy is not visibly apparent, it is likely to your benefit to not mention it during the hiring process, however if you do want to be forthcoming, it is better to both disclose and discuss the pregnancy than to only disclose or only discuss.

There were some other characteristics examined that did result in significant 3-way interactions, specifically for the variables friendly, assertive, and likely to need immediate extended time off (see table 8). Analyses showed that for the candidate whose pregnancy was visibly showing and disclosed her pregnancy up front, she was rated as more friendly if she did not discuss the pregnancy than if she did. While it is possible that the candidate being more open may lead to her being perceived as more friendly, perhaps the directness of the message could serve to have the opposite effect.

For the variable “likely to need immediate extended time off”, the candidate whose pregnancy was not showing and did not disclose was rated as significantly more

likely to need immediate extended time off if she discussed her pregnancy, which you would logically expect. Likewise, for the candidate's who were not showing and did not discuss their pregnancy during the interview, they were rated as significantly more likely to need immediate extended time off if they disclosed their pregnancy than if they did not. In essence this interaction tells us that if a candidate tells you she will need time off, either before or during an interview, she is more likely to be rated as likely to need time off.

In addition to the stated hypotheses, a number of additional analyses were conducted. With regard to significant main effects for "showing" (see table 7), analyses showed that the pregnant applicant whose pregnancy was visibly showing received significantly higher ratings on the following variables: well-spoken, professional appearance, mature, disciplined, creative, able to supervise, demonstrates leadership ability, and demonstrates initiative. In addition, the pregnant applicant whose pregnancy was visibly showing was perceived to have performed better during the interview. Cunningham and Macan (2007) also found that the pregnant applicant in their study received some significantly higher ratings on some of the positive attributes. It is possible that the hiring manager is giving higher ratings out of sympathy for the pregnant candidate or that the hiring manager is perhaps overly impressed given the candidate's condition or in spite of the condition. In either case, future research should explore what would cause a hiring manager to give more favorable characteristic ratings to a candidate who is visibly pregnant. The visibly showing pregnant applicant was also rated significantly higher on the variables feminine, nurturing, physically limited, and likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis. These findings are consistent with role

congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) in that the visible pregnancy may make the stereotypical female gender role more salient.

The one significant main effect for hiring decision was with the disclosure variable, such that those who disclosed received more favorable hiring ratings compared to those who did not disclose the pregnancy prior to the interview (regardless if showing or not). In addition to hiring rating, other variables of interest that differed on disclosure (see table 8) included qualified, friendly, disciplined, dedicated, gentle, demonstrates initiative, demonstrates good work ethic, valuable, helpful, loyal, successful, competent, able to supervise, reliable, affectionate, demonstrates leadership ability, enthusiastic, and self-reliant. Each of these variables were significant such that the candidate who disclosed received higher (i.e. more favorable) ratings. This is particularly interesting, especially in terms of the ratings of qualifications, given that the applicants were all exactly the same (with the exception of the manipulations of showing, disclosure and discussion). In addition, the candidate that disclosed received higher “fit” ratings with the job and well as higher interview performance scores. The candidate who disclosed also received a higher rating for the statement “I would evaluate this applicant’s qualifications for this position favorably” as well as the statement “I feel this candidate would be well suited for the job” and “Based on all the information, please provide an overall rating of the candidate”. This is further evidence that it may be to a candidate’s benefit to disclose her condition prior to the job interview (but after the interview has been scheduled).

The findings regarding the appropriateness of maternity and paternity leave were consistent with study 1 such that maternity leave was rated as very appropriate and paternity leave was rated as neither appropriate nor inappropriate with males giving lower

ratings regarding the appropriateness of paternity leave. This could be due to the nature of the sample where most males are college aged students who have not experienced parental leave of any sort (only 5 male participants were over the age of 30 and only 1 reported taking time off for family related reasons) or it could reflect a social standard that perhaps it is less accepted for fathers to take time off to help with or care for a new baby and perhaps males are more sensitive to that fact. Future research should further explore the current state of perceptions of the appropriateness of paternity leave for fathers. Somewhat consistent with these findings is that the males in this study gave higher (i.e. worse) ratings on the family interference with work items indicating that they may have more concerns than their female counterparts about how a pregnancy and family obligations may interfere with one's work.

### *Implications*

Although the findings for the specific hypotheses related to hiring rating were not confirmed, this study related to past research in that it showed that it is important to consider the combined effect of disclosure and discussion as well as to consider whether the condition under discussion is visibly apparent or could be concealed during the selection process. Given the different trends in the data as well as the findings for other variables beyond hiring rating, the same strategies (disclosure and discussion) do not appear to be universally successful for an applicant who has a condition that is visible, versus one that is not.

Significant findings and trends in this study did seem to center around disclosure. The data suggests that it may be better to disclose one's pregnancy (before the interview occurs, but after it is scheduled) if you are showing; however you may be seen as more

forceful. Additionally if your pregnancy is visibly showing it may be better to disclose and discuss and if your pregnancy is not visibly showing it may be better to do neither. The only significant main effect for hiring decision was around disclosure, indicating that it may be beneficial to disclose one's condition upfront regardless of how visibly evident it is or not. Those who disclosed were also rated higher (i.e. better) regarding fit & well-suitedness for the job as well as on qualifications and interview performance. The literature presented on disclosure is mixed with no clear evidence for or against this strategy. However, it is possible that a candidate receives more favorable ratings because they are perceived as more honest and forthcoming (not assessed in the present study) as well as giving the hiring manager time to mentally adjust or prepare for the condition prior to the interview. Given that the disclosure manipulation was rather subtle in this study, the fact that there were findings centered around disclosure demonstrates that it may be one of the more salient factors that warrants further investigation. It is clear that more research is needed to not only define the construct of disclosure but to determine when and for whom it will be most beneficial in the hiring context. It would also be interesting to talk to actual hiring managers and find out anecdotally if they would prefer a candidate to disclose or discuss or both in actual hiring situation. Would they welcome the information or would it make them uncomfortable given the legal issues regarding what is permissible to discuss during an interview?

There are a number of practical suggestions that can be garnered from the results of this study. The first thing to note is that the best approach may differ based on whether the applicant's pregnancy is showing during the selection process. These results suggest that there are differences in how one is perceived based on the visibility of the

condition. In some cases, in fact, the same tactics result in almost opposite perceptions. In general, however, although extremely cautious in making any recommendations, I would suggest that these data tend to support the idea that for a pregnant applicant, who is not visibly showing during the selection process, she will likely have the better reactions if she says nothing about the pregnancy. In other words, while it may seem deceitful, the pregnancy cannot be an issue during the selection process if the interviewer is not aware of it. It is important to consider the fact that there may be long-term implications for the applicant if she gets the job and later the employer finds out she is in fact pregnant. Those long-term issues are not addressed in this research, although King and Botsford (2009) advocate that it may be best to disclose your pregnancy to your employer earlier rather than later, sometime after the 1<sup>st</sup> trimester has passed. If the applicant feels compelled to inform the potential employer of her condition, even though she could conceal it, it appears to be better to both disclose it ahead of time and discuss it during the interview than it is to only discuss. If the applicant is visibly showing during the selection process, the results of this study seem to suggest different advice. Again, while cautious in not over interpreting the data, the best approach appears to be both to disclose and discuss the condition. However, the data of this study seems to support that if you examine disclosure and discussion in isolation that it is best to disclose one's condition.

With regard to the hiring manager, it is important to guard against allowing an upfront disclosure of a condition to bias you with regard to the applicant and recognize that while the disclosure may cause you to have further questions, the applicant may choose to not discuss it further during your face to face meeting. Likewise, if a condition



is not disclosed prior to the interview, it is important for the interviewer to maintain composure and stay focused on the job related factors during the interview if the condition becomes apparent upon meeting or is discussed for the first time during the interview. While this particular research does not allow for specific recommendations to hiring managers it can still inform them that, even though perhaps outside of their awareness, their judgments may be affected by whether they knew about a condition before the interview and whether or not that condition was further discussed during the interview. Future research may want to explore training for hiring managers that could help them in these types of disclosure or discussion situations, not just with regard to pregnancy, but any unexpected condition that an applicant may present. It may be beneficial for this training to include what a hiring manager can and cannot ask a pregnant applicant in comparison to a disabled applicant and if there are any differentiations under the current laws.

In addition to allowing for practical suggestions for pregnant job applicants, this research adds to the current body of research by providing a clearer distinction between the concepts of disclosure and discussion. As previously discussed, much of the literature on disclosure and discussion (or acknowledgment, as it is commonly referred) does not adhere to any sort of standard definition of what a disclosure or discussion is or when it takes place and therefore, there is much overlap and confusion between the differences of these two concepts. In this study, I differentiated between disclosure and discussion based on both the timing of the dialogue as well as the content of the dialogue. By drawing a more clear distinction, it allows this research, as well as future research that may follow this structure, to more clearly determine the outcome of using either of the

approaches in isolation or in conjunction and therefore allows for more clear conclusions and practical advice to be given.

#### *Limitations and Additional Directions for Future Research*

While the results of this study may have practical applications for pregnant applicants, there are several limitations to the study design. A hypothetical, video-taped interview was used. Although every effort was made to make the selection scenario as realistic as possible, future research would be well served to verify these findings using face-to-face interactions. In addition, the decision-makers in this study were university students. While perhaps not an ideal representation of actual hiring managers, their work and interview experience was assessed. Eighty percent of the sample was employed, a little less than half of which was full time. A little less than half the sample had some to a great deal of interviewing experience.

There are a number of issues presented in this study that future research could explore further. For example, one potential issue is how far along the candidate is at the time of the interview. For the purposes of this study, the candidate was either not showing (3 months pregnant) or showing (viewed to be approximately 7 months pregnant). It would be interesting to explore further if the hiring managers perceptions changed based on how far along the candidate is or is perceived to be during the selection process. For example, would a woman who is 5 months along be perceived differently from a woman who is 6 months along, compared to a woman who is 7 months along, and so forth? In other words is there some sort of “threshold” at which the pregnancy begins to be viewed differently? This issue is compounded by the fact that many women don’t actually start “showing” until later in their pregnancy, which means that unless they

informed the employer ahead of time, it may be possible to conceal a pregnancy upfront to increase one's chance of gaining employment. While the hiring manager's perception of how far along a pregnant job applicant is may allow them to determine how much time on the job that person will have before taking leave, there is no guarantee that that applicant will be able to work right up to the end of her pregnancy, which may cause the hiring manager to have concerns regardless of how far along she is.

Another issue is that in this study the discussion took place at the beginning of the interview. In order to not overcomplicate things, the timing of the discussion was not manipulated. A few other studies have examined the notion of timing and in general found that discussions toward the beginning of the interaction tend to lead to more favorable outcomes. Future research will want to more thoroughly investigate the time effect by manipulating when the discussion takes place and examining the effect that has on the decision-makers perceptions and judgments.

In addition to the timing of the discussion, the content of the discussion could be explored further as well. The content of the discussion in this study included both general information about her condition as well as more defensive information meant to combat potential negative stereotypes associated with the condition. This is the first time that a discussion of this kind, relating specifically to pregnancy, has been examined. Future research should more clearly isolate the different types of content in order to determine the specific effect each has on the outcomes. In addition, research could examine what effect having a discussion about the condition *prior* to the interview has on the interview outcome as well as determining how far in advance is most beneficial.

The level of position applied for in this study was relatively low level. It would be interesting for future research to determine if level of position would moderate the results. It is possible that hiring managers may have less risk concerns regarding an applicant interviewing for a higher level position with a proven track record. On the other hand, it is possible that the risk perceptions could be amplified for a higher level position where the absence of the employee would perhaps cause an even larger hardship than at a lower level position.

A number of cognitive theories were presented to show potential reasons why the strategies of disclosure and discussion could be both beneficial and harmful. The goal of this research was not to understand the specific cognitive processes involved but to determine how the strategies affected the decision-makers judgments of the applicant. Future research may want to explore further the cognitive mechanisms by which these effects occur.

It is also important to point out that given the methodology of this study, the results may not generalize to applicants who disclose before an interview is scheduled or who discuss their condition at a different time during the interview or using different content. Again, this indicates the need to extend this line of research so that more specific applications of these suggested approaches can be made.

#### Overall Conclusion

Pregnancy and its impact in the workplace is a generally underexplored area of research, in spite of the fact that pregnancy discrimination charges are continually on the rise. Taken together these two studies attempt to further identify what may contribute to potential discrimination against a pregnant job applicant as well as what a pregnant job

applicant may be able to do to combat any potential discrimination. The first study aimed to determine if absenteeism may be a primary concern with regard to pregnant job applicants by comparing a pregnant job applicant to other job applicants who also requested time off for other reasons. The results showed that the only significant differences in terms of hiring and risk ratings were between any applicant with a time off request, regardless of reason, and the control applicant and this was in spite of the candidates being viewed as qualified, a good fit for the job and performing well in the interview. This study suggests that absenteeism may be a primary concern for hiring managers and that may be driving lowered hiring ratings and not perhaps gender bias or pregnancy stigmas.

The second study aimed to determine how the strategies of disclosure and discussion may be useful for a pregnant applicant during the selection process. Results suggest that what may be a useful strategy for an applicant whose pregnancy is not visibly showing may be different from an applicant whose pregnancy is visibly showing. The data suggest that for a visibly showing pregnant applicant, it may be better (in terms of hiring ratings) to both disclose and discuss rather than simply discussing alone. However, for an applicant whose pregnancy is not visibly evident it is better to not disclose or discuss the pregnancy rather than discussing alone. However, if, as a pregnant applicant who is not visibly showing, you desire to be more forthcoming and discuss, then it is better to also disclose and discuss than simply discuss alone. This research shows that the same strategies may not be universally successful for all stigmatized candidates and that the appropriateness of an approach may depend on whether the condition is visibly apparent or not during the selection process.

Lastly, it is important to recognize that while great strides have been made in protecting pregnant women's rights in the workplace, including anti-discrimination laws, legislation may not be enough. As Dovidio and Hebl (2005) state "Although changes in laws and norms may be effective at limiting overt forms of personal discrimination, negative stereotypes and attitudes can still operate indirectly, for example, by biasing perceptions of attributes or credentials, by influencing decisions in situations in which discrimination would not be obvious, or by producing "backlash" to members of protected groups". Future research should examine these more subtle forms of discrimination. In addition, future research may want to also examine if these issues are unique to the United States. It is possible that the issues of pregnancy discrimination, family related absenteeism requests, the benefits of discussion and disclosure, etc. would be less of an issue worth exploring empirically in other countries that have more liberal laws and policies with regard to workplace benefits such as maternity and paternity leave.

In general when people think about potential discrimination that could happen during the selection process, pregnancy discrimination is not likely one of the first things that come to mind. Even though coming face to face with a pregnant applicant may be the exception rather than the norm, there is legal as well as a growing body of empirical evidence to suggest that this is a relevant and important issue. Wilson (2005), states in *The Handbook of Women, Psychology, and the Law*, that pregnancy discrimination is best seen as part of a larger pattern of discrimination. This study is another attempt to better understand these issues and help women who may face these challenges.

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Table 1 (Study 1)

*Means, Standard Deviations and Inter-Correlations of Hypothesized Study Variables and Selected other Study Variables*

	Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Recommend for hire	3.85	.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Overall rating of candidate	3.81	.69	.75**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Qualified	4.38	.70	.42**	.44**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Evaluate qualifications favorably	4.03	.70	.58**	.60**	.51**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Fit with job	3.87	.75	.68**	.75**	.49**	.56**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Well suited for job	3.82	.78	.73**	.75**	.47**	.68**	.75**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Interview Performance	3.89	.76	.59**	.64**	.43**	.52**	.61**	.60**	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Likely to need immediate extended time off	3.99	1.47	-.35**	-.26**	.05	-.13	-.20**	-.22**	-.16*	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis	2.75	1.33	-.37**	-.25**	-.05	-.23**	-.20**	-.21**	-.17*	.50**	-	-	-	-
10.	Likely to quit	2.15	.98	-.45**	-.42**	-.20**	-.40**	-.42**	-.44**	-.44**	.21**	.37**	-	-	-
11.	Risk	3.21	.85	.49**	.45**	.27**	.40**	.42**	.47**	.35**	-.24**	-.29**	-.26**	-	-
12.	Family interference with work	3.03	.85	.49**	.41**	.19**	.34**	.32**	.37**	.34**	-.45**	-.55**	-.33**	.39**	-

\*  $p < .05$   
\*\*  $p < .01$  level

Table 2 (Study 1)

*Inter-Correlations regarding the legitimacy of the requested absence and the favorability of the candidate*

	Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Recommend for hire	3.85	.90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Overall rating of candidate	3.81	.69	.75**	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Evaluate qualifications favorably	4.03	.70	.58**	.60**	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Well suited for job	3.82	.78	.73**	.75**	.68**	-	-	-	-
5.	Evaluate favorably based on interview	3.84	.79	.62**	.59**	.55**	.64**	-	-	-
6.	Was this a reasonable request? <sup>a</sup>	.84	.37	.26**	.24**	.16*	.26**	.27**	-	-
7.	Was the amount of time requested reasonable? <sup>a</sup>	.62	.49	.21*	.23**	.16*	.16	.14	.41**	-

\*  $p < .05$ \*\*  $p < .01$  level<sup>a</sup> indicates a dichotomous variable with 1 = yes and 0 = no

Table 3 (Study 1)

*Significant main effects for condition on hypothesized variables and individual applicant characteristics*

<i>Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)</i>										
Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta2</i>	Control <i>M(SD)</i>	Pregnant <i>M(SD)</i>	Adopt <i>M(SD)</i>	Spouse <i>M(SD)</i>	Male <i>M(SD)</i>	Differences Post Hoc
Hiring Rating	5.38	4,201	.00	.10	4.36(.65)	3.80(.84)	3.62(.94)	3.64(.93)	2.82(1.04)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male
	4.30	4,175	.002	.09	4.36(.65)	3.80(.84)	3.73(.88)	3.77(.90)	3.91(.82)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse
Risk Rating	4.25	4,200	.001	.08	3.62(.96)	2.93(.65)	3.03(.80)	3.15(.74)	3.28(.93)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male <i>Pregnant &amp; Male*</i>
	4.10	4,174	.001	.09	3.64(.12)	2.95(.14)	3.09(.84)	3.33(.16)	3.44(.16)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting Pregnant & Male <i>Pregnant &amp; Spouse*</i>
Dependable	3.29	4,198	.01	.06	4.20(.67)	3.77(.74)	3.97(.87)	3.48(1.04)	3.90(.94)	Control & Spouse <i>Adopting &amp; Spouse*</i>
	2.48	4,171	.05	.06	4.20(.67)	3.77(.74)	4.03(.90)	3.57(1.10)	4.03(.91)	Control & Spouse, Pregnant Spouse & Adopting <i>Spouse &amp; Male*</i>
Flexible	7.02	4,201	.00	.12	4.02(.69)	3.24(.86)	3.22(.86)	3.12(1.02)	3.51(1.10)	Control & Spouse, Pregnant, Adopting <i>Control &amp; Male*</i>

	6.12	4,174	.00	.12	4.02(.69)	3.24(.86)	3.18(.88)	3.27(.94)	3.58(1.09)	Control & Spouse, Pregnant, Adopting, Male
Committed	2.74	4,202	.03	.05	4.38(.68)	4.04(.67)	3.83(.78)	3.86(1.00)	4.00(.78)	Control & Spouse, Adopting
	<i>Approaching significance, see below</i>									
Feminine	50.12	4,202	.00	.50	3.87(.79)	4.20(.76)	3.75(.74)	3.71(1.02)	1.72(.91)	Male & Control, Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse
	35.56	4,175	.00	.44	3.87(.79)	4.20(.76)	3.73(.76)	3.77(1.04)	1.81(.97)	Male & Control, Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse
Masculine	30.74	4,202	.00	.38	1.82(.89)	1.69(.93)	1.92(.92)	1.98(1.12)	3.80(.79)	Male & Control, Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse
	21.94	4,175	.00	.33	1.82(.89)	1.69(.93)	1.94(.93)	2.03(1.16)	3.78(.75)	Male & Control, Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse
Reliable	4.08	4,200	.00	.08	4.00(.83)	3.66(.75)	4.08(.69)	3.44(.81)	3.70(.79)	Spouse & Control, Adopting
	3.03	4,173	.02	.07	4.00(.83)	3.66(.75)	4.12(.74)	3.55(.83)	3.81(.78)	Control & Spouse, Pregnant Spouse & Adopting Adopting & Pregnant
Physically Limited	13.16	4,201	.00	.21	1.60(.96)	3.11(1.33)	1.50(.88)	1.67(1.12)	1.60(1.08)	Pregnant & Control, Adopt, Spouse, Male
	11.77	4,174	.00	.21	1.60(.96)	3.11(1.33)	1.58(.94)	1.60(1.04)	1.69(1.15)	Pregnant & Control, Adopt, Spouse, Male



Likely to Miss Work	15.58	4,202	.00	.24	1.51(.66)	3.29(1.47)	2.93(1.31)	3.24(1.21)	2.82(1.04)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male
	14.36	4,175	.00	.25	1.51(.66)	3.29(1.47)	2.85(1.28)	3.10(1.21)	2.72(.96)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male <i>Pregnant &amp; Male</i>
Nurturing	4.68	4,201	.00	.09	2.69(.85)	3.58(.84)	3.00(.88)	2.90(1.14)	2.87(1.13)	Pregnant & Control, Adopt, Spouse, Male
	5.04	4,174	.00	.10	2.69(.85)	3.58(.84)	3.09(.84)	3.07(1.08)	2.81(1.14)	Pregnant & Control, Adopt, Spouse, Male <i>Adopting &amp; Control Spouse &amp; Control</i>
Hard Working	3.42	4,202	.01	.06	4.40(.58)	4.20(.79)	4.10(.59)	4.14(.72)	3.85(.77)	Control & Male
	2.90	4,175	.02	.06	4.40(.58)	4.20(.79)	4.18(.58)	4.13(.68)	3.88(.83)	Male & Control, Adopting <i>Control &amp; Spouse, Pregnant Pregnant &amp; Male</i>
Likely to Need Immediate Extended Time Off	80.48	4,202	.00	.61	1.78(.93)	4.71(.73)	4.58(.93)	4.50(1.07)	4.58(.90)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male
	75.94	4,175	.00	.63	1.78(.93)	4.71(.73)	4.55(.97)	4.50(1.04)	4.53(.98)	Control & Pregnant, Adopting, Spouse, Male
Independent	3.24	4,201	.01	.06	4.38(.75)	4.02(.87)	4.50(.56)	4.29(.68)	4.42(.84)	Pregnant & Adopting
	<i>Approaching significance</i>									

Self Sufficient	2.41	4,201	.05	.05	4.36(.65)	3.96(.71)	4.18(.64)	4.07(.89)	4.32(.80)	<i>Pregnant &amp; Control*</i>
					<i>Approaching significance</i>					
Likely to Quit	3.19	4,202	.01	.06	1.78(.74)	2.27(1.03)	2.22(1.07)	2.48(1.04)	2.05(.90)	Control & Spouse
					<i>No longer significant</i>					
Well Suited for the Job	2.87	4,201	.02	.05	4.11(.65)	3.91(.79)	3.56(.72)	3.69(.87)	3.72(.75)	Adopting & Control <i>Control &amp; Spouse*</i>
					<i>Approaching significance</i>					
Aggressive	2.91	4,175	.02	.06	2.69(1.02)	2.47(1.16)	3.09(1.04)	2.93(1.20)	2.31(1.28)	Male & Spouse, Adopting Male & Adopting Pregnant & Adopting <i>Male &amp; Control*</i>
<hr/>										
Characteristics approaching significance:										
<i>Overall Rating*</i>	2.01	4,201	1.00	.04	4.04(.56)	3.84(.64)	3.67(.69)	3.67(.65)	3.77(.84)	Control & Spouse, Adopting Spouse & Adopting
<i>Committed*</i>	2.23	4,175	.07	.05	4.38(.68)	4.04(.67)	3.91(.77)	3.87(1.04)	4.12(.71)	Control & Spouse, Adopting, Pregnant
<i>Gentle*</i>	2.26	4,175	.06	.05	3.27(.84)	3.33(.85)	3.12(.78)	3.10(1.09)	2.75(1.08)	Male & Control, Spouse, Pregnant <i>Male &amp; Adopting*</i>

<i>Independent*</i>	2.26	4,174	.06	.05	4.38(.75)	4.02(.87)	4.42(.56)	4.31(.66)	4.31(.90)	Pregnant & Control, Adopting, Male <i>Pregnant &amp; Spouse*</i>
<i>Self-Sufficient*</i>	2.34	4,174	.06	.05	4.36(.65)	3.96(.71)	4.19(.64)	4.07(.98)	4.34(.87)	Pregnant & Control, Male <i>Male &amp; Spouse*</i>
<i>Well-Suited*</i>	2.34	4,174	.06	.05	4.11(.65)	3.91(.79)	3.59(.76)	3.90(.76)	3.81(.64)	Adopting & Control <i>Control &amp; Male*</i> <i>Spouse &amp; Adopting*</i>

\* approaching significance,  $p < .10$

Note. Blue text shows findings based on the sample with the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable removed.

Table 4 (Study 1)

*Significant gender differences on hypothesized variables and individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta2</i>	Male	Female
Hiring Rating	1.68	1,201	.20	.008	3.97(.81)	3.77(.94)
	1.54	1,175	.22	.009	4.06(.73)	3.86(.89)
Risk Rating	3.00	1,200	.09	.02	3.36(.81)	3.11(.87)
	3.48	1,174	.06	.02	3.44(.80)	3.17(.88)
Forceful	5.38	1,202	.02	.03	2.76(1.19)	3.10(1.08)
	5.01	1,175	.03	.03	2.74(1.18)	3.06(1.05)
Demonstrates Leadership Ability	13.31	1,200	.00	.06	3.10(.87)	3.60(.93)
	13.46	1,173	.00	.07	3.13(.89)	3.65(.91)
Demonstrates Initiative	5.15	1,201	.02	.03	3.69(.82)	3.93(.81)
	5.69	1,174	.02	.03	3.72(.81)	3.95(.79)
Dominant	4.96	1,202	.03	.02	3.13(.97)	3.45(1.02)
	5.42	1,175	.02	.03	3.12(.97)	3.44(1.00)
Demonstrates Good Work Ethic	3.98	1,202	.05	.02	3.88(.72)	4.08(.77)

	6.51	1,175	.01	.04	3.91(.69)	4.15(.75)
Valuable	3.88	1,202	.05	.02	3.72(.70)	3.91(.77)
<i>Approaching significance</i>						
Nurturing	6.12	1,201	.01	.03	3.19(.95)	2.91(1.03)
	4.01	1,174	.05	.02	3.21(.92)	2.97(1.02)
Hard Working	4.54	1,202	.03	.02	4.03(.72)	4.22(.70)
	4.46	1,175	.04	.03	4.06(.73)	4.25(.69)
Mature	5.35	1,175	.02	.03	4.15(.76)	4.44(.70)
Able to Supervise	3.77	1,174	.05	.02	3.33(.82)	3.56(.90)
Cover work load	5.30	1,175	.02	.03	2.79(.80)	2.57(.83)
<i>Approaching significance</i>						
<i>Mature*</i>	3.46	1,202	.06	.02	4.15(.74)	4.38(.72)
<i>Able to Supervise*</i>	3.57	1,201	.06	.02	3.35(.81)	3.58(.89)
<i>Ambitious*</i>	2.92	1,202	.09	.01	3.88(.72)	4.08(.81)
<i>Successful*</i>	2.84	1,202	.09	.01	3.90(.66)	4.06(.75)
<i>Qualified*</i>	3.67	1,174	.06	.02	4.26(.68)	4.47(.69)

<i>Physically Limited*</i>	2.94	1,174	.09	.02	2.07(1.23)	1.91(1.29)
<i>Intelligent*</i>	2.93	1,174	.09	.02	4.21(.61)	4.35(.65)
<i>Valuable*</i>	3.51	1,175	.06	.02	3.76(.67)	3.97(.77)

*\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .*

*Note. Blue text shows findings based on the sample with the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable removed.*

Table 5 (Study 1)

*Significant interactions between condition and gender on hypothesized variables and individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta2</i>
Hiring Rating	1.52	4,201	.20	.03
	1.16	4,175	.33	.03
Risk Rating	.40	4,200	.81	.008
	.42	4,174	.79	.010
Committed	2.63	4,175	.04	.06
Likely to need immediate extended time off	2.39	4,175	.05	.05
<i>Interactions approaching significance:</i>				
Enthusiastic	2.03	4,202	.09	.04
<i>No longer significant</i>				
Likely to need immediate extended time off	2.28	4,202	.06	.04

*\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .*

*Note. Blue text shows findings based on the sample with the 27 participants who did not view the time off request as reasonable removed.*

Table 6. (Study 2)

*Means, Standard Deviations and Inter-Correlations of Hypothesized Study Variable and Selected other Study Variables*

	Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.	Recommend for hire	3.96	.81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Overall rating of candidate	4.01	.69	.72**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Qualified	4.49	.65	.20*	.38**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4.	Evaluate qualifications favorably	4.20	.65	.40**	.52**	.40**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Fit with job	4.08	.75	.59**	.74**	.52**	.63**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6.	Well suited for job	4.06	.85	.74**	.76**	.44**	.58**	.79**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Interview Performance	4.04	.79	.58**	.68**	.46**	.48**	.64**	.70**	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Likely to need immediate extended time off	3.85	1.43	-.16	-.13	.20*	-.14	-.03	-.08	-.01	-	-	-	-	-
9.	Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis	2.91	1.41	-.22*	-.15	-.03	-.22*	-.10	-.22*	-.07	.52**	-	-	-	-
10.	Likely to quit	2.09	1.06	-.40**	-.36**	-.34**	-.30**	-.41**	-.46**	-.28**	.18*	.38**	-	-	-
11.	Risk	3.35	.72	.38**	.31**	-.03	.27**	.24**	.39**	.27**	-.20*	-.20*	-.31**	-	-
12.	Family interference with work	3.21	.83	.15	.25**	.11	.27**	.21*	.21*	.20*	-.35**	-.32**	-.33**	.26**	-

\*  $p < .05$   
\*\*  $p < .01$  level



Table 7. (Study 2)

*Significant main effect differences for "Showing" on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta2</i>	Showing	Not Showing
					<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	.02	1,120	.89	.00	3.96 (.79)	3.97 (.84)
Well-Spoken	10.15	1, 120	.002	.08	4.54 (.66)	4.13 (.83)
Professional Appearance	5.09	1, 120	.03	.04	4.15 (.93)	3.77 (.84)
Mature	7.94	1, 120	.006	.06	4.55(.63)	4.20 (.87)
Disciplined	3.85	1, 120	.05	.03	4.33 (.73)	4.08 (.86)
Feminine	8.93	1, 120	.003	.07	4.37 (.80)	3.95 (.83)
Creative	5.95	1, 120	.014	.05	3.78 (1.07)	3.36 (.91)
Able to Supervise	4.35	1, 118	.04	.04	3.82 (.98)	3.46 (1.03)
Physically Limited	34.76	1, 118	.001	.23	3.30 (1.15)	2.05 (1.16)
Demonstrates Leadership Ability	4.66	1, 119	.03	.04	3.89 (.91)	3.52 (1.04)
Demonstrates Initiative	3.87	1, 119	.05	.03	4.17 (.78)	3.87 (.96)
Aggressive	5.81	1, 120	.02	.05	2.49 (1.16)	3.00 (1.20)
Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis	8.0.3	1,119	.005	.06	3.24 (1.30)	2.57 (1.43)

Nurturing	4.30	1, 119	.04	.04	3.59 (.98)	3.18 (1.09)
Likely to Require Assistance	6.89	1, 119	.01	.06	2.55 (1.18)	2.05 (.92)
Sociable	4.06	1, 120	.05	.03	3.85 (1.06)	3.49 (1.04)
Likely to need immediate extended time off	49.78	1, 119	.001	.30	4.52 (.88)	3.13 (1.57)
Successful	4.41	1, 119	.04	.04	4.36 (.74)	4.11 (.71)
<i>Intelligent*</i>	3.22	1, 120	.08	.03	4.58 (.61)	4.39 (.67)
<i>Assertive*</i>	2.97	1, 119	.09	.02	3.97 (.82)	3.72 (1.07)

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*\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .*

Table 8. (Study 2)

*Significant main effect differences for “Disclosure” on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	Disclosed <i>M (SD)</i>	Did Not Disclose <i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	6.02	1,120	.02	.05	4.12 (.70)	3.78 (.89)
Qualified	10.18	1, 119	.002	.08	4.66 (.56)	4.29 (.70)
Friendly	5.55	1, 120	.02	.04	4.31 (.89)	3.97 (.97)
Disciplined	5.04	1, 120	.03	.04	4.35 (.79)	4.05 (.79)
Dedicated	3.83	1, 119	.05	.03	4.40 (.74)	4.14 (.75)
Gentle	10.12	1, 119	.002	.08	3.78 (.86)	3.27 (1.00)
Demonstrates Initiative	6.17	1, 119	.01	.05	4.21 (.70)	3.81 (1.01)
Demonstrates Good Work Ethic	6.26	1, 120	.01	.05	4.32 (.68)	3.98 (.83)
Valuable	11.51	1,119	.001	.09	4.32 (.70)	3.85 (.85)
Helpful	5.70	1, 119	.02	.05	3.97 (.90)	3.59 (.85)
Loyal	5.60	1, 119	.02	.05	3.96 (.95)	3.58 (.88)
Successful	6.94	1, 119	.01	.06	4.40 (.69)	4.07 (.74)

<i>Competent*</i>	3.18	1, 119	.08	.03	4.44 (.68)	4.24 (.63)
<i>Able to Supervise*</i>	3.01	1, 118	.09	.03	3.79 (1.01)	3.47 (1.01)
<i>Reliable*</i>	2.97	1, 119	.09	.03	4.21 (.76)	3.98 (.75)
<i>Affectionate*</i>	2.75	1, 119	.10	.02	3.40 (1.05)	3.07 (.94)
<i>Demonstrates Leadership Ability*</i>	3.70	1, 119	.06	.03	3.88 (.94)	3.53 (1.02)
<i>Enthusiastic*</i>	3.27	1, 120	.07	.03	3.97 (.96)	3.65 (1.04)
<i>Self-Reliant*</i>	3.02	1, 119	.09	.030	4.34 (.75)	4.10 (.78)

\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .

Table 9. (Study 2)

*Significant main effect differences for “Discussion” on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	Discussed <i>M (SD)</i>	Did Not Discuss <i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	.44	1,120	.51	.004	3.94 (.81)	3.98 (.81)
Physically Limited	5.11	1, 118	.03	.04	2.92 (1.23)	2.50 (1.36)
Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis	12.07	1, 119	.001	.09	3.31 (1.30)	2.52 (1.40)
Likely to need immediate extended time off	15.61	1, 119	.001	.12	4.24 (1.08)	3.48 (1.62)
<i>Dependable*</i>	3.29	1, 120	.07	.03	3.95 (.98)	4.21 (.76)
<i>Gentle*</i>	3.28	1, 119	.07	.03	3.40 (.91)	3.68 (.99)

\**approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .*

Table 10. (Study 2)

*Significant interactions between Showing & Disclosure on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Showing</i>		<i>Not Showing</i>	
					<i>Disclosed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not</i> <i>Disclosed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Disclosed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not</i> <i>Disclosed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	.29	1,120	.59	.002	4.09(.78)	3.81(.78)	4.15(.62)	3.75(1.01)
Friendly	4.38	1, 120	.04	.04	4.26 (.92)	4.22 (.87) <sup>p</sup>	4.36 (.86) <sup>d</sup>	3.68 (1.02) <sup>d,p</sup>
Masculine	10.41	1, 117	.002	.08	2.26 (1.16) <sup>j</sup>	1.81 (.98)	1.75 (.92) <sup>e,j</sup>	2.50 (1.07) <sup>e</sup>
Forceful	12.33	1, 120	.001	.09	3.40 (1.09) <sup>a,k</sup>	2.72 (1.22) <sup>a</sup>	2.48 (1.15) <sup>f,k</sup>	3.29 (1.12) <sup>f</sup>
Aggressive	6.28	1, 120	.01	.05	2.74 (1.20)	2.22 (1.07) <sup>q</sup>	2.73 (1.26) <sup>g</sup>	3.32 (1.06) <sup>g,q</sup>
Dominant	4.28	1, 118	.04	.04	3.71 (1.03) <sup>b</sup>	3.13 (.96) <sup>b</sup>	3.15 (1.28)	3.36 (1.06)
Assertive	6.06	1, 119	.02	.05	4.11 (.83) <sup>l</sup>	3.81 (.79)	3.52 (1.20) <sup>l</sup>	3.96 (.84)
Controlling	5.06	1, 120	.03	.04	2.97 (1.15) <sup>m</sup>	2.75 (1.19)	2.36 (1.14) <sup>h,m</sup>	3.11 (1.17) <sup>h</sup>

Likely to need immediate extended time off	12.71	1, 119	.001	.10	4.34 (1.08) <sup>n</sup>	4.71 (.53) <sup>r</sup>	3.70 (1.36) <sup>i,n</sup>	2.46 (1.55) <sup>i,r</sup>
<i>Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis*</i>	3.46	1, 119	.07	.03	2.94 (1.28) <sup>c</sup>	3.58 (1.26) <sup>c,s</sup>	2.73 (1.55)	2.32 (1.28) <sup>s</sup>
<i>Likely to require assistance*</i>	3.34	1, 119	.07	.03	2.66 (1.28) <sup>o</sup>	2.42 (1.06)	1.88 (.93) <sup>o</sup>	2.25 (.89)

\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .

<sup>a-s</sup> indicate significant ( $p < .05$ ) main effect differences

Table 11. (Study 2)

*Significant interactions between Showing & Discussion on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Showing</i>		<i>Not Showing</i>	
					<i>Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not</i> <i>Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	.001	1,120	.97	.00	3.91(.77)	4.00(.82)	3.97(.87)	3.97(.82)
Mature	4.30	1, 120	.04	.04	4.52 (.67)	4.59 (.61)	4.48 (.63) <sup>j</sup>	3.94 (.98) <sup>j</sup>
Flexible	5.76	1, 120	.02	.05	3.52 (1.12) <sup>a</sup>	4.06 (.89) <sup>a</sup>	4.17 (.81)	3.88 (.87)
Affectionate	8.59	1, 119	.004	.07	3.03 (1.08)	3.55 (1.06)	3.48 (1.02) <sup>k</sup>	2.94 (.76) <sup>k</sup>
Gentle	8.61	1, 119	.004	.07	3.27 (.91) <sup>b</sup>	4.03 (.95) <sup>b</sup>	3.55 (.91)	3.31 (.90)
Demonstrates Leadership Ability	3.87	1, 119	.05	.03	3.79 (.93)	4.00 (.90)	3.79 (.98)	3.28 (1.05)
Demonstrates Initiative	5.73	1, 119	.02	.05	4.00 (.83)	4.33 (.69)	4.10 (.86)	3.66 (1.00)
Emotionally Stable	5.34	1, 120	.02	.04	3.91 (1.07)	4.21 (.77)	4.10 (.77) <sup>l</sup>	3.59 (.95) <sup>l</sup>
Assertive	5.64	1, 119	.02	.05	3.76 (.75) <sup>c</sup>	4.18 (.85) <sup>c,o</sup>	3.90 (.90)	3.56 (1.19) <sup>o</sup>



Likely to Require Assistance	7.33	1, 119	.008	.06	2.21 (.99) <sup>d</sup>	2.88 (1.27) <sup>d,q</sup>	2.21 (.86)	1.91 (.96) <sup>q</sup>
Likely to need immediate extended time off	11.18	1, 119	.001	.09	4.58 (.71) <sup>n</sup>	4.45 (1.03) <sup>p</sup>	3.86 (1.30) <sup>m,n</sup>	2.47 (1.50) <sup>m,p</sup>
Helpful	6.41	1, 119	.01	.05	3.64 (.93) <sup>e</sup>	4.15 (.87) <sup>e</sup>	3.86 (.64)	3.53 (.98)
<i>Well Spoken*</i>	3.09	1, 120	.08	.03	4.45 (.67)	4.62 (.65)	4.31 (.76)	3.97 (.86)
<i>Professional Appearance*</i>	3.45	1, 120	.07	.03	3.97 (.95)	4.32 (.88)	3.86 (.69)	3.69 (.97)
<i>Feminine*</i>	3.70	1, 120	.06	.03	4.12 (.93) <sup>f</sup>	4.62 (.55) <sup>f</sup>	4.00 (.80)	3.91 (.86)
<i>Creative*</i>	3.03	1, 120	.08	.03	3.48 (1.15) <sup>g</sup>	4.06 (.92) <sup>g</sup>	3.41 (.91)	3.31 (.93)
<i>Healthy*</i>	3.16	1, 119	.08	.03	4.09 (.91) <sup>h</sup>	4.52 (.62) <sup>h</sup>	4.17 (.66)	4.09 (.69)
<i>Loyal*</i>	2.91	1, 119	.09	.02	3.64 (.93)	4.03 (.92)	3.86 (.88)	3.59 (.98)
<i>Nurturing*</i>	3.24	1, 119	.07	.03	3.52 (.97)	3.67 (.99)	3.45 (1.12)	2.94 (1.01)
<i>Self-Reliant*</i>	2.79	1, 119	.10	.02	4.12 (.78) <sup>i</sup>	4.52 (.67) <sup>i</sup>	4.17 (.71)	4.09 (.86)

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\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .

<sup>a-d</sup> indicate significant ( $p < .05$ ) main effect differences

Table 12. (Study 2)

*Significant interactions between Disclosure & Discussion on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Disclosed</i>		<i>Not Disclosed</i>	
					<i>Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Not Discussed</i> <i>M (SD)</i>
Hiring Rating	.35	1,120	.56	.003	4.11 (.71)	4.12 (.71)	3.69 (.88)	3.85 (.89)
Healthy	4.86	1, 119	.03	.04	4.31 (.67) <sup>f</sup>	4.25 (.76)	3.88 (.91) <sup>b,f</sup>	4.36 (.60) <sup>b</sup>
Nurturing	4.25	1, 119	.04	.03	3.44 (1.05)	3.66 (1.15) <sup>i</sup>	3.54 (1.03)	2.97 (.85) <sup>i</sup>
Likely to need immediate extended time off	5.25	1, 119	.02	.04	4.17 (1.16)	3.87 (1.36) <sup>j</sup>	4.35 (.98) <sup>c</sup>	3.09 (1.77) <sup>e,j</sup>
<i>Affectionate*</i>	2.96	1, 119	.09	.02	3.25 (1.08)	3.56 (1.01) <sup>k</sup>	3.23 (1.07)	2.94 (.83) <sup>k</sup>
<i>Gentle*</i>	3.25	1, 119	.07	.03	3.50 (.85) <sup>a</sup>	4.09 (.78) <sup>a,l</sup>	3.27 (1.00)	3.27 (1.01) <sup>l</sup>
<i>Dependent*</i>	3.31	1, 120	.07	.03	2.03 (.88) <sup>g</sup>	1.94 (1.13)	1.58 (.64) <sup>d,g</sup>	2.06 (.95) <sup>d</sup>
<i>Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis*</i>	2.93	1, 119	.09	.02	3.03 (1.32) <sup>h</sup>	2.63 (1.50)	3.69 (1.19) <sup>e,h</sup>	2.42 (1.32) <sup>e</sup>

*\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .*

*<sup>a-1</sup> indicate significant ( $p < .05$ ) main effect differences*

Table 13. (Study 2)

*Significant interactions between Showing & Disclosure & Discussion on individual applicant characteristics*

Variable	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>Eta</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Showing</i>		<i>Not Showing</i>		
					Discussed <i>M (SD)</i>	Not Discussed <i>M (SD)</i>	Discussed <i>M (SD)</i>	Not Discussed <i>M (SD)</i>	
Hiring Rating	1.25	1,120	.27	.01	Discussed	4.00 (.91)	3.80 (.56)	4.22 (.43)	3.55 (1.21)
					Not Discussed	4.18 (.64)	3.82 (.95)	4.07 (.80)	3.88 (.86)
Friendly	5.57	1, 120	.02	.04	Discussed	3.89 (.96) <sup>a</sup>	4.33 (.82)	4.44 (.86)	3.45 (1.13)
					Not Discussed	4.65 (.70) <sup>a</sup>	4.12 (.93)	4.27 (.88)	3.82 (.95)
Assertive	12.78	1, 119	.001	.10	Discussed	3.72 (.75) <sup>b</sup>	3.80 (.78)	4.00 (.91) <sup>d</sup>	3.73 (.91)
					Not Discussed	4.53 (.72) <sup>b,c</sup>	3.81 (.83) <sup>c</sup>	2.93 (1.28) <sup>d,e</sup>	4.12 (.78) <sup>e</sup>
Likely to need immediate extended time off	16.36	1, 119	.001	.12	Discussed	4.56 (.78)	4.60 (.63)	3.78 (1.35)	4.00 (1.27) <sup>f</sup>
					Not Discussed	4.12 (1.32)	4.81 (.40)	3.60 (1.40) <sup>g</sup>	1.47 (.62) <sup>f,g</sup>
<i>Disciplined</i> *	2.90	1, 120	.09	.02	Discussed	4.17 (.86)	4.27 (.71)	4.39 (.78)	3.82 (.75)
					Not	4.71 (.47)	4.18 (.73)	4.13 (.92)	3.88 (.93)

					Discussed				
					Discussed	4.22 (.73)	3.93 (1.10)	4.39 (.61)	3.82 (.60)
<i>Healthy*</i>	2.79	1, 119	.10	.02	Not Discussed	4.59 (.62)	4.44 (.63)	3.87 (.74)	4.29 (.59)
					Discussed	3.88 (.93)	3.71 (.99)	3.67 (1.14)	3.27 (1.01)
<i>Able to Supervise*</i>	2.72	1, 118	.10	.02	Not Discussed	4.24 (.90)	3.41 (1.00)	3.33 (.90)	3.47 (1.07)
					Discussed	2.12 (.93)	2.00 (1.13)	2.00 (1.06)	2.45 (1.29)
<i>Masculine*</i>	2.90	1, 117	.09	.02	Not Discussed	2.41 (1.37)	1.62 (.81)	1.47 (.64)	2.53 (.94)
					Discussed	1.94 (.94)	1.60 (.63)	2.11 (.83)	1.55 (.69)
<i>Dependent*</i>	2.78	1, 120	.10	.02	Not Discussed	2.29 (1.36)	2.00 (.87)	1.53 (.64)	2.12 (1.05)
					Discussed	2.11 (.96)	2.33 (1.05)	2.11 (.96)	2.36 (.67)
<i>Likely to Require Assistance*</i>	3.04	1, 119	.08	.03	Not Discussed	3.24 (1.35)	2.50 (1.10)	1.60 (.83)	2.18 (1.02)

\*approaching significance,  $p < .10$ .

<sup>a-g</sup> indicate significant ( $p < .05$ ) main effect differences

Appendices

Study 1:

- A: Company and Position Information
- B: “Target” Resume
- C: “Decoy” Resumes
- D: Resume Pilot Test Rating Form
- E: Pre-Interview Resume Rating Form
- F: Interview Script
- G: “Time Off” Scripts
- H: Measurement Instrument

Study 2:

- I: Recruiter Pre-Screen Notes
- E: Pre-Interview Resume Rating Form
- F: Interview Script
- J: Discussion Content Pilot Test Rating Form

## APPENDIX A

**Job Description: Computer Programmer**

- Company Description:** Provider of innovations for e-business, delivering solutions to companies by integrating Web technology with existing business processes. Company teams design and support computer systems as well as install and support networks
- General Job Description:** To develop, write and maintain computer programs specific to organizational needs and support associated networks
- Education Requirements:** Bachelors degree in Computer Science or Related Field
- Experience Requirements:** Desired minimum of 2 - 4 years of work-related experience
- Important Tasks Include:**
- Analyze computer programs or systems to identify errors and ensure conformance to standards
  - Consult with staff and users to identify operating procedure problems
  - Write documentation describing the operating procedures of programs
  - Coordinate installation of computer programs and operating systems
  - Review computer printouts to locate code problems
  - Modify programs to correct computer code errors
  - Support internal network and troubleshoot system errors
- Location:** St. Louis, Missouri
- Number of Employees:** 230
- Number of Programmers:** 10
- Training Provided:** All new programmers are provided with 3-weeks of paid on-the-job training
- Work Environment:** Most work is assigned on a project basis and completed by project teams of programmers  
Minimal to no travel required for this position



## APPENDIX B

**Beth Wilson**

<b>OBJECTIVE</b>	To obtain a challenging full time computer programming position where I can use my skills as a programmer to find solutions to business problems and gain valuable experience
<b>EDUCATION</b>	<b>Bachelors Degree in Information Systems</b> University of Colorado (1999 – 2003) Cumulative GPA: 3.68
<b>EMPLOYMENT</b>	<p><b>Sci-Tech Computers</b> (2004 – Present, Full Time) Computer Programmer / Analyst Responsibilities Include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Installing and supporting several computer systems, including upgrading an Exchange Server from Exchange 2000 to Exchange 2003</li> <li>• Writing programs to provide information to customers, including an email based application that automatically sends a summary of monthly support calls</li> <li>• Team leader for new data base creation and maintenance</li> </ul> <p><b>Colorado-East Technology Inc.</b> (2002 – 2004, Full &amp; Part Time) Computer Help Desk Technician Responsibilities Included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Helping customers with various computer hardware and software problems</li> <li>• Working on a software development team</li> <li>• Assisting with corporate web site update</li> <li>• Received hands on training in HTML</li> </ul> <p><b>Prudential Health</b> (1998-2002, Part Time) Insurance Sales Representative Assistant Responsibilities Included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Completing paper work for new policies</li> <li>• Following up on and documenting policy changes</li> <li>• Various administrative tasks</li> </ul>
<b>SKILLS &amp; ABILITIES</b>	<p><b>Computer Languages:</b> C++, Java, Assembler, ML, Visual Basic 6.0, ORACLE, Open GL</p> <p><b>Operating Systems:</b> Win98, Win2000, WinME, WinNT, WinXP, Unix</p> <p><b>Software Packages:</b> Microsoft Office Pro (2000 &amp; XP), Sound Forge 4.5, PhotoShop 6.0, Micrografix Draw 6.0, Acid 3.0, SPSS</p> <p><b>Web Development:</b> HTML, JavaScript, Dreamweaver 4.0</p>

*References available upon request*

## APPENDIX C

**Allison D. Schneider****Overview**

I have 3 years of professional programming and database experience. I have been working with the .NET Framework since it was in beta testing. I am seeking a project management position.

**Education**

- B.S. Computer Science, Missouri State University, Springfield, MO; May 2004  
GPA: 3.79, Minor in Mathematics

**Technical Skills**

- |                    |                        |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| ➤ C/C++/C#         | ➤ Windows XP           |
| ➤ Java             | ➤ Microsoft Office     |
| ➤ VB6/VB.Net       | ➤ SQL Server 2000/2005 |
| ➤ HTML             | ➤ Oracle               |
| ➤ .NET 1.1/2.0/3.0 | ➤ ASP/ASP.NET          |

**Professional Experience**

2004 – Present, Automation & Control Concepts, Saint Louis, MO

Controls Programmer

- Assisted in the development effort to create a plant floor monitoring system for a Fortune 500 subsidiary that manufactures aluminum cans. My role focused on designing the database model using C#, SQL Server, and Historian software to store data.
- I continue to help support and enhance the above system part-time.
- I am currently on a team of developers for a quality control auditing system for Nestle Purina Pet Care division.

2002 – 2004, Associated Electric Cooperative, Inc., Springfield, MO

Programmer Intern

- I worked with a team to develop an energy trading system written in VB6 utilizing SQL Server 2000.
- I worked on an application server that delivers real-time data to control operators for charting and other analysis.
- I was involved in various other projects for accounting, human resources, etc. using VB6, VB.NET, C#, ASP.NET, and SQL Server 2000.

1999 – 2002, Timberline Aviation, Springfield, MO

Line Technician

- I fueled small to medium aircraft, jet and propeller driven at a small local airport. I maintained all line equipment and managed fueling transactions.

## Megan Fleming

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### OBJECTIVE

- To obtain a challenging full-time position in Information Technology that will utilize my technical experience and training.
- To add value through development, support and implementation of Information Technology programs and initiatives to ensure top-quality technical support and service for end-users

### TECHNICAL EXPERIENCE

- Bachelors Degree in Computer Science from Texas State University, 2002
- 2 years experience troubleshooting hardware and software issues with Transcription/Dictation devices for hospitals, Court recording equipment, and 911 emergency phone line recording systems
- Proficient with the following software applications: Windows XP Pro, Microsoft Word 2003, Dreamweaver MX, PC Anywhere, LaserFiche document imaging, DVI User Interface, Fusion Voice, Fusion Text, Fusion Dictate, and Voicewave
- Proficient in the following program languages: HTML, C, C++, Java, COBOL

### TECHNICAL SUPPORT SPECIALIST, 2003 to Present

#### Healthcomm Incorporated

- Designed, implemented, and maintained Healthcomm's updated website, including web-based support system and online survey system
- 1 of a group of 5 people that provides phone and onsite technical support for over 200 servers and 1000+ users
- Helped create and manage Healthcomm's personal knowledge database. The knowledge database contains all white papers and troubleshooting techniques in one central location for easy technician access.
- Install and configure Digital Dictation systems for Hospitals on Windows XP Pro, 2000 and Server 2003 Operating systems
- Developed a plug-in written in C++ to integrate our dictation software with 3<sup>rd</sup> party applications

### 1<sup>ST</sup> ASSISTANT MANAGER, 2001 – 2003

#### Prints Plus

- Sold artwork and assisted customers with custom matting and framing
- Hired as Store Manager in training. Responsible for knowing the duties and responsibilities of the Store Managers of all 5 stores in local area
- Reorganized older store for better productivity
- Responsible for making a weekly schedule for 5 employees

APPENDIX D

**Resume Pilot**

Please take a few minutes to read over the attached job description and resume and answer the following questions. Your responses are anonymous so please be completely honest. Thanks for your participation!

Please rate the resume on the following characteristics:

**Overall appearance:**

Below Average		Average		Above Average
1	2	3	4	5

**Readability:**

Below Average		Average		Above Average
1	2	3	4	5

**Clarity:**

Below Average		Average		Above Average
1	2	3	4	5

**Technical skills:** *(In relation to what is required for the job)*

Below Average		Average		Above Average
1	2	3	4	5

**Education:** *(In relation to what is required for the job)*

Does not meet Requirements		Meets Requirements		Exceeds Requirements
1	2	3	4	5

**Work experience:** *(In relation to what is required for the job)*

Does not meet Requirements		Meets Requirements		Exceeds Requirements
1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
<b>I would evaluate this applicant's qualifications for this position favorably</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>I feel this candidate would be well suited for the job</b>	1	2	3	4	5

	Suitable for Women Only	Equally Suitable for Men and Women	Suitable for Men Only		
<b>In my opinion the job of computer programmer is:</b>	1	2	3	4	5

**Based on the information provided in the resume compared to the information listed on the job requirements page, rate how qualified you think this person is for this job:**

<b>5</b>	Well Above Average Qualifications
<b>4</b>	Somewhat Above Average Qualifications
<b>3</b>	Average Qualifications
<b>2</b>	Somewhat Below Average Qualifications
<b>1</b>	Well Below Average Qualifications

**If you had to make a hiring decision based solely on comparing this applicant's resume to the job and company description, would you recommend hiring this applicant for the position?**

<b>5</b>	Yes, I would definitely hire this person. This person is an extremely good candidate
<b>4</b>	Yes, I would hire this person with a few reservations
<b>3</b>	I'm not sure if I would hire this person
<b>2</b>	I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look at some additional information about her
<b>1</b>	No, I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

## APPENDIX E

**Based solely on the information you have reviewed so far  
(Job Description and Resume)  
please answer the following questions about the applicant**

**If you had to hire someone without performing an interview would you recommend hiring this applicant for the position? Circle one of the following.**

<b>5</b>	Yes, I would definitely hire this person. This person is an extremely good candidate.
<b>4</b>	Yes, I would hire this person with a few reservations
<b>3</b>	I'm not sure if I would hire this person
<b>2</b>	I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look at some additional information about her
<b>1</b>	No, I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

**I would evaluate this applicant's qualifications for this position favorably:**

<b>5</b>	Strongly Agree
<b>4</b>	Agree
<b>3</b>	Neutral
<b>2</b>	Disagree
<b>1</b>	Strongly Disagree

**I feel this candidate would be well suited for the job:**

<b>5</b>	Strongly Agree
<b>4</b>	Agree
<b>3</b>	Neutral
<b>2</b>	Disagree
<b>1</b>	Strongly Disagree

## APPENDIX F

### Interview Script

#### Opening Scene:

- Interviewer: *“Hi, you must be Beth Wilson (shakes candidates hand). I am Jake Stevens. I am the hiring manager for the IT department and I will be interviewing you today.”*
- Beth: *“Hi, it’s very nice to meet you”*
- Interviewer: *“Please have a seat.” (Interviewer should motion towards the chair)*
- Interviewer: *“Did you have any problems finding the place?”*
- Beth: *“No, the directions were pretty clear and traffic wasn’t bad at all.”*
- Interviewer: *“Good, I know this area can be tricky for people who aren’t familiar with it. When I first started here I used to get turned around a lot... Is it still gloomy outside or has it cleared up?”*
- Beth: *“It’s not too bad, just a little cloudy still. It’s nice though, not too hot and not too cold!”*
- Interviewer: *“The weather can be so unpredictable around here sometimes, but I guess I can’t complain, it really has been pretty nice lately. Hey, can I get you anything to drink before we get started?”*
- Beth: *“No thanks, I’m fine.”*
- Interviewer: *“Ok, then, I guess we should go ahead and get started. You are here to interview for the computer programmer job. I assume you’ve reviewed the job description material that the recruiter sent you?”*
- Beth: *“Yes, I have reviewed all of it.”*
- Interviewer: *“Great, well, I have several questions I want to ask you. Is there any thing you would like to share or discuss or ask before we begin?”*
- Beth: *“No, not at this time.” (response for Study 1)*

#### **STUDY 2: Insert Appropriate Discussion Script**

**Interviewer Response to Discussion Statement:** “Thanks for letting us know. I will make a note of all this in your file. If we have any questions, we will definitely let you know. At this time, why don’t we continue with the interview questions and then take things from there.”

**Beth’s Response:** “OK, that sounds great.”



Interview Scene:

*(Interviewer can appear to be jotting down very brief notes during the interview)*

**Question 1:**

Interviewer: “Why don’t we start by you telling me a little bit about yourself.”

Beth: “Well, I am a Colorado native, but I have lived here in St. Louis for a little over 3 years. I have been working in the computer field for about 5 years, some full time and some part time while I was in school. I really enjoy working with all aspects of computers and from what I know about this job and this company I think I would really enjoy working here.”

Interviewer: “I love Colorado, when I was younger my family used to go there in the winter to ski.”

Beth: “That’s great! I’ve skied since I was little; I think I might like to try snowboarding though.”

Interviewer: “Yeah, that sounds fun...Ok, well back to the topic at hand...”

**Question 2:**

Interviewer: “Tell me what you think some of your strengths are as well as areas that could use development.”

Beth: “I think my number one strength is attention to detail. I think that is something you almost have to have or have to develop when you work in this field, especially when you are dealing with pages of code. Another strength of mine is communication, I think I can clearly communicate my thoughts and ideas and questions to people as well as listen and understand where they are coming from. As far as developmental needs, I could probably work on having more patience with myself and with others when trying to learn new things. I sometimes get frustrated easily. I think sometimes this makes me appear overly critical”

Interviewer: “Alright...”

**Question 3:**

Interviewer: “Now, could you tell me a little bit about your educational background in Computer Science.”

Beth: “I got my Bachelors degree in Information Systems from the University of Colorado in 2003. I had some great professors and classes that I think really prepared me for the work I’ve been doing. It also helped that I worked part time while I was in school so I got a lot of hands on practice to supplement my school work.”

Interviewer: “OK...”

**Question 4:**

Interviewer: “I’ve looked over your resume, but can you tell me a little bit about your work history that you feel makes you qualified for this position.”

Beth: “I’ve had the opportunity to work at two good technology companies where I worked with and learned from some very skilled people. I’ve had experience with both hardware and software applications, although most of my experience is with software... I’ve worked behind the scenes on things like coding and installations and I’ve worked hands on with customers.... At Colorado East I learned a lot about HTML, I used HTML and JavaScript to help create and maintain the company website.... I provided customer support for Microsoft Office 2000, everything from basic user issues to integrating Office 2000 with other software programs. At Sci-Tech I’ve been fortunate to get a good deal of experience with Exchange Server”

Interviewer: “It sounds like you’ve had many different opportunities so far.”

Beth: “Yeah, I definitely feel fortunate and like I’ve learned a lot and am ready for a new challenge.”

**Question 5:**

Interviewer: “So, how comfortable do you feel writing and reviewing code?”

Beth: “I feel comfortable with code. At Colorado East Technology I created several programs using JAVA as well as HTML. At Sci-Tech computers I was part of a team that wrote a program using C++ that streamlined our data collection for customer service calls. At Sci-Tech part of my duties also included code correction and updating which means I spent a lot of time reviewing code line by line. It can be tedious, but it’s rewarding when it all comes together, kind of like putting a puzzle together. I think this is where being detail oriented really comes into play.”

Interviewer: “That’s an interesting analogy.”

**Question 6:**

Interviewer: “This job is very team oriented. I see you have some experience working in teams. How do you feel about working in a team environment?”

Beth: “In general I would say I prefer to work alone, particularly when it comes to writing and reviewing detailed code, but I have had some good team experience. I think with some issues, more heads are better than one, but there are other times when getting too many people involved can hinder progress. I think I have been fortunate to have had very positive team experiences. I know some people who have had terrible team experiences because they had team members who didn’t pull their weight. In general, I like to think of myself as a team player. I feel confident both working independently as well as working with other programmers”

Interviewer: “OK...”

**Question 7:**

Interviewer: “How comfortable do you feel with technical writing such as documenting operating procedures for users?”

Beth: “Well, I have less experience with technical writing than some other areas. I think most people, including myself, don’t find it as enjoyable as other aspects of the job. Understanding how something works is often easier than explaining how it works in plain English. Although I prefer the hands on part of most projects understand that technical documentation is part of almost any technical job and I know I can do a good job at it when I have to do it.”

Interviewer: “Alright...”

**Question 8:**

Interviewer: “Tell me about your experience installing operating systems?”

Beth: “At Sci-Tech I was responsible for installing and supporting 50 work stations on a network. About a year ago, I also assisted with upgrading these work stations from Windows 98 to Windows XP. After my experiences at Sci-Tech I feel comfortable with operating system installation, on a small or large scale.”

Interviewer: “We recently upgraded to XP also.”

**Question 9:**

Interviewer: “This job has a lot to do with problem solving. Can you tell me about a time when you ran into an unexpected problem when working on a project? How did you solve the problem?”

Beth: “I certainly have. At Sci-Tech after we had just finished upgrading all the work stations to Window XP, a virus hit the system and wiped out 10 stations before it was contained. As soon as we realized there was a virus, we contained it using some anti-virus software before it spread to the other 40 work stations. For the next several days, my team and I worked nights to get the work stations up and running again as soon as possible. It threw our timetable off a little, but we were able to get things up and running quickly and I learned a lot about how to be flexible when an unexpected emergency pops up.”

Interviewer: “Very interesting. How do you think you all handled the stress of that event?”

Beth: “I won’t deny it was difficult and tense, but we made it through and I learned a lot and was glad when things went back to normal.”

Interviewer: “I bet.”

**Question 10:**

Interviewer: “In this job, you often have to communicate technical information to people who may not be very “tech-savvy.” In situations like that how do you make sure that the person understands what you are trying to communicate?”

Beth: “In my time as a customer support specialist or help desk technician I had many calls from people who had trouble with the most basic of things, like how to turn on their computer or how to minimize a window. Although, talking to these people can often be very aggravating, my strategy has always been to go as slow as a customer needs and ask lots of questions so that I can gauge their level of understanding. I think the key when working with a “non-tech-savvy” person is to be patient and realize that not everyone appreciates or understands computer jargon like I do. I think people generally appreciate my patience and my willingness to help and speak on their technical level.”

Interviewer: “OK...Thanks”

Closing Scene:

Interviewer: **“Well, those are all the questions I have for you today. Is there anything else you would like to share with me today or are there any questions I can answer for you?”**

**STUDY 1: Insert Appropriate Absenteeism Request Script**

**Interviewer Response to Absenteeism Script:** “Ok, thanks for letting us know. I will make a note of that. Is there anything else or any other questions?”

Beth: **“No, I don’t think I have any at this time.”**

Interviewer: **“Great, well if you think of any, you know how to get a hold of me. Thanks so much for coming in today and we will be in touch in the next couple of weeks.”**

Beth: **“Great, thanks! I look forward to hearing from you.”**

Interviewer: **“Ok, I’ll see you out.”**

*After this closing banter, Interviewer should escort Beth out*

## APPENDIX G

**Request for Time-Off Scripts**

At the end of the interview in response to the question:

**“Is there anything else you would like to share with me today or are there any questions I can answer for you?”**

Pregnant Applicant:

First I just want to thank you for inviting me in today to interview. There is one thing I would like to mention before I leave. As you probably noticed, my husband and I are expecting. I am due in about 2 and half months. I have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. I will need to take 8 weeks of maternity leave following the birth of the baby and then will return back to work full time.

Adopting Applicant:

First I just want to thank you for inviting me in today to interview. There is one thing I would like to mention before I leave. My husband and I are in the process of adopting a baby. The baby is due in about 2 and a half months. I will need to take 8 weeks of maternity leave following the birth of the baby and then will return back to work full time.

Applicant Caring for Spouse:

First I just want to thank you for inviting me in today to interview. There is one thing I would like to mention before I leave. My husband is scheduled to have knee replacement surgery in about 2 and half months. I will need to take 8 weeks off to be home with him during his recovery and then will return back to work full time.

Male Applicant Requesting Paternity Leave:

First I just want to thank you for inviting me in today to interview. There is one thing I would like to mention before I leave. My wife is expecting and is due in about 2 and half months. I will need to take 8 weeks of paternity leave following the birth of the baby and then will return back to work full time.

Control Applicant:

First I just want to thank you for inviting me in today to interview. There is one thing I would like to mention before I leave. I will be out of town during all of next week and I will have limited access to voicemail and email. If you need to reach me, you can leave me a message and I will get back to you as soon as I possibly can.

## APPENDIX H

**Based on all the information you have received, including the resume, job description, and the interview please complete the following ratings about the candidate.**

**Please rate how characteristic of the candidate you believe each of the following traits to be**

		<b>Not Characteristic</b>		<b>Somewhat Characteristic</b>		<b>Very Characteristic</b>
1	<b>Competent</b>	1	2	3	4	5
2	<b>Well Spoken</b>	1	2	3	4	5
3	<b>Dependable</b>	1	2	3	4	5
4	<b>Professional Appearance</b>	1	2	3	4	5
5	<b>Qualified</b>	1	2	3	4	5
6	<b>Mature</b>	1	2	3	4	5
7	<b>Flexible</b>	1	2	3	4	5
8	<b>Committed</b>	1	2	3	4	5
9	<b>Friendly</b>	1	2	3	4	5
10	<b>Disciplined</b>	1	2	3	4	5
11	<b>Feminine</b>	1	2	3	4	5
12	<b>Creative</b>	1	2	3	4	5
13	<b>Healthy</b>	1	2	3	4	5
14	<b>Able to Supervise</b>	1	2	3	4	5
15	<b>Masculine</b>	1	2	3	4	5
16	<b>Reliable</b>	1	2	3	4	5
17	<b>Affectionate</b>	1	2	3	4	5
18	<b>Dedicated</b>	1	2	3	4	5
19	<b>Forceful</b>	1	2	3	4	5

		<b>Not Characteristic</b>		<b>Somewhat Characteristic</b>		<b>Very Characteristic</b>
20	<b>Rational</b>	1	2	3	4	5
21	<b>Gentle</b>	1	2	3	4	5
22	<b>Physically Limited</b>	1	2	3	4	5
23	<b>Demonstrates Leadership Ability</b>	1	2	3	4	5
24	<b>Demonstrates Initiative</b>	1	2	3	4	5
25	<b>Dependent on others</b>	1	2	3	4	5
26	<b>Aggressive</b>	1	2	3	4	5
27	<b>Intelligent</b>	1	2	3	4	5
28	<b>Likely to miss work in the future on a recurring basis</b>	1	2	3	4	5
29	<b>Loyal</b>	1	2	3	4	5
30	<b>Emotionally Stable</b>	1	2	3	4	5
31	<b>Dominant</b>	1	2	3	4	5
32	<b>Demonstrates Good Work Ethic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
33	<b>Valuable</b>	1	2	3	4	5
34	<b>Nurturing</b>	1	2	3	4	5
35	<b>Assertive</b>	1	2	3	4	5
36	<b>Enthusiastic</b>	1	2	3	4	5
37	<b>Self-Confident</b>	1	2	3	4	5
38	<b>Likely to Require Assistance</b>	1	2	3	4	5
39	<b>Controlling</b>	1	2	3	4	5
40	<b>Hard Working</b>	1	2	3	4	5

41	<b>Sociable</b>	1	2	3	4	5
		<b>Not Characteristic</b>	<b>Somewhat Characteristic</b>		<b>Very Characteristic</b>	
42	<b>Self-Reliant</b>	1	2	3	4	5
43	<b>Ambitious</b>	1	2	3	4	5
44	<b>Likely to Need Immediate Extended Time Off</b>	1	2	3	4	5
45	<b>Helpful</b>	1	2	3	4	5
46	<b>Independent</b>	1	2	3	4	5
47	<b>Successful</b>	1	2	3	4	5
48	<b>Self Sufficient</b>	1	2	3	4	5
49	<b>Likely to Quit</b>	1	2	3	4	5

		<b>Low Fit</b>	<b>Moderate Fit</b>		<b>High Fit</b>	
50	<b>Rate how well the candidate fits with the job</b>	1	2	3	4	5

		<b>Extremely Poor</b>	<b>Average</b>		<b>Extremely Good</b>	
51	<b>Based on all the information you have, please provide an Overall Rating of the candidate</b>	1	2	3	4	5

**Would you recommend this person to be hired? Circle one of the following.**

<b>5</b>	Yes, I would definitely hire this person. This person is an extremely good candidate.
<b>4</b>	Yes, I would hire this person with a few reservations
<b>3</b>	I'm not sure if I would hire this person
<b>2</b>	I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look at some additional information about this person



<b>1</b>	No, I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.
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**How did the applicant perform during the interview?**

Extremely Poor		Neutral		Extremely Well
1	2	3	4	5

<b>As the hiring manager, what stood out positively about the candidate? What did you like about the candidate?</b>

<b>As the hiring manager, do you have any concerns about this candidate?</b>

<b>As the hiring manager, are there any other questions you would have liked to ask the candidate?</b>

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
<b>I would evaluate this applicant's qualifications for this position favorably</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>I feel this candidate would be well suited for the job</b>	1	2	3	4	5

<b>Overall, I would evaluate this applicant favorably based on what was said in the interview</b>	1	2	3	4	5
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---	---	---	---	---

**Based on everything you know about this job and this candidate, as the hiring manager, rate the amount of risk you think you would be taking if you offered this candidate the job:**

A Lot of Risk	Some Risk			No Risk	
1	2	3	4	5	
<b>In a sentence or two, please explain the risk rating you chose:</b>					

	Very Disruptive		Moderately Disruptive		Not at all Disruptive
<b>Based on what you know about this job (i.e. amount of training provided, nature of the work group, etc.) how disruptive to the work environment do you think it would be for a new employee to take a leave of absence?</b>	1	2	3	4	5
	Very Difficult		Somewhat Difficult		Not at all Difficult
<b>Based on what you know about this job, how difficult do you think it would be to cover the work load in the temporary absence of this employee?</b>	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<b>If hired, this candidate will often be tired at work because of things he/she has to do at home</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>If hired, this candidate's personal demands are so great that it will take away from his/her work</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>If hired, this candidate's superiors and peers will dislike how often</b>	1	2	3	4	5

<b>he/she is preoccupied with his/her personal life while at work</b>					
<b>If hired, this candidate's personal life will take up time that they would like to spend at work</b>	1	2	3	4	5
		More Suitable for Women	Equally Suitable for Men and Women		More Suitable for Men
<b>In your opinion the job of computer programmer is:</b>	1	2	3	4	5

		Very inappropriate	Neither appropriate nor inappropriate	Very appropriate	
<b>In your opinion, how appropriate is it for a mother to take maternity leave?</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>What is the appropriate amount of time to take off for maternity leave?</b>					
<b>In your opinion, how appropriate is it for a father to take paternity leave?</b>	1	2	3	4	5
<b>What is the appropriate amount of time to take off for paternity leave?</b>					

<b>What gender was the candidate:</b>	<b>Male</b>		<b>Female</b>		
<b>To what extent did the candidate's gender affect your judgements?</b>	Not at All		Some		Very Much
	1	2	3	4	5

<b>Is the candidate college educated?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>Is the candidate married?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>Did the candidate request time off?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>If YES, what was the reason:</b>		
<b>If YES, in your opinion was this a reasonable request?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>

<b>If YES, was the amount of time requested reasonable?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<b>Please briefly explain why you thought this request was or was not reasonable:</b>					
<b>Was the candidate physically disabled?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<i>If you answered <b>YES</b> to the previous question, please answer the next 6 questions, if you answered <b>NO</b>, skip to the next set of questions.</i>					
<b>If YES, did the candidate disclose the disability prior to the interview?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<b>If YES, did the candidate discuss the disability during the interview?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<b>If YES, was the discussion helpful or persuasive?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<b>Why or why not?</b>					
<b>If YES, in your opinion is the candidate responsible for or in control of the cause of the condition?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>			
<b>If YES, to what extent did the candidate's disability affect your judgements?</b>	Not at All	Some	Very Much		
	1	2	3	4	5

<b>Was the candidate pregnant?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<i>If you answered <b>YES</b> to the previous question, please answer the next 5 questions, if you answered <b>NO</b>, skip to the next set of questions.</i>		
<b>If YES, did the candidate disclose her pregnancy prior to the interview?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>If YES, did the candidate discuss her pregnancy during the interview?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>If YES, was the discussion helpful or persuasive?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>Why or why not?</b>		
<b>If YES, in your opinion is the candidate responsible for or in control of the cause of her condition?</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>If YES, in your opinion, is it appropriate for a woman to apply for a new job while</b>	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>

<b>pregnant?</b>					
<b>If YES, to what extent did the candidate's pregnancy affect your judgments?</b>	Not at All		Some		Very Much
	1	2	3	4	5

**Please provide the following information about yourself:**

<b>Gender:</b>	Male	Female	<b>Age:</b>	
----------------	------	--------	-------------	--

<b>Ethnicity:</b>	
	African American/Black
	Asian/Pacific Islander
	Caucasian/White
	Hispanic/Latino
	Native American
	Other (please specify) _____

<b>Do you have children?</b>	Yes	No
------------------------------	-----	----

<b>Are you a U.S. Citizen</b>	Yes	No
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<b>Are you employed?</b>	Yes	No
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<b>If Yes, do you work full time or part time?</b>	Full Time	Part Time
----------------------------------------------------	-----------	-----------

<b>How much experience do you have conducting interviews?</b>	No Experience	Some Experience	A Great Deal Of Experience	
	1	2	3	4
				5

<b>Have you ever missed work for an extended period of time (i.e. 6 weeks or more)?</b>	Yes	No
<b>If YES, what was the reason?</b>		

<b>Are you familiar with the FMLA?</b>	Yes	No
<b>If YES, what does it stand for?</b>		
<b>If YES, does the candidate qualify for FMLA?</b>		
<b>If YES, please provide a sentence or two about what you know about the FMLA?</b>		

**Thanks for your participation!**

**Additional Questions:**

1) Do you have any general comments about this study that you would like to share with the researcher?

2) What do you think the purpose of this study was?

APPENDIX I

**RECRUITING DEPARTMENT  
Candidate Prescreen Notes**

Candidate Name:	
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Position Seeking:	
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**Based on the prescreen phone interview, check if the candidate meets the following minimum job requirements:**

	Meets minimum education requirements
	Available full time, Monday through Friday, 8am – 5pm
	Willing to submit to a background check
	Willing to submit to drug testing
	<i>Does not</i> require, now or in the future, sponsorship for employment visa status
	Has <i>never</i> plead guilty or no contest in a domestic, foreign, or military court to any felony charges

**If candidate meets all of the above minimum requirements, complete the following steps:** *(Make any notes for the hiring manager below)*

- Verbal review of resume
  - verify experience relevant to the job description for this position
  - verify past employment dates and locations
  - review any gaps in job history
- Ask candidate for contact information for 3 references – 2 professional, 1 personal

<b>YES</b>	<b>After completing all steps of the prescreen, please indicate if an interview has been scheduled with the hiring manager</b>
<b>NO</b>	

<b>Additional Recruiter Notes:</b>	
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## APPENDIX J

**Discussion Content Pilot Test****Instructions:**

The following script will take place at the beginning of an interview. After introductory conversation, the interviewer will ask the candidate if she has anything she would like to discuss, ask or share before they begin the interview. The candidate will respond with the following statement. Please review the statement and answer the questions that follow. Thanks for your participation!

First of all I would just like to thank you for the opportunity to come in and interview today. I think this is a very exciting opportunity and I am looking forward to sharing my experience with you.

There are a few things I was hoping we could discuss before we start the interview so thanks for asking. As I told the recruiter when she called to confirm the interview, and as you can see, I am expecting a baby in a few months.

I am 7 months pregnant and have had a very healthy and smooth pregnancy so far. This will not hinder my ability to start right away or to put in a full 40 hours per week. I will of course have regular doctors visits, but I can arrange those over my lunch breaks or make up any time I may miss. I plan to only take 8 weeks of maternity leave and then will return to work full time. We already have reliable child care arranged for when I return to work.

I recognize that this is kind of a personal topic to be bringing up during an interview but I also recognize that as an employer you are likely to have questions or concerns so I just wanted to share this information up front. I know that there may be concerns about my missing work or needing 8 weeks off, but I want to assure you that I am very committed to my career and balancing my career with my growing family. I think this is a great opportunity and I feel I am a very qualified applicant. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

**The candidate clearly states her point:**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

**The candidate provides specific information about her condition:**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

**The candidate attempts to persuade the interviewer that her condition will not interfere with the job:**

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

**If you were the hiring manager how convincing would this argument be to you?**

Very Unconvincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Neutral	Somewhat Convincing	Very Convincing
1	2	3	4	5

**If you were the hiring manager would you have further questions you would like to ask the candidate?**

YES
NO

**If yes, what sorts of things would you like to ask?**

**Based on the candidate’s statement, has she already disclosed her condition to the recruiter prior to the interview?**

YES
NO

**Based on the candidate’s statement, do you assume her condition is visible?**

YES
NO

**Do you believe that her condition will interfere with the job?**

YES	MAYBE
NO	DON'T KNOW

**What is your overall, general reaction to the statement?**

Negative		Neutral		Positive
1	2	3	4	5

**The candidate states that she will need 8 weeks off. What is your reaction to this?**

This is a very unreasonable request		This request is neither reasonable nor unreasonable		This is a very reasonable request
1	2	3	4	5

This is a very unreasonable amount of time		This amount of time is neither reasonable or unreasonable		This is a very reasonable amount of time
1	2	3	4	5

**Please provide any other questions, comments, or reactions you have to this statement.**

**Thanks for your Participation**