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Effects of Disability Disclosure and Acknowledgment on Ratings of Interviewees with Visible Disabilities

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Abstract

While some authors stress the benefits of disclosing one's disability prior to the interview in order to eliminate interviewer surprise, attention-related research suggests that such disclosure is likely to result in self-focused thinking by the interviewer, reducing the ability to judge performance accurately. Similarly, verbal acknowledgment of a visible disability during an interview has been predicted to reduce interviewer anxiety, yet some authors contend that acknowledgment is a violation of the rules of interviewing and adds to discomfort. The present research addressed the question: *What are the effects of an applicant's pre-interview disability disclosure and disability acknowledgment during the interview?* Using a selection simulation, Study 1 (n=109) examined the effects of both disability disclosure and acknowledgement on post-interview ratings. Study 2 (n=126) isolated disability disclosure prior to the interview and examined only its pre-interview effects. Study 1 results revealed a main effect of disclosure for males, such that they rated the applicant as more anxious when she disclosed than when she did not. A disclosure x acknowledgment interaction indicated that the personality of the applicant who disclosed prior to the interview was rated more positively by male interviewers when she did not acknowledge during the interview, as compared to when she acknowledged. A second interaction revealed that or both male and female participants, the applicant who did not disclose received more favorable communication skills ratings when she acknowledged at some point during the interview, as compared to not acknowledging.

Effects of Disability Disclosure and Acknowledgment on Employment Interview Ratings of Job Applicants with Visible Disabilities

The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990 was a positive step toward equality in employment for people with disabilities. The ADA bars employment-related discrimination against "an individual with a disability who, with or without reasonable accommodation, can perform the essential functions of the employment position that such individual holds or desires" (Americans with Disabilities Act Title III Technical Assistance Manual, 1998). While the ADA may have reduced the tremendous discrepancy between the employment rate of persons with and without disabilities, a sizable disparity remains. In fact, since 1995 the employment rate for women with disabilities is 33% vs. 80% for nondisabled women, and 36% for men with disabilities vs. 95% for nondisabled men (Center for an Accessible Society, 2001); 79% of those who are unemployed have a desire to find work (Rubin, 1997).

In the presence of the influence of the ADA, why do millions of Americans with disabilities who are willing and able to work remain unemployed? A likely explanation involves the effects of stereotypes on the selection process. Biases against people with disabilities cannot be erased by government legislation; "laws can only change behavior, not attitudes" (Pati & Bailey, 1995). It is estimated that almost 10% of working adults with disabilities faced job discrimination early in the post-ADA 1990s (Kennedy & Olney, 2001). In a recent study, employers who had hired a person with a disability said the most difficult change made in order to meet that employee's needs was "changing coworker/supervisor attitudes;" however, fears and negative expectations regarding

hiring people with disabilities are unfounded. People with disabilities actually have lower turnover and absenteeism rates than nondisabled employees, and 90% of employees with disabilities are rated as average or better job performers by their managers (Center for an Accessible Society, 2001). Current projections estimate that 10% of Americans will become disabled in their lifetimes (Lee, 2002), thus making the study of stereotypes of job-seekers with disabilities an increasingly vital focus of psychological and employment-related research.

Stereotypes have an effect on our lives on a daily basis. A review of the general stereotyping literature will serve as a starting point for the exploration of challenges facing people with disabilities in job interviews.

Stereotypes and Interviews

Stereotypes are defined as beliefs about the attributes characterizing members of a social group; they are cognitive simplifications that guide perceptions of others and processing of information, used by perceivers to avoid the cognitively demanding task of analyzing new situations and people (Devine, 1995). Human beings are "cognitive misers;" we prefer to preserve our cognitive resources and make judgments in the most efficient manner possible (Fiske, 1995). Stereotypes are usually related to a social group classification (e.g., female, African American, teacher, etc.), and a universal understanding of the characteristics associated with the group tends to exist (Devine, 1995). Stereotypes provide expectations about a group, and make perception and evaluation of others simpler. The tendency to react to other people based on their group status rather than as individuals is well documented in the stereotyping literature. Fiske and Neuberg's (1990) model of impression formation suggests that we immediately

categorize others and judge them based on group membership (even if we have neither the intention of doing so nor the knowledge that the categorization is occurring), and later attempt to understand them on an individual basis only if we are sufficiently motivated to do so.

Social categories are relied on so often in perception that they are easily accessible when encountering a new social situation. Even when new information is learned about an individual, those data tend to be stored in relation to the individual's group membership, rather than in relation to a specific individual (e.g., Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978); for example, a professor may recall that her male students seemed more engaged in a lecture on leadership, while female students participated more during the subject of teams. However, she is less likely to remember specifically which males or females seemed the most intrigued during a particular lecture.

Stereotypes are persistent, even in the face of disconfirming evidence (Devine, 1995). In fact, identical behavior can be perceived differently based on an actor's social group (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1983). For example, a student's videotaped academic performance was perceived as positive or negative, depending on the socioeconomic status (SES) used to describe her (Darley & Gross, 1983). Darley and Gross used a 2-stage model to explain the influence of stereotypes on judgment and interpretation of behavior. Perceivers first create hypotheses about a target, based on the target's social group. Next, if they are offered the opportunity to observe the behavior of the target, they test those hypotheses in a biased fashion. The authors argued that both components of the process must be present in order for stereotypes to lead to biased perceptions. Thus, when participants were simply told the SES of a student and were not allowed to

observe her, they expected performance would be the same regardless of SES. Only when participants were afforded the chance to observe the student did their stereotypes alter their perceptions (i.e., hypotheses were tested in a biased way). Perceivers even show bias in interpreting affect about a stimulus; students who expected cartoons to be funny rated the cartoons as more humorous and laughed at them more than students who were not given expectations (Wilson, Lisle, Kraft, & Wetzel, 1989).

In the employment interview setting, Macan and Dipboye (1994) found results consistent with the concept of biased testing of expectations. Participants who did not see an application prior to a videotaped interview judged interview performance as average (which it actually was); those who were shown positive or negative qualifications prior to the interview exhibited a biased interpretation of interview performance (in the direction suggested by qualifications). Another study found evidence for the occurrence of biased processing in a disabled-nondisabled interaction (Jussim, Palumbo, Chatman, Madon, & Smith, 2000). Perceivers "observed" more ADHD-like symptoms, were less friendly, and talked less in interactions with targets labeled as having ADHD than non-labeled targets. They also gave ADHD-labeled targets less credit for strong task performance. During interactions with people with disabilities, the disability often grows to a "master status" (Goffman, 1963) through which all of a nondisabled person's expectations, communications, and attributions are filtered (Coleman & DePaulo, 1991).

Before examining potential methods of minimizing the influence of disability-related stereotypes on the selection process, existing stereotypes of the social group must be reviewed.

Common Stereotypes of People with Disabilities

Like other social groups, people with disabilities are associated with certain stereotypes. Nondisabled people often expect them to be socially introverted, unstable, depressed, and hypersensitive (Emry & Wiseman, 1987). Fichten and Amsel (1986) found that fewer socially desirable traits were attributed to students with disabilities than to nondisabled students on an adjective checklist, and the average social desirability rating of characteristics attributed to students with disabilities was considerably lower than that of traits attributed to nondisabled students. In fact, disability status overrode even the effects of sex role stereotypes (i.e., males with disabilities were seen as possessing more traits in common with females with disabilities than with nondisabled males). Traits attributed to students with disabilities were often the "opposite" of those attributed to nondisabled students. Students with disabilities were seen as nervous, depressed, helpless, dependent, aloof, introverted, lazy, and submissive, while nondisabled students were viewed as talkative, sociable, easygoing, dependable, gregarious, extraverted, ambitious, and dominant. In addition, results of a recent study (Hennessy & Bartels, 2002) indicate that persons with physical disabilities are expected to be dissimilar to successful managers in several respects (e.g., leadership ability, intelligence, analytical ability, logical thinking). Nondisabled people are often surprised to find out that people with disabilities are attractive, bright, or competent, or that they have a family, job, or hobbies; also, they expect people with disabilities to interact in anxious, hostile, dependent, or unskilled ways (Coleman & DePaulo, 1991).

To the detriment of applicants with disabilities, several of the traits that are often used to describe them are the same characteristics associated with a lower level of

interviewing success. During the employment interview, interviewers can and do make judgments about applicants' personality characteristics (Barrick, Patton, & Haugland, 2000). Interviewers' inferences of applicant personality traits influence the number of follow-up interviews and job offers the applicant receives. In a recent meta-analysis, Moscoso and Salgado (2002) found that in interviews with low or medium levels of structure, personality was related to interviewee ratings. Individuals perceived to be high in emotional stability, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness [i.e., components of the 5 Factor Model of personality (Barrick & Mount, 1990)] received higher interview scores. In other words, if interviewees are seen as calm, relaxed, self-controlled, sociable, energetic, and able to work in teams, they will have more interviewing success than individuals who seem anxious, unstable, introverted, or unsociable. Stereotypes of people with disabilities involve the latter group of adjectives (Emry & Wiseman, 1987; Fichten & Amsel, 1986); thus, interviewers who engage in biased processing may rate interviewees with disabilities less favorably than nondisabled interviewees performing at the same level.

Stereotypes affect ratings and evaluations by guiding attention (Fiske, 1995). An interviewer's attention is a valuable resource during the interview process. In order to stand out as good applicants, interviewees strive to draw the interviewer's attention to their skills and qualifications. Attention and its effects during the interview process will be addressed next.

Attention and Salience

Attention involves two processes: (1) encoding, or representation of information in one's mind, and (2) consciousness, or awareness of and thought about information

(Fiske, 1995). Because the amount of attention available at any given time is limited, a perceiver's attention can only be directed toward a select few aspects of the environment at any particular moment (Fiske, 1995). Novel, distinct, and salient persons draw more attention than nonsalient stimuli. Salience (i.e., the degree to which an object attracts attention) is determined by a perceiver's prior knowledge, as well as the target's fit with the perceiver's expectations in the immediate context (e.g., a woman wearing jeans and a tank top at a business meeting would be more likely to draw attention than a woman wearing a plain navy business suit, but the woman in the suit would draw more attention at a backyard barbecue) (see also Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

The statistical infrequency of a stigma makes an individual with that stigma more salient, or "novel." For example, because approximately only 0.6% of Americans use wheelchairs (McNeil, 2000), an individual who uses a wheelchair would be classified as a "salient" or "novel" stimulus in most contexts. Because they are usually an anomaly in the selection process, people with disabilities tend to be salient in interviewers' minds. Salience increases the coherence of an impression, causing stereotype-consistent information to be noticed and remembered more often than stereotype-inconsistent information (Fiske, 1995) (e.g., an interviewer may attend to and recall responses from an interviewee with a disability that suggest dependence or helplessness more than those that imply independence and competence). In fact, evaluators tend to make judgments about others on the basis of their distinctive characteristics, and assume that the identities of others are tied more closely to their distinctive than to their nondistinctive traits (Nelson & Klutas, 2000). Thus, not only will a salient individual's non-stereotype consistent attributes fade into the background in the minds of evaluators because these are viewed as

less central to her identity, but any negative traits believed to be stereotypical of her group will be perceived as more central to her identity and evaluations of her will be exaggerated (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978).

Attention is determined not only by salience, but also by an individual's goals in a particular situation (Fiske, 1995). Interactants arrive at an interaction with their own unique goals, interpersonal expectations, affect, and dispositions (Patterson, 2001). The task being undertaken directs attention, and objects that have direct relevance to a perceiver will receive more attention. For instance, an employee at a company communication meeting will undoubtedly pay more attention during the segments that relate directly to her own department than to those that are relevant only to a different department. Evaluations that hold consequences for decision-makers are given greater thought and care than those that do not, and are thus much more likely to be based on fact rather than biased impressions (e.g., Hogarth, 1981; Kruglanski & Freund, 1983); as the utility of a judgment increases, perceivers tend to be more accurate (Patterson, 2001). The prospect of interaction with another individual raises the cost of inaccurate and unjustifiable beliefs about him or her, and encourages a perceiver to consider thoughtfully the individual's characteristics. In fact, inferential errors are often attenuated when perceivers expect to justify their conclusions to others (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990).

Due to the prevalence of negative stereotypes of people with disabilities and because "…so much of what we do in making sense of people happens on-line, as we are receiving information…" (Fiske, 1995, p. 172), it is important to examine strategies that people with disabilities can use to keep the interviewer's attention on their qualifications

and skills, rather than their disabilities. It would be beneficial for interviewees to ensure that interviewers devote attentional resources to their job-related knowledge, skills, and abilities during the interview, rather than relying on stereotypes and biased impressions. Because most interviewers operate under the goal of making a judgment of an interviewee, and they will most likely be required to justify their ratings at a later time, it would seem that attention would be directed toward applicant skills and qualifications. However, it has been suggested that interviewers who expect to interact with an interviewee with a disability may also have the goal of forming a good impression on the applicant (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). Thus, interviewers may direct increased attention toward *their own behavior*. The "self-focused attention" that interviewers direct toward regulation of their own behavior may prevent sufficient allocation of attention to the applicant's job-related skills, and will be addressed next.

Self-Focused Attention

The mere knowledge that an impending interaction involves an individual of a different group may set in motion processes for both stigmatized and non-stigmatized participants that will affect the development of the interaction (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996). Nondisabled individuals may expect people with disabilities to view them as bigoted, unfair, and inept in their interactions with people who are different (Coleman & DePaulo, 1991). They may expect that people with disabilities will resent them for their "more fortunate" (i.e., nondisabled) lot in life. Thus, the prospect of an encounter with someone with a disability may cause interviewers to be in a self-focused state (Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2001). When one is unsure of the norms that govern an out-group member's behavior, and those that should govern one's own behavior in the

presence of the out-group member, the result is often increased cognizance of one's own actions (Gilbert, Krull, & Pelham, 1988). Preoccupation with one's own behavior may lead to a negative evaluation of one's ability to handle an impending interaction properly, as well as negative affect and anxiety (Fichten, Robillard, & Sabourin, 1994). Because they will be in a position of being judged by the other individual (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992), wish to appear unprejudiced, and are unsure about the "rules" of interaction (Gilbert, et al., 1988a), perceivers preparing for an interaction with a person with a disability tend to spend precious resources crafting their own behavior (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). Such preparation may reduce the ability to judge accurately information presented during the interview. Management of one's own behavior (i.e., encoding) occurs at the expense of more accurately decoding a partner's behavior. In other words, an individual whose goal is to make a positive impression on an interaction partner will be more focused on "what she thinks of me" than "what I think of her" (Patterson, 2001). Such preoccupation with careful presentation of oneself can create a substantial cognitive load for perceivers to bear, and have powerful effects on judgments of a partner. Because people are capacity-limited information processors and can pursue basically only one goal at a time (Fiske & Taylor, 1991), the increase in self-focused thoughts and preparation of one's own behavior may inhibit one's ability to attend to the characteristics of an interviewee. In fact, self-focused attention is associated with inferential decoding errors due to increased reliance on category-based processing, heuristics, or other cognitive processes that are less resource intense than effortful cognition (when automatic judgments are incorrect) (Patterson, 2001). Grove and Werkman (1991) found that nondisabled individuals asked significantly more questions

of nondisabled partners than of partners with visible disabilities, and registered significantly greater awareness of verbal, nonverbal, and vocal behavior of nondisabled partners. The authors attributed findings to self-focused attention, suggesting that such questioning behavior and other-awareness indicated that participants focused greater attention on the nondisabled partner because when they interacted with the partner with the disability they were focusing attention on *themselves* rather than on their partner.

Certain characteristics of a perceiver or situation may exacerbate self-focused attention. A recent meta-analysis demonstrated that social anxiety is an individual difference variable related to self-focused thinking (Patterson & Ritts, 1997). Social anxiety is defined as a trait that predisposes people to experience anxiety in social situations (Leary, 1983). Examples of characteristics of impending interactions that tend to induce self-focused attention include role activity, goal familiarity, and novelty (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). In Osborne and Gilbert's investigation, participants who expected to either: (1) play a passive role in an upcoming interaction with a target (i.e., low role activity); (2) interact with the familiar goal of ingratiating oneself to the target (i.e., high goal familiarity); or (3) interact with a nondisabled individual (i.e., low partner novelty) were able to devote cognitive resources to correcting dispositional attributions for the behavior of a target (seen in a videotape). On the other hand, participants did not correct attributions when they expected to either: (1) play a highly active role in an interaction with the target; (2) interact under the constraints of an unfamiliar goal (i.e., "disgratiating[1]" oneself to the target); or (3) interact with a person with a disability (i.e., high partner novelty). They attributed a target's anxious behavior to her personality, rather than the situation (which was truly anxiety-provoking). Instead of doing the

cognitive work necessary to accurately decode the target's behavior, they spent time preparing their own behavior, and did not correct their initial biased dispositional attributions. While one might intuitively expect participants to think *more* about an unusual or atypical target, participants actually devoted more thought to preparation of their own behavior than to the target when they expected to interact with a person with a disability.

An impending interaction with a person with a disability often causes a nondisabled person to experience not only self-focused attention, but also anxiety (Goffman, 1963; Hebl, et al., 2001; Marinelli & Kelz, 1973). Under conditions in which social perceivers lack the capability, motivation, or both, to engage in effortful processing, they will use affect-as-information and look to their mood to inform social judgments (Forgas, 1995). Klimoski and Donahue (2001) found that judgments of others tend to be more positive when an evaluator is in a good mood; similarly, Harris (1989) and Baron (1993) found that interviewers' ratings of applicants were higher when they were experiencing more positive mood states. Thus, it is logical to expect that self-focused interviewers might rely on the anxiety they are experiencing to determine evaluations of a person with a disability, and that those evaluations would probably be negative. On the other hand, emotions function as "alarm signals" that interrupt planned behavior and prioritize goals for social perceivers (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Thus, experiencing anxiety regarding an upcoming interaction may cause an evaluator to shift from an evaluation goal to an impression management goal, leading to self-focused attention.

Cognitive load in the form of self-focused attention is especially inefficient in the

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[1] *Disgratiation* is a term coined to indicate eliciting distain (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992).

employment interview, in that it prevents fulfillment of the interview's goal of accurately measuring interviewee characteristics and skills. The degree to which interviewers are burdened with the cognitive load of self-focused thinking when interacting with applicants with disabilities will affect their ability to think about the applicant's qualifications, and must be examined. First, however, the effects of general cognitive load on attention, the use of stereotypes, and judgments will be reviewed.

Effects of Cognitive Load

Before exploring the effects of cognitive load, the benefits of cognitive capacity in making employment-related decisions should be briefly reviewed. Some have argued that "more is not always better" in regard to thinking and analyzing decisions (e.g., Wilson & Schooler, 1991). Wilson and Schooler found that analyzing reasons for one's decisions can lead to sub-optimal choices. Students who formed preferences under instructions to analyze *why* they made a specific choice made selections that correlated less with expert opinions than students who simply made a choice based on their first impressions. The authors explained that people are often unaware of the reasons for their feelings about an object; when they are asked to provide an explanation for their preferences, they focus on attributes that seem like plausible reasons, even if those reasons did not actually have any effect on evaluations. In a related study, Patterson and Stockbridge (1998) examined the effects of cognitive demand and judgment strategy on a videotaped interpersonal perception task. Results indicated that when perceivers were under a great deal of cognitive demand, making automatic judgments rather than controlled judgments (i.e., instructing participants to go with their first impression rather than thinking carefully) improved person perception accuracy.

Such findings might lead us to believe that relying on automatic judgments of interviewees would allow interviewers to make more accurate judgments, and that cognitive load is not actually problematic in the interview. However, Wilson and Schooler's (1991) study examined preferences for strawberry jam and college courses, and Patterson and Stockbridge (1998) looked at perceptions of actors in videotapes. Such decisions are probably not analogous to employment-related decisions. In the personnel selection context, it is optimal for decision-makers to reflect on performance- and qualification-related reasons for their ratings. Employee selection is structured in such a way as to be legally defensible, fair to all applicants, and, to the greatest extent possible, to reduce the effects of interviewer bias. Structured interviews are designed so that interviewers will carefully reflect on applicant responses and determine the quality of each response, as well as its relevance to a given skill required for the position. Wilson and Schooler suggest that "…reflecting about reasons will change people's attitudes when their initial attitude is relatively inaccessible and the reasons that are salient and plausible happen to have a different valence than people's initial attitude" (p. 182). In the context of the employment interview with an applicant with a disability, this reflection on attitudes is probably a very positive practice. Common stereotypes of people with disabilities suggest that interviewers may have initially negative attitudes toward those individuals. If interviewers have the cognitive resources to reflect on why an attitude was initially negative, they may recognize their biases and give credence to the skills and qualifications that the applicant offers. In fact, Millar and Tesser (1989) found that analyzing reasons highlights the cognitive component of attitudes, and that these cognitively-based attitudes will lead to cognitively-based, rather than affectively-based,

decisions. Affect elicited by people with disabilities often includes pity and anxiety (Marinelli & Kelz, 1973). Thus, in the case of interviewing people with disabilities, more thinking may actually be better, in that it could possibly result in optimal hiring decisions.

Hence, in the context of the present study it is believed that interviewee-focused thinking and attention are valuable processes. Following are illustrations of the deleterious effects of cognitive load on such thinking and attention, as well as evaluations and judgments.

Stereotypes and processing. When an individual is under stress or cognitive resources are unavailable, automatic responses will be dominant and controlled processing will be less likely to occur. Hence, perceivers show a greater reliance on stereotypes when processing capacity is constrained (Sherman, Lee, Bessenoff, & Frost, 1998). Two explanations for the increased use of stereotypes under conditions of high cognitive load have been proposed (Sherman et al, 1998). First, because stereotype-consistent information fits with existing expectancies, it is simply easier to comprehend. Stereotypes reduce the amount of cognitive effort necessary to encode the new information, freeing up resources for processing related to other tasks. A second explanation suggests that stereotypes may act as attentional filters by directing encoding efforts toward consistent information and away from inconsistent information. Because encoding inconsistent information would require a greater commitment of resources, such efforts may be unattractive to the "cognitive-miserly" social perceiver, and inconsistent information may simply be ignored.

Stereotypes and memory. While stereotype-inconsistent information is recalled as well or better than stereotype-consistent information under typical encoding conditions, it

is recalled less well than stereotype-consistent information under conditions of reduced capacity (Sherman & Frost, 2000). Stereotypes offer efficiency by acting as filters that facilitate the encoding and representation of consistent information in memory. Because interviewers must make post-interview ratings of job applicants based on statements made during the interview, it is important that interviewers recall specific behaviors and statements so that they can later evaluate accurately. The hope for applicants with disabilities is that interviewers will remember information that displays job qualifications and skills, rather than comments or behaviors that are consistent with disability stereotypes. However, during an interaction in which a perceiver is cognitively busy, stereotypes are implemented. Thus, stereotype-consistent information is more likely to be interpreted and encoded into memory (Sherman & Frost, 2000). Stereotypes later provide useful retrieval cues that enhance accessibility of stereotype-consistent information after the interaction. In other words, recall of stereotype-consistent information is improved by expectancy-driven search strategies. Sherman and Frost explained, "To the extent that target judgments are based on memory for specific behaviors, judgments will be more stereotypical under conditions of limited capacity." (p. 32).

Cognitive load may lead not only to a decreased quantity of memories about a target, but also decreased memory accuracy. A more taxing impression management task (i.e., disgratiation) has been shown to reduce accuracy in perception of a partner compared to a less difficult impression management task (Patterson, Churchill, Farag, & Borden, 1992). Participants recalled fewer descriptive characteristics of their partners

and were less accurate in meta-perspective judgments (i.e., "My partner thought I felt…").

While a consistent relationship between the quantity of memory for a person's general characteristics and judgments made about that person has not been displayed in prior research, evidence suggests that the amount of memory *relevant to the judgment being made* relates to the correctness of judgments (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). It is likely that the amount of information remembered that is related to the judgment increases as the evaluator's consideration of the merits at hand increases. If evaluators have the cognitive resources available to consider the merits of a case carefully, rather than focus on their own behavior or rely on stereotypes, they should be more likely to cite those merits as reasons for their decisions. Thus, it is probable that self-focused interviewers will be less likely to cite applicant qualifications as reasons for their hiring decisions than interviewers who are not self-focused.

Correction of trait-based attributions. Much of what happens in evaluating others is automatic. Perceivers innately prefer to rely on instantaneous judgments, but it is often necessary to engage in controlled processing when targets are difficult to categorize (Patterson, 2001). There are situations in which an automatic judgment is inappropriate; the case of stereotyped judgments of an interviewee with a disability is an example. In such situations, appropriate judgments can only be made when the perceiver reflects on the target and explanations for the target's behavior. If perceivers are sufficiently motivated and have adequate cognitive resources to consider alternative explanations for a target's behavior, they may utilize more controlled processing and correct biased inferences (Patterson, 2001).

Increased cognitive load (e.g., self-focused thinking) during an interaction may prevent such controlled processing and result in labeling an applicant with a disability as possessing stereotypical "disabled" personality traits, despite evidence to the contrary presented during the interview. Self-regulators tend to draw dispositional inferences about behaviors that can easily be explained by situational forces. For example, self-focused perceivers who initially made a biased dispositional attribution of anxiety regarding a target person, when later hearing an audiotape in which the target spoke calmly, rated the target's voice as betraying considerable anxiety (Gilbert & Osborne, 1989). These results suggest that mistaken initial impressions can color new information. The authors proposed that perceivers who engage in preparation of their own behavior in the moments prior to an interaction with a target enter that interaction with their biased impressions intact and thus go on to interpret the particulars of the interaction in a biased way. This suggestion is consistent with Darley and Gross's (1983) idea of biased hypothesis testing.

In order to explain the effects of cognitive demand such as self-focused attention on person perception, Gilbert et al. (1988a) proposed that person perception is a combination of lower and higher order processes that differ in their susceptibility to disruption. The authors described the stages of person perception as: (1) categorization (i.e., automatic activation of stereotypes), (2) characterization (i.e., drawing dispositional inferences about a person's verbal and nonverbal behavior), and (3) correction (i.e., taking the situation into account and correcting dispositional inferences). When interacting with others, perceivers' cognitive resources are depleted to some extent, and as cognitive demands are added, the controlled correction process becomes impaired

while characterization remains intact. Thus, cognitively busy perceivers often finish person perception tasks with their initial characterizations insufficiently corrected (Gilbert et al., 1988a). The authors go on to explain that as cognitive busyness increases, verbal characterization may be impaired before nonverbal characterization. Thus, when verbal behavior and nonverbal behavior are at odds, a perceiver will draw inferences from nonverbal behavior rather than the target's words. In the case of an interviewee with a disability, this could have deleterious effects. If the interviewee is nervous (as many interviewees with disabilities and nondisabled interviewees alike often are) and displays that nervousness through nonverbal behavior, yet discusses occasions during which she demonstrated great self-confidence, the interviewer may still draw dispositional inferences of anxiety and low self-confidence.

How can self-focused thinking be decreased, allowing additional cognitive resources to be used for thinking about and accurately evaluating candidates? In order to research methods of reducing interviewers' self-focused thinking, it is important to examine behaviors by people with disabilities that are related to such thought. Two such behaviors, *disability disclosure* prior to the interview and *acknowledgment of the disability* during the interview, are likely to encourage self-focused thinking by the interviewer. However, disability advocates (e.g., Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992) promote disclosure and acknowledgement as strategies interviewees can adopt to reduce negative interview outcomes. Because advice recommending both disclosure and acknowledgment is prevalent in the popular literature, yet neither approach has been examined in a rigorous empirical setting, the two strategies must be researched. The combined effects of pre-interview disclosure and acknowledgment during the interview

were examined in Study 1.

Study 1

Interview Strategy 1: Pre-interview Disability Disclosure

"A blind lawyer is applying for a position in an important firm. When should she disclose[2] her disability? Should she give a hint in her résumé? Since the disability is irrelevant to the position for which she is applying, should she omit all reference to it, so as not to jeopardize her chances of obtaining an interview? Could the success of the interview be compromised by the interviewer being unprepared for the disability?" (Huvelle, Budoff, & Arnholz, 1984, p. 241).

Such is the dilemma that a job applicant with a visible physical or sensory disability faces throughout the employment selection process. She seems to be in a no-win situation; if she chooses to disclose her condition prior to the interview, she may cause interviewers to believe that she is preoccupied with her disability, and thus anticipate an uncomfortable interaction. On the other hand, if interviewers are not prepared in advance, they may be surprised by the disability and experience anxiety such that they are unable to focus on the applicant's job-related skills and abilities.

In the *Job Search Handbook for People with Disabilities*, Ryan (2000) advocates that people with visible disabilities disclose their disabilities prior to the employment interview. The author recommends sharing disability information when arranging the first interview, arguing that disclosure will lessen the awkwardness of the first few minutes of the meeting. According to Ryan, most people with disabilities who have

[2] In the present studies, "disclosure" refers to an applicant's pre-interview disclosure of his or her disability, and "acknowledgement" refers to an interviewee's verbal acknowledgement of the disability during the face-to-face interview.

attempted both disclosure and nondisclosure report that discussing their conditions up front, though difficult at first, was better than getting "the look" when they first met the interviewer. Disclosure is strongly suggested for individuals whose disability will impact the interview (i.e., individuals who will need interview accommodations). For those whose disability is visible but not likely to impact the interview directly, Ryan believes that there is still an advantage to allowing the interviewer to assimilate disability information before the interview in order to reduce the awkwardness of the first few seconds. Witt (1992), in *Job Strategies for People with Disabilities,* agrees that "…disclosure at the moment of meeting at the interview carries a shock factor that employers may find hard to move beyond" (p. 137).

Job applicants with visible disabilities may have many reasons for choosing to disclose their conditions prior to the interview, several of which are described in Huvelle et al.'s (1984) review of qualitative data obtained through interviews with people with disabilities. First, applicants may wish to display their personal acceptance of the disability. Failure to disclose may represent denial of the disability; it may be important to applicants to accept themselves as people who are skilled and able, yet also have disabilities. Additionally, applicants often try to avoid the surprise that interviewers may experience if they are unprepared for the disability. This initial surprise and discomfort may create a lasting barrier that no amount of social skill or credentials on the part of the applicant can ameliorate, possibly overwhelming an unprepared interviewer and casting a permanent shadow on the applicant's accomplishments and skills. Disclosure allows applicants to arrive relatively relaxed and prepared to address the issue at hand: their appropriateness for the position. The probability of an ambiguous or uncomfortable

interaction is reduced; additionally, they can freely ask about the building's accessibility and layout. Finally, applicants may wish to allow the interviewer time to think about the disability and be prepared to ask questions about their ability to perform job tasks.

On the other hand, some individuals with disabilities believe the interviewer should not be made aware of the disability (Huvelle, et al., 1984). They have arrived at interviews as applicants and have been met by an interviewer's surprise and subsequent devaluation. Yet, they see themselves as capable of altering that initial reaction. They stress their ability to relax an interviewer and draw attention away from the disability, steering the focus onto their qualifications and skills. These individuals maintain that their conditions are irrelevant to the quality of their job performance, and that it's a matter of principle that the disability be overlooked during every phase of their evaluation as job candidates, as it has no relationship to their skills and abilities.

Because the existing disclosure evidence is inconclusive (e.g., Tagalakis, Amsel, & Fichten, 1988) or anecdotal (e.g., Huvelle, et al., 1984), it is imperative that disability disclosure be carefully analyzed. In one empirical disclosure study, Tagalakis, et al. (1988) found that, after hearing telephone interviews of two applicants, participants favored an applicant who disclosed a disability (being in a wheelchair) over a nondiscloser (who was assumed to be nondisabled at that point). The discloser was seen as more honest, ambitious, intelligent, cooperative, hardworking, self-disciplined, competent, and less overconfident. Additionally, he was rated as more suitable for the position and more likely to be satisfied with the job. However, he was rated as more insecure and *less* likely to be hired. Therefore, Tagalakis et al.'s findings provide no conclusive recommendation as to whether or not a disability should be disclosed prior to

the interview.

Novel stimuli elicit exploratory behavior in others (Berlyne, 1960); yet strong proscriptive norms may prohibit staring when the novel stimulus is another person. Thus, much of the discomfort evident in interactions between people with disabilities and nondisabled individuals may exist because the desire to explore a novel stimulus arouses fear of violating a social norm against it. Langer, Fiske, Taylor, and Chanowitz (1976) found that participants given the opportunity to view an individual wearing a leg brace through one-way glass prior to an interaction chose to sit closer (a proxy measure for comfort level) to the individual than those who were not allowed visual access prior to the interaction. Participants who had the opportunity to reduce the novelty of the individual through acceptable staring felt less desire to stare when the subsequent interaction took place, and experienced little conflict or discomfort during the interaction. For those without this prior exposure, however, the conflict between the desire to stare and the wish to adhere to societal norms remained, and mean seating distance was greater. The authors concluded that even a very brief prior exposure to a novel stimulus person reduces discomfort in subsequent interactions. It is important to examine whether verbal pre-interview disclosure of the disability functions in a similar fashion (i.e., reducing the anxiety experienced by interviewers) or in a different way (i.e., increasing interviewer anxiety).

To Disclose or not to Disclose

While very little research on disability disclosure has been undertaken, extensive research on stereotypes, attention, cognitive load, and beliefs about people with disabilities has been conducted. Psychological phenomena that have been established

through long-standing research programs in these areas can aid in making predictions about disability disclosure and provide a framework for the current study. Because pre-interview impressions influence both interviewers' information processing during the interview as well as their post-interview impressions (Parsons, et al., 2001), pre-interview disability disclosure is certain to affect both of the interview stages that follow it. Thus, hypotheses of the present study focus on post-interview ratings that result from pre-interview disclosure. Additionally, it must be recognized that interviewees with visible disabilities essentially "disclose" their conditions the moment they meet interviewers. Hence, interviewers may experience the same emotions and cognitions that result from pre-interview disclosure upon initially meeting an interviewee who did not disclose prior to the interview. Therefore, the present research examined the effects of disclosure as compared to nondisclosure and the surprise that may be associated with it. Several questions regarding the differences between disclosure and nondisclosure were addressed in this study.

First, is self-focused attention triggered more by disclosure or the surprise of meeting an interviewee who has an unexpected disability? When expecting to interact with a person with a disability, people focus on preparing their own behavior (a form of cognitive load) (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). In order to make accurate interview judgments, interviewers must be allowed the cognitive resources to process accurately and understand information communicated by an applicant, rather than relying on these stereotypes when interpreting interview information. If they do not learn of the disability beforehand, interviewers can enter the interview situation with an unbiased, neutral frame of mind, which may allow them additional resources for processing information about

interviewees. Hence, contrary to Ryan's (2000) practical advice advocating pre-interview disability disclosure, this research predicted that nondisclosure would be preferable to disclosure because disability disclosure prior to the interview would cause the interviewer to engage in more self-focused thinking and less other-focused thinking.

Next, does disclosure create different expectations and stereotypes than nondisclosure? Expectations are created and stereotypes are evoked either in advance (via disclosure) or immediately upon meeting the interviewee. The biases and expectations evoked by disclosure must be examined. When perceivers create stereotype-based expectations prior to observing a target's behavior, they tend to test those expectations in a biased fashion during later behavioral observation (Darley & Gross, 1983; Macan & Dipboye, 1994). For example, the same behavior has been perceived differently based on knowledge of a hidden disability (Jussim et al., 2000) because stereotypes of people with disabilities are negative (Emry & Wiseman, 1987; Fichten & Amsel, 1986). In addition, when under cognitive load (such as self-focused thinking), perceivers rely more on stereotypes (Sherman et al., 1998) and fail to correct biased attributions (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). Thus, it is expected that disability disclosure prior to the interview will lead to the expectation that an interviewee fits disability stereotypes, and biased testing of this assumption will occur during the interview. As a result, disclosure is predicted to result in more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings than nondisclosure.

In addition, does disability disclosure affect an interviewer's ability to base selection decisions on objective information, such as skills and qualifications possessed by applicants? Evaluators who carefully consider the merits of a case, rather than

focusing on their own behavior or relying on stereotypes, should be more likely to cite those merits as reasons for their decisions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Consequently, it was expected that use of applicant qualifications as reasons for hiring would be reduced in the disclosure condition.

Is the level of anxiety an interviewer experiences during the interview affected by disclosure? While all participants in Langer et al.'s (1976) study were made aware of the disability prior to the interaction (i.e., through both visual access and written information, or through only written information), the current study asked: If participants had not been given *any* disability information prior to the interaction, would their anxiety have been greater than those who were "warned" about the disability through written information? In other words, would merely having disability information prior to the interaction (i.e., disclosure) have positive effects similar to those accorded by visual access? As the expectation of interacting with a person with a disability usually causes nondisabled individuals to experience anxiety (Goffman, 1963; Marinelli & Kelz, 1973), anxiety was expected to increase based on disability disclosure.

Finally, because judgments of others are related to affect (Baron, 1993; Harris, 1989; Klimoski & Donahue, 2001), it was expected that the anxiety related to disclosure would result in less positive hiring ratings.

In summary, while limited evidence suggests that disclosure may be a positive strategy for job applicants with disabilities, research on stereotypes, attention, cognitive load, and beliefs about people with disabilities implies quite the opposite. Being made aware of an individual's disability prior to an interaction was predicted to have the same effects as the ability to stare at the person without breaking social norms [as was the case

in Langer et al.'s (1976) study]. In fact, as suggested by Osborne and Gilbert's (1992) finding that the prospect of an interaction with a person with a disability encouraged self-focused thinking and prevented perceivers' correction of trait-based attributions, disclosure was predicted to lead to an increased reliance on stereotypes and a biased interpretation of interviewees' performance. The erroneous beliefs induced by pre-interview disclosure could contaminate subsequent information processing in the interview.

Based on all of the aforementioned predictions, the resulting hypothesis was:

> ***Hypothesis 1: Disclosure prior to the interview, as compared to nondisclosure, will result in: (a) increased self-focused thoughts by the interviewer during the interview; (b) more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings of the applicant; (c) less positive hiring ratings; (d) decreased use of applicant qualifications as justification for hiring ratings; and (e) increased interviewer anxiety.***

A second strategy often recommended to job-seekers with disabilities is verbal acknowledgment of the disability during the employment interview. Research on disability acknowledgment and its potential effects are discussed next.

Interview Strategy 2: Disability Acknowledgment During the Interview

Similar to the untested (in the employment interview setting) suggestion by some disability employment authors (e.g., Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992) that pre-interview disability disclosure will lessen the tension that occurs when an interviewer is unprepared for an interviewee's disability, verbal acknowledgment of a visible disability during an interview has been predicted by some researchers to reduce the anxiety experienced by a nondisabled interviewer. Although this assertion is likewise untested in the face-to-face employment interview setting,

discussing some information about the disability is expected to allow interviewers to move beyond it sooner than might otherwise occur without the acknowledgment (Goffman, 1963). Directly addressing the source of the tension underlying a social interaction is predicted to transfer the interviewer's focus to the interviewee's job-related skills and abilities.

The ADA stipulates that an interviewer may not request disability-related information from an interviewee (Player, 1999). Thus, when noting that an applicant is in a wheelchair, an interviewer may not legally ask how the person became disabled, what type of difficulties the disability may cause, or whether being in a wheelchair will interfere with the applicant's ability to perform job duties. The interviewer is permitted only to describe the essential job qualifications and duties, and to make inquiries as to applicants' possession of required credentials and their ability to perform these duties. Thus, the choice of whether or not to discuss a disability remains with applicants, and they must take a gamble in deciding whether acknowledgment is likely to result in costs or benefits.

Acknowledgment of a visible disability as a means of improving ratings of individuals with disabilities has been supported by some past research; a variety of positive results have been shown to occur subsequent to acknowledgment.

Results of Acknowledgment

When interacting with a person with an obvious disability, interviewers often face an unstructured situation in which they are "scriptless" (Hebl et al., 2001) and no predominant socially accepted regulations for proper interaction exist (Livneh, 1982). Due to the prevalence of ambiguity and unfamiliarity, nondisabled persons may feel

strain in the interaction or be tempted to withdraw from the situation (Yamamato, 1971).

One method of reducing the ambiguity and anxiousness experienced by nondisabled interviewers may be for an interviewee to acknowledge the disability verbally. "Disavowing deviance" (Goffman, 1963) involves acknowledging a stigma in order to alleviate uncertainty. Nondisabled interactants frequently have questions about the nature and cause of the disability, how the disability limits behavior, etc. Addressing this uncertainty might allow the individual with a disability to remove the disability as the focus of attention, permitting it to recede into the background.

Past research has supported this approach in interpersonal interactions (Blood & Blood, 1982; Evans, 1976; Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979; Mills, Belgrave, & Boyer, 1984). For example, participants in both Blood and Blood's (1982) and Hastorf et al.'s (1979) research preferred to work on a competitive task with an individual who acknowledged her disability in a videotaped social interview over one who did not acknowledge. In Mills et al.'s (1984) study, participants privately expressed their preference for social interaction after meeting a confederate who was in a wheelchair. Results showed that when the confederate mentioned the disability, more positive preferences for social interaction with him emerged. Participants in Evans' (1976) study reported a more positive attitude toward people with disabilities in general after meeting a confederate who acknowledged as compared to meeting one who did not acknowledge.

Acknowledgment has also been associated with positive results in the employment interview setting (Farley & Hinman, 1988; Hebl, 1997; Macan & Hayes, 1995). Rating interviewees in videotaped interviews, participants in Hebl's (1997) study assigned more positive hiring ratings to individuals with disabilities who acknowledged

their conditions. In face-to-face interviews, Farley and Hinman (1988) found that rehabilitation clients in a mock interview received better interview scores when they acknowledged their disabilities than when they did not. In another study, interviewees who encouraged interviewers to ask questions about their disabilities received more positive hiring ratings (Macan & Hayes, 1995). However, participants in both studies knew in advance that interviewees would be disabled, so results do not provide a true examination of acknowledgment in the absence of the confounding effects of pre-interview disclosure.

One explanation for acknowledgment effects is that conveying that one is comfortable with a disability and that it is an acceptable topic of conversation may lead to greater acceptance by nondisabled individuals and reduce strain in interactions (Colella, 1996). The perception that individuals have emotional reactions to their disabilities may cause others to avoid them; communication of an unemotional response to and a lack of preoccupation with a disability may lessen this avoidance and increase the desire for interaction (Belgrave & Mills, 1981; Belgrave, 1984). Another possible explanation for acknowledgment's positive effects may be its impact on perceptions of the acknowledger's personality.

Personality of Acknowledgers

Acknowledgment of one's disability during the interview may lead to inferences of particular positive personality characteristics. For example, a laryngectomized individual who acknowledged the stigma was rated as more pleasant, positive, calm, active, likeable, well-adjusted, and hardworking than a non-acknowledger (Blood & Blood, 1982). In another study, an interviewee who acknowledged her disability was

seen as more conscientious and open to experience, and less neurotic than one who said nothing about her condition (Hebl, 1997).

It is also possible that acknowledgment leads to positive results because it creates the impression that interviewees accept their conditions. Positive acceptance of oneself comprises an important dimension of psychological wellness (Ryff & Keyes, 1995). Individuals with physical disabilities who accept their conditions are more likely than are individuals who are in denial of their disabilities to: function effectively in society (Wright, 1983), have enhanced self-esteem and satisfying social relationships (Linkowski & Dunn, 1974), be less dependent on positive evaluations from non-stigmatized others (Grand, 1972), and have heightened social efficacy and interpersonal skills (Glueckauf & Quittner, 1992). The best predictor of how others feel about us is how we feel about ourselves (DePaulo, 1992). Perhaps when individuals acknowledge their conditions, others perceive them as self-accepting, and thus assume that they have a positive attitude and that interactions with them will be pleasant.

On the other hand, acknowledgment may lead to assignment of negative personality traits, such as a lack of self-confidence or preoccupation with the disability. Empirical research has often confounded acknowledgment with a variety of contextual factors. In order to present a clear picture of acknowledgment effects, these qualifying conditions must be addressed.

Contextual Factors Affecting Results of Acknowledgment

Nonverbal behavior. Roberts (2001) found that two interviewees who acknowledged a visible disability using exactly the same verbiage received significantly different hiring ratings. While personality ratings of interviewees were not collected in

the study, comments made by participants indicate that one of the interviewees appeared to be confident and capable, while the other seemed anxious and unsure of himself. The first applicant received more positive hiring ratings. Acknowledgment may be deleterious if it indicates the presence, rather than absence, of emotional duress associated with possession of the stigma (Hebl, et al., 2001). It is important to standardize nonverbal behavior to the greatest degree possible when conducting research in this area.

Disability-job fit. If an individual in a wheelchair is applying for the job of waiter (i.e., low disability-job fit), the need to explain his ability to perform the essential functions of the job may be much greater than for someone who is applying for the job of customer service representative in a call center (i.e., high disability-job fit). Perhaps if disability acknowledgment is seen as job-related, it leads to positive effects, such as a reduced focus on the disability and fewer questions arising in the interviewer's mind about the applicant's ability to perform the job. On the other hand, if the acknowledgment is seen as superfluous, as in the case of a customer service position in which it is obvious that the interviewee would be able to perform the job, the interviewer may deduce that the applicant is preoccupied or uncomfortable with the disability. Lee (2002) suggested that an individual with a visible disability should "play it by ear" when determining whether an acknowledgment should be offered. She explained that if the interviewer appears uncomfortable or seems confused about the interviewee's ability to perform essential functions, then an acknowledgment and explanation of the effects of the disability should be provided. However, under conditions in which the interviewer appears to be confident that the interviewee's disability would not interfere with the job,

no mention of the disability should be made. Hebl (1997) found evidence supporting this advice; individuals with disabilities who acknowledged their condition were more likely to be hired for professional jobs (e.g., doctor, teacher, lawyer, manager), but this finding wasn't replicated for "numbers" jobs (e.g., programmer, engineer, accountant) or low prestige jobs (e.g., file clerk, typist, receptionist). The latter group of jobs probably had a greater disability-job fit, and therefore the acknowledgment may have been viewed as unnecessary.

The level of disability-job fit is a variable that may determine the effectiveness of acknowledgment. An additional feature of acknowledgment that may impact its success is its timing during the interview.

Timing of acknowledgment. Self-disclosure[3] literature generally supports the view that disclosing some personal information to a recipient increases the recipient's liking of a revealer (see Collins & Miller, 1994, for a review). Although none examined disclosure of disabilities specifically, several studies have concluded that it is preferable for an individual who is not responsible for negative information to delay disclosure of that information until late in a social interview (e.g., Archer & Burleson, 1980; Jones & Gordon, 1972) or employment interview (e.g., Blakeney & MacNaughton, 1971; Peters & Terborg, 1975). Interviewees who wait until late in an interview to reveal negative information receive more favorable ratings than those who disclose information early. A potential explanation for the operations affecting the timing—evaluation relationship is that when individuals make a personal disclosure early in an interaction, the receiver might infer that they do so indiscriminately with everyone whom they meet, thus reducing liking (Archer & Burleson, 1980; Wortman et al., 1976). Interviewers might

also assume that interviewees are attempting to elicit sympathy for their situations (Jones & Gordon, 1972). If, instead, revealers wait until later in the exchange, receivers may feel that they have been "chosen" as trustworthy and accepting listeners, which may be taken as a personal compliment and increase liking (Archer & Burleson, 1980; Wortman et al., 1976). In addition to liking the individual more, participants have been more interested in getting to know a late discloser and assigned him more positive personality traits than an early discloser (Wortman et al., 1976).

Popular literature suggests that early acknowledgment of a visible disability would be preferable to acknowledgment later in the interview (e.g., Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992). Disability advocates suggest that interviewees' open discussion of a condition soon after beginning the interview will ease tension caused by the disability, thus making interviewers more comfortable throughout the interaction and allowing them to focus on applicants' job-related skills as opposed to disabilities. However, current research has not generated consistent results. In Roberts (2001), participants were more comfortable with an interviewee who either did not acknowledge at all or waited until the end of the interview to acknowledge. Perhaps it did not seem appropriate for an interviewee to discuss personal details of his disability early in the interview. In fact, the interviewee who delayed was probably seen as effective in keeping his disability in proper perspective; his delay in mentioning it may have suggested that he felt he had control over his condition, as opposed to the disability having control over his life. In contrast, when broaching the subject up front, it might have seemed that he was insecure about the disability and was trying to make it more salient in the interviewer's mind. Conceivably, discussing it early may make it seem that an individual identifies strongly with his

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[3] In this case, self-disclosure refers to disclosure of personal information *not* related to a disability.

disability, and has a difficult time separating himself and his abilities from it. The ADA as well as societal standards tell us that we are supposed to treat people with disabilities equally, but such treatment is challenging when they seem to dwell on their disabilities or think of themselves as different. An interviewer might infer that an interviewee with a disability who discusses the disability right away is uncomfortable with his condition, and the interviewer may become more uncomfortable as a result. In fact, past research has found that an individual who disclosed something personal quite early in the relationship was viewed as more immature, maladjusted, phony, and insecure than a late discloser (Wortman et al., 1976).

It is possible that acknowledgment early in an interview functions like disclosure prior to the interview, in that it prevents controlled processing of information and leads to a reliance on stereotyping (see Henry, 1992). The effects of early acknowledgment on attention and cognitive load must be addressed.

Attention and cognitive load. According to Henry (1992) the mere presence of a disability is not enough to cause judgments to be based on stereotypes. Evaluators must be *invited* (through acknowledgment) to consider the disability in place of central information. While acknowledgment is not able to induce self-focused thoughts prior to the interaction, the effects of acknowledgment early in the interaction may parallel the effects of pre-interview disclosure predicted in this study. Early acknowledgment may encourage automatic processing and stereotyped judgment. In fact, in Henry's study (in which participants viewed a videotaped interview portraying an interviewee who acknowledged either in the first minute of the interview or did not acknowledge at all), an individual with a visible disability who acknowledged early in the interview was more

likely to be categorized as "disabled" than one who did not mention his condition. Perhaps not acknowledging a disability or acknowledging it late in the interview may allow some inconsistent information to gain the attention of the interviewer. Increased central processing in the non-acknowledgment condition was evidenced by improved memory of applicant qualifications and more frequent reports of qualifications as reasons for hiring. Such results are consistent with those found in studies examining perceivers who are not cognitively busy (e.g., Patterson et al., 1992; Sherman & Frost, 2000), which suggests that early acknowledgment may cause cognitive load.

While early acknowledgment elicited more favorable final hiring ratings than non-acknowledgment in moderate- and high-qualification conditions, it is likely that ratings were a product of social desirability or the "sympathy effect" found in a plethora of previous disability studies. Participants viewed the applicant only in a short video and did not anticipate any future interaction with him. Because the acknowledger was more likely to be identified as "disabled," his disability must have been more prominent in the minds of evaluators than the non-acknowledger's disability. Rather than giving credence to the final ratings made in Henry's study (i.e., the acknowledger received more positive hiring ratings than the non-acknowledger), the fact that participants dedicated greater thought and processing to a non-acknowledging target should be emphasized. In an actual employment interview, such processing may lead to more valid hiring decisions.

It appears that early acknowledgment creates cognitive load and inhibits controlled processing regarding interviewee qualifications. But what about late acknowledgment? Is postponing acknowledgment until near the end of an interview preferable to not acknowledging at all? In contrast to early acknowledgment, late

acknowledgment would allow the interviewer to process interview information unhindered by the distracting effects of early acknowledgment. Perhaps acknowledging at the end of the interview leaves interviewers with the impression that applicants are self-confident, leading them to rate more positively. On the other hand, what are the retroactive effects of acknowledgment on information obtained during the interview? Late acknowledgment could potentially color information that was shared during the interview. Both possibilities must be examined.

It is possible that the beneficial effects of acknowledgment found with participants interacting socially or viewing videotaped interviews will not be replicated in the actual employment interview. After all, acknowledgment has never been systematically manipulated in a face-to-face interview situation. Herold (2000) contends that interviewees with disabilities should not even entertain the idea of acknowledging their conditions during the interview. He maintains that the acknowledgment strategy violates the standard rules of interviewing, and it will lead to negative consequences for those who attempt to implement it.

Interview context. Acknowledgment advocates suggest that acknowledging indicates one's comfort with a disability, allowing others to be comfortable with it and feel free to ask questions about it (e.g., Thompson, 1982). In contrast, some authors (e.g., Herold, 2000) believe that persons with disabilities should *never* discuss their disabilities until after a job offer has been secured, explaining that disability acknowledgment in the interview may actually violate normative interview behavior. Herold suggests that the employment interview, no matter how casual, is not an interpersonal communication experience, so advice stemming from the interpersonal context cannot be applied to

interviews. Most studies that have found benefits of disability acknowledgment have been conducted in general interpersonal interaction settings (e.g., Belgrave & Mills, 1981). Findings in the employment interview context were based on videotaped interviews (Hebl, 1997; Henry, 1992) or a program that was limited to interviewees with disabilities (Macan & Hayes, 1995).

Sharing personal information can have negative effects when it is presented in a context in which reciprocation is not likely—such as an interview—where it adds to uncertainty rather than reducing it (Worthy, Gary, & Kahn, 1969). Acknowledgment may serve to crystallize the stereotypes of disability as a sickness and thus increase interviewer anxiousness or the belief that the interviewee is preoccupied with his or her disability (Herold, 2000). Other discrediting effects of acknowledgment proposed by Herold include a loss of self-esteem, possible alienation of others, and projection of a negative attitude. Although acknowledgment may reduce levels of tension and uncertainty, it does not necessarily contribute to increasing levels of acceptance (Thompson & Seibold, 1978).

The employment interview is a "play" in which both the applicant and interviewer have certain roles (Herold, 2000). There are scripts to follow, and these scripts allow for little deviation (Tullar, 1989). Herold maintains that interviewees should focus on keeping the interviewer comfortable. Disability acknowledgment will violate expected interviewing behavior; thus individuals with disabilities should reduce disability-related anxiousness by engaging in expected interviewing behavior. An applicant's risky behavior such as acknowledging a disability may negatively impact the interviewer's judgment of the candidate (Baron, 1989). It may also make the interviewer

uncomfortable if the high intimacy message indicates that reciprocity is expected (Berger & Bradac, 1982) or because it emphasizes differences between the nondisabled interviewer and the disabled applicant. Herold explains that when candidates decide to discuss a disability, they need to be conscious of the level of intimacy that they may be forcing on the interaction. Formal relationships such as that between interviewer and interviewee are not conducive to intimate acknowledgment. Braithwaite (1991) noted that a nondisabled interactant will not likely know how to react to acknowledgment about a disability and will not be able to respond with the same level of intimacy.

Finally, by introducing the topic of disability, the applicant may be inadvertently raising concerns of compliance with the ADA (Herold, 2000). ADA rules prohibit asking any questions about disabilities (Player, 1999). Interviewers are often taught in training that disability discussion is considered off limits in an interview, and they may be unsure of how to respond when the applicant introduces it as a topic to be discussed. Acknowledgment may thus contribute to the interviewer's anxiousness and discomfort.

Event schemas describe the predicted or appropriate sequence of events that occur in specific situations. Because they shape one's normative expectations of behavior in social settings, deviations from scripts will draw attention, and people are likely to rely heavily on such unexpected or inappropriate behavior when making inferences and judgments regarding others (Klimoski & Donahue, 2001). Because acknowledgment disrupts the event schema of an employment interview (Herold, 2000), it is likely to have strong effects of judgments that interviewers make about interviewees. However, it is not clear whether judgments will become more positive or more negative based on acknowledgment. Herold (2000) insists that individuals with disabilities must learn to

effectively convince an interviewer that they are employable based on skills and knowledge, and they should not include reference to the disability in persuasive messages. However, some research indicates that acknowledgment late in an interview may have positive effects. It is important to examine whether verbal acknowledgment of a visible disability affects personality traits assigned to interviewees, processing of information about interviewees, and evaluations regarding interviewees.

To Acknowledge or not to Acknowledge

Limited existing research on disability acknowledgment, along with prior studies involving attention, cognitive load, and stereotypes of people with disabilities were employed in hypothesizing effects of disability acknowledgment during the employment interview.

Several questions regarding the differences between early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment, and non-acknowledgement were addressed in this study.

First, is an interviewer's self-focused attention triggered more by early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment, or non-acknowledgment? Because early acknowledgment stresses the difference between an interviewee with a disability and a non-disabled interviewer at the outset of an interaction, it has the capability of inducing a greater degree of self-focused thinking than late acknowledgment. In addition, the question of whether late acknowledgment leads to greater self-focused thinking than non-acknowledgment was explored.

Next, does acknowledgment create different expectations and stereotypes than non-acknowledgment? When under cognitive load (such as self-focused thinking), perceivers rely more on stereotypes (Sherman et al., 1998) and fail to correct biased

attributions (Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). An individual with a visible disability who acknowledged early in the interview was more likely to be categorized as "disabled" than one who did not mention his condition (Henry, 1992). Perhaps acknowledging a disability early in the interview prevents information that is inconsistent with disability stereotypes from gaining the attention of the interviewer. While salience increases the coherence of an impression (Fiske, 1995), perhaps early acknowledgment solidifies this coherence even further. Thus, it was expected that disability acknowledgment early in the interview would lead to the expectation that an interviewee fits disability stereotypes, and testing of this belief during the interview would result in biased ratings. As a result, early acknowledgment was predicted to result in more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings than non-acknowledgment.

Acknowledgment of a disability, rather than non-acknowledgment, has been shown to relate to positive personality traits in some situations (Blood & Blood, 1982; Hebl, 1997). On the other hand, acknowledgment may serve to crystallize the stereotypes of disability as a sickness and lead to the belief that the interviewee is preoccupied with his or her disability (Herold, 2000). Hence, the question of whether late acknowledgment leads to more stereotype-consistent personality ratings than non-acknowledgment was also explored.

Evaluators who carefully consider the merits of a case, rather than focusing on their own behavior or relying on stereotypes, should be more likely to cite those merits as reasons for their decisions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Increased central processing in a non-acknowledgment condition as compared to an early acknowledgment condition has been evidenced by improved memory of applicant qualifications and more frequent reports of

qualifications as reasons for hiring (Henry, 1992). Consequently, it was expected that use of applicant qualifications as reasons for hiring would be reduced in the early acknowledgment condition. In contrast to early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment would allow the interviewer to process interview information unhindered by the effects of early acknowledgment.

Next, is the level of anxiety an interviewer experiences during the interview affected by acknowledgment? Herold (2000) maintains that disability acknowledgment violates expected interview behavior. He explains that it emphasizes differences between the nondisabled interviewer and the disabled applicant, raises concerns regarding ADA compliance, and contributes to the interviewer's anxiousness and discomfort. However, increased anxiousness resulting from acknowledgment has only been found in cases of early acknowledgment. Roberts (2001) found that late acknowledgment was associated with greater comfort than early acknowledgment. Therefore, anxiety was expected to increase as a result of early disability acknowledgment. Differences in anxiety of interviewers who receive a late acknowledgment versus no acknowledgment at all were also examined.

Finally, an applicant's possibly risky behavior such as acknowledging a disability may negatively impact the interviewer's judgment of the candidate (Baron, 1989). Deviations from expected interview "scripts" will draw attention, and are likely to strongly affect evaluations (Herold, 2000; Klimoski & Donahue, 2001). However, timing is likely to moderate the acknowledgment—evaluation relationship. Because it is preferable to delay disclosure of negative personal information until late in an employment interview (e.g., Blakeney & MacNaughton, 1971; Peters & Terborg, 1975),

interviewees who waited until late in an interview to acknowledge their disabilities were expected to receive more favorable ratings than those who acknowledged early.

Based on all of the aforementioned predictions, the resulting hypothesis is:

> ***Hypothesis 2: Early acknowledgment, as compared to late acknowledgment and non-acknowledgment, will result in: (a) increased self-focused thoughts by the interviewer during the interview; (b) more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings of the applicant; (c) less positive hiring ratings; (d) decreased use of applicant qualifications as justification for hiring ratings; and (e) increased interviewer anxiety.***

Ratings of non-acknowledgers and late acknowledgers were also compared for all outcome variables.

Combining Interview Strategies 1 and 2: Disclosure x Acknowledgment Interaction

Although examining disclosure and acknowledgment separately is valuable in pinpointing the effects of each strategy, neither tactic would be used in isolation in the real world. Some combination of disclosure and acknowledgment occurs in all actual employment interviews involving people with disabilities. Even if applicants choose neither to disclose nor to acknowledge, they are still selecting to operate under certain levels of the disclosure and acknowledgement variables (i.e., nondisclosure, no acknowledgment). It is probable that the presence or absence of disclosure prior to the interview interacts with acknowledgment in determining outcomes, and this interaction must be addressed.

Perhaps an ideal disclosure x acknowledgment combination exists. For example, it's possible that the greatest amount of controlled processing and the fewest stereotyped judgments occur when an interviewee does not disclose, but does acknowledge late in the interview. Correcting certain methodological problems in Tagalakis et al.'s (1988) study, as the present research did, provides clarification on the results of various disclosure x

acknowledgement combinations. Participants in Tagalakis et al.'s research first did or did not hear disability disclosure over the telephone, and the next phase of the study involved viewing the same two candidates in videotaped face-to-face interviews. After the phone interview, participants favored an applicant who disclosed a disability over a nondiscloser. After the videotaped interviews took place, however, there was no difference in hiring or suitability ratings of the discloser (who also acknowledged during the face-to-face interview) and the nondiscloser (who was also visibly disabled but did not acknowledge). Because the study lacked a pre-interview disclosure condition that did not include a corresponding face-to-face acknowledgment, and vice versa, Tagalakis et al.'s findings provide no conclusive recommendation as to whether or not a disability should be disclosed prior to the interview and/or acknowledged during the interview.

For each outcome variable in the present study, the disclosure x acknowledgment interaction was examined. Where significant interactions were found, all individual conditions were compared. (As displayed in Table 1, six disclosure-acknowledgment combinations existed.) Thus, the impact of both strategies in combination, as they exist in the real world, was assessed.

Method

Overview of Experimental Design

The independent variables in the study were pre-interview disability disclosure (disclosure, nondisclosure) and acknowledgment during the interview (early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment, no acknowledgment). A nondisabled control group was also included and served as a baseline measure against which all other conditions were compared (see Table 1 for a listing of the number of participants in each

experimental condition). Participants reviewed six résumés and selected three. Next, they received information sheets, which included the disclosure manipulation in the disclosure condition. Half of the participants received a disability disclosure, and half did not. Participants reviewed their three selected résumés and the associated information sheets, and then were told which applicant they would interview first. Next, they conducted an interview with a confederate in a wheelchair (or a nondisabled confederate in the control condition), in which the confederate acknowledged her disability early in the interview, late in the interview, or not at all. Finally, participants completed study measures.

Participants

Participants in Study 1 were 109 undergraduate students (61% female) recruited from courses in the business and psychology departments of a medium-sized Midwestern university. Mean age was 26.6 years (*SD*=7.05) and ranged from 19 to 49. Racial composition was 75% Caucasian, 15% African American, 3% Asian, 1% Hispanic, and 6% other ethnic backgrounds.

Procedure

The procedure in this study was a "selection simulation," and required approximately 40 minutes per participant. Participants played the role of a hiring manager, and they were involved in selection of applicants for an open position. It was explained that trainees in a job-skills training course had volunteered to participate as "applicants" in the simulation as practice associated with their training. Additionally, the researcher explained that she was examining various types of applicant training to determine which is most effective.

Participants were told that six trainees were applying for an open position. They were next given a description of the target job and company (see Appendix A) and copies of the six résumés (which did not include names and were labeled only by number—see Appendix B) for review, and were asked to select the three most qualified applicants. Participants were told that they would have the opportunity to interview the applicants whose resumes they selected. They were asked to go to designated places in the room to pick up information sheets corresponding to the three selected applicants. The information sheets (see Appendix C) were photocopies of forms completed by hand (ostensibly by the applicants); it was explained that the sheets simulate the "interview offer" phone call that a hiring manager would make in an actual hiring situation. The disclosure manipulation was included in the information sheets. Information included name, anticipated graduation date, position applied for, times of interview availability, and a final item: "Is there anything you would like the interviewer(s) to know about you in advance?" Response to this final item included the disclosure manipulation in the disclosure condition.

Participants in the disclosure condition received one information sheet that included disclosure of a disability and two that did not; those in the nondisclosure condition received three information sheets that did not disclose a disability. Names indicated that all three interviewees were female; they were all computer science majors graduating at the end of the current semester. The response to the final item for the disclosing applicant included the disclosure manipulation; for all other applicants, it was a restatement of some information included on the resume. Participants were allowed to review their selected three résumés and information sheets again. Participants next were

told which of the three résumés they selected corresponded to the person they would interview first. All participants received the disclosure manipulation for the same résumé (Résumé 2).

Participants were next told that they would be conducting a structured interview and received training on the interview process. They were given an interview guide that included a list of five competencies and four questions associated with each competency (see Appendix D). The experimenter provided training that included a review of instructions on the first page of the interview guide. It was explained that participants would be required to ask one question from each competency grouping and answers would be assessed along a set of defined dimensions. This level of interview structure is defined as "medium" by Huffcut, Roth, and McDaniel (1996).

During the next stage of the process, participants actually interviewed a confederate. While at the outset they were led to believe that they would be interviewing all three of their selected applicants, each participant actually only interviewed one individual. When participants were called to perform their interview, they were instructed to go to an interview room, where their "first" interviewee was waiting. After the interview was complete, participants returned to the experiment room to complete study questionnaires.

All interviewees were trained confederates who were sitting in wheelchairs in separate interview rooms. Each confederate was seated in her interview room so that the wheelchair was in participants' plain view when they entered the room. Confederates were aware of all potential interview questions in advance and memorized standard responses, so that the content of all interviews was identical. Interviewees in the

acknowledgment condition included the acknowledgment with their response to either the first (early acknowledgment) or the last (late acknowledgment) question. Confederates in the non-acknowledgment condition did not include an acknowledgment of the disability in any of their responses. All interviews lasted approximately ten minutes. Experimental conditions were distributed across confederates, such that confederates participated equally in each study condition.

Interviews were videotaped, ostensibly so that interviewees could later review the tapes to understand their interviewing strengths and weaknesses. In actuality, the tapes may possibly be used for future research involving nonverbal behavior and other aspects of communication between nondisabled interviewers and interviewees with disabilities.

After returning to the experiment room, participants completed the applicant evaluation questionnaire, returned it to the experimenter, and completed the participant questionnaire. After questionnaires were complete, participants were told that there was not enough time left for them to interview the other two candidates whose resumes they selected, and were thanked for their participation and dismissed. After the entire data collection process was complete, participants received a complete debriefing via e-mail.

After each participant left the interview room, confederates completed a brief questionnaire that rated the participant's level of anxiety, eye contact, and level of surprise.

Stimulus Materials

Position. The position to be filled was Systems Analyst (see Appendix A). The job of Systems Analyst was chosen based on its prevalence in the U.S. [there were 617,000 Systems Analyst jobs in 1998 and it is predicted that 1,194,000 such jobs will

exist in 2008 (United States Department of Labor, 2000)], and the disability-job fit that exists between paraplegia and the required job duties. *Disability-job fit* is defined as the degree to which a person with a specific disability is believed to be able to perform a certain job. An example of a poor fit for a person in a wheelchair would be the job of firefighter, while a job requiring less leg movement, such as a telephone operator, would be a good fit. Negative stereotyping increases as fit worsens (Colella, 1996; Colella, DeNisi, & Varma, 1998). Additionally, the job is realistic for college student interviewees, as it does not require a post-graduate degree.

Applicant résumés. Résumés presented in this study (see Appendix B) were actual résumés found in the Workforce Recruitment Program's (WPA) database, which includes résumés of over 1800 college students with disabilities who are actively seeking employment. All personal information was deleted or replaced with fictitious data. Three résumés were classified as "qualified" for the position and belonged to students majoring in computer science who had job-related experience (Résumés 2, 4, and 6), while the other three represented "unqualified" students with liberal arts majors (Résumés 1, 3, and 5) who lacked relevant experience and skills. This combination of résumés was chosen in order to: (1) reduce the amount of time participants would need to select résumés; and (2) standardize résumé selection across participants.

Disability. The disability disclosed was paraplegia, due to its visible nature as well as its frequency in the U.S. population. It is estimated that approximately 5000 new cases of paraplegia are reported each year in the U.S. (National Spinal Cord Injury Statistical Center, 1999).

Content of disclosure. Ryan (2000) and Witt (1992) (authors of advice books for job-seekers with disabilities) advise job-seekers who opt for pre-interview telephone disclosure to tell the interviewer that they want to avoid shock or awkwardness by mentioning the disability before the interview. Witt also recommends that applicants explain the disability in general terms and state that it won't affect their ability to perform the job. The disclosure manipulation, in response to the final question on the applicant information sheet, read:

> ***"Just so you know, I am paraplegic and I use a wheelchair for mobility, due to a car accident - I was hit by a drunk driver. This won't affect my ability to do a great job in this position & I don't need accommodations. I just wouldn't want you to be caught off guard so I thought I'd tell you up front."***

This verbiage is similar to the phrasing used in the only existing lab study on disclosure (Tagalakis, et al., 1988).

Content of acknowledgment. Based on Hinman, Means, Parkerson, and Odendahl's (1988) interview guide for people with disabilities, confederates' discussion of their disabilities included the following components: (1) admit having a disability in a straightforward manner; (2) briefly and functionally describe the disability, framing it in a positive light; and (3) describe special considerations and needed accommodations. Additionally, acknowledgment included an explanation of how the applicant became disabled. Independent of disability type, applicants whose disabilities can be attributed to an uncontrollable "external" factor are given more favorable hiring recommendations and elicit affective reactions characterized by greater liking, in comparison to applicants whose disabilities are attributed to a self-induced "internal" factor (Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). For example, a paraplegic believed to have sustained his injuries in

combat-related military service was rated more favorably than an identical applicant who had presumably become disabled in a motorcycle accident (Bordieri & Drehmer, 1986). When applicants fail to mention a cause for their disabilities, they are often automatically assigned personal responsibility (Galbreath & Feinberg, 1973). Hence, applicants in the present study who disclosed a disability explained that the cause was an external factor.

When acknowledging their disability, applicants said:

> ***"Well, as you can see I'm in a wheelchair. I just wanted to mention that I became paraplegic as a result of a car accident I was involved in. I was hit by a drunk driver. Being in a wheelchair definitely won't prevent me from performing all the requirements of this job as well as anybody else, and I feel really confident in my ability to do a good job. I don't need any special considerations or anything, since I know that the building is wheelchair accessible."***

The disclosure and acknowledgment verbiages were pilot tested to ensure that no differences in participant reactions would arise based solely on the wording used when addressing the disability. Sixty undergraduate students read both the disclosure and acknowledgment statements and rated them on: (1) comfort with information shared; (2) understanding of the type of disability the applicant had; (3) appropriateness of the disability statement; (4) responsibility for the disability; (5) need for accommodation; and (6) the extent to which the disability would interfere with performance. Within-subjects ANOVAs on each of the items revealed no significant differences between ratings of the disclosure and acknowledgment verbiages.

Confederates. Confederates were five female graduate and undergraduate students of approximately the same age. All were Caucasian. To ensure equivalent behavior across confederates, they were videotaped responding to all interview questions before data collection began. Videotapes were reviewed by four independent judges,

who provided feedback to the researcher regarding discrepancies in interview performance between confederates. Using this feedback, the researcher trained confederates to act equivalently during interviews.

Measures

Applicant evaluation questionnaire. The applicant evaluation questionnaire was a four-part instrument and is included as Appendix E. In the first part, participants recorded their thoughts and feelings. Participants were instructed to list any thoughts or feelings they experienced during the interview. The measure was used to evaluate self- and other-focused positive and negative thought frequencies. Two independent raters (who were blind to experimental condition) coded thoughts and feelings using a method similar to the one employed by Patterson et al. (1992) and Ickes, Robertson, Tooke, and Teng (1986). Each thought or feeling was coded as to its target (self, applicant, or the environment) and its valence (positive, neutral, or negative).

The subsequent part of the questionnaire measured the applicant's interview performance with two items rated on a 1: "Strongly Disagree" to 5: "Strongly Agree" five-point scale (as were all study measures unless otherwise noted). Additionally, two items assessed participants' level of comfort with information the applicant shared, and two measured their liking of the applicant. An open-ended item was included to capture participants' thoughts about the appropriateness of statements made by the applicant during the interview. The questionnaire also measured hiring recommendations. Three items measured the degree to which participants believed the interviewee should be hired. Finally, participants were asked to explain their rationale for hiring ratings.

Next, participants assessed the applicants' personality. Specifically, participants responded to 17 items that captured the five factors of agreeableness, extraversion, conscientiousness, openness to experience, and neuroticism (Hull & Lehn, 1996). The five-factor model of personality was selected based on results of a recent meta-analysis (Moscoso & Salgado, 2002) indicating that in low- or medium-structured interviews, individuals high on each of the five factors received higher interview performance scores. Participants responded to these items by indicating the extent to which they believed each item was characteristic of the applicant on a five-point Likert scale anchored by (1) "Not characteristic" and (5) "Very characteristic." One additional item asked participants to rate how well the statement "has a disability" described the applicant. In addition, participants rated the anxiety they believed the applicant experienced during the interview using five items from the State Anxiety Scale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, et al., 1970) (e.g., tense, calm). This shortened version has been shown to be reliable and valid in numerous studies (e.g., Leherissy, O'Neil, Heinrich, & Hansen, 1973).

The same five items from the State Anxiety Scale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, et al., 1970) were next administered to measure the anxiety participants experienced during the interview. Each item was scored on a five-point scale, and participants responded by rating the intensity of their feelings during the interview. Two items (i.e., tense, jittery) measured anxiety-present factors (Anx+); while the other three (i.e., calm, at ease, relaxed) measured anxiety-absent factors (Anx-). Anx- items were reverse-scored. State anxiety scores were computed by simply averaging the scores for all items; higher scores indicated higher levels of state anxiety.

Interviewer questionnaire. The interviewer questionnaire was a five-part instrument, included as Appendix F. First, participants' social anxiety and tolerance for ambiguity were measured. Social anxiety was assessed using five items from the Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (SIAS) (Leary, 1983). Respondents indicated, on a five-point scale, the extent to which each of the items was characteristic of them (e.g., "I become tense if I have to talk about myself or my feelings."). The scale's authors demonstrated strong psychometric properties for the measure; internal consistency and test-retest correlation coefficients range from .78 to .84. Tolerance for ambiguity has been administered in previous research as a proxy measure for attitudes toward people with disabilities; people who are more tolerant of ambiguity tend to have more favorable attitudes (Galbreath & Feinberg, 1973). Three items assessed participants' tolerance for ambiguity (e.g., "If I am uncertain about the responsibilities of a job, I get very anxious.").

Next, all participants responded to the item: "How comfortable were you with the interview process after training?" on a five-point scale from 1: "Extremely Uncomfortable" to 5: "Extremely Comfortable." Participants who interviewed a person with a disability (i.e., all participants with the exception of the control group) also answered the item: "How surprised were you when you discovered the applicant had a disability?" on a five-point scale from 1: "Not at all surprised" to 5: "Extremely surprised." Finally, participants who interviewed a disabled applicant and received a pre-interview disclosure responded to the item: "How much did you think about the disability and how to handle it?" on a five-point scale from 1: "Did not think about it at all" to 5: "Thought about it a great deal."

General demographic information such as gender, race, etc., was collected next.

The fourth part of the participant questionnaire asked participants' to rate their level of interviewing experience from 1: "No Experience" to 5: "A Great Deal of Experience."

The final portion of the questionnaire assessed previous contact with people with disabilities. Participants were asked whether they had a disability themselves, or had friends, family members, or co-workers with disabilities. Working with individuals who are disabled can modify expectancies about their ability to perform jobs (Yuker, 1988). Hence, previous contact with people with disabilities was measured so that its effects could be examined in the present context.

Interview guide. As described previously, participants were given an interview guide that included interview questions (see Appendix D). For each of the five competencies, participants rated interviewees on a five-point scale, which included the anchors 1: "Needs Work," 3: "Acceptable," and 5: "Excellent."

Confederate questionnaire. Confederates completed a brief questionnaire for each participant regarding the interviewer's level of surprise upon initially meeting the interviewee, perceived anxiety, and eye contact (see Appendix G).

Results

Manipulation Checks

A manipulation check revealed that participants who interviewed an applicant in a wheelchair (N=94) were more likely to identify the applicant as having a disability (M=4.31, SD=1.05) than those in the nondisabled control group (N=15) (M=1.36, SD=.75), F (1,100)=101.12, p=.00, η^2=.50. Thus, it appears that participants were aware

of the disability in the appropriate conditions.

To ensure the disclosure—non-disclosure manipulation was clear to participants, one item: "How surprised were you when you discovered the applicant had a disability?" was administered. An ANOVA indicated that disclosure had a main effect; those who received a disclosure prior to the interview (M=1.31; SD=.70) were significantly less surprised than those in the nondisclosure condition (M=2.57; SD=1.19), F (1, 82) = 37.09, p<.001, η^2=.31. Thus, it appears that participants in the disclosure condition understood the written disclosure and were expecting to interview a person with a disability.

A manipulation check for the acknowledgment variable was not included in this study, as interviewees delivered the acknowledgment during a face-to-face interview with participants, and interviews were videotaped so that researchers could verify that acknowledgment actually took place at the appropriate time. However, in order to ensure participants were aware of the acknowledgment, the researcher reviewed an open-ended item that asked: "Did the applicant say anything inappropriate during the interview? If so, please describe." The only comments made by participants regarding inappropriate statements dealt with the applicant discussing her disability (e.g., "Her last comments about herself being in a wheelchair and what happened have no relevance to the job she could do."). A chi-square test indicated a significant difference existed between acknowledgment conditions; those in the late acknowledgment condition were most likely to report that something disability-related was said during the interview (21%), followed by those in the early condition (13%), and lastly the no acknowledgment condition (0%) (X^2=7.48, p<.05). Thus, it appears that participants did not perceive an

acknowledgment when none occurred. To further examine the effectiveness of the acknowledgment manipulation, the comfort that participants felt with the information shared by the applicant was tested for acknowledgment effects. The items "The interviewee revealed personal information too quickly," and "I felt uncomfortable with the amount of personal information the interviewee shared with me," were each scored on a five-point scale. Ratings were reverse scored and averaged to create an overall rating for comfort with information shared. A one-way ANOVA with acknowledgment as the independent variable was not significant F (1,91) = .69, p=.50, η^2=.02; however, descriptive statistics indicate that results were in the direction that would be expected. Interviewers in the no acknowledgment condition reported the greatest level of comfort with the information shared (M=4.11; SD=.92), followed by participants in the late (M=4.00; SD=1.10) and early acknowledgment (M=3.82; SD=1.05) conditions. Finally, interviewers who received an early (M=4.41; SD=.83) or late acknowledgement (M=4.45; SD=.99) were more likely to identify the applicant as having a disability as compared to those who did not receive an acknowledgment (M=4.07; SD=1.29) (though this was non-significant F (2,85) = 1.92, p=.31, η^2=.03). These descriptive statistics provide additional evidence that participants were aware that the confederates acknowledged the disability in the appropriate conditions.

Analysis Strategy

Each set of outcome measures was examined separately. Additional independent variables and covariates were added to each set of analyses as appropriate.

Interview experience of participants. Participants were asked to rate their level of previous experience conducting interviews on a 1-5 scale, and to describe that

experience. Due to the small number of participants who had any interviewing experience, responses were coded into two categories: some interview experience (*N*=26) and no interview experience (*N*=83). All participants who mentioned having conducted interviews on-the-job were coded as having some interview experience. All dependent variables were tested for interview experience effects via one-way ANOVAs, and experience effects were found to be significant only for hiring ratings, interview performance, and liking. Additionally, 2 (no experience, some experience) x 2 (disclosure, nondisclosure) x 3 (no acknowledgement, early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment) ANOVAs revealed that experience did not interact with disclosure or acknowledgment for any of the outcome variables. Therefore, interview experience was included only in analyses of hiring ratings, interview performance, and liking.

Exposure to people with disabilities. Participants who interviewed a confederate in a wheelchair were asked if they had a disability, if any of their family members or friends had a disability, or if they had ever worked with an individual with a disability. Fifty-three (56%) participants indicated they had had some exposure to individuals with disabilities through work, family, or friends, whereas the remaining 41 participants reported no exposure. In the same manner as interview experience, all outcome measures were tested for exposure effects. When analyzing outcome measures for which exposure effects or interactions were found (i.e., confederate ratings of eye contact and surprise), exposure to people with disabilities was included as an additional independent variable.

Confederates. Because five different individuals participated as confederates, confederate x acknowledgment x disclosure ANOVAs were tested for all dependent variables. No significant main effects or interactions were found; thus, confederate was

not added as an additional independent variable.

Covariates. Social anxiety and tolerance for ambiguity measures were included in this study as potential covariates. An additional item assessed participants' comfort with the interview process after training, as it is possible that participants' lack of understanding of the process may have affected outcome variables. Also, researchers recorded the amount of time between a participant's review of the applicant information sheets (which was also the time at which they received disclosure in the appropriate conditions) and the time that the interview began. Howell (1997) warns of the increasing difficulty of interpreting ANCOVA results as additional covariates are included. Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) are in agreement, suggesting that a very small number of covariates, each correlated with the dependent variable but not with other covariates, is ideal; the goal of analysis of covariance is to obtain maximum adjustment of the dependent variable with minimum loss of degrees of freedom for error. For each outcome measure, correlation of the dependent variable with potential covariates was computed to determine whether the covariate would be retained for analyses (see Table 2 for correlations among all potential covariates and dependent variables). As social anxiety was not correlated with any of the outcome variables, it was not included in any analyses. However, tolerance for ambiguity, comfort with the interview process, and time between training and interview were all significantly correlated with some dependent variables. Because intercorrelations among these three potential covariates were extremely low (see Table 2), it was decided that all should be retained for analyses. But based on recommendations to keep the number of covariates as small as possible (Howell, 1997; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), for each outcome variable *only* covariates

that were significantly correlated with the outcome were included in analyses. Thus, different outcome variables were adjusted for different covariates, based on their level of correlation with the covariates.

Additionally, all analyses were initially run with gender as an independent variable, and in the cases in which gender effects were found, it was retained as an additional independent variable.

Nondisabled comparison. All outcome variables were examined to determine whether differences existed between the experimental groups and the nondisabled control group.

The effects of disclosure and acknowledgment on each set of variables will be discussed separately.

Self-focused Thoughts

In order to test Hypotheses 1a and 2a (which predicted greater self-focused thinking in both the disclosure and early acknowledgment conditions), thoughts reported on the thought-feeling instrument were coded by two independent raters (who were blind to experimental condition). The raters were in agreement for their ratings on 92% of thoughts; for all disagreements, a third rater reviewed items and made a decision regarding the appropriate rating. Each thought was coded as to its target [self (e.g., "I felt uncomfortable interviewing this applicant because it seemed so staged"); applicant (e.g., "Applicant is concerned with doing a good job"); or the environment (e.g., "Interview situation was somewhat unnatural with videotape camera")] as well as its valence [positive (e.g., "Good communication skills;" negative (e.g., "She could have smiled more"); neutral (e.g., "She didn't wear dark colors.")]. An additional category was

created for ambiguity-related (i.e., need more information) comments (e.g., "Interview questions did not give a clear indication of technical ability-don't know whether she would be a good systems analyst.") Also, a notation was made if a thought was disability-related (e.g., "Seemed perhaps more concerned about explaining how her disability would not interfere with performing the job than focusing on her considerable abilities as noted on her resume."). When appropriate, thoughts were coded into more than one category (e.g., "Needs to speak up more confidently, otherwise did well in performance," would be categorized as other-focused/negative and other-focused/positive). The number of thoughts related to each type of target and each valence level were computed for each participant (see descriptive statistics, Table 3).

The number of self-focused thoughts reported was very small. Only nine participants in the entire study (8%) reported any self-focused thoughts. A 2 x 3 ANOVA was computed, with the total number of self-focused thoughts serving as the dependent variable. Although it was expected that individuals in the disclosure and early acknowledgment conditions would report a significantly greater number of self-focused thoughts than those in the nondisclosure, late acknowledgment, and no acknowledgment conditions, this was not the case. No significant main effects or interactions were found.

To explore other potential effects of disclosure on participants' thoughts, additional 2 x 3 ANOVAs were computed, with other-focused, environment-focused, positive, negative, neutral, and total number of thoughts serving as dependent variables. No significant main effects or interactions were found. However, when reviewing group means for descriptive differences (see Table 3), it was found that in the nondisclosure condition, those who received a late acknowledgment reported more other-focused

thoughts (*M*=3.27; *SD*=1.67) than did either those in the early (*M*=2.06; *SD*=1.34) or no acknowledgment (*M*=2.18; *SD*=1.29) conditions. A one-way ANOVA indicated that the acknowledgement effect was significant in the nondisclosure condition, $F(1,45)=3.32$; $p<.05$; $\eta^2=.13$.

The percentage of participants in each condition who reported *any* thoughts in a specific category was computed (e.g., all participants who mentioned at least one self-focused thought were included in the percentage, no matter how many such thoughts they reported) (see Table 4). None of the participants in the no acknowledgment group reported any thoughts about the disability. Of those who received an acknowledgment, about one-fourth reported disability-related thoughts (23% in early acknowledgment and 24% in late acknowledgment). A chi-square test indicated that the difference between acknowledgment and non-acknowledgment groups was significant ($X^2=9.77$, $p<.01$). Valence of disability-related thoughts was divided throughout experimental conditions; across all conditions, 27% of disability-related thoughts were positive, 33% were negative, and 40% were neutral.

Though no other statistically significant differences were found in the percentage of participants who listed each type of thought, descriptive statistics demonstrate that acknowledgment may have operated as expected in the nondisclosure condition. A greater percentage of participants in the nondisclosure/early acknowledgment condition (19%) reported self-focused thoughts than those in the nondisclosure/late (0%) or nondisclosure/no acknowledgment condition (6%). A similar pattern was not observed in the disclosure condition.

Self-focused thoughts: Nondisabled comparison. Participants in the nondisabled group did not report a significantly different number of self-focused thoughts from the experimental groups. However, other types of thoughts were also examined and some differences were found. First, participants who interviewed a nondisabled applicant reported significantly more environment-related thoughts (M=.33; SD=.90) than did participants who interviewed an applicant with a disability (M=.05; SD=.23), F (1, 107) = 6.76, p<.05, η^2=.06. Additionally, interviewers in the control group reported significantly more negative thoughts (M=1.33; SD=1.40) than participants who interviewed an applicant with a disability (M=.54; SD=.81), F (1, 107) = 9.76, p<.005, η^2=.08.

For other-focused thoughts, no overall disability—control differences existed. Yet when all experimental conditions were examined separately, two effects were found. First, for other-focused/positive thoughts, it was found that those in the no disclosure—late acknowledgment condition reported significantly more thoughts (M=2.47; SD=1.64) than those in the control condition (M=1.27; SD=1.22), F (1, 28) =5.16, p<.05, η^2=.16. In addition, participants in the nondisabled condition reported significantly more other-focused/negative thoughts (M=.93; SD=1.39) than those in the disclosure—early acknowledgment condition (M=.25; SD=.58), F (1, 29) =3.28, p>.05, η^2=.10.

Personality Ratings

Testing Hypothesis 1b and 2b regarding stereotype-consistent personality ratings required computation of scores on each of the personality factors. Reliability analyses for each of the factors were as follows: Extraversion: a=.73; Conscientiousness a=.60; Openness to Experience: a=.11; Emotional Stability: a=.69; and Agreeableness: a=.56.

Due to the varying degrees of reliability for individual personality factors, a composite score was created using all 17 personality adjectives and was used as the dependent variable in personality-related analyses. Reliability for the scale was high (a=.85). Because people with disabilities are expected to be low on the components of the five factors (Ficten & Amsel, 1986), higher scores on the personality composite indicated less disability stereotype-consistent personality perceptions. Tolerance for ambiguity was significantly correlated with the personality composite score, so it was included as a covariate in analyses. Because gender was found to interact with independent variables, it was also included.

A 2 (disclosure, nondisclosure) x 3 (no acknowledgment, early acknowledgment, late acknowledgment) x 2 (male, female) ANCOVA revealed a significant main effect of disclosure, F (1, 78) = 3.94, p=.05, η^2 =.05, a significant disclosure x acknowledgement interaction, F (2, 78) = 4.76, p<.05, η^2 =.11, and a significant disclosure x gender interaction, F (1, 78) = 5.83, p<.05, η^2 =.07. (See Table 5 for a summary of means by experimental condition.) Tolerance for ambiguity was a significant covariate, F(1, 78) = 11.69, p<.01, η^2 =.13. However, these effects were qualified by a significant 3-way interaction, F (2, 78) = 3.44, p<.05; η^2 =.08. To simplify the explanation of differences, each gender will be discussed separately.

When reviewing the data for males only, the main effect of disclosure was again significant, F (1, 29) = 13.13, p<.005, η^2 =.31, as was the disclosure x acknowledgement interaction, F (2, 29) = 10.35, p<.001, η^2 =.42, and the covariate tolerance for ambiguity, F(1, 29) = 13.96, p<.005, η^2 =.33. (See Figure 1 for a visual representation of the interaction.) Simple main effects tests were conducted to further examine differences

between groups. A simple main effect of acknowledgment, F (2, 16) = 12.68, p<.001, η^2 =.61, indicated that for males, if an interviewee disclosed, she received the highest ratings if she did not acknowledge (M=4.28[4], SD=.43), followed by acknowledging late (M=3.93, SD=.47), and lastly, acknowledging early (M=3.36, SD=.31). (Each of these cells was different from both of the others at p<.05; Table 5 displays means for each of these groups.) On the other hand, if the interviewee did not disclose, her personality ratings did not differ based on acknowledgment. When comparing disclosure and nondisclosure, it was found that in the early acknowledgment condition, the applicant who did not disclose prior to the interview (M=4.41, SD=.16) was rated significantly better than the applicant who did disclose (M=3.36, SD=.31), F (1, 6) = 20.79, p<.005, η^2 =.78.

For females, neither the main effects, interaction, nor the covariate were significant (see Table 5 and Figure 2).

Personality ratings: Nondisabled comparison. A 2 (disabled, nondisabled) x 2 (gender) ANCOVA indicated that participants who interviewed a nondisabled applicant (M=3.78; SD=.33) rated her less positively than participants who interviewed a disabled applicant (M=4.11; SD=.43), F (1, 101) =7.45, p<.01, η^2=.07. In order to compare the individual experimental groups to the control group, a 2 (gender) x 7 (condition) ANCOVA was computed. A significant main effect of condition was found, F (1, 91) =3.50, p<.01, η^2=.19, and tolerance for ambiguity was a significant covariate, F (1, 91) =10.74, p<.005, η^2=.11. To examine the condition main effect further, means comparisons tests were conducted. Participants in the nondisabled control group rated

[4] All means reported in Results section are adjusted for appropriate covariates.

the applicant as *more* disability-stereotyped (i.e., less positively) than participants in almost all of the experimental conditions, with the exception of the disclosure/early acknowledgment (M=3.80, SD=.50) and the no disclosure/no acknowledgment condition (M=4.02, SD=.41) (p<.05).

Perceptions of applicant anxiety. Although no formal hypotheses regarding applicant anxiety were set forth, participants' beliefs regarding the state anxiety of applicants were measured using five items (a=.88) (see means, Table 6). No covariates were significantly correlated with anxiety ratings. Due to differing effects of disclosure, males and females were examined separately. For males, a 2 x 3 ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of disclosure, $F(1,30) = 5.78$, p<.05, η^2 =.16, such that those applicants who disclosed were seen as more anxious (M=2.58, SD=.74) than those who did not disclose (M=1.91, SD=.86). For females, no effects of disclosure or acknowledgment were found; applicants who disclosed (M=2.22, SD=.83) were seen as equivalently anxious to those who did not disclose (M=2.13, SD=.72).

Perceptions of applicant anxiety: Nondisabled comparison. A one-way ANOVA indicated that the control group did not differ from the experimental group in their perceptions of applicant anxiety.

Hiring Ratings

In order to test Hypotheses 1c and 2c regarding hiring ratings, scores on the three hiring items were averaged (a=.86) (see descriptive statistics, Table 7). Hiring rating served as the dependent variable in a 2 (disclosure) x 3 (acknowledgment) x 2 (interview experience) ANCOVA, with comfort with the interview process as a covariate due to its significant correlation with hiring (r=.23, p<.05). While hypotheses predicted main

effects of disclosure and acknowledgment, hiring ratings were not significantly different between groups. The only main effect found was for interview experience; those with no interview experience rated the applicant more positively (M=4.36, SD=.58) than those with interview experience (M=3.86, SD=.88), F (1, 74) = 7.18, p<.01, η^2=.09. Comfort with the interview process was a significant covariate, F(1, 74) = 4.09, p<.005, η^2=.12; those who were more comfortable with the process tended to assign more positive hiring ratings.

Across experimental groups, hiring ratings were significantly correlated with the personality composite (r=.59, p<.01).

Hiring ratings: Nondisabled comparison. A one-way ANOVA indicated that the control group (M=3.87, SD=.69) and the experimental group (M=4.22, SD=.68) did not significantly differ in the hiring ratings they assigned to interviewees. However, participants without interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability *did* assign more positive hiring ratings (M=4.33, SD=.58) than the control group, F (1, 79) = 10.08, p<.005, η^2=.11. On the contrary, participants with interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability (M=3.87, SD=.87) rated consistently with the control group.

Finally, comfort with the interview process was not correlated with hiring ratings for the nondisabled group (r=.09, p>.05).

Interview performance ratings. Although no formal hypotheses regarding expected performance of interviewees were set forth, the degree to which participants felt that applicants performed well in the interview was measured with two items (a=.61) (see Table 8). No covariates were significantly correlated, and no gender effects existed.

However, as discussed previously, interview performance ratings were found to vary based on interview experience of participants, so experience was included in the analysis. A 2 (disclosure) x 3 (acknowledgment) x 2 (interview experience) ANOVA revealed that the only significant main effect was for interview experience. Similar to hiring ratings, those with no interview experience rated the applicant more positively (M=4.07, SD=.64) than those with interview experience (M=3.59, SD=.72), F (1, 82) = 7.82, p<.01, η^2=.09.

Due to the moderate level of reliability for the scale (a=.61), separate ANOVAs were computed for each of the items. Results followed a pattern identical to that found using the scale. For the item "The applicant explained his/her skills and applied them to the job," those with no interview experience rated the applicant more positively (M=3.75, SD=.91) than those with interview experience (M=3.13, SD=1.06), F (1, 82) = 6.25, p<.05, η^2=.07. Similarly, for the item "The applicant performed well in the interview," participants without experience rated the applicant's interview performance better (M=4.39, SD=.64) than those with interview experience (M=4.04, SD=.56), F (1, 82) = 4.47, p<.05, η^2=.05.

Across experimental groups, interview performance ratings were significantly correlated with the personality composite (r=.50, p<.01) and hiring ratings (r=.68, p<.01).

Interview performance ratings: Nondisabled comparison. Separate 2 (disabled, nondisabled) x 2 (some interview experience, no interview experience) ANOVAs were computed for each of the items. For the item "The applicant explained his/her skills and applied them to the job," those who interviewed the applicant with a disability rated the applicant more positively (M=3.60, SD=.98) than those who interviewed a nondisabled

applicant (*M*=2.67, *SD*=.90), *F* (1, 105) = 5.65, *p*<.05, η^2=.05. For the item "The applicant performed well in the interview," participants in the control (*M*=3.87, *SD*=.64) and experimental groups (*M*=4.31, *SD*=.64) did not rate the interviewee differently. No effects of interview experience existed for either performance item.

Comparisons on the composite interview performance score indicated that participants without interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability assigned more positive interview performance ratings (*M*=4.07, *SD*=.64) than the control group (*M*=3.27; *SD*=.68), *F* (1, 84) = 19.16, *p*<.001, η^2=.19. Participants with interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability (*M*=3.59, *SD*=.72) rated interview performance consistently with the control group.

Interview guide performance ratings. The five competency ratings on the interview guide (see descriptive statistics, Table 9) were averaged to create an interview guide performance rating score (a=.69). (The scale reliability analysis indicated that the alpha level would not be improved by removing any of the five individual items.) As would be expected, this score was moderately correlated with the interview performance rating score (*r*=.64, *p*<.001). However, no effects of interview experience, disclosure, acknowledgment, gender, or any study covariates were found for interview guide performance ratings.

Because the scale reliability was only moderate, each competency was examined independently to determine whether differences between experimental groups existed for individual competencies (using a 2 x 3 ANOVA). For four of the competencies (i.e., planning skills, professionalism, achieving results, and teamwork), no differences existed between experimental groups. However, for communication skills, a significant

disclosure x acknowledgment interaction was found, F (1, 73) = 5.80, p<.01, η^2=.14 (see Figure 3). Simple main effects tests indicated that when the applicant disclosed, acknowledgment had no effect. However, when she did not disclose, she received the highest communication skills ratings when she acknowledged early (M=4.46, SD=.66) or late (M=4.62, SD=.51) as opposed to not acknowledging at all (M=3.75, SD=.87), F (1, 35) = 5.56, p<.01, η^2=.24. Also, for the interviewee who did not acknowledge her condition during the interview, ratings of communication skills were more positive when disclosure occurred prior to the interview (M=4.67, SD=.74) as compared to no disclosure (M=3.75, SD=.87), F (1, 25) = 5.36, p<.05, η^2=.18. On the other hand, when the applicant acknowledged her disability late in the interview, she was rated as having better communication skills when she *did not* disclose prior to the interview (M=4.62, SD=.51) as opposed to when she did disclose (M=3.85, SD=.90), F (1, 24) = 7.23, p<.05, η^2=.23. For the early-acknowledging interviewee, no significant difference between the disclosure and nondisclosure conditions existed, although descriptive statistics indicate that the non-disclosing interviewee was perceived as having more favorable communication skills (M=4.46; SD=.66) than the interviewee who disclosed (M=4.00, SD=1.18), F (1, 25) = 1.55, p>.05, η^2=.06.

Across experimental groups, communication skills ratings were significantly correlated with the personality composite (r=.39, p<.01), hiring ratings (r=.26, p<.05), and interview performance ratings (r=.46, p<.01).

Interview guide performance ratings: Nondisabled comparison. When examining the disabled—nondisabled groups, differences in competency ratings in the interview guide were found for two of the competencies [Planning Skills: Disabled (M=3.70,

SD=.91); Nondisabled (*M*=2.67, *SD*=1.16), *F* (1, 91) = 12.38, *p*<.005, η^2=.12; Professionalism: Disabled (*M*=3.79, *SD*=.86); Nondisabled (*M*=3.08, *SD*=.90), *F* (1, 89) = 6.89, *p*<.05, η^2=.07]. These were the competencies with the lowest overall mean ratings (teamwork: *M*=4.44; *SD*=.83; communication skills: *M*=4.19; *SD*=.85; achieving results: *M*=4.14; *SD*=.82; professionalism: *M*=3.69; *SD*=.89; planning skills: *M*=3.56; *SD*=1.00).

For the other three competencies (i.e., achieving results, communication, and teamwork), no differences between the control and experimental conditions existed.

One-way ANOVAs were conducted for each of the interview guide competencies, with condition as the independent variable. The only competency for which condition had a significant main effect was communication skills, *F* (1, 85) = 2.23, *p*<.05, η^2=.14. Means comparisons tests indicated that the control group's communication skills were not rated differently than any of the experimental groups. However, the interviewee in the nondisclosure/no acknowledgment condition was rated significantly lower than the interviewees in the nondisclosure/early, nondisclosure/late, and disclosure/no acknowledgment conditions. Additionally, the disclosure/no acknowledgment interviewee was rated significantly better than the disclosure/late interviewee. (See Table 9 for a complete list of means and significant group differences.)

Liking ratings. The extent to which participants liked interviewees was not hypothesized to differ based on experimental conditions; however, liking (two items; a=.63) was examined for group differences (see Table 10). A 2 (disclosure) x 3 (acknowledgment) x 2 (interview experience) ANCOVA was computed for liking. The experimental groups did not differ significantly in their liking of the applicant; however,

comfort with the process was a significant covariate, F (1, 74) = 3.93, p=.05, η^2=.05. Those who were comfortable with the process tended to like the applicant more. The only significant main effect was for interview experience. Similar to hiring and interview performance ratings, those who reported no interview experience liked the applicant more (M=4.53, SD=.54) than those who reported some interview experience (M=4.11, SD=.43), F (1, 74) = 7.51, p<.01, η^2=.09.

Due to the moderate reliability of the liking scale, each liking item was examined separately. The effect of interview experience was identical for each of the individual items; in both cases, those participants who reported no interview experience also reported liking the applicant more. ["I have a favorable opinion of the applicant as a person.": no interview experience (M=4.57, SD=.64); some interview experience (M=4.16, SD=.49), F (1, 74) = 5.44, p<.05, η^2=.07. "I liked this applicant.": no interview experience (M=4.48, SD=.59); some interview experience (M=4.05, SD=.64), F (1, 74) = 5.44, p<.05, η^2=.07]. Comfort with the process was a significant covariate *only* for the item "I have a favorable opinion of this applicant as a person," F (1, 74) = 4.88, p<.05, η^2=.06.

Liking ratings: Nondisabled comparison. Each liking item was examined with a 2 (disabled, nondisabled) x 2 (some interview experience, no interview experience) ANCOVA. No experience or disabled/nondisabled effects were found for either item. Again, comfort with the process was a significant covariate only for the item "I have a favorable opinion of this applicant as a person," F (1, 97) = 10.31, p<.005, η^2=.10. Comfort with the interview process was not correlated with liking ratings for the nondisabled group. Consistent with hiring ratings, participants without interview

experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability assigned more positive overall liking ratings (M=4.49, SD=.52) than the control group (M=4.17, SD=.75), F (1, 84) = 4.09, p<.05, η^2=.05. On the contrary, participants with interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability (M=4.17, SD=.44) rated consistently with the control group.

Across experimental groups, liking ratings were significantly correlated with the personality composite (r=.39, p<.01), hiring ratings (r=.55, p<.01), interview performance ratings (r=.43, p<.01), and communication skills ratings (r=.29, p<.01).

Interview experience. Because interview experience had effects on hiring, interview performance, and liking ratings, its relationship to other variables was examined. A series of one-way ANOVAs comparing the two levels of interview experience were computed. Interview experience predicted comfort with the interview process; participants who reported interview experience also indicated that they were more comfortable with the interview process after training (M=4.10, SD=1.02) than those who reported no prior interview experience (M=3.52, SD=.94), F (1, 85) = 5.56, p<.05, η^2=.06. In addition, those who reported interview experience were older, on average (M=31.23 years, SD=9.04) than those who did not have experience (M=24.97, SD=5.74), F (1, 84) = 14.20, p<.001, η^2=.15. Age and comfort with the interview process were significantly correlated (r=.23, p<.05). Age was negatively correlated with interview performance ratings (r=-.27, p<.05).

Rationale for Hiring Ratings

In testing Hypothesis 1d and 2d regarding the use of applicant qualifications as justification for applicant hiring ratings, statements of rationale for hiring ratings were

first coded by two independent raters who were blind to experimental condition. Statements were coded as: (1) qualification-related (e.g., "Prior work experience, team player."); (2) personality-related (e.g., "I think she seemed like she had a lot of emotional intelligence and was a likeable person in general."); (3) interview performance (e.g., "She didn't really tell me about her skills much and everything was cut to the chase type of answer."); or (4) ambiguity-related (i.e., need more information; e.g., "I was unable to ask specific probes of the candidate to draw out specific examples and to be able to code responses."). The valence (i.e., positive or negative) of each statement was also coded, with the exception of statements in the ambiguity-related category (all statements in this category were considered neutral). The raters were in agreement for their ratings on 89% of thoughts; for all disagreements, a third rater reviewed items and made a final decision regarding the appropriate rating.

The percentage of participants in each condition who reported a rationale in each specific category was computed (see Table 11). Chi-square analyses were computed for each category. No overall disclosure-nondisclosure chi-square tests were significant, and no significant chi-square statistics were found for levels of acknowledgment. However, a descriptive review of the data revealed that within the disclosure condition, more participants made interview performance-related/positive comments in the no acknowledgment condition (44%) than in the early (29%) or late (0%) conditions; this effect was significant (X^2=8.13, p<.05). Also, more participants in the disclosure/no acknowledgement condition reported qualification-related/negative rationales for hiring (28%) than either the early (0%) or late (7%) acknowledgment groups (X^2=5.98, p=.05).

As mentioned previously, after participants responded to the hiring rationale item, one open-ended item asked: "Did the applicant say anything inappropriate during the interview? If so, please describe." The only comments made by participants regarding inappropriate statements dealt with the applicant discussing her disability (e.g., "Her last comments about herself being in a wheelchair and what happened have no relevance to the job she could do."). A chi-square test indicated a significant difference existed between acknowledgment conditions; those in the late acknowledgment condition were most likely to report that something disability-related was said during the interview (21%), followed by those in the early condition (13%), and lastly the no acknowledgment condition (0%) (X^2=7.48, p<.05). An additional analysis indicated that those interviewers who reported having prior interview experience were more likely to mention the inappropriateness of the acknowledgment (22%) than interviewers who had not performed interviews in the past (7%) (X^2=3.95, p<.05).

Nondisabled comparison: Rationale for hiring ratings. When comparing the hiring rationale of experimental groups (who interviewed an applicant with a disability) with the control group (who interviewed a nondisabled applicant), a pattern emerged. Across all categories, participants in the control group reported more negative rationales (47%) for their hiring ratings than experimental participants (17%) (X^2=6.83, p<.01), while experimental participants (61%) reported more positive rationales than the control group (33%) (X^2=3.93, p<.05). For additional descriptive statistics, see Table 11.

Participant Anxiety

To test the anxiety-related hypotheses (Hypothesis 1e and 2e), state anxiety was computed by averaging the five adjectives on the state anxiety scale (a=.86) (see

descriptive statistics, Table 12). Participants' state anxiety served as a dependent variable in a 2 x 3 ANCOVA. Because tolerance for ambiguity, comfort with the interview process, and amount of time before interview were all significantly correlated with state anxiety, they were included as covariates in the analysis. Gender had no effect and was not included in the analysis. While the experimental groups did not differ based on disclosure as expected, a significant main effect of acknowledgment was found, F (2, 76) = 3.48, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.08$. Means comparisons tests indicated that those participants who received a late acknowledgment (M=2.42, SD=.70) were significantly more anxious than those who received an early acknowledgment (M=2.00, SD=.75) ($p<.05$). Anxiety of participants who did not receive an acknowledgment (M=2.28, SD=.87) was not significantly different from either the early or late group. Time before interview, F (1, 76) = 6.30, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.08$, and comfort with the interview process, F (1, 76) = 38.63, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.34$, were both significant covariates; those who waited longer before conducting the interview were less anxious (r=-.29, $p<.01$), as were those who were more comfortable with the interview process (r=-.58, $p<.01$).

An additional item, "I felt comfortable with the applicant" (i.e., comfort with applicant) was administered to applicants. Comfort with applicant was significantly correlated with comfort with the interview process (r=.41, $p<.01$) but not with any of the other covariates or with gender. A 2 x 3 ANCOVA revealed that participants in different experimental conditions did not differ in the degree to which they expected to be comfortable with the applicant. Comfort with the interview process was a significant covariate, F (1, 79) = 15.19, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.16$.

Nondisabled comparison: Participant anxiety. A one-way ANCOVA indicated that participants in the experimental and control groups did not differ in the extent to which they reported feeling anxiety on the state anxiety scale. Of the covariates, only comfort with the interview process was correlated with anxiety for the nondisabled group (r=-.62, p<.05); time before interview was not correlated with anxiety.

Comfort with information shared. Two items measured participants' comfort with the information shared during the interview (a=.74) (e.g., "I felt uncomfortable with the amount of personal information this interviewee shared with me,") (see descriptive statistics, Table 13). The only covariate that was significantly correlated was comfort with the interview process; gender did not have an effect and was not included in the analysis. The 2 x 3 ANCOVA indicated that the experimental groups did not differ in the extent to which they felt comfortable with information discussed in the interview. Only the covariate, comfort with interview process, was significant, F (1, 80) = 6.33, p<.05, η^2=.07; those who were more comfortable with the interview process tended to be less comfortable with information shared (r=-.27, p<.05). Upon further examination, it was found that this correlation was only significant for the participants with no interview experience who interviewed an applicant with a disability (r=-.37, p<.005); for experienced interviews who interviewed an applicant with a disability (r=-.05, p>.05), and for interviewers in the nondisabled condition (r=-.11, p>.05), the correlation was not significant.

Thoughts about disability. Participants in the disclosure condition responded to the item: "How much did you think about the applicant's disability and how to handle it?" to measure their pre-interview thinking about the disability (see Table 14). Tolerance

for ambiguity was significantly correlated, so it was included as a covariate in the analysis. A one-way ANCOVA indicated that acknowledgment did not have a significant effect on thoughts about disability. Tolerance for ambiguity was a significant covariate, F (1, 41) = 6.98, p<.05, η^2=.15. Those who were more tolerant tended to think about the disability less (r=-.37, p<.05).

Thoughts about disability was also correlated with confederate-rated surprise; those who thought about the disability more were rated as less surprised by confederates (r=-.35, p<.05).

Confederate ratings of anxiety. Confederates were asked to rate each participant's level of anxiety during the interview (see Table 15). Neither gender nor any of the covariates were related to ratings and were not included in the analysis. A 2 x 3 ANOVA revealed a main effect of acknowledgment, F (2, 88) = 4.29, p<.05, η^2=.09. Means comparisons tests indicated that those participants who received an early acknowledgment (M=2.10, SD=1.06) were rated as significantly less anxious than those who did not receive an acknowledgment (M=2.94, SD=1.11) (p<.05). Anxiety of participants who received a late acknowledgment (M=2.45, SD=1.27) was not significantly different from those who received an early acknowledgment or no acknowledgment. Confederates were *not* blind to acknowledgment condition; as they were responsible for acknowledging the disability, they were aware of acknowledgment timing in all interviews.

Confederate ratings of participant anxiety were not significantly correlated with participants' self-ratings of anxiety (r=.15, p>.05).

Confederate ratings of eye contact. Confederates also rated the participants' level of eye contact during the interview. Because a significant effect of previous exposure to people with disabilities was found, exposure was included as an independent variable in the analysis. A 2 (exposure) x 2 (disclosure) x 3 (acknowledgment) ANOVA revealed a significant acknowledgment main effect, F (2, 82) = 4.80, p<.05, η^2=.11, which was qualified by a disclosure x acknowledgment interaction, F (2, 88) = 3.42, p<.05, η^2=.08. (See Table 16 for a summary of means; see Figure 4 for a visual representation of the interaction.) To explore the disclosure x acknowledgment interaction further, simple main effects tests were conducted. For those participants who received a pre-interview disclosure, eye contact did not differ as a result of acknowledgment. However, for those who did not receive a disclosure, a significant main effect of acknowledgment was found, F (2, 45) = 7.43, p<.005, η^2=.25. Means comparisons indicated that both those who received acknowledgment early (M=4.88, SD=.50) and those who did not receive acknowledgement (M=4.24, SD=1.09) had greater eye contact than those who received acknowledgment late (M=3.47, SD=1.30). Those who heard early acknowledgment did not differ from those who did not hear an acknowledgment.

A main effect of exposure to people with disabilities was also significant, F (1, 82) = 9.74, p<.005, η^2=.11, such that those participants who reported previous exposure (M=4.04, SD=1.13) were believed by confederates to have made less eye contact than those who had not been exposed (M=4.54, SD=.81). [Ratings of the latter group were consistent with ratings made by the control group (M=4.53; SD=.52).]

The correlation between confederate-rated anxiety and eye contact was moderate (r=-.45; p<.001).

Confederate rated surprise. Confederates responded to the item: "How surprised was the interviewer when he/she first saw you?" Because exposure had a significant effect on the item, it was included in a 2 x 2 x 3 ANOVA. Exposure was the only significant main effect, F (1, 82) = 5.79, p<.05, η^2=.07; those who reported no prior exposure (M=1.76; SD=.66) were rated as significantly more surprised than those who reported prior exposure (M=1.43; SD=.54).]

Confederate ratings of surprise were not significantly correlated with self-rated surprise (r=.11, p>.05).

Nondisabled comparison: Confederate ratings. A one-way (disabled, nondisabled) ANOVA revealed that confederates rated participants in the nondisabled condition (M=1.53, SD=.64) as significantly less anxious than those in the disabled conditions (M=2.52, SD=1.19), F (1, 107) = 12.63, p<.005, η^2=.09. To further examine the comparison of the nondisabled condition to individual experimental conditions, another one-way ANOVA was computed, with condition serving as the independent variable (all seven conditions were included; see Table 15). The main effect of condition was again significant, F (6, 102) = 3.85, p<.005, η^2=.19. Means comparisons tests indicated that the nondisabled applicant elicited significantly less anxiety than all other experimental conditions *with the exception of* the nondisclosure-early acknowledgment (M=1.88, SD=1.03) and disclosure-late acknowledgment conditions (M=2.21, SD=1.25).

For confederate ratings of eye contact, a one-way (disabled, nondisabled) ANOVA did not result in a significant main effect. Confederates rated participants in the nondisabled condition (M=4.53, SD=.52) as maintaining a level of eye contact similar to participants in the disabled conditions (M=4.26, SD=1.03).

Confederates rated participants in the experimental groups as significantly more surprised (M=1.58, SD=.61) upon seeing them than the control group (M=1.00, SD=.00), F (6, 107) = 13.06, p<.001, η^2=.11.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 measured differences in the thoughts, evaluations, and anxiety experienced by interviewers as a result of pre-interview disability disclosure. This topic is in desperate need of attention because some authors (e.g., Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992) of job search guides written for people with visible disabilities stress the benefits of revealing one's disability up front, yet attention-related research (e.g., Osborne & Gilbert, 1992) suggests that disclosure may lead to increased self-focused thinking, stereotype-consistent evaluations, and anxiety, as well as decreased memory for applicant characteristics. In fact, the dearth of empirical research on the subject of disability disclosure makes its methodical examination critical. The thousands of Americans with visible disabilities who are unable to secure employment must be offered constructive job-seeking advice grounded in scientific investigation.

The examination of how disability acknowledgment specifically affects disabled—non-disabled interactions may have enormous implications. While Hebl's (1997) and Roberts' (2001) research began to clarify the attitudes nondisabled individuals hold about acknowledgments, these acknowledgments were interpreted by passive recipients who were not actually a part of the interaction. Perceivers were never the active recipients of the disability acknowledgment; instead, they were instructed to observe an acknowledgment that already happened and was targeted to another individual. It is important to examine processing of information about people with

disabilities in a setting analogous to the employment selection process. One of the most valuable aspects of the present study is that it mirrored the actual employment interview situation by making participants anticipate and participate in an actual face-to-face interview with an interviewee with a disability. Having perceivers actually be the recipients of the acknowledgment allowed us to gather rich data that addressed the attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral reactions to acknowledgments. Although many study predictions were not supported, the results of this study provide value in identifying aspects of the interviewer, interviewee communication strategies, and interview situation that impact ratings of applicants with disabilities.

This study was the first to examine the disclosure x acknowledgment interaction in a fully-crossed design. As the results demonstrate, it is important to take disclosure into account when making acknowledgment recommendations, and vice versa. The study provides a simulation of the entire interview process (pre-interview information, interview, and post-interview evaluations), and it serves as a starting point for measuring the interrelatedness of disability disclosure and acknowledgment in determining interview outcomes.

While many Study 1 hypotheses received only partial support or were completely unsupported by the present results, some tentative conclusions and suggestions for future research can be gained by these findings. All findings and some thoughts regarding their possible significance will first be reviewed, followed by implications of results, suggestions for future research, and study limitations.

Summary of Findings

Self-focused thoughts. In analyzing hypotheses regarding self-focused thinking (Hypotheses 1a and 2a, which predicted greater self-focused thinking in the disclosure and early acknowledgment conditions), no significant effects of disclosure or acknowledgment were found. The lack of significant findings regarding self-focusing thoughts may have been a result of demand characteristics. Because participants were told that the purpose of the study was to evaluate the interview performance of job applicants, they may have assumed that it was inappropriate to discuss themselves when they were asked to describe the thoughts they experienced during the interview. The objective of the interviews, as understood by participants, was to provide practice and feedback for interviewees; thus, it is not entirely surprising that they did not address their own thoughts and feelings in their evaluation forms. Future research in this area must attempt to include more accurate methods of measuring participants' self-focused thoughts.

Examination of other types of thoughts reported by participants indicated that, in the nondisclosure group, late acknowledgment led to more other-focused thoughts than either early or no acknowledgment. In other words, if an interviewer was unprepared for the presence of the disability, early acknowledgment or a lack of acknowledgment by the interviewee reduced other-focused thinking. It is possible that ratings made by participants in the late acknowledgment were affected by the recency effect, in that other-focused thoughts were increased by the acknowledgment and were recorded on evaluation forms soon after acknowledgment took place. Another possibility is that the applicant's early acknowledgment invited interviewers to use the disability as a basis for

judgment (an effect suggested by Henry, 1992), and as a result they assumed she fit into disability stereotypes and they did not think as much about her qualifications and interview performance. Early acknowledgment may also have raised concerns in interviewers' minds about appearing fair and unbiased to the applicant, thus causing them to focus on their own self-presentation. (Additional evidence for this possibility is the fact that the early acknowledgment group reported a higher percentage of self-focused thoughts than late acknowledgment, though this was not statistically significant). The latter two explanations do not address the fact that acknowledging a disability late in the interview led to greater other-focused thinking than not acknowledging it, however. Thus, acknowledgment in the context of a lack of prior knowledge of the disability must be examined in future research.

In both the early and late acknowledgment groups, about one-fourth of participants reported thoughts about the disability, whereas in the non-acknowledgment group no such thoughts were mentioned. Of those who thought about the disability, one-third saw the applicant's discussion of it as negative. Two-thirds made positive comments regarding disability discussion, or were neutral in their feelings about it. It appears that, consistent with suggestions made by authors of job search handbooks, acknowledgment made some interviewers believe they could discuss the disability and that it was not a taboo topic. On the other hand, several interviewers made negative comments about the acknowledgment. The present findings are consistent with Henry (1992), in which interviewees were more likely to be labeled as "disabled" if they acknowledged a visible disability during the interview; Henry suggested that such labeling was indicative of the use of stereotypes rather than objective information in

forming judgments of applicants. Based on these findings, blanket statements advocating disability acknowledgment in job search handbooks may be inappropriate.

When comparing the experimental groups to the control group, it was found that almost all experimental groups elicited an amount of self- and other-focused thinking that was similar to the thinking triggered by the control group. However, other-focused/positive thoughts were greater in the no disclosure/late acknowledgment condition than in the nondisabled condition. This indicates that not disclosing, then acknowledging late may leave interviewers with a more positive impression than other disclosure-acknowledgment combinations.

Personality ratings. Hypotheses 1b and 2b predicted that personality ratings would be more disability-stereotyped (i.e., less positive) in the disclosure and early acknowledgment conditions. These hypotheses received partial support. First, it must be noted that all personality-related findings are for males only; no effects of disclosure or acknowledgment were found for female participants. Why are females' ratings of personality unaffected by communication strategies of applicants? Perhaps females do not place as much significance on self-disclosure and acknowledgment as males do; males may not be accustomed to discussion of such personal information in formal relationships, whereas females may consider it more customary and expected. On the other hand, findings may be due to the fact that males interviewed an applicant of the opposite gender, while females interviewed someone of the same gender. It is possible that males saw disclosure and acknowledgment as a sign of weakness, or inferred that the applicant would expect special treatment because of her disability, whereas females did not make such inferences. Future studies should include all permutations of mixed-

gender interviews to determine whether inconsistent effects are a result of inherent differences between males and females, or a consequence of the nature mixed-gender as opposed to same-gender interactions. Finally, confederates may have acted differently based on the gender of the interviewer. Although confederates were trained to act equivalently and were rated as doing so based on pre-data collection videotapes, they may have subconsciously altered their performance in the actual interviews depending on the gender of the participant. As videotapes of the experimental sessions were focused only on the participants, there is no way to determine whether participants held performance constant across genders. In future studies, objective measures of confederate performance should be included.

When the applicant disclosed prior to the interview, male participants assigned her the most favorable personality ratings when she did not acknowledge her condition. Her ratings were second best when she acknowledged late, and worst when she acknowledged early. When she chose not to reveal her condition prior to the interview, no effects of acknowledgment were found. In other words, if an applicant with a disability chose to disclose, she was more stereotyped when also acknowledging, especially if that acknowledgment occurred early in the interview. On the contrary, if she chose not to disclose, participants' use of stereotypes in judging her was unaffected by acknowledgment. Again, we must remember that definitive recommendations cannot be made based on the present results because the findings were not found for female participants. But the present results to suggest that effects of acknowledgment are not as black and white as previous research might imply. For example, Blood and Blood (1982) and Hebl (1997) found that an interviewee with a disability received more favorable

personality ratings when he or she acknowledged the disability than when no acknowledgment occurred. The current results should encourage future researchers to not only examine acknowledgment within the context of disclosure, but also to continue to examine the time at which acknowledgment takes place rather than varying only its presence or absence.

Previous research has found that nondisabled people expect people with disabilities to possess more negative personality traits than nondisabled people (Emry & Wiseman, 1987; Fichten & Amsel, 1986; Hennessy & Bartels, 2002). This finding was not replicated in the present study; in fact, almost all experimental groups were rated more favorably than the nondisabled group. Previous studies measured personality ratings of "people with disabilities" in general on a written survey. The present research indicates that relying on stereotypes to make judgments of an individual one has met face-to-face is much more difficult than doing so when making a written judgment about an entire social group. As indicated by a recent meta-analysis (Moscosco & Salgado, 2002) personality *was* correlated with interviewee ratings in this study.

Applicants in the current study who either disclosed/acknowledged early or didn't disclose/didn't acknowledge were rated similarly to the nondisabled applicant, whereas all other experimental groups were rated more favorably. This discovery suggests that a sympathy effect may have been occurring for most experimental groups, with the exception of the two aforementioned conditions. Although their results were no worse than those of a nondisabled applicant, personality rating of applicants who *both* disclosed and acknowledged early or *neither* disclosed nor acknowledged were less favorable than those of other disability groups. Future research must be conducted to determine if these

disclosure/acknowledgment combinations are, in fact, sub-optimal in comparison to other communication strategies.

Perceived applicant anxiety. Although perceived applicant anxiety was not addressed by study hypotheses, the variable was included in order to determine how it might be affected by disclosure and acknowledgment. It was found that disclosure, as compared to nondisclosure, made male participants believe the applicant was more anxious. The finding that disclosure had direct effects on perceptions of applicant anxiety even after the interview occurred is an important one, indicating that disclosure is an important variable to include in future studies of job applicants with disabilities. The fact that effects of disclosure were sustained throughout the interview despite interview performance is consistent with the two-stage model of the effects of stereotypes (i.e., perceivers first create hypotheses about a target, then test these hypotheses in a biased fashion only if they are allowed to observe the target's behavior; Darley & Gross, 1983) and Osborne and Gilbert's (1992) results. Participants in the latter study were unable to correct biased attributions even after they had an opportunity to observe a target individual whose behavior contradicted the attribution; the authors concluded that this was because participants were self-focused during the observation period. The same effect may have been occurring in the present study. It's possible that male participants assumed a discloser was anxious, then they were self-focused during the interview so that even though the interviewee displayed no anxiety, they did not correct the original attribution. However, several caveats regarding this suggestion must be mentioned. First, no effects of disclosure on self-focused thoughts were found in the present study, so it is only a supposition that self-focused thinking is the cause of participants' inability to

correct attributions. (Yet because the number of self-focused thoughts in all conditions was extremely small, it should not be ruled out as a possibility.) Also, the supposition that the prospect of an encounter with someone with a disability causes a nondisabled individual to be in a self-focused state has not been directly tested in prior research; rather, it has been theorized by a number of authors (e.g., Gilbert et al., 1988a; Hebl et al., 2001; Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). Finally, this effect was found only for males and therefore further research must be conducted to establish generalizability of these findings.

Perceived applicant anxiety was correlated with several other study variables, including personality ratings, participant anxiety, and interview performance. Thus, if disclosure has an effect on perceptions of anxiety even after the interview has taken place, it may also indirectly have an effect on those other outcomes (and, because personality and interview performance are correlated with hiring, it may also affect hiring). Therefore, it is an important variable to maintain for further examination in future studies. More specifically, what are interviewee verbal and nonverbal behaviors that lead to perceptions of anxiety? The link between perceptions of anxiety and employment outcomes (i.e., hiring) must be established.

Hiring ratings. Hypotheses 1c and 2c predicted that hiring ratings would be less positive when the applicant disclosed her disability prior to the interview or acknowledged it early in the interview. These hypotheses were not supported. However, it is important to point out that hiring ratings were correlated with personality ratings, and it is possible that findings related to personality would predict hiring in an actual employment interview context.

Individuals who reported having no prior interview experience assigned more favorable hiring ratings than those who reported having interview experience; those with experience rated consistently with those in the nondisabled group. Thus, it appears that interviewers without experience were displaying a sympathy effect, while those with experience were able to remove biases and objectively evaluate interviewee performance. Additionally, comfort with the interview process related to hiring ratings for participants in the disabled condition who had no interview experience; yet, for participants in the control condition and those in the disabled condition who had interview experience, comfort with the interview process did *not* correlate with hiring ratings. It seems that participants who interviewed a nondisabled applicant (and those with interview experience who interviewed a disabled applicant) were better able to objectively assign hiring ratings based on the applicant's performance. On the other hand, interviewers with no experience may have relied on the affect they were experiencing when making ratings. In other words, a participant who understood the interview process and felt capable of performing the interview may have assigned more positive hiring ratings, while an individual who did not understand how the interview was supposed to proceed or was not comfortable with the details of the interview might have assigned lower ratings. For interviewers without experience, the demands of the situation were probably exacerbated by the fact that they interviewed an applicant with a disability, and they may have been able to correct for only one novelty at a time.

Previous studies (e.g., Farley & Hinman, 1988; Hebl, 1997) have found that interviewees with disabilities receive more favorable hiring ratings when they choose to acknowledge. As this finding was not supported in the present study, future researchers

should again be reminded to examine acknowledgment within the context of disclosure to understand its true impact on hiring ratings.

Interview performance ratings. Similar to hiring ratings, interview performance ratings were affected by interview experience; participants without experience rated applicants' performance more favorably than those with experience. Just as participants with no experience showed a sympathy effect when assigning hiring ratings to applicants with disabilities as compared to nondisabled applicants, they also showed a sympathy effect when rating interview performance. Again, participants with interview experience did not demonstrate a sympathy effect.

When examining ratings of individual competencies assessed by the interview, some significant effects emerged for the communication skills competency. The applicant who did not disclose received more favorable communication skills ratings when she acknowledged at any time during the interview rather than omitting acknowledgment. On the other hand, when she did not acknowledge she received more favorable ratings when she disclosed prior to the interview rather than not disclosing. Thus, it appears that an individual who would not like to discuss her disability during the interview will be perceived as having the best communication skills when she discloses it beforehand. An applicant who is not comfortable disclosing her disability prior to the interview may receive better communication skills scores when acknowledging it at some point during the interview.

Hiring rationale. Hypotheses 1d and 2d predicted that disclosure and early acknowledgment would lead to a decreased use of applicant qualifications as justification for hiring ratings. Some findings were in the direction predicted by hypotheses, although

neither of the predictions was supported by study results. It was discovered, however, that more participants in the disclosure/no acknowledgment condition reported hiring rationales relevant to the judgment being made than did participants in the disclosure/early or disclosure/late conditions. Perhaps following up a disclosure with an acknowledgment at any time leads to an interviewer's increased reliance on stereotypes in evaluating candidate performance, and a corresponding decrease in thought given to a candidate.

Findings relating to hiring rationale were somewhat limited. Hiring rationale was included in this research because evaluators who carefully consider the merits of a case, rather than focusing on their own behavior or relying on stereotypes, should be more likely to cite those merits as reasons for their decisions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Consequently, it was expected that use of applicant qualifications as reasons for hiring would be reduced in the disclosure and early acknowledgment conditions. While this was not the case, it is possible that the information was not collected in an optimal way. Giving participants a few blank lines to free-write their responses limited the amount of information we were able to obtain from each participant. Perhaps conducting a follow-up interview with respondents regarding the rationale for their hiring recommendations may have reaped more valuable data about the effects of disclosure and acknowledgment on consideration of an applicant's job qualifications.

Interviewer anxiety. Hypotheses 1e and 2e predicted that interviewers would experience a greater degree of anxiety when an applicant disclosed her disability prior to the interview and when she acknowledged it early in the interview. No effects of disclosure on participants' self-rated anxiety were found. However, participants who

received a late acknowledgment during the interview rated themselves as more anxious than participants who heard an early acknowledgment. This was inconsistent with Roberts (2001), in which participants were more *comfortable* with a videotaped interviewee who either acknowledged late or did not acknowledge at all. Such inconsistency between studies indicates that ratings made in the context of videotaped interviews may not translate to actual "live" interview situations, and that researchers must take the authenticity of the interview context into consideration when designing future studies. When interviewers received a late acknowledgment face-to-face with the interviewee, their ratings may have been affected by the recency effect, as the acknowledgment was fresher in their minds.

Confederates also rated the degree of anxiety displayed by interviewers. Confederates believed that participants were more anxious in the no acknowledgment condition than the early acknowledgment condition. Both sources agreed that acknowledging early makes interviewers the least anxious, yet ratings of confederate-rated and self-report anxiety were not correlated. Future studies should ensure that nonverbal measures from additional sources (not only self-report) are included. (In the present study, all interviews were videotaped. Although it is beyond the scope of this project, third party ratings of participant anxiety, surprise, and eye contact will be examined in a future study.) Similarly, confederate-rated surprise did not correlate with self-rated surprise.

Participants who knew about the disability in advance and reported thinking more about it prior to the interview were rated as less surprised by confederates. This information could be important in ensuring that applicants with disabilities have a

positive interview experience. "Mindfulness training" (Langer, Bashner, & Chanowitz, 1985) may be a useful tactic in training interviewers to display a composed demeanor when interacting with job applicants. Such training has resulted in decreased discrimination against people with disabilities (Blair, Ma, & Lenton, 2001; Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001). (Mindfulness training is discussed further on page 97).

The percentage of time interviewers made eye contact was also rated by confederates. Results indicated that participants who knew about the disability prior to the interview were rated as maintaining a consistent level of eye contact regardless of when (or if) the applicant acknowledged. On the other hand, interviewers who did not receive a pre-interview disclosure were rated as having greater eye contact when the applicant acknowledged her disability early in the interview or not at all, as compared to when she acknowledged it late. This finding is somewhat difficult to explain. While it is logical that if the interviewer was unaware of the disability upon entering the interview, but the applicant immediately discussed it, the interviewer would be more comfortable and therefore make more eye contact with the applicant. However, why would greater eye contact take place when the applicant did not acknowledge at all than when she acknowledged late? Eye contact takes place during the entire interview, and thus an acknowledgment at the very end could barely impact eye contact as compared to a lack of acknowledgment. It is possible that confederates were biased in their ratings, as they were not blind to the acknowledgment condition. As mentioned previously, a future project will include a review of eye contact demonstrated in videotapes. Alternatively, confederates may have looked away during the disability acknowledgment. The recency effect may have affected their ratings in that they recalled more readily that they were not

making eye contact with the interviewer (despite the fact that the confederates themselves were the cause of the lack of eye contact) because it happened at the end of the interview. In future studies, confederates as well as interviewers should be observed to understand eye contact patterns adequately.

Confederate ratings of eye contact also indicated that interviewers who reported no prior exposure to people with disabilities received higher ratings of eye contact than those who had been previously exposed; ratings of eye contact in the non-exposed group were consistent with eye contact in the nondisabled condition. Perhaps the previously exposed group was attempting to demonstrate their comfort by not looking at the applicant as much as they might look at a nondisabled applicant. They were less surprised (as rated by confederates) upon meeting the applicant than participants with no prior exposure. This rating is especially meaningful because confederates were blind not only to condition, but also to participants' self-reports of previous disability exposure.

Consistent with a prior study in which participants who were allowed to observe an applicant with a disability prior to an interaction were more comfortable with her when they met her (Langer et al., 1976), interviewers in the present research were seen as less surprised by confederates when they had previously been exposed to people with disabilities. Confederates were blind to participants' level of previous exposure and thus could not have been inadvertently rating based on their own expectations. This finding suggests that organizations providing interviewers with the opportunity to interact with people with disabilities, or simply exposing them to such individuals, might assist them in behaving more calmly when they are asked to interview an applicant with a disability.

Such composure may lead to a more relaxed interview atmosphere for the applicant as well as the interviewer.

For those participants who were told that they would be interviewing an applicant with a disability, having more time to prepare for the interview was associated with lower levels of anxiety. Thus, the time between disability disclosure and the actual interview must be further examined in future studies. Perhaps applicants with disabilities who wish to disclose their conditions prior to the interview should do so well in advance of meeting the interviewer face-to-face, rather than a day or too before the interview.

Comfort with the interview process. Comfort with the interview process was associated with lower levels of interviewer anxiety and greater comfort with the applicant, as well as more positive ratings of hiring and liking. An unexpected result was the negative correlation between comfort with the interview process and comfort with information shared in the interview; those who were more comfortable with the process were actually *less* comfortable with information shared. Though this finding may initially seem counter-intuitive, it is possible that those individuals who were not as concerned with the interview process itself were able to contemplate the disability acknowledgment to a greater degree and, in some cases, believed that that acknowledgement was inappropriate. In fact, a greater percentage of participants who reported having prior interview experience commented on the inappropriateness of statements made by the interviewee than participants who reported no prior interview experience. No correlation between comfort with the process and comfort with information shared was found for the nondisabled group; those participants were not dealing with a novel applicant. These findings provide additional evidence that

interviewers can effectively handle only one novelty at a time: either the novelty of performing an interview or the novelty of interacting with someone with a disability. When an individual is placed in a situation in which he or she must grapple with both of these novelties at the same time, the result may be reliance on stereotypes or, in the case of applicants with disabilities, the sympathy effect. Future studies examining disability disclosure and acknowledgment must ensure that all participants are equally comfortable with the interview process so that disclosure and acknowledgment effects may be examined in the absence of that variable's effects.

Age was related to interview experience and comfort with the interview process; older participants tended to report greater experience with interviewing and an associated comfort level with the interview process. Older participants also tended to assign lower interview performance ratings. All confederates in the current study were approximately the same age (between 22 and 25 years), so it is impossible to determine from the current results if the degree of the interviewer-interviewee age difference had any effect on ratings. Future research should attempt to tease out the effects of age of interviewee, age of interviewer, and interview experience of interviewer.

Implications

The present research suggests that an interaction between disclosure and acknowledgment does exist. Neither strategy occurs in isolation in the real world, and therefore they must be examined together in order to generate data that is generalizable to the actual employment interview context. In addition, the present results suggest that disclosure and acknowledgment do relate to employment-related outcomes, and they certainly merit further investigative attention. The fact that the effects of a written pre-

interview disability disclosure existed even after an interview had taken place suggests that disclosure may have an even more significant impact on perceptions of authentic job-seekers. Precisely what those effects might be is not clear; however. There is no doubt that this study is merely the tip of the iceberg in examining disability disclosure and acknowledgement. A great deal of further investigation is necessary before any definitive conclusions may be drawn. However, some very cautious conclusions *based only on the present data* are suggested. While research in this area has not evolved to the point where people with disabilities can be advised regarding the most favorable disclosure/acknowledgment combination, the present study suggests some possibilities that may exist, and should be tested in future studies.

Individuals who do not wish to disclose their disabilities prior to the interview may wish to acknowledge the condition at some point during the interview for several reasons. First, the personality ratings of the non-disclosing applicant who did not acknowledge were not significantly different from those of the nondisabled applicant, whereas the applicants who acknowledged at either time were rated more favorably than the nondisabled applicant. Similarly, the applicant who did not disclose received more favorable communication skills ratings when she acknowledged at any time during the interview rather than omitting acknowledgment. It is not clear what time during the interview is optimal for acknowledgement. Participants in the present study who did not receive a disclosure prior to the interview reported more thoughts about the applicant when she acknowledged her condition late in the interview as compared to when she did not acknowledge it or acknowledged it early. Yet, both participant and confederate

ratings of anxiety indicated that interviewers were least anxious when the interviewee acknowledged early (across both disclosure conditions).

If an applicant with a disability chooses to disclose her condition prior to the interview, she might consider *not* discussing it during the interview. Conversely, if she does not wish to verbally acknowledge her disability during the interview, she may wish to disclose it prior to the interview. This suggestion is made because the applicant who disclosed was more stereotyped when she also acknowledged, especially if that acknowledgment occurred early in the interview. Also, when the applicant did not acknowledge the disability during the interview, she received more favorable ratings when she had disclosed it prior to the interview rather than not disclosing. Finally, a greater number of participants who had heard a disclosure reported relevant hiring rationales in the no acknowledgment condition than in the early late conditions.

It is possible that disclosure paired with non-acknowledgment and nondisclosure paired with acknowledgment during the interview may be the most effective strategies. But which of the two is the most favorable? Although no conclusion is definitive at this point, it is possible that nondisclosure may lead to more positive hiring outcomes. Male participants in this study believed that the applicant was more anxious when she disclosed prior to the interview than when she did not. This perceived applicant anxiety was correlated with several other study variables, including personality ratings, participant anxiety, and interview performance. Thus, if disclosure has an effect on perceptions of anxiety even after the interview has taken place, it may also indirectly have an effect on those other outcomes (and, because personality and interview performance are correlated with hiring, it may also affect hiring). While evidence

tentatively proposes that applicants with disabilities should not disclose prior to the interview and acknowledge at some time during the interview, this trend must be thoroughly investigated in further studies before any suggestions may be made provided to people with disabilities.

Future Research

Comfort with interview process, interview experience, and disability exposure. Comfort with the interview process and interview experience predicted hiring and interview performance ratings. Future studies should ensure that participants understand the interview process and are prepared to undertake it. Confederate ratings of eye contact were affected by participants' previous exposure to people with disabilities; it is important that exposure continues to be measured in future studies. As mentioned previously, age of interviewee and interviewer is a factor that must be considered as well.

Timing of disclosure. The timing of a prospective interaction may partially determine the level of preparatory self-regulation that an interviewer undertakes. Does the time differential of disclosure have effects? Disclosure either occurs upon meeting the interviewer or sometime prior to the interview. What is the effect of finding out days or weeks in advance vs. immediately prior to the interview vs. at the outset of the interaction? Future research must address the impact of disclosure timing on self-focused attention and biased information processing.

Gender. In the present study, disclosure and acknowledgment affected applicant personality and anxiety ratings made by males, but females' ratings were the same regardless of experimental condition. Future studies should included all permutations of mixed-gender interviews to determine whether inconsistent effects in personality and

applicant anxiety ratings are a result of inherent differences between males and females, or a consequence of the nature mixed-gender as opposed to same-gender interactions.

Nonverbal behavior. Confederate ratings and self-ratings of participants' anxiety and surprise were uncorrelated in this study. Future studies should ensure that nonverbal measures from additional sources (not only self-report) are included.

Self-focused thoughts. Participants in the present study reported very few self-focused thoughts. Future research in this area must attempt to include more accurate methods of measuring participants' self-focused thoughts. Giving participants a few blank lines to free-write their responses limited the amount of information we were able to obtain from each participant. Perhaps conducting a follow-up interview with respondents regarding their thoughts throughout the process may have reaped more valuable data about the effects of disclosure and acknowledgment on consideration of an applicant's job qualifications.

Conditional acknowledgement. Perhaps if disability acknowledgment is seen as job-related, it leads to positive effects, while if the acknowledgment is seen as unnecessary, it may elicit a negative reaction. As suggested by Lee (2002), it is possible that individuals with visible disabilities should "play it by ear" during the interview, addressing the condition only if the interviewer seems uncomfortable or confused about the applicant's ability to perform the job. In the present study, some acknowledgment effects were found, even though the position presented had a high disability-job fit for an applicant with paraplegia. Conceivably, acknowledgment effects would be more pronounced when the interview involved a job with lower disability-job fit. Future research must examine acknowledgment of both individuals whose disabilities fit the

target job and those who do not. The job fit variable, as well as other conditional factors such as an interviewer's immediate reaction to the disability, must be isolated and measured.

Interview structure. Future research must examine the relationship between interview structure, disclosure, and acknowledgment. The degree that an interview is structured may affect self-focused thinking. Because interviewers have typically been in so few situations similar to interviewing someone with a disability, they are often unsure of how to respond when they can't use a routine schema for proceeding with the interaction. However, when implementing a highly structured interview, ambiguity may be reduced. Highly structured interview formats reduce the amount of bias that is allowed to enter the interviewer's decision-making process. Due to requirements to ask questions exactly as written, interviewers are not able to phrase questions in such a way as to potentially bias interview responses; they aren't "allowed" to ask additional questions not contained in the interview protocol (Parsons, Liden, & Bauer, 2001). Osborne and Gilbert's (1992) findings that the expectation of interacting with a person with a disability increased self-focused thoughts may not have been discovered if participants had received a list of standard questions to ask in the interview. It is possible that acknowledgment has little or no effect in the case of highly structured interviews, but has a great impact in unstructured interviews.

Thinking about the disability. In this study, participants who reported thinking more about the disability prior to the interview were rated as less surprised by confederates. It seems that encouraging interviewers to give the disability some thought prior to the interview might be valuable in ensuring that applicants with disabilities have

a positive interview experience. It may also assist interviewers in making more fair assessments of people with disabilities. One method that has been suggested for increasing deep cognitive processing regarding interviewees with disabilities and decreasing stereotypes is "mindfulness training" (Langer, et al., 1985). Such training: 1) can teach people that disabilities are function and not people specific; 2) can reduce inappropriate discrimination; and 3) can result in less avoidance of those with disabilities. In the Langer et al. study, mindfulness was increased by asking questions of participants concerning a disabled or nondisabled target person and the target person's professional and situational skills. The high-mindfulness treatment, especially when bolstered by explicit references to the disabled, revealed that teaching participants to be more differentiated (i.e., more mindful) resulted in the view that disabilities are function-specific and not people-specific. Participants in this group were less likely to inappropriately discriminate for or against the target with a disability, or to avoid a person with a disability.

Blair, et al., (2001) found that participants who engaged in counter-stereotypic mental imagery produced substantially weaker implicit stereotypes compared with participants who did not engage in imagery. That study showed that implicit stereotypes are malleable, and controlled processes, such as mental imagery, may influence the stereotyping process. Similarly, students enrolled in a prejudice and conflict seminar showed significantly reduced anti-Black biases, compared with control students (Rudman, et al., 2001). In addition, prejudice and stereotypes may be effectively changed through affective processes; Rudman et al. found that students who evaluated the professor and course positively, made friends with out-group members, and reported

feeling less threatened by out-group members showed decreased stereotyping. The authors concluded that insight into one's own biases and motivation to be nonprejudiced was linked to a reduction in prejudiced judgments.

The amount of thought interviewers give to an applicant with a disability must continue to be examined in future research. Additionally, stereotype-reducing techniques such as mindfulness training and counter-stereotypic mental imagery should be investigated so that interviewers may be assisted in their efforts to accurately judge interviewees.

Interviews with actual people with disabilities. Future research should examine the interview with interviewees who are actually disabled, as the interview interaction may unfold in a very dissimilar way when one of the interactants has a genuine disability.

Individuals who are self-conscious about being stigmatized sometimes misinterpret others' behavior and mannerisms, misattributing them to the stigma; in other words, people who expect bias often see bias (Devine, Evett, & Vasquez-Suson, 1996). Stigmatized people experience a chronic state of attributional ambiguity experienced with regard to the causes of others' behavior toward them (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991). While negative feedback is attributed to a majority group member's negative attitudes, positive feedback is attributed to the desire not to appear prejudiced. This ambiguity leads minority group members to experience stress and uncertainty about how to handle interpersonal encounters with majority group members.

The expectations that stigmatized and non-stigmatized people bring to interactions often create a self-fulfilling prophecy, in which their interpersonal strategies and interpretations of the other's behavior cause the predicted negative outcome to

actually occur (Devine et al., 1996). Devine et al. described the development of a likely non-stigmatized—stigmatized interaction through the framework of Darley and Fazio's (1980) interaction model. Initially, a low prejudiced non-stigmatized person is motivated to respond without prejudice, but uncertain about her ability to do so; thus, she becomes highly self-conscious and anxious. Because it is more difficult to control nonverbal than verbal responses when under stress (Gilbert, Pelham, & Krull, 1988), nondisabled individuals may immediately betray the fear, surprise, repulsion, and anxiety they feel upon perceiving a person with a disability through their spontaneous nonverbal reactions (e.g., facial expressions of fear, trembling voice, decreased eye contact, and increased speech errors). Such a display of avoidant nonverbal behaviors betrays a "lie"—the attempt by a nondisabled individual to mask a negative emotion by speaking in a positive manner (Gilbert et al., 1988b). Such behavior is interpreted by the stigmatized individual as being in line with the prejudice that was initially expected to occur in the interaction. Thus, the stigmatized person responds with withdrawal, aloofness, or hostility. This behavior is seen as an unreasonable reaction by the non-stigmatized person, who may reciprocate negative behaviors. This example displays how easily interactions can become negative, especially when both interactants arrive with negative expectations. Therefore, the interview must be examined in the context of an actual employment setting, in which an interviewee with a disability arrives with certain expectations that affect the interviewer and the interview situation as it unfolds.

Limitations

The generalizability of the present research may be limited due to its use of a college student sample. However, in previous studies, selection decisions regarding

people with disabilities made by undergraduates have been shown to be consistent with those made by an applied sample (Bell & Klein, 2001).

In the eyes of an interviewer, all disabilities are not perceived similarly. The general nature (i.e., physical, psychological, or sensory) of a disability, as well as its aesthetic qualities, course (i.e., progression and curability), concealability, origin (i.e., cause), and disruptiveness affect observers' perceptions (Stone & Colella, 1996). Therefore, results based on an applicant with paraplegia cannot be generalized to other disabilities. Findings must be replicated with applicants with different types of disabilities. Also, disclosure and acknowledgment of disabilities caused by different factors must be examined. The applicant in the present study explained that her condition was caused by a car accident with a drunk driver. Previous research indicates that applicants whose disabilities can be attributed to an uncontrollable "external" factor elicit more favorable reactions than disabilities attributed to a self-induced "internal" factor (Weiner, et al., 1988). Finally, because applicants in the no disclosure, no acknowledgment condition did not explain the cause of their condition, participants may have assigned them personal responsibility (Galbreath & Feinberg, 1973) which could have impacted ratings; the effects of such assumptions must be investigated.

Additionally, the use of a written as opposed to a verbal disclosure may have limited study findings. Implementation of a verbal disclosure in future studies may prove to be a stronger manipulation and allow a more realistic view of disclosure's effects on post-interview outcomes.

While one item assessed participants' belief that confederates actually had disabilities, confederates in this study were actually nondisabled. Thus, before drawing firm conclusions, replication with actual interviewees with disabilities is necessary.

Finally, in this study, self-focused thoughts, anxiety, and expectations of participants were not collected until *after* face-to-face interviews had taken place. Therefore, the study did not have the capability to determine whether the cognitive processes predicted to result from disclosure actually occurred *prior* to the interview. Pre-interview thoughts and feelings could not be collected in Study 1 because doing so would have primed participants about the issues being studied, which would have subsequently resulted in confounded post-interview ratings and an inability to examine accurately the effects of either disclosure or acknowledgment. In other words, asking participants to complete a thought-listing measure regarding the upcoming interview or to rate their level of anxiety prior to the interview would have primed thoughts that would have been reflected on the post-interview questionnaire, thus contaminating post-interview ratings and jeopardizing the integrity of the study. Therefore, Study 1 was formatted as such: Disclosure? Interview? Ratings. The purpose of Study 2 was to examine the direct relationship (i.e., Disclosure? Ratings) without the "interference" of the actual interview.

Study 2

While Study 1 focused on post-interview ratings associated with pre-interview disclosure, Study 2 concentrated exclusively on *pre-interview* effects of disability disclosure. Specifically, this study asked: What are the pre-interview consequences that result from an applicant's decision to disclose a visible disability, in effect, "warning" the

interviewer of the condition prior to the interview? Study 2 isolated the effects of disclosure by removing the interview and post-interview phases and measuring reactions to an applicant immediately after disclosure had taken place; the goal was to determine whether disclosure induces self-focused thinking processes and anxiety as expected. By isolating disclosure and measuring it prior to the interview, this study was intended to refute or support the disclosure recommendations found in popular literature.

Study 2 Hypotheses

Study 1 disclosure-related hypotheses were re-tested, with pre-interview ratings serving as dependent variables rather than post-interview ratings. Thus, the predicted effects of disability disclosure were examined without the interference of judgments made during a face-to-face interview.

When expecting to interact with a person with a disability, people focus on preparing their own behavior (Gilbert, et al., 1988b; Hebl, Tickle, & Heatherton, 2001; Osborne & Gilbert, 1992). Hence, it was predicted that disability disclosure prior to the interview would cause the interviewer to engage in more self-focused thinking than nondisclosure.

Next, the biases and expectations evoked by disclosure were examined. Nondisabled people assign different personality characteristics to people with disabilities than to nondisabled individuals (Emry & Wiseman, 1987; Fichten & Amsel, 1986; Hennessy & Bartels, 2002). Thus, it was expected that disability disclosure prior to the interview would lead to more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings than nondisclosure.

Because judgments of others are related to affect (Baron, 1993; Harris, 1989; Klimoski & Donahue, 2001), it was expected that the anxiety related to disclosure would result in less positive hiring ratings.

Evaluators who carefully consider the merits of a case, rather than focusing on their own behavior or relying on stereotypes, should be more likely to cite those merits as reasons for their decisions (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Consequently, it was expected that use of applicant qualifications as justification for hiring ratings would be reduced in the disclosure condition.

Finally, as the expectation of interacting with a person with a disability usually causes nondisabled individuals to experience anxiety (Goffman, 1963; Marinelli & Kelz, 1973), interviewer anxiety was expected to increase based on disability disclosure.

The following hypothesis was predicted:

> ***Hypothesis 3: Disclosure prior to the interview, as compared to nondisclosure, will result in: (a) increased self-focused thoughts by the interviewer prior to the interview; (b) more disability stereotype-consistent personality ratings of the applicant; (c) less positive hiring ratings; (d) decreased use of applicant qualifications as justification for hiring ratings; and (e) increased interviewer anxiety.***

Re-testing Study 1 hypotheses prior to, rather than after, an interview takes place was intended to shed further light on the effects of pre-interview disability disclosure. The immediate response of interviewers upon receiving a disclosure were examined in order to understand the subsequent interaction that occurs during the face-to-face interview.

Method

Overview of Experimental Design

This experiment was a one-way between-subjects design and followed the same format as Study 1. The independent variable in the study was disability disclosure; the two conditions were disclosure and nondisclosure. Half of the participants received a disability disclosure, and half did not. As in Study 1, participants reviewed six résumés and selected three. Next, they received information sheets, which included the disclosure manipulation in the disclosure condition. Participants reviewed their three selected résumés and the associated information sheets, and then were told which applicant they would interview first. Next, they completed study measures. Finally, they were informed that no interviews would actually be taking place and were dismissed.

Participants

Participants in Study 2 were 126 undergraduate students (52% female) recruited from courses in the business and psychology departments of a medium-sized Midwestern university. Mean age was 23.8 years (SD=5.54) and ranged from 19 to 54. Racial composition was 72% Caucasian, 13% African American, 8% Asian, 2% Hispanic, and 5% other ethnic backgrounds.

Procedure

The beginning of Study 2 mirrored the process used in Study 1. In fact, participants in both studies began the experiment together, in the same room. The two studies diverged when Study 1 participants were taken to a different room to conduct interviews and Study 2 participants remained in the room to complete pre-interview evaluations. Participants again were involved in selection of applicants for an open

position, and were told the same cover story that was used in Study 1. They were trained on the interview process and were given the same job and company descriptions (see Appendix A) and six résumés (see Appendix B) for review, and were asked to select the three most qualified applicants. Again, once participants had time to make their three selections, the experimenter explained that each participant would have the opportunity to interview the applicants he or she chose. Each participant then received information sheets for the three selected applicants (see Appendix C). The information sheets were the same ones used in Study 1. Again, participants in the disclosure condition received one information sheet that included disclosure of a disability and two that did not; those in the nondisclosure condition received three information sheets that did not disclose a disability. Participants were given an interviewing guide (see Appendix F), and the researcher explained the steps of the interview process. Participants were next told which applicant they would ostensibly be interviewing first in order to enhance the realism of the expectation that they would actually be performing interviews.

Study measures were distributed; participants completed the applicant information questionnaire for *only* the individual they planned on interviewing first, returned it to the experimenter, and completed the interviewer questionnaire. Although it was important that participants believed they would be performing an interview, they did not actually do so. After all questionnaires were complete, participants were told that interviews would not take place due to time constraints and interviewee availability. They were thanked for their participation, and dismissed.

Stimulus Materials

All stimulus materials (i.e., resume packets, applicant information sheets,

interview guides) were identical to those used in Study 1.

Measures

Study 2 applicant evaluation questionnaire. The applicant evaluation questionnaire used in Study 2 was nearly identical to the one used in Study 1, and is included as Appendix H. In the first part, participants recorded their thoughts and feelings in the same manner that is used in Study 1.

The subsequent part of the questionnaire measured hiring recommendations. Three items measured the degree to which participants believe the interviewee should be hired. Additionally, participants were asked to explain the rationale for hiring ratings. Two items assessed the interview performance participants expected from the applicant; two items assessed the extent to which participants expected to like the applicant. Finally, one item measured the degree of comfort participants expected to experience with the applicant, and another assessed the degree of comfort participants expected the applicant to experience during the interview. These items were examined in conjunction with the interviewer and interviewee anxiety items that follow in the next two sections of the questionnaire.

Participants then assessed the applicants' personality by responding to the same 17 personality items used in Study 1. One additional item asked participants to rate how well the statement "has a disability" described the applicant. In addition, participants rated the anxiety they believed the applicant would experience during the interview using the same five items from the State Anxiety Scale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory used in Study 1 (Spielberger, et al., 1970) (e.g., tense, calm).

Next, the same five items from the State Anxiety Scale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, et al., 1970) were administered to measure the anxiety participants were experiencing regarding the impending interview.

Interviewer questionnaire. The interviewer questionnaire was a four-part instrument, and was identical to the interviewer questionnaire administered in Study 1 (see Appendix F). First, participants' social anxiety was measured. Next, general demographic information such as gender, race, etc., was collected. The third part of the participant questionnaire asked participants' to rate their level of interviewing experience, interview training and familiarity with evaluating others. Those participants who had experience interviewing others or have received training described the nature of the experience/training. Finally, previous contact with people with disabilities was assessed. Participants were asked whether they had a disability, family or friends who had a disability, or if they had ever worked with someone with a disability.

Results

Manipulation Check

A manipulation check revealed that participants in the disclosure group (N=84) were more likely to identify the applicant as having a disability (M=4.17, SD=1.34) than those in the nondisclosure group (N=42) (M=2.17, SD=.99), F (1,124)=73.34, p=.00, η^2=.37. Thus, it appears that participants were aware of the disability disclosure in the appropriate condition.

Analysis Strategy

Interview experience of participants. Participants were asked to describe their level of previous experience conducting interviews. Responses were coded and two

categories were created: some interview experience (*N*=25) and no interview experience (*N*=101). All dependent variables were tested for interview experience effects via one-way ANOVAs, and no experience effects were found to be significant. Additionally, 2 (no experience, some experience) x 2 (disclosure, nondisclosure) ANOVAs revealed that the disclosure x experience interaction was not significant for any of the outcome variables. Therefore, interview experience was not included in study analyses.

Similar to Study 1 participants, those reporting interview experience were older (*M*=25.96 years, *SD*=6.38) than those with no experience (*M*=23.30, *SD*=5.21), $F(1,122)=4.73$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.04$.

Exposure to people with disabilities. Participants in the disclosure condition were asked if they had a disability, if any of their family members or friends had a disability, or if they had ever worked with an individual with a disability. Forty-two (50%) participants in the disclosure condition indicated they had had some exposure to individuals with disabilities through work, family, or friends, whereas the remaining 42 participants reported no exposure. All outcome measures were tested for exposure effects. A one-way ANOVA revealed that participants who had been exposed to people with disabilities in the past assigned more positive hiring ratings to the disclosing applicant (*M*=4.30, *SD*=.48) than participants who had not been previously exposed (*M*=4.00, *SD*=.58), $F(1, 82) = 7.83$, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.09$. Additionally, participants who had no disability exposure reported significantly more ambiguity-related reasons for hiring ratings (*M*=.91, *SD*=1.19) than those who had been exposed (*M*=.41, *SD*=.80), $F(1, 82) = 5.14$, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.06$. A Chi-square analysis was also significant ($X^2=4.94$, $p<.05$); while 52% of participants who had no previous exposure reported needing more information

about the applicant, only 29% of participants who had been exposed wanted additional information. Due to these significant effects of exposure, individuals in the disclosure group were divided into those who had previous exposure to people with disabilities, and those who did not.

Because it was important to limit discussion of the study's actual purpose among current and potential participants, individuals in the nondisclosure condition were not asked about exposure to people with disabilities. It was expected that including such an item would alert participants in the nondisclosure condition to the actual purpose of the study; the researcher feared that they may have shared that information with future participants, thus contaminating their data. Therefore, all analyses were computed using three groups: nondisclosure, disclosure/exposed, and disclosure/not exposed.

Covariates. Social anxiety and tolerance for ambiguity measures were included in this study as potential covariates. An additional item assessed participants' comfort with the interview process after training, as it is possible that participants' lack of understanding of the process may have affected outcome variables.

Each type of outcome measure was examined separately. For each outcome measure, correlation of the dependent variable with potential covariates was computed to determine whether each covariate would be included in analyses (see Table 17 for correlations among all potential covariates and dependent variables). Additionally, all dependent variables were examined for effects of gender of participants, and in the cases in which gender effects were found, gender served as an additional independent variable.

Self-focused Thoughts

In order to test Hypothesis 3a concerning self-focused thinking, thoughts reported

on the thought-feeling instrument were coded by two independent raters who were blind to experimental condition. Two independent raters coded thoughts; raters were blind to experimental condition. Raters were in agreement for their ratings on 94% of thoughts; for all disagreements, a third rater reviewed items and made a decision regarding the appropriate rating. Each thought was coded as to its target [self (e.g., "I'm a little nervous about interviewing someone"); applicant (e.g., "This person has a great deal of knowledge about computer programs"); or the environment (e.g., "Glad we have a structured list to choose from")] as well as its valence (positive, negative, or neutral). Also, a notation was made if a thought was disability-related (e.g., "I was very caught off guard by her disability"). When appropriate, thoughts were coded into more than one category. The number of thoughts related to each type of target and each valence level were computed for each participant (see descriptive statistics, Table 18). As social anxiety was significantly correlated with both the total number of thoughts (r=.24, p<.01) and the total number of other-focused thoughts (r=.23, p<.05), it was included as a covariate in the analyses. Because none of the thought groupings differed based on gender, it was not included in analyses. A one-way ANCOVA was computed, with the number of self-focused thoughts serving as the dependent variable. Although it was expected that individuals in the disclosure condition would report a significantly greater number of self-focused thoughts than those in the nondisclosure condition, this was not the case. While the disclosure/exposed group reported slightly more self-focused thoughts than the nondisclosure and disclosure/not exposed groups, this difference was non-significant. Additionally, social anxiety was not found to be a significant covariate.

To explore other potential effects of disclosure on participants' thoughts, additional ANCOVAs were computed, with other-focused, environment-focused, positive, negative, neutral, and total number of thoughts serving as dependent variables. None of the analyses revealed significant disclosure effects. In addition, the percentage of participants in each condition who reported *any* thoughts in a specific category was computed (e.g., all participants who mentioned a self-focused thought were included in the percentage, no matter how many such thoughts they reported) (see Table 19). Though no statistically significant differences were found in the percentage of participants who listed each type of thought, descriptive statistics demonstrate that the pattern was as expected. A greater percentage of participants in both disclosure conditions reported self-focused thoughts (14%, disclosure/exposed; 12% disclosure/not exposed) than those in the nondisclosure condition (7%). In addition, 79% of participants in the nondisclosure condition reported other-focused thoughts, while only 60% in the disclosure/exposed and 62% in the disclosure/not exposed groups reported such thoughts.

Personality Ratings

Testing Hypothesis 3b regarding stereotype-consistent personality ratings required computation of scores on each of the personality factors. Reliability analyses for each of the factors were as follows: Extraversion: a=.76; Conscientiousness a=.61; Openness to Experience: a=.25; Emotional Stability: a=.63; and Agreeableness: a=.62. Due to the varying degrees of reliability for individual personality factors, a composite score was created using all seventeen personality adjectives. Reliability for the scale was high (a=.87). Because people with disabilities are expected to be low on the components of the five factors (Ficten & Amsel, 1986), higher scores on the personality composite

indicated less disability stereotype-consistent personality perceptions. For ease of analysis, the composite score was used as the dependent variable in personality-related analyses. Because gender (r=.24, p<.05; 1=Male, 2=Female) and comfort with interview process (r=.30, p<.001) were significantly correlated with the personality composite score, gender was included as a second independent variable and comfort was included as a covariate.

A 3 (disclosure/exposed, disclosure/not exposed, nondisclosure) x 2 (male, female) ANCOVA demonstrated that personality ratings did not differ based on disclosure as expected. The personality composite means were virtually the same for the three groups (see Table 20). However, gender had a significant main effect, with males (M=3.92, SD=.49) rating the applicant as significantly more disability-stereotypes than females (M=4.13, SD=.44), F (1, 108) = 7.29, p<.01, η^2=.06. In addition, comfort with the interview process was a significant covariate, F (1, 108) = 13.34, p<.001, η^2=.11; those who were more comfortable with the survey process rated the applicant as being less disability-stereotyped (r=.30, p<.001).

Perceptions of applicant anxiety. Although no formal hypotheses regarding applicant anxiety were set forth, participants' beliefs regarding the state anxiety of applicants were measured (see Table 20). None of the covariates were significantly correlated, and no gender effects existed. A one-way ANOVA revealed that the experimental groups did not differ significantly in their perceptions of applicant anxiety.

Hiring Ratings

In order to test Hypothesis 3c regarding hiring ratings, scores on the three hiring items were averaged (see descriptive statistics, Table 20) (a=.68). (A scale reliability

analysis indicated that the alpha level would only be improved by removing one of the three individual items, so all three items were retained.) Hiring rating served as the dependent variable in a one-way ANCOVA, with social anxiety and comfort with the interview process as covariates due to their significant correlations with hiring. It was expected that a main effect would reveal significantly lower hiring ratings in the disclosure groups; on the contrary, hiring ratings were not significantly different between groups. Comfort with the interview process was a significant covariate, F (1, 108) = 13.34, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.11$; those who were more comfortable with the process tended to assign more positive hiring ratings ($r=.21$, $p<.05$). As previously mentioned, a one-way ANOVA revealed that participants who had been exposed to people with disabilities in the past assigned more positive hiring ratings to the disclosing applicant ($M=4.30$, $SD=.48$) than participants who had not been previously exposed ($M=4.00$, $SD=.58$), F (1, 82) = 7.83, $p<.01$, $\eta^2=.09$.

Expected interview performance. Although no formal hypotheses regarding expected performance of interviewees were set forth, the degree to which participants felt that applicants would perform well in the interview was measured with two items (a=.75) (see descriptive statistics, Table 20). No covariates were significantly correlated, and no gender effects existed. A one-way ANOVA revealed that the experimental groups did not differ significantly in their expectations of interview performance.

Liking ratings. The extent to which participants liked interviewees was not hypothesized to differ based on experimental conditions; however, liking (a=.67) was examined for group differences. A one-way ANCOVA was computed, with liking serving as the dependent variable and comfort with interview process as the covariate

(due to its significant correlation with liking: r=.24, p<.01). The experimental groups did not differ significantly in their liking of the applicant; however comfort with the process was a significant covariate, F (1, 111) = 7.77, p<.01, η^2=.07. Those who were comfortable with the process tended to like the applicant more.

Rationale for Hiring Ratings

In testing Hypothesis 3d regarding the use of applicant qualifications as justification for applicant hiring ratings, statements of rationale for hiring ratings were coded by two independent raters who were blind to experimental conditions (agreement between raters was 89%; a third rater reconciled all disagreements). Statements were coded as: 1) qualification-related; 2) personality-related; 3) disability-related; or 4) ambiguity-related (i.e., need more information) (see Table 21). Neither gender nor any of the covariates were significantly correlated with number of reasons in any of the groups, so these variables were not included in analyses.

A one-way ANOVA was computed, with total number of qualification-related reasons for the decision serving as dependent variable. Although it was expected that individuals in the disclosure condition would report significantly fewer qualification-related reasons for hiring ratings than those in the nondisclosure group, this was not the case. Participants in the disclosure groups did not differ from those in the nondisclosure group in the number of qualification-related reasons reported. Nor did the three groups differ in any of the other rationale categories. However, a one-way ANOVA comparing the two disclosure groups indicated that individuals who had not been exposed to people with disabilities in the past reported more ambiguity-related statements (M=.91, SD=1.19) than those who had been previously exposed (M=.41, SD=.80), F (1, 82) =

5.14, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.06$.

Similar to the analysis for thoughts, the percentage of participants in each condition who reported any rationale in a specific category was computed (see Table 6). Chi-square analyses were computed for each category; none of the overall Chi-square tests were significant. However, when comparing the two levels of exposure within the disclosure group, the chi-square again indicated that individuals who had not been exposed to people with disabilities in the past reported more ambiguity-related statements (52%) than those who had been previously exposed (29%) ($X^2=4.94$, $p<.05$).

Participant Anxiety

To test the anxiety-related hypothesis (Hypothesis 3e), state anxiety was computed by averaging the five adjectives on the state anxiety scale (a=.89) (see Table 20). Participants' state anxiety served as a dependent variable in a one-way ANCOVA. Because tolerance for ambiguity, comfort with the interview process, and social anxiety were all significantly correlated with state anxiety, they were included as covariates in the analysis. While it was expected that a main effect would reveal significantly higher anxiety scores in the disclosure group, the groups did not differ in their level of anxiety. Social anxiety, F (1, 109) = 4.24, $p<.05$, $\eta^2=.04$, and comfort with the interview process, F (1, 109) = 14.40, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.12$, were both significant covariates.

An additional item, "I believe I will feel comfortable with the applicant" (i.e., comfort with applicant) was administered to applicants. Comfort with applicant was significantly correlated with comfort with the interview process (r=.33, p<.001) but not with any of the other covariates or with gender. A one-way ANCOVA revealed that participants in different experimental conditions did not differ in the degree to which they

expected to be comfortable with the applicant (see Table 20). Comfort with the interview process was a significant covariate, F (1, 111) = 13.58, p<.001, η^2=.11.

Study 2 Discussion

Study 2 measured differences in the thoughts, evaluations, expectations, and anxiety experienced by interviewers as a result of disability disclosure. Study 1 examined disclosure in the context of the actual face-to-face interview, and isolation of the disclosure variable in Study 2 was intended to eliminate effects of the face-to-face interview so that the immediate effects of disclosure could be more carefully and methodically assessed. The goal was to determine whether the cognitive processes predicted to result from disclosure actually occurred prior to the interview. Collecting pre-interview thoughts and feelings in Study 1 could have primed participants about the issues being studied; doing so would have confounded post-interview ratings and prohibited accurate examination of the effects of either disclosure or acknowledgment.

Study 2 hypotheses were not supported by the present research findings. Unlike Tagalakis et al. (1988), in which a discloser was believed to have more positive personality traits but received less favorable hiring ratings, disability disclosure did not appear to affect any outcome variables. All findings will first be reviewed, followed by implications of results, study limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings

In the analysis of self-focused thinking (Hypothesis 3a), no significant covariates or disclosure effects were found. However, a pattern consistent with expectations was displayed. As predicted, participants in both disclosure groups reported more self-focused thoughts than those in the nondisclosure condition. Consistent with this pattern,

those in the nondisclosure condition reported more other-focused thoughts than the other groups. Yet, it must be emphasized that these are merely descriptive patterns and firm conclusions cannot be drawn based on the present data.

When examining personality ratings (Hypothesis 3b), it was found that males rated applicants' personality traits less positively than females did, regardless of disclosure condition. Because the applicant was always female, this finding may be due to male participants' expectation of a mixed-gender interaction. Additionally, comfort with the interview process was related to personality ratings, such those who were more comfortable tended to rate the applicant more positively.

Hiring ratings (Hypothesis 3c) were also more positive for those who felt more comfortable with the interview situation. Additionally, those who had prior exposure to people with disabilities through work, family, friends, or their own experience with a disability assigned more favorable hiring ratings to the applicant who disclosed than non-exposed participants did. Perhaps this finding was due to the ambiguous nature of the situation for non-exposed participants. Those individuals who reported no prior experience with people with disabilities explained their hiring ratings by stating that they needed more information to make their decision significantly more often than those who had previously interacted with someone with a disability. Reporting of qualification-related reasons for hiring ratings (Hypothesis 3d) was not affected by disability disclosure.

Participants' social anxiety (a stable personality trait which affects an individual's level of comfort in social situations) was related to state anxiety (Hypothesis 3e) in the direction that would be expected; those who were more socially anxious tended to be

more anxious in the interview situation. Additionally, greater comfort with the interview process was associated with lower state anxiety.

Implications

Because this study is one of the first of its kind in that it measured immediate reactions to disability disclosure, it must be replicated before firm conclusions can be drawn and disclosure recommendations can be provided to job-seekers with disabilities. However, the present findings suggest that in the moments prior to an interview, the impact of disability disclosure may depend on an interviewer's previous exposure to people with disabilities.

Individuals who had previous experience with people with disabilities assigned more positive hiring ratings to an individual who disclosed than participants who reported no previous exposure. For receivers with no disability exposure, disclosure did not have an effect on hiring ratings; ratings of the disclosure/not exposed group and the nondisclosure group did not differ. Therefore, a job applicant with a disability is not necessarily taking a gamble by disclosing the disability prior to the interview. Disclosure may have positive effects if the receiver has been exposed, and it does not seem to have a negative effect if the receiver has not been exposed. In Study 1, disability exposure did not affect hiring ratings. Rather, exposure affected confederate ratings of eye contact and interviewer surprise. While the interview may remove exposure-based pre-interview biases in ratings, exposure appears to continue to affect participants' behavior during the interview.

Contrary to Study 2, Study 1 participants' level of interview experience affected their hiring, interview performance, and liking ratings. Perhaps in Study 1 interview

experience overcame exposure effects when interviewers made ratings. In other words, it is possible that anticipation of an interaction with someone with a disability raises doubts about applicant ability in the minds of interviewers who have not been exposed, but those doubts are alleviated once the interview has taken place. Interview experience seems to affect interviewers' ability to judge *performance* in an unbiased way; as very little information about applicants was available prior to the interview, it is logical that interview experience has no effect at that time.

Females rated the applicant's personality more positively before meeting her than males did (Study 2), but in Study 1 this difference did not exist. Rather, a disclosure x acknowledgment interaction was found for males' personality ratings. Additionally, although disclosure had no effect on perceptions of applicant anxiety in Study 2, males in Study 1 believed that the discloser was more anxious. Pre-interview disclosure had an impact on perceptions *after* the interview but not before. Finally, while disclosure had no effect on participant anxiety (Study 2), interviewees' disability acknowledgment did affect anxiety (Study 1). These shifts in ratings after the interview took place provide further evidence that disclosure and acknowledgment *must* be studied in combination; their effects are not determined individually but rather within the context of the entire interview process. Even though Study 2 participants underwent *exactly* the same procedure as Study 1 participants up to the point at which they made their ratings, disclosure did not function identically before and after the interview had taken place.

In Study 2, disclosure raised additional questions in the minds of non-exposed interviewers. They reported needing more information to make a hiring decision more often than interviewers who had been exposed. However, the non-exposed group that

received a disclosure did not have more questions about the interviewee than the nondisclosure group, so it seems that disclosure itself did not have an impact on feelings of ambiguity regarding the applicant. Study 1 results support this notion; disclosure did not affect ambiguity-related reasons for hiring after the interview took place. Perhaps any questions or feelings of ambiguity that interviewers had prior to the interview were answered once they had a chance to interact with the applicant.

Limitations and Future Research

It is possible that, in the present studies, the interview situation itself overshadowed the effects of disability disclosure. The cognitive demands of the unfamiliar situation (i.e., interviewing another individual in the school setting) may have prevented the disability disclosure from having any effect on participants. In fact, individuals who were more comfortable with the interview process after training tended to feel less anxious and to assign more positive personality and hiring ratings. They also expected to feel more comfortable with the applicant and to like her more. Thus, participants seemed to be reacting strongly to the demands of the interview situation, which may have prevented them from paying attention to the disability disclosure (although the manipulation check indicated that participants identified the applicant as disabled in the appropriate condition). Future research should examine disability disclosure in an interview setting with which participants are comfortable and familiar. Although interview experience had no effect on outcome measures, those who reported interview experience did not necessarily have familiarity with this type of interview situation (i.e., a structured interview). Examining interviewers in their normal work setting will be necessary to draw an accurate picture of the true effects of disability

disclosure in the interview situation.

In addition, effects of a disclosure conveyed over the telephone found in a previous study (Tagalakis, et al., 1988) were not replicated here. Future research must examine verbal, as opposed to written, disclosure to determine the differences in effects of various disclosure media.

General Discussion

Authors of job-search handbooks written for people with disabilities (e.g., Ryan, 2000; Witt, 1992) recommend that all job applicants with visible disabilities disclose their condition prior to the interview and discuss it during the interview. The present results indicate that such blanket suggestions offered to interviewees with disabilities are clearly inappropriate. Disclosure prior to the interview led male interviewers to believe that the applicant was more anxious than with nondisclosure, even after the interview had taken place. Disclosure and acknowledgment interacted in affecting male participants' personality ratings, and both male and female participants' thoughts about the applicant. Findings indicate that disclosure and acknowledgment *do* impact ratings of an interviewee, and ratings do not indicate that an individual who both discloses and acknowledges will receive the most favorable ratings as job search handbooks suggest. These variables *must* be given more research attention before any recommendations can be made to interviewees with disabilities. As it is clear that the ADA is not sufficient in eliminating discrimination against people with disabilities. Determinants of stereotyping and strategies for reducing it are crucial factors to investigate in the study of job applicants with disabilities.

The present study was the first in which: a) participants anticipated interviewing job applicants who disclosed a disability pre-interview; b) pre-interview disclosure and interview acknowledgment were examined in a fully-crossed design; and c) participants were the direct recipients of disability acknowledgment in a face-to-face interview, as opposed to a third party audience of a previously recorded videotaped interview. The use of an experimental methodology more akin to an actual hiring situation in an organization lent additional importance to the research. Although most hypotheses in the present studies were not supported, important variables were identified that must be maintained as this line of research is continued. While the study of disability-related communication throughout the job-search process may still be in its infancy, each study that is conducted may bring us closer to pinpointing the factors related to success for job-seekers with disabilities. As the research program matures, job-seekers with disabilities can begin to understand the influence of their communication strategies throughout the interview process, and organizations can utilize findings in designing training for interviewers who are open-minded and comfortable with interviewees with disabilities. Through these outcomes we can hope to bring about a common goal: assisting people with disabilities in obtaining the employment opportunities they deserve.

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Appendix A. Job & Company Description

Job Description: Systems Analyst

Typical Education Level: Bachelor's degree in Computer Science or related field

Overall job requirements: to analyze business, scientific, and technical problems for application to electronic data processing systems

Important tasks performed:

- Analyze computer programs or systems to identify errors and ensure conformance to standards
- Consult with staff and users to identify operating procedure problems
- Devise flow charts and diagrams to illustrate operational steps of a program
- 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

Company Description

Corporate Headquarters: St. Louis, Missouri

Date Incorporated: June 4, 1981 (privately held company)

Number of Employees: 60

Corporate Profile: Provider of innovations for e-business, delivering solutions to companies by integrating Web technology with existing business processes. Company teams design computer systems as well as install networks.

Appendix B. Applicant Résumés.

RÉSUMÉ 1

OBJECTIVE
Entry-level position in the Computer Industry.

EDUCATION
Bachelor of Science in Chemistry, **University of Missouri-St. Louis**
Date of Graduation, May 2003
Current G.P.A.: 3.18

Associate of Arts degree in English
Meramec Community College
May 2001

EXPERIENCE
Administrative Assistant
Ameren UE
St. Louis, MO
1999 - 2000
- Analyzed monthly cost and expenditure sheets for the HR department. Prepared end-of-the-month reports using excel.
- Scheduled manpower and equipment for new jobs. Worked in a team environment with regional managers utilizing outlook express and Access 97.

Assistant to the Program Director
Fontbonne College
St. Louis, MO
1998 - 1999
- Worked in conjunction with Physician Assistant recruitment offices for the purpose of admission of incoming students. Scheduled and coordinated meetings, travel plans, and conferences for the program director by using Microsoft Works.
- Compiled, revised, and stored various types of documents which included contracts, correspondence, and financial reports.

SPECIAL SKILLS
- Extensive knowledge of Word, Corel WordPerfect, Excel, and PowerPoint
- Fluent in written and spoken French

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
- Mathematics Tutor, 2000
- Member, Chemistry Club, 2000 – present

RÉSUMÉ 2

WORK EXPERIENCE
2000 - present
Computer Technician
RAM Computers
--Fix countless computers and problems ranging from an unplugged ethernet cord to a failed system board; one of two certified Dell Premier Access Technicians

1998 - 2000
Computer Programmer
Innovast Corporation
--Worked on many projects ranging from a simple corporate web site to custom tailored C++ applications; have been the leader of the software development team for several projects.

COMPUTER KNOWLEDGE
- Languages: C++, Java, Assembler, ML, Visual Basic 6.0, ORACLE, Open GL
- Operating Systems: Win98, Win2000, Win ME, WinNT, Unix
- Software Packages: Microsoft Office Pro (97 and 2000), Sound Forge 4.5, PhotoShop 6.0, Micrografix Draw 6.0, Acid 3.0
- Web Development: HTML, JavaScript, Dreamweaver 4.0

EDUCATION
1999 - present
University of Missouri-St. Louis
Cumulative grade point average of 3.82

1996 - 2000
McCluer North High School
High Honor Roll Student, Class of 2000 Community Service Team, Member of Class of 2000 Executive Committee, National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society; Second year Advanced Placement (College Level) Computer Programming Class, yearbook photo editor, Journal Bulletin Outstanding Photojournalism Award.

VOLUNTEER WORK
1997 - present
Child Inc.
Assisted in kindergarten day care center for low-income children, including crafts, recreation, and games.

1996 - present
Atonement Lutheran Church-Assistant Sunday school teacher
Setting up, supervising, and cleaning up after special events.

RÉSUMÉ 3

OBJECTIVE
Full-time employment in computer firm

QUALIFICATIONS
Computer skills, Including Microsoft office
Completed courses in psychology, sociology and business

EDUCATION
1998 - present
University of Missouri-St. Louis

1994 - 1998
Lindbergh High School

EMPLOYMENT
October 2001
Famous-Barr
Sales Rep.

June 2000 - August 2000
Halls Ferry Elementary School
Teacher's Assistant

January 2000 - July 2000
The Ground Round-Cook

April 1999 - January 2000
Courtesy Cards and Gifts-Cashier clerk

September 1998 - May 1999
Upfro-Insurance inspector

June 1998 - August 1998
Pine Grove Day Camp
Camp counselor

May 1996 - June l998
Burger King
Team leader

REFERENCE
Available upon request

RÉSUMÉ 4

OBJECTIVE
Seeking a full-time position where I can use my skills as a computer programmer/analyst to find solutions to business problems.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY
A. G. Edwards
St. Louis, MO
07/1998 - present
Computer programmer / Analyst
- Helped to install and supported several computer systems.
- Write programs to provide information to internal and external customers.
- Converted data when switching to new computer system.
- Developed system to do batch processing on an operating system that didn't support it.
- Part of a team that developed a new procedure for processing invoices that saved time and money.
- Recognized by sales representatives for quality of sales reports.
- Created a database summarizing sales information and trained people on how to use it.

Network Technologies
St. Louis, MO
1996 - 1998
Computer Operator
- Used a PC database and a word processor to produce reports and letters.

EDUCATION
Bachelor of Science
Major: Computer Science
University of Missouri-St. Louis
GPA: 3.67; Graduation: May 2003

SKILLS AND ABILITIES
I have additional training / experience in:
- Windows NT administration
- Systems management on Open VMS
- UNIX
- Mastering MS Visual Basic 6.0 Development
- Microsoft Office
- Lotus Notes

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES
- Golden Key Service Organization (2000-present)
- Computer Science Club (1999-present)
- The Current Newspaper—Marketing staff (2001-present)

RÉSUMÉ 5

CAREER OBJECTIVE
A full time position working with computer systems.

SUMMARY
Trained cashier who, in the last few jobs, has worked in a variety of other positions as well. Among the many tasks have been cleaning, bagging, stocking, and secretarial work.

WORK HISTORY
June 1999 - September 1999 & June 2000 - August 2000
Doctor's Office
Did basic filing, answering phones, as well as certain tests

May 2001 - July 2001
Schnuck's Supermarket
Started out working in the freezer section stocking. Moved out while doing smaller, minor jobs such as sweeping, gathering carts, and bagging. Put on full time as cashier.

July 2001 - November 2001
CVS
Was put on register while stocking and working with crates. Quite a lot of physical work. Worked on register most of the time.

EDUCATION
Diploma from Columbia High School
1998

Currently enrolled in psychology program
University of Missouri-St. Louis
Will graduate May 2003
GPA - 2.94

REFERENCES
Available on request

RÉSUMÉ 6

University of Missouri-St. Louis
GPA: 3.7
Bachelor of Science, Computer Science to be awarded May 2003

Florissant Valley Community College
Florissant, MO
Associate of Arts, Liberal Arts
June 1997

RELEVANT COURSEWORK

Information Technology
Basic computer hardware, software, maintenance, and training technologies.

Information Problem Solving
Recognizing and defining the problem, troubleshooting, creativity and implementation strategies.

Information Networking
Topics of hardware, software, protocols, channels, modems, local area networks, wide area networks and various applications. An advanced course covering topics with industry standards TCP/IP Protocol Suite as its foundation.

Multimedia and Web Design
Knowledge of various types of multimedia software applications, hardware, and how to construct effective interactive multimedia messages.

Systems Analysis and Design
Topics include role of the systems analyst, feasibility studies, modeling technique systems design, reporting and documentation, and implementation strategies.

EMPLOYMENT

International Business Machines (IBM);Austin, Texas (Summer Internship)
- Received hands-on training in HTML, web page design and accessibility
- Worked on the innovative programming for talking web pages

COMPUTER SKILLS

- Programming in BASIC on PCs.
- Programming PASCAL on Macintosh computers, consisted of using arrays, linked lists, sorting, and data structures.
- Programming in Assembly on PCs.
- Programming in Java on Sun Spares and PCs.
- Familiar with operating DOS, Windows, and Macintosh systems.

Appendix C. Applicant Information Sheet

Applicant Information Sheet

Name _____

Anticipated Graduation Date _____

What position are you applying for? _____

Times of interview availability (check times that you are available):

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8-10 AM___	8-10 AM___	8-10 AM___	8-10 AM___	8-10 AM___
10 AM-12 PM ___	10 AM-12 PM ___	10 AM-12 PM ___	10 AM-12 PM ___	10 AM-12 PM ___
12-2 PM ___	12-2 PM ___	12-2 PM ___	12-2 PM ___	12-2 PM ___
2-4 PM ___	2-4 PM ___	2-4 PM ___	2-4 PM ___	2-4 PM ___
4-6 PM ___	4-6 PM ___	4-6 PM ___	4-6 PM ___	4-6 PM ___
6-8 PM ___	6-8 PM ___	6-8 PM ___	6-8 PM ___	6-8 PM ___

Is there anything you would like the interviewer(s) to know about you in advance?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix D. Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Systems Analyst

Applicant Name: _____

Interviewer Name: _____ Date: _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

- Prior to the interview, select the questions you will use in the interview. You should select **one** question from each skill area.
- Allow about 10 minutes to conduct the interview. Carefully pace yourself and document the applicant's responses in the space provided.
- Assign ratings (1-5) to each area.

STEPS FOR CONDUCTING AN INTERVIEW

STEP 1: Start the interview by introducing yourself and asking an "icebreaker" question. You should say:

"Why don't you tell me a little about yourself?"

STEP 2: Ask the applicant the questions that you have chosen. You may ask follow-up questions if you would like additional information or if you do not feel the applicant has adequately answered the question.

STEP 3: Summarize the applicant's responses in the "NOTES" sections provided for each skill area.

STEP 4: Allow the applicant an opportunity to share additional information. You should say:

"Is there anything else you would like to share with me today?"

STEP 5: Thank the applicant and end the interview.

STEP 6: Use the rating scale provided to rate each skill area.

PLANNING SKILLS

Definition: Analyses issues and develops effective plans and strategies

---

Ask applicant questions from the following list:

1. Tell me about a time when you recognized a problem in the way you were doing your work. How did you correct this problem?
2. Tell me about an urgent problem you solved. What steps did you take?
3. Think of a time when you had to work with a different department on a project. How did you coordinate your plans with members of the other department?
4. Tell me about a time when you failed to reach a goal due to poor planning. What could you have done differently?

Notes:

1 Needs Work	2	3 Acceptable	4	5 Excellent

COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Definition: Effectively conveys information and encourages the exchange of ideas to achieve business goals

---

Ask applicant questions from the following list:

1. Think about a time when you had to express a new idea to a coworker or customer. How did you make sure that the person understood the points you were trying to make?
2. Describe a time when you had difficulty understanding a task or project. How did you make sure that you understood what was expected of you?
3. Describe a time when you had information that would affect a decision made within your organization. How did you communicate this information?
4. Tell me about a time when you misunderstood what was expected of you. How did you correct this problem?

Notes:

1 Needs Work	2	3 Acceptable	4	5 Excellent

PROFESSIONALISM

Definition: Demonstrates honesty, integrity, and composure at all times

Ask applicant questions from the following list:

1. Tell me about a disagreement you had with a co-worker on an important project. How did you resolve your differences?
2. Think of a difficult situation in which you had to keep your composure. How did you accomplish this?
3. Describe a time when you had to present bad news to a peer, manager, or customer.
4. Describe a time when you were unable to make an important deadline and had to explain why.

Notes:

1 Needs Work	2	3 Acceptable	4	5 Excellent

ACHIEVING RESULTS

Definition: Demonstrates drive and persistence to achieve and exceed goals for self and others

---

Ask applicant questions from the following list:

1. Tell me about a time when you had to go "beyond the call of duty" to reach your goals.
2. Describe a time when you encountered an unexpected problem while working on a project. How did you overcome this problem?
3. Think of a time when you were working on a project with little or no help from others. What steps did you take to assure success?
4. Tell me about a time when you failed to reach the goals that you had set for a project. What could you have done differently?

Notes:

1 Needs Work	2	3 Acceptable	4	5 Excellent

TEAMWORK

Definition: Actively supports team processes and goals

Ask applicant questions from the following list:

1. Tell me about a time when you were part of a successful group. How did you contribute to the group's performance?
2. Describe a time when you felt that your work group was getting off track. How did you address this problem?
3. Tell me about a time when you felt that another group or team member was not working as hard as they could. How did you react?
4. Tell me about a time when you were part of a group or team that performed poorly. What could have been done differently?

Notes:

1 Needs Work	2	3 Acceptable	4	5 Excellent

Appendix E. Study 1 Applicant Questionnaire

ID:_____

Ratings for Applicant #: _____

List any <u>thoughts</u> that came to mind during the interview.

1.)_____

_____

2.)_____

_____

3.)_____

_____

4.)_____

_____

5.)_____

_____

This set of questions assesses the interview performance of the job applicant. Please answer candidly and honestly.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I would evaluate this applicant's qualifications for the position of systems analyst favorably.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I felt comfortable with the applicant.	1	2	3	4	5
3. The applicant performed well in the interview.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I have a favorable impression of the applicant as a person.	1	2	3	4	5
5. The applicant was comfortable and at-ease during the interview.	1	2	3	4	5

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
6. I feel that this applicant would be well-suited to the job of systems analyst.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I liked this applicant.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I felt uncomfortable with the amount of personal information the interviewee shared with me.	1	2	3	4	5
9. The interviewee revealed personal information too quickly.	1	2	3	4	5
10. The applicant explained his/her skills and related them to the job.	1	2	3	4	5

11. Would you hire this applicant for the position? Circle the number that corresponds to your response.
    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.
    2--I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider giving him/her a second interview.
    1--No I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

12. ***Explain the reasons for your rating of the applicant in Question #11.***

_____
_____
_____

13. What was the single best aspect about the applicant's performance?

_____
_____

14. What was the single worst aspect about the applicant's performance?

_____
_____

15. Did the applicant say anything that you felt was inappropriate? If so, describe.

_____
_____

Indicate how characteristic of the applicant you believe each adjective to be.

	Not characteristic				Very characteristic
1. Careless	1	2	3	4	5
2. Stable	1	2	3	4	5
3. Rude	1	2	3	4	5
4. Curious	1	2	3	4	5
5. Warm	1	2	3	4	5
6. Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
7. Gloomy	1	2	3	4	5
8. Insecure	1	2	3	4	5
9. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
10. Unimaginative	1	2	3	4	5
11. Responsible	1	2	3	4	5
12. Self-confident	1	2	3	4	5
13. Generous	1	2	3	4	5
14. Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
15. Self-accepting	1	2	3	4	5
16. Peaceful	1	2	3	4	5
17. Sociable	1	2	3	4	5
18. Has a disability	1	2	3	4	5

Circle the response that indicates how you think the applicant felt during the interview.

	Not characteristic				Very characteristic
19. Tense	1	2	3	4	5
20. Calm	1	2	3	4	5
21. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
22. At ease	1	2	3	4	5
23. Jittery	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate how <u>you</u> felt <u>during the interview</u>.

	Not at all				**Very much so**
1. Tense	1	2	3	4	5
2. Calm	1	2	3	4	5
3. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
4. At ease	1	2	3	4	5
5. Jittery	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F. Interviewer Questionnaire

ID:_____

Please indicate the extent to which each of the following items is characteristic of you.

	Extremely uncharacteristic				Extremely characteristic
1. I'm concerned about the way I present myself.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I'm self-conscious about the way I look.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I'm concerned about what other people think of me.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I'm usually aware of my appearance.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I usually worry about making a good impression.	1	2	3	4	5
6. If I am uncertain about the responsibilities of a job, I get very anxious.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I get pretty anxious when I'm in a social situation over which I have little control.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I am uncomfortable with people unless I feel that I can understand their behavior.	1	2	3	4	5

Answer the following questions in reference to the study you are participating in today:

	Extremely uncomfortable				Extremely comfortable
9. How comfortable were you with the interview process after training?	1	2	3	4	5
	Did not think about it at all				Thought about it a great deal
10. How much did you think about the applicant's disability and how to handle it?	1	2	3	4	5
	Not at all surprised				Extremely Surprised
11. How surprised were you when you discovered that the applicant had a disability?	1	2	3	4	5

Please complete the following personal information questionnaire. Data will remain completely confidential.

Gender: ____ Male
____Female

Year in School: ____Freshman
____Sophomore
____Junior
____Senior

Age: _____

Ethnic Origin: ____African American/Black
____Alaskan Native
____Asian/Pacific Islander
____Caucasian/White
____Hispanic/Latino
____Native American
____Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your level of experience in the following areas.

	No experience				A great deal of experience
8. How much, if any, *interviewing experience* do you have?	1	2	3	4	5
If you have any experience, please describe.					
	No experience				A great deal of experience
9. How much, if any, experience do you have *evaluating others*?	1	2	3	4	5
If you have any experience, please describe.					

	No training				A great deal of training
10. How much, if any, *interview training* have you experienced?	1	2	3	4	5
If you have had any training, please describe.					

Do you have any disabilities? ___**Yes** ___**No**
If yes, please describe the nature of your disability(ies).

_____
_____
_____

Do any of your family members or close friends have any disabilities? ___**Yes** ___**No**
If yes, please describe the nature of the disability(ies).

_____
_____
_____

Have you ever worked with someone with any disabilities? ___**Yes** ___**No**
If yes, please describe the nature of the disability(ies).

_____
_____
_____

Respond to the following 2 items in relation to the previous question.

	Very Unfavorable		Neutral		Very Favorable
1. How favorable was your experience working with the individual(s) with a disability(ies)?	1	2	3	4	5
2. How favorable was the level of performance of the individual(s) with whom you worked?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix G. Confederate Questionnaire.

How surprised was the interviewer when he/she first saw you?			
Not at all surprised	**Slightly surprised**	**Somewhat Surprised**	**Extremely Surprised**

Rate the participant's level of *anxiety* during your interview.				
Extremely Anxious	**Somewhat Anxious**	**Neutral**	**Somewhat Comfortable**	**Extremely Comfortable**

Rate the participant's level of *eye contact* during your interview.				
0-20%	**21-40%**	**41-60%**	**61-80%**	**81-100%**

Did the interviewer follow the correct interview protocol? ____Yes ____No

If no, explain:

_____
_____
_____

Appendix H. Study 2 Applicant Evaluation Questionnaire.

ID:_____

Ratings for Applicant #: _____

List any <u>thoughts</u> that come to mind regarding the upcoming interview.

1.)_____

_____

2.)_____

_____

3.)_____

_____

4.)_____

_____

5.)_____

_____

Answer the following items in regards to the applicant that you will be interviewing first.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I would evaluate this applicant's qualifications for the position of systems analyst favorably.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I believe I will feel comfortable with this applicant.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I believe this applicant will perform well in the interview.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I believe that upon meeting the applicant, I will have a favorable opinion of him/her as a person.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I expect that this applicant will be comfortable and at-ease during the interview.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel that this applicant would be well-suited to the job of systems analyst.	1	2	3	4	5
7. I expect that I will like this applicant.	1	2	3	4	5
8. I think that this applicant will answer interview questions well.	1	2	3	4	5

9. ***If you had to hire someone for the open position without performing an interview, would you hire this applicant for the position? Circle the number that corresponds to your response.***

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.
2--I don't think I would hire this person although I might consider taking a look at some additional information about him/her.
1--No I would definitely not hire this person. This person is not a good candidate.

10. ***Explain the reasons for your rating of the applicant in Question #9.***

1.)_____
2.)_____
3.)_____
4.)_____
5.)_____

Indicate how <u>characteristic of the applicant</u> you believe each adjective to be.

	Not characteristic				**Very characteristic**
24. Careless	1	2	3	4	5
25. Stable	1	2	3	4	5
26. Rude	1	2	3	4	5
27. Curious	1	2	3	4	5
28. Warm	1	2	3	4	5
29. Unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
30. Gloomy	1	2	3	4	5
31. Insecure	1	2	3	4	5
32. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
33. Unimaginative	1	2	3	4	5
34. Responsible	1	2	3	4	5
35. Self-confident	1	2	3	4	5
36. Generous	1	2	3	4	5
37. Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
38. Self-accepting	1	2	3	4	5
39. Peaceful	1	2	3	4	5
40. Sociable	1	2	3	4	5
41. Has a disability	1	2	3	4	5

Circle the response that indicates how you think <u>the applicant</u> will feel <u>during the interview</u>.

		Not characteristic				Very characteristic
42.	Tense	1	2	3	4	5
43.	Calm	1	2	3	4	5
44.	Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
45.	At ease	1	2	3	4	5
46.	Jittery	1	2	3	4	5

Please indicate how <u>you</u> feel <u>right now</u>.

	Not at all				Very much so
1. Tense	1	2	3	4	5
2. Calm	1	2	3	4	5
3. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
4. At ease	1	2	3	4	5
5. Jittery	1	2	3	4	5

Table 1

Study 1: Number of Participants per Condition

	No Acknowledgment	Early Acknowledgment	Late Acknowledgment
Nondisclosure	17	16	15
Disclosure	18	14	14
Control	15	N/A	N/A

Table 2

Study 1: Correlations of Outcome Variables and Potential Covariates (experimental groups only) and Scale Reliabilities (presented as a in diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Disclosure	N/A	-.04	-.10	.04	.02	-.05	-.01	-.06	-.11	.21*	.13	-.04	-.02	-.10	.09	-.16	-.04	-.02	-.10
2. Acknowledg.		N/A	.13	.08	.03	.11	.13	.07	-.02	-.04	-.11	-.11	.01	.04	.17	.13	.02	-.06	.04
3. Gender			N/A	-.04	-.03	.01	.06	.02	.11	-.07	-.01	-.10	.03	.09	-.03	.14	.03	-.09	.01
4. Interview Experience				N/A	.10	.12	.25*	0	-.19	.05	-.14	-.17	-.21*	-.30**	.10	-.08	-.26*	.13	-.10
5. Social Anxiety					.76	-.35**	.05	-.02	.15	-.03	.05	-.13	.08	-.05	0	0	.12	0	.19
6. Tolerance for Ambiguity						.69	.20	.02	-.21*	.14	-.24*	-.05	-.10	.01	0	.02	-.17	.08	-.13
7. Comfort with Interview Process							N/A	-.05	.01	-.07	-.58**	.05	.23*	.11	.29**	.41**	.14	.13	-.04
8. Self-focused Thoughts								N/A	-.02	.11	.14	.14	-.05	-.13	.10	-.29**	-.15	-.13	-.11
9. Personality Composite									.85	-.37**	-.06	.28**	.59**	.50**	-.09	.41**	.49**	.06	.39**
10. Applicant Anxiety										.88	.23*	.09	-.14	-.22*	.04	-.13	-.13	-.08	-.24*
11. Participant Anxiety											.86	-.13	-.13	-.04	-.07	-.35**	-.06	-.29**	-.01
12. Qualification Rationale												N/A	.22*	.04	-.02	.14	.16	.05	-.06
13. Hiring													.86	.68**	-.04	.45**	.55**	.02	.26*
14. Interview Performance														.61	.06	.38**	.43**	.04	.46**
15. Disability Exposure															N/A	.10	.04	0	.17
16. Comfort with Applicant																N/A	.52**	.08	.16
17. Liking																	.63	.04	.29**
18. Time between Training and Interview																		N/A	-.11
19. Communication Skills (Interview Guide)																			N/A

*p<.05; **p<.01

Disclosure: 1=Nondisclosure; 2=Disclosure Acknowledgment: 1=No Acknowledgment; 2=Acknowledgment Gender: 1=Male; 2=Female
Interview Experience: 1=No Experience; 2=Some Experience Exposure to People with Disabilities: 1=No Exposure; 2=Some Exposure
Qualification-Related Hiring Rationale: 1=No Qualification-Related Hiring Rationale; 2=Qualification-Related Hiring Rationale

Table 3

Study 1: Mean Thoughts by Condition

	Acknowledgment				
Disclosure	Early Ack.	Late Ack.	No Ack.	Total	Nondisabled
Nondisclosure	N=16	N=15	N=17	N=48	N=15
Total Number of Thoughts	*M*=2.38; *SD*=1.50	*M*=3.27; *SD*=1.67	*M*=2.29; *SD*=1.21	*M*=2.63; *SD*=1.50	*M*=2.87; *SD*=1.51
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24	*M*=.02; *SD*=.14	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26
Self-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.25; *SD*=.58	0	0	*M*=.08; *SD*=.35	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26
Self-Focused Thoughts	M=.25; SD=.58	0	M=.06; SD=.24	M=.10; SD=.37	M=.20; SD=.56
Other-Focused/Positive	*M*=1.50; *SD*=1.41	*M*=2.47; *SD*=1.64	*M*=1.53; *SD*=1.37	*M*=1.81; *SD*=1.51	*M*=1.27; *SD*=1.22
Other-Focused/Negative	*M*=.25; *SD*=.58	*M*=.40; *SD*=.63	*M*=.59; *SD*=.87	*M*=.42; *SD*=.71	*M*=.93; *SD*=1.39
Other-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.31; *SD*=.48	*M*=.40; *SD*=.91	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24	*M*=.25; *SD*=.60	*M*=.13; *SD*=.35
Other-Focused Thoughts	M=2.06; SD=1.34	M=3.27; SD=1.67	M=2.18; SD=1.29	M=2.48; SD=1.50	M=2.33; SD=1.88
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	0
Env.-Focused/Negative	*M*=.06; *SD*=.25	0	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24	*M*=.04; *SD*=.20	*M*=.33; *SD*=.90
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0	0	0
Env.-Focused Thoughts	M=.06; SD=.25	0	M=.06; SD=.24	M=.04; SD=.20	M=.33; SD=.90
Need More Information	0	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26	0	*M*=.02; *SD*=.14	*M*=.13; *SD*=.35
Disability-Related	*M*=.19; *SD*=.40	*M*=.33; *SD*=.49	0	*M*=.17; *SD*=.38	0
Positive Thoughts	*M*=1.50; *SD*=1.41	*M*=2.47; *SD*=1.64	*M*=1.53; *SD*=1.38	*M*=1.81; *SD*=1.51	*M*=1.33; *SD*=1.18
Negative Thoughts	*M*=.31; *SD*=.60	*M*=.40; *SD*=.63	*M*=.71; *SD*=.92	*M*=.48; *SD*=.74	*M*=1.33; *SD*=1.40
Neutral Thoughts	*M*=.56; *SD*=.89	*M*=.40; *SD*=.91	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24	*M*=.33; *SD*=.75	*M*=.20; *SD*=.41

Disclosure	N=14	N=14	N=18	N=46	--
Total Number of Thoughts	*M*=2.43; *SD*=1.60	*M*=2.79; *SD*=1.05	*M*=2.56; *SD*=1.50	*M*=2.59; *SD*=1.39	--
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	--
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24	*M*=.02; *SD*=.15	--
Self-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.07; *SD*=.27	*M*=.07; *SD*=.27	0	*M*=.04; *SD*=.21	--
Self-Focused Thoughts	M=.07; SD=.27	M=.07; SD=.27	M=.06; SD=.24	M=.07; SD=.25	--
Other-Focused/Positive	*M*=1.57; *SD*=1.45	*M*=1.86; *SD*=1.29	*M*=1.83; *SD*=1.50	*M*=1.76; *SD*=1.40	--
Other-Focused/Negative	*M*=.50; *SD*=.85	*M*=.64; *SD*=1.08	*M*=.44; *SD*=.70	*M*=.52; *SD*=.86	--
Other-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.29; *SD*=.47	*M*=.14; *SD*=.36	*M*=.11; *SD*=.32	*M*=.17; *SD*=.38	--
Other-Focused Thoughts	M=2.36; SD=1.65	M=2.64; SD=1.01	M=2.39; SD=1.65	M=2.46; SD=1.46	--
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	--
Env.-Focused/Negative	0	*M*=.07; *SD*=.27	*M*=.11; *SD*=.32	*M*=.07; *SD*=.25	--
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0	0	--
Env.-Focused Thoughts	0	M=.07; SD=.27	M=.11; SD=.32	M=.07; SD=.25	--
Need More Information	*M*=.07; *SD*=.27	*M*=.14; *SD*=.36	*M*=.11; *SD*=.32	*M*=.11; *SD*=.31	--
Disability-Related	*M*=.29; *SD*=.47	*M*=.14; *SD*=.36	0	*M*=.13; *SD*=.34	--
Positive Thoughts	*M*=1.57; *SD*=1.45	*M*=1.86; *SD*=1.29	*M*=1.83; *SD*=1.51	*M*=1.76; *SD*=1.40	--
Negative Thoughts	*M*=.50; *SD*=.86	*M*=.71; *SD*=1.14	*M*=.61; *SD*=.70	*M*=.61; *SD*=.88	--
Neutral Thoughts	*M*=.36; *SD*=.63	*M*=.21; *SD*=.43	*M*=.11; *SD*=.32	*M*=.22; *SD*=.47	--

	Early Ack.	Late Ack.	No Ack.
Total	N=30	N=29	N=35
Total Number of Thoughts	*M*=2.40; *SD*=1.52	*M*=3.03; *SD*=1.40	*M*=2.43; *SD*=1.36
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24
Self-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.17; *SD*=.46	*M*=.03; *SD*=.19	0
Self-Focused Thoughts	M=.17; SD=.46	M=.03; SD=.19	M=.06; SD=.24
Other-Focused/Positive	*M*=1.53; *SD*=1.41	*M*=2.17; *SD*=1.49	*M*=1.69; *SD*=1.43
Other-Focused/Negative	*M*=.37; *SD*=.72	*M*=.52; *SD*=.87	*M*=.51; *SD*=.78
Other-Focused/Neutral	*M*=.30; *SD*=.47	*M*=.28; *SD*=.70	*M*=.09; *SD*=.28
Other-Focused Thoughts	M=2.20; SD=1.47	M=2.97; SD=1.40	M=2.29; SD=1.47
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0
Env.-Focused/Negative	*M*=.03; *SD*=.18	*M*=.03; *SD*=.19	*M*=.09; *SD*=.28
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0
Env.-Focused Thoughts	M=.03; SD=.18	M=.03; SD=.19	M=.09; SD=.28
Need More Information	*M*=.03; *SD*=.18	*M*=.10; *SD*=.31	*M*=.06; *SD*=.24
Disability-Related	*M*=.23; *SD*=.43	*M*=.24; *SD*=.44	0
Positive Thoughts	*M*=1.53; *SD*=1.41	*M*=2.17; *SD*=1.49	*M*=1.69; *SD*=1.43
Negative Thoughts	*M*=.40; *SD*=.72	*M*=.55; *SD*=.91	*M*=.66; *SD*=.80
Neutral Thoughts	*M*=.47; *SD*=.78	*M*=.31; *SD*=.71	*M*=.09; *SD*=.28

Table 4

Study 1: Percentages of Participants Reporting Thoughts in Each Categories by Condition

	Acknowledgment				
Disclosure	Early Ack.	Late Ack.	No Ack.	Total	Nondisabled
Nondisclosure	N=16	N=15	N=17	N=48	N=15
Any Thoughts	87%	87%	88%	87%	93%
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	7%
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	6%	2%	7%
Self-Focused/Neutral	19%	0	0	6%	7%
Self-Focused Thoughts	19%	0	6%	8%	13%
Other-Focused/Positive	69%	80%	71%	73%	80%
Other-Focused/Negative	19%	33%	41%	31%	40%
Other-Focused/Neutral	31%	20%	6%	19%	13%
Other-Focused Thoughts	81%	87%	88%	85%	80%
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	0
Env.-Focused/Negative	6%	0	6%	4%	13%
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0	0	0
Env.-Focused Thoughts	6%	0	6%	4%	13%
Need More Information	0	7%	0	2%	13%
Disability-Related	19%	33%	0	17%	0
Positive Thoughts	69%	80%	71%	73%	87%
Negative Thoughts	25%	33%	47%	35%	60%
Neutral Thoughts	37%	20%	6%	21%	20%
Disclosure	N=14	N=14	N=18	N=46	--
Any Thoughts	86%	93%	94%	91%	--
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	--
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	6%	2%	--
Self-Focused/Neutral	7%	7%	0	4%	--
Self-Focused Thoughts	7%	7%	6%	7%	--
Other-Focused/Positive	71%	79%	72%	74%	--
Other-Focused/Negative	36%	36%	33%	35%	--
Other-Focused/Neutral	29%	14%	11%	17%	--
Other-Focused Thoughts	86%	93%	83%	87%	--
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0	0	--
Env.-Focused/Negative	0	7%	11%	7%	--
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0	0	--
Env.-Focused Thoughts	0	7%	11%	7%	--
Need More Information	7%	14%	11%	11%	--
Disability-Related	29%	14%	0	13%	--
Positive Thoughts	71%	79%	72%	74%	--
Negative Thoughts	36%	36%	50%	41%	--
Neutral Thoughts	29%	21%	11%	20%	--

	Early Ack.	Late Ack.	No Ack.
Total	N=30	N=29	N=35
Any Thoughts	87%	90%	91%
Self-Focused/Positive	0	0	0
Self-Focused/Negative	0	0	6%
Self-Focused/Neutral	13%	3%	0
Self-Focused Thoughts	13%	3%	6%
Other-Focused/Positive	70%	79%	71%
Other-Focused/Negative	37%	34%	37%
Other-Focused/Neutral	30%	17%	9%
Other-Focused Thoughts	83%	90%	86%
Env.-Focused/Positive	0	0	0
Env.-Focused/Negative	3%	3%	9%
Env.-Focused/Neutral	0	0	0
Env.-Focused Thoughts	3%	3%	9%
Need More Information	3%	10%	6%
Disability-Related	23%	24%	0
Positive Thoughts	70%	79%	71%
Negative Thoughts	30%	34%	49%
Neutral Thoughts	33%	21%	9%

Table 5

Study 1: Personality Composite Ratings by Condition (means adjusted for tolerance for ambiguity)

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	4.02[a,b,c,d]	.41	15
	Early	4.30[a,d]	.40	16
	Late	4.28[d]	.36	15
Disclosure	None	4.19[a,d]	.38	17
	Early	3.80[b,c]	.50	14
	Late	4.09[a,b,d]	.56	14
	Nondisabled	3.77[c]	.33	15

Males

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	3.88[a,b,c]	.49	6
	Early	4.41 [c]	.16	5
	Late	4.31 [c]	.44	5
Disclosure	None	4.28[b,c]	.43	9
	Early	3.36[d]	.31	4
	Late	3.93[a]	.47	7
	Nondisabled	3.71[a,d]	.44	5

Females

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	4.13[a,b]	.33	9
	Early	4.13 [a,b]	.45	11
	Late	4.19 [a,b]	.34	10
Disclosure	None	4.19 [a,b]	.34	8
	Early	4.07 [a,b]	.54	10
	Late	4.29 [a]	.62	7
	Nondisabled	3.81[b]	.28	10

[a] Cells means having different superscripts are different at $p<.05$

Table 6

Study 1: Ratings of Applicant Anxiety by Condition

		Overall			Males			Females		
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N	*M*	*SD*	N	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	No acknowledgment	2.16	.83	15	2.31	1.13	6	2.06	.61	9
	Early Acknowledgment	2.00	.81	16	1.50	.47	5	2.23	.85	11
	Late Acknowledgment	2.00	.69	15	1.83	.70	5	2.08	.72	10
	Total	2.05	.77	46	1.91	.86	16	2.13	.72	30
Disclosure	No acknowledgment	2.35	.81	17	2.65	.80	9	2.02	.72	8
	Early Acknowledgment	2.27	.71	14	2.38	.64	4	2.23	.76	10
	Late Acknowledgment	2.52	.92	14	2.62	.80	7	2.43	1.09	7
	Total	2.38	.81	45	2.58	.74	20	2.22	.83	25
Total	No acknowledgment	2.26	.81	32	2.51	.93	15	2.03	.64	17
	Early Acknowledgment	2.13	.77	30	1.89	.69	9	2.23	.79	21
	Late Acknowledgment	2.25	.84	29	2.29	.83	12	2.23	.87	17
	Total	2.21	.80	91	2.29	.93	41	2.19	.77	65
	Nondisabled	2.32	1.04	15	2.37	1.53	5	2.30	.80	10

Table 7

Study 1: Hiring Ratings by Condition (adjusted for comfort with interview process)

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	3.95	.64	14
	Early	4.50	.66	15
	Late	3.90	.99	13
	Total	4.11	.76	42
Disclosure	None	4.22	.62	17
	Early	4.15	.55	14
	Late	3.94	.67	14
	Total	4.10	.61	45
Total	None	4.08	.62	31
	Early	4.32	.60	29
	Late	3.92	.83	27
	Nondisabled	3.87	.69	15

Table 8

Study 1: Interview Performance Ratings

The applicant performed well in the interview.				
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	4.29	.69	17
	Early	4.31	.60	16
	Late	4.40	.63	15
	Total	4.33	.63	48
Disclosure	None	4.39	.61	18
	Early	4.21	.58	14
	Late	4.21	.80	14
	Total	4.28	.66	46
Total	None	4.34	.64	35
	Early	4.27	.58	30
	Late	4.31	.71	29
	Nondisabled	3.87	.64	15

The applicant explained his/her skills and related them to the job.				
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	3.47	1.01	17
	Early	4.00	.63	16
	Late	3.67	1.29	15
	Total	3.71	1.01	48
Disclosure	None	3.50	.92	18
	Early	3.64	1.01	14
	Late	3.29	.91	14
	Total	3.48	.94	46
Total	None	3.49	.95	35
	Early	3.83	.83	30
	Late	3.48	1.12	29
	Nondisabled	2.67	.90	15

Table 9

Study 1: Interview Guide Performance Ratings

		Professionalism			Achieving Results		
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Nondisclosure	None	3.58	.67	12	4.17	.94	12
	Early	3.85	.90	13	4.21	.80	14
	Late	3.77	.73	13	4.15	.99	13
Disclosure	None	3.93	1.00	14	4.29	.73	14
	Early	4.00	.68	14	4.07	.73	14
	Late	3.54	1.13	13	4.00	1.00	13
	Nondisabled	3.08	.90	12	4.08	.67	12

		Communication Skills			Planning Skills		
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Nondisclosure	None	3.75[a]	.87	12	3.75	1.06	12
	Early	4.46[b,c]	.66	13	3.64	1.08	14
	Late	4.62[b]	.51	13	3.73	1.01	11
Disclosure	None	4.47[b]	.74	15	3.73	.80	15
	Early	4.00[a,b,c]	1.18	14	3.71	.83	14
	Late	3.85[a,c]	.90	13	3.62	.87	13
	Nondisabled	4.08[a,b,c]	.67	12	2.67	1.16	12

		Teamwork		
Disclosure	Acknowledgment	M	SD	N
Nondisclosure	None	4.18	1.40	11
	Early	4.38	.87	13
	Late	4.50	.67	12
Disclosure	None	4.57	.65	14
	Early	4.64	.50	14
	Late	4.33	.98	12
	Nondisabled	4.42	.67	12

Table 10

Study 1: Liking Ratings (means adjusted for comfort with interview process)

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	None	4.43	.76	14
	Early	4.12	.49	15
	Late	4.40	.65	13
	Total	4.32	.63	42
Disclosure	None	4.36	.62	17
	Early	4.07	.58	14
	Late	4.19	.65	14
	Total	4.21	.61	45
Total	None	4.40	.68	31
	Early	4.10	.53	29
	Late	4.30	.64	27
	Nondisabled	4.23	.74	15

Table 11

Study 1: Percentage of Participants Citing Hiring Rationale by Condition

	Disclosure				No Disclosure				Total				Nondis
	Early Ack n=14	Late Ack n=14	No Ack n=18	Total n=46	Early Ack n=16	Late Ack n=15	No Ack n=17	Total n=48	Early Ack n=30	Late Ack n=29	No Ack n=35	Total n=94	n=15
Qualifications-Pos	29%	43%	33%	35%	50%	47%	41%	46%	40%	45%	37%	40%	20%
Qualifications-Neg	7%	0	28%	13%	6%	0	12%	6%	7%	0	20%	10%	27%
Qualifications-Total	36%	43%	61%	48%	56%	47%	53%	52%	47%	45%	57%	50%	47%
Performance-Pos	29%	0	44%	26%	13%	27%	24%	21%	20%	14%	34%	23%	7%
Performance-Neg	14%	14%	6%	11%	13%	0	12%	8%	13%	7%	9%	10%	20%
Performance-Total	43%	14%	44%	35%	25%	27%	35%	29%	33%	21%	40%	32%	27%
Personality-Pos	7%	21%	28%	20%	44%	33%	12%	29%	27%	28%	20%	25%	20%
Personality-Neg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13%
Personality-Total	7%	21%	28%	20%	44%	33%	12%	29%	27%	28%	20%	25%	33%
Need More Info.	36%	36%	17%	28%	13%	33%	18%	21%	23%	35%	17%	25%	27%
Positive-Total	50%	50%	61%	54%	69%	73%	59%	67%	60%	62%	60%	61%	33%
Negative-Total	21%	14%	33%	24%	13%	0	18%	10%	17%	7%	26%	17%	47%

Table 12

Study 1: Participant Anxiety (adjusted for comfort with interview process and time before interview)

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	Mean	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	No acknowledgment	2.28	.94	14
	Early Acknowledgment	1.89	.68	14
	Late Acknowledgment	2.32	.71	13
	Total	2.16	.80	41
Disclosure	No acknowledgment	2.26	.84	16
	Early Acknowledgment	2.12	.82	14
	Late Acknowledgment	2.55	.69	14
	Total	2.31	.78	44
Total	No acknowledgment	2.28	.87	30
	Early Acknowledgment	2.00	.75	28
	Late Acknowledgment	2.42	.70	27
	Nondisabled	2.17	.72	15

Table 13

Study 1: Comfort with Information Shared (adjusted for comfort with interview process)

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	Mean	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	No acknowledgment	4.22	.83	14
	Early Acknowledgment	4.06	.94	15
	Late Acknowledgment	4.04	1.14	13
	Total	4.10	.95	42
Disclosure	No acknowledgment	4.20	.95	17
	Early Acknowledgment	3.61	1.18	14
	Late Acknowledgment	4.14	1.16	14
	Total	3.97	1.10	45
Total	No acknowledgment	4.20	.88	31
	Early Acknowledgment	3.83	1.06	29
	Late Acknowledgment	4.08	1.13	27
	Nondisabled	3.84	.78	15

Table 14

Study 1: Thoughts about Disability (adjusted for tolerance for ambiguity)

Acknowledgment	Mean	*SD*	N
No acknowledgment	1.85	1.02	17
Early Acknowledgment	1.85	1.93	14
Late Acknowledgment	2.18	2.14	14

Table 15

Study 1: Confederate Ratings of Participant Anxiety

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	Mean	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	No acknowledgment	3.00[a]	1.23	17
	Early Acknowledgment	1.88[b,d]	1.03	16
	Late Acknowledgment	2.67[a,c]	1.29	15
	Total	2.52	1.26	48
Disclosure	No acknowledgment	2.89[a,c]	1.02	18
	Early Acknowledgment	2.36[a,b,c]	1.08	14
	Late Acknowledgment	2.21[b,c,d]	1.25	14
	Total	2.52	1.13	46
Total	No acknowledgment	2.94	1.11	35
	Early Acknowledgment	2.10	1.06	30
	Late Acknowledgment	2.45	1.27	29
	Total	2.52	1.19	94
	Nondisabled	1.53[d]	.64	15

[a] Cells means having different superscripts are different at $p<.05$

Table 16

Study 1: Confederate Ratings of Participant Eye Contact by Condition

Disclosure	Acknowledgment	Exposure	*M*	*SD*	N
Nondisclosure	No acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.00	1.25	10
		Some Exposure	4.57	.79	7
		Total	4.24	1.09	17
	Early Acknowledgment	No Exposure	5.00	.00	6
		Some Exposure	4.80	.63	10
		Total	4.88	.50	16
	Late Acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.29	.76	7
		Some Exposure	2.75	1.28	8
		Total	3.47	1.30	15
	Total	No Exposure	4.35	.98	23
		Some Exposure	4.08	1.29	25
		Total	4.21	1.15	48
Disclosure	No acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.67	.50	9
		Some Exposure	4.00	1.22	9
		Total	4.33	.97	18
	Early Acknowledgment	No Exposure	5.00	.00	5
		Some Exposure	4.00	1.00	9
		Total	4.36	.93	14
	Late Acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.75	.50	4
		Some Exposure	4.00	.82	10
		Total	4.21	.80	14
	Total	No Exposure	4.78	.43	18
		Some Exposure	4.00	.98	28
		Total	4.30	.89	46
Total	No acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.32	1.00	19
		Some Exposure	4.25	1.06	16
		Total	4.29	1.02	35
	Early Acknowledgment	No Exposure	5.00	.00	11
		Some Exposure	4.42	.90	19
		Total	4.63	.76	30
	Late Acknowledgment	No Exposure	4.45	.69	11
		Some Exposure	3.44	1.20	18
		Total	3.83	1.14	29
	Total	No Exposure	4.54	.81	41
		Some Exposure	4.04	1.13	53
		Total	4.26	1.03	94
		Nondisabled	4.53	.52	15

Table 17

Study 2: Correlations of Outcome Variables and Potential Covariates and Scale Reliabilities (presented as a in diagonal)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Disclosure	N/A	-.14	.03	-.02	.16	.12	-.10	-.04	.10	.05	-.04	-.06	.03	N/A	.12	-.08
2. Gender		N/A	-.16	.18*	-.05	-.09	.06	.24*	-.08	.00	.15	.13	.03	-.09	.05	.07
3. Interview Experience			N/A	.01	.09	.13	.00	-.10	.16	.06	-.17	.02	.03	.30*	-.11	.11
4. Social Anxiety				.80	-.37**	.12	.03	.17	.00	.21*	.06	.18*	.04	-.01	.09	.09
5. Tolerance for Ambiguity					.76	.31**	-.04	-.01	.01	-.30**	.00	-.06	-.02	.05	.13	-.01
6. Comfort with Interview Process						N/A	-.10	.30**	-.13	-.36**	.00	.21*	.14	.10	.33**	.24**
7. Self-focused Thoughts							N/A	-.06	.07	.18*	.06	.06	-.03	-.06	-.15	.03
8. Personality Composite								.87	-.47**	-.17	.27*	.35**	.38**	-.08	.28**	.45**
9. Applicant Anxiety									.89	.17	-.25*	-.19*	-.39**	.13	-.18*	-.37**
10. Participant Anxiety										.89	.08	.02	.02	.04	-.08	-.04
11. Qualification Rationale											N/A	.53**	.16	.19	.13	.21*
12. Hiring												.68	.42**	.30*	.32**	.40**
13. Expected Interview Performance													.75	-.15	.45**	.74**
14. Disability Exposure														N/A	-.10	-.07
15. Comfort with Applicant															N/A	.50**
16. Liking																.67

*p<.05; **p<.001 Disclosure: 1=Disclosure; 2=Nondisclosure Gender: 1=Male; 2=Female Interview Experience: 1=No Experience; 2=Some Experience
Exposure to People with Disabilities: 1=No Exposure; 2=Some Exposure

Table 18

Study 2: Mean Thoughts by Condition

	Disclosure/Not exposed (*N*=42)	Disclosure/ Exposed (*N*=42)	Nondisclosure (*N*=42)
Total Number of Thoughts	*M*=1.74; *SD*=1.52	*M*=1.76; *SD*=1.53	*M*=2.29; *SD*=1.55
Self-Focused Thoughts	*M*=.17; *SD*=.44	*M*=.12; *SD*=.33	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26
Other-Focused Thoughts	*M*=1.48; *SD*=1.45	*M*=1.41; *SD*=1.56	*M*=1.98; *SD*=1.55
Environment-Focused Thoughts	*M*=.02; *SD*=.15	*M*=.14; *SD*=.42	*M*=.19; *SD*=.51
Positive Thoughts	*M*=.95; *SD*=1.32	*M*=1.05; *SD*=1.27	*M*=1.33; *SD*=1.54
Negative Thoughts	*M*=.24; *SD*=.66	*M*=.38; *SD*=.83	*M*=.24; *SD*=.62
Neutral Thoughts	*M*=.55; *SD*=.94	*M*=.33; *SD*=.65	*M*=.71; *SD*=1.06
Thoughts about Disability	*M*=.14; *SD*=.35	*M*=.33; *SD*=.48	*M*=0; *SD*=0

Table 19

Study 2: Percentages of Participants Reporting Thoughts in Each Categories by Condition

	Disclosure/ Not exposed (*N*=42)	Disclosure/ Exposed (*N*=42)	Nondisclosure (*N*=42)
Any Thoughts	69%	74%	86%
Self-Focused Thoughts	14%	12%	7%
Other-Focused Thoughts	62%	60%	79%
Environment-Focused Thoughts	2%	12%	14%
Positive Thoughts	40%	55%	55%
Negative Thoughts	14%	26%	14%
Neutral Thoughts	33%	24%	43%
Thoughts about Disability	14%	33%	0

Table 20

Study 2: Ratings of Outcome Variables by Condition

	Disclosure/ Not exposed (*N*=42)	Disclosure/ Exposed (*N*=42)	Nondisclosure (*N*=42)
Personality Ratings	*M*=4.11 *SD*=.48	*M*=3.97; *SD*=.50	*M*=4.00; *SD*=.44
Applicant Anxiety	*M*=2.45; *SD*=.72	*M*=2.64; *SD*=.75	*M*=2.71; *SD*=.74
Hiring Ratings	*M*=4.00 *SD*=.58	*M*=4.30; *SD*=.48	*M*=4.09; *SD*=.65
Liking	*M*=3.72; *SD*=.60	*M*=3.65; *SD*=.59	*M*=3.60; *SD*=.80
Expected Interview Performance	*M*=3.89; *SD*=.55	*M*=3.73; *SD*=.55	*M*=3.85; *SD*=.74
Participant Anxiety	*M*=2.00; *SD*=.62	*M*=2.00; *SD*=.84	*M*=2.06; *SD*=.80
Comfort with Applicant	*M*=3.87; *SD*=.92	*M*=3.75; *SD*=.76	*M*=4.03; *SD*=.88

Table 21

Study 2: Rationale for Hiring Ratings by Condition

	Disclosure/Not exposed (*N*=42)	Disclosure/ Exposed (*N*=42)	Nondisclosure (*N*=42)
Qualifications	*M*=.91 *SD*=1.21	*M*=1.41; *SD*=1.45	*M*=1.05; *SD*=1.15
Personality	*M*=.31; *SD*=.64	*M*=.48; *SD*=.71	*M*=.33; *SD*=.69
Disability	*M*=.05 *SD*=.22	*M*=.07; *SD*=.26	N/A
Need More Information	*M*=.91; *SD*=1.19	*M*=.41; *SD*=.80	*M*=.57; *SD*=.97

Table 22

Study 2 Percentages of Participants Reporting Rationales by Condition

	Disclosure/ Not exposed (*N*=42)	Disclosure/ Exposed (*N*=42)	Nondisclosure (*N*=42)
Qualifications	43%	57%	55%
Personality	24%	36%	21%
Disability	5%	7%	N/A
Need More Information	52%	29%	33%

Figure Caption

Figure 1. Mean personality ratings as a function of disability acknowledgment and disclosure (male participants only).

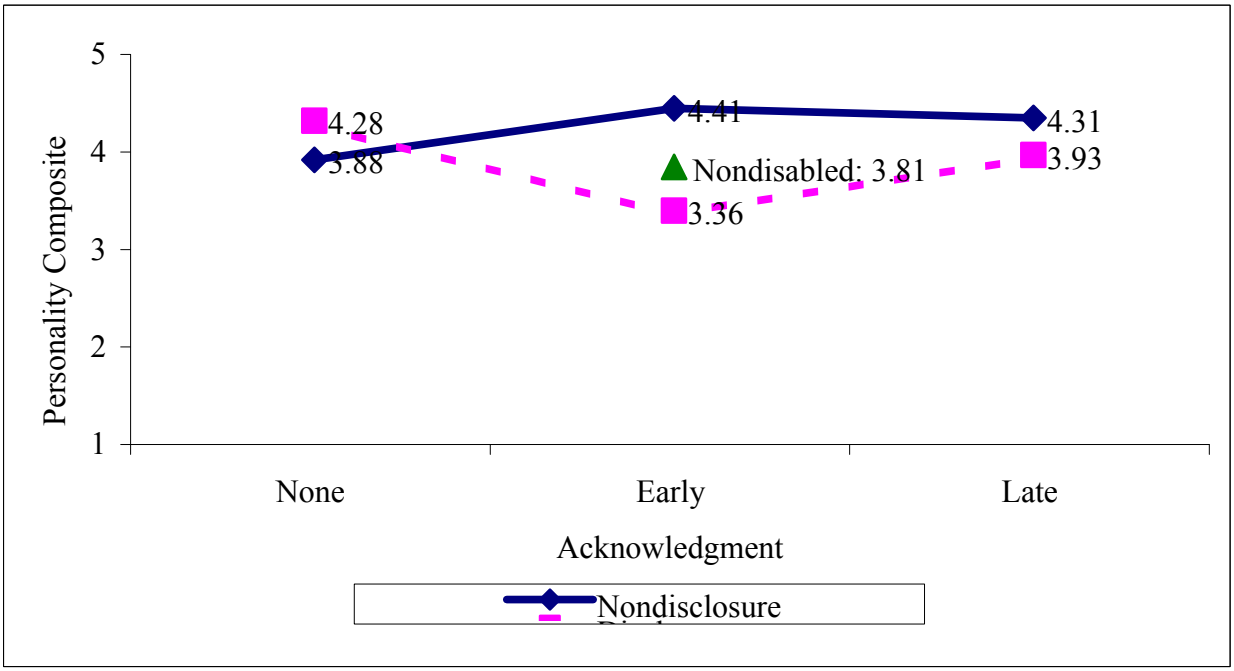

5
4
3
2
1
Personality Composite
4.28
3.88
4.41
3.36
4.31
3.93
Nondisabled: 3.81
None
Early
Late
Acknowledgment
Nondisclosure

Figure Caption

Figure 2. Mean personality ratings as a function of disability acknowledgment and disclosure (female participants only).

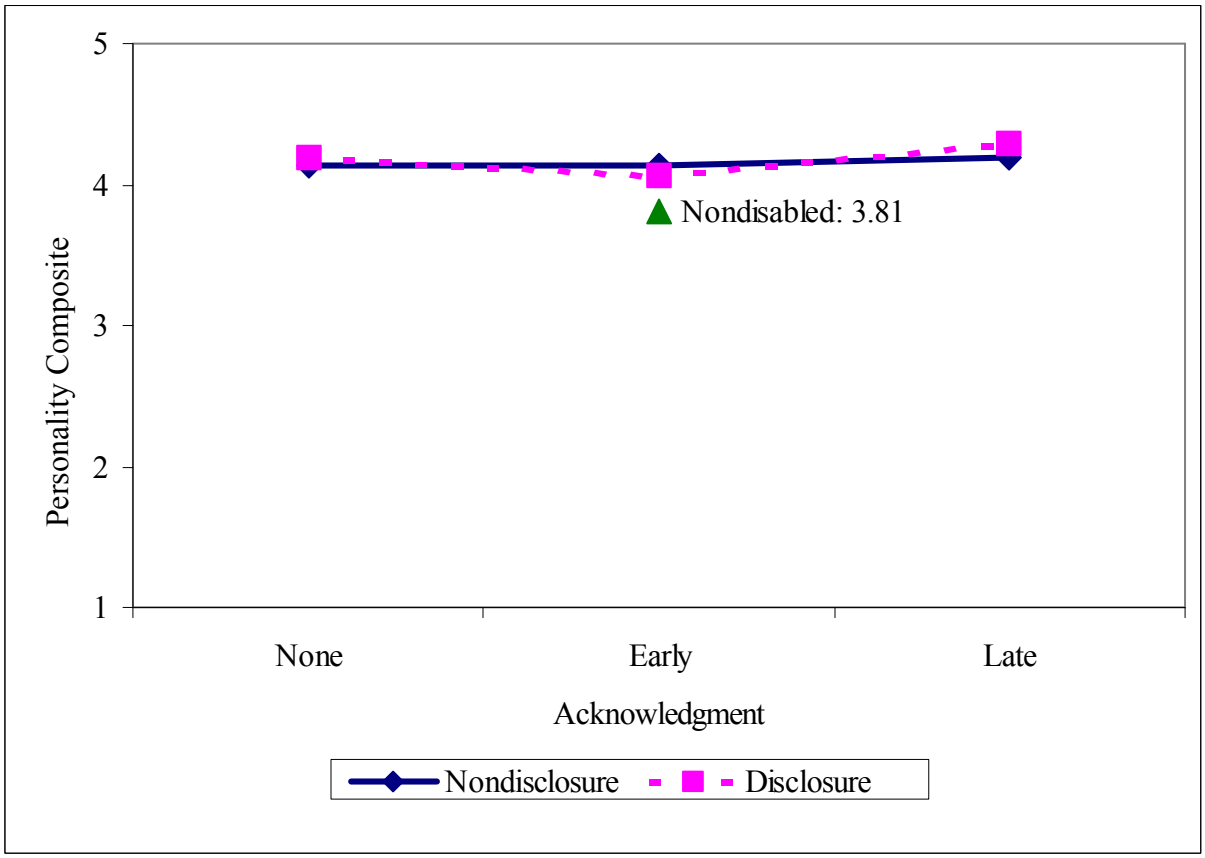

5
4
3
2
1
Personality Composite
Nondisabled: 3.81
None
Early
Late
Acknowledgment
Nondisclosure
Disclosure

Figure Caption

Figure 3. Mean communication skills ratings as a function of disability acknowledgment and disclosure.

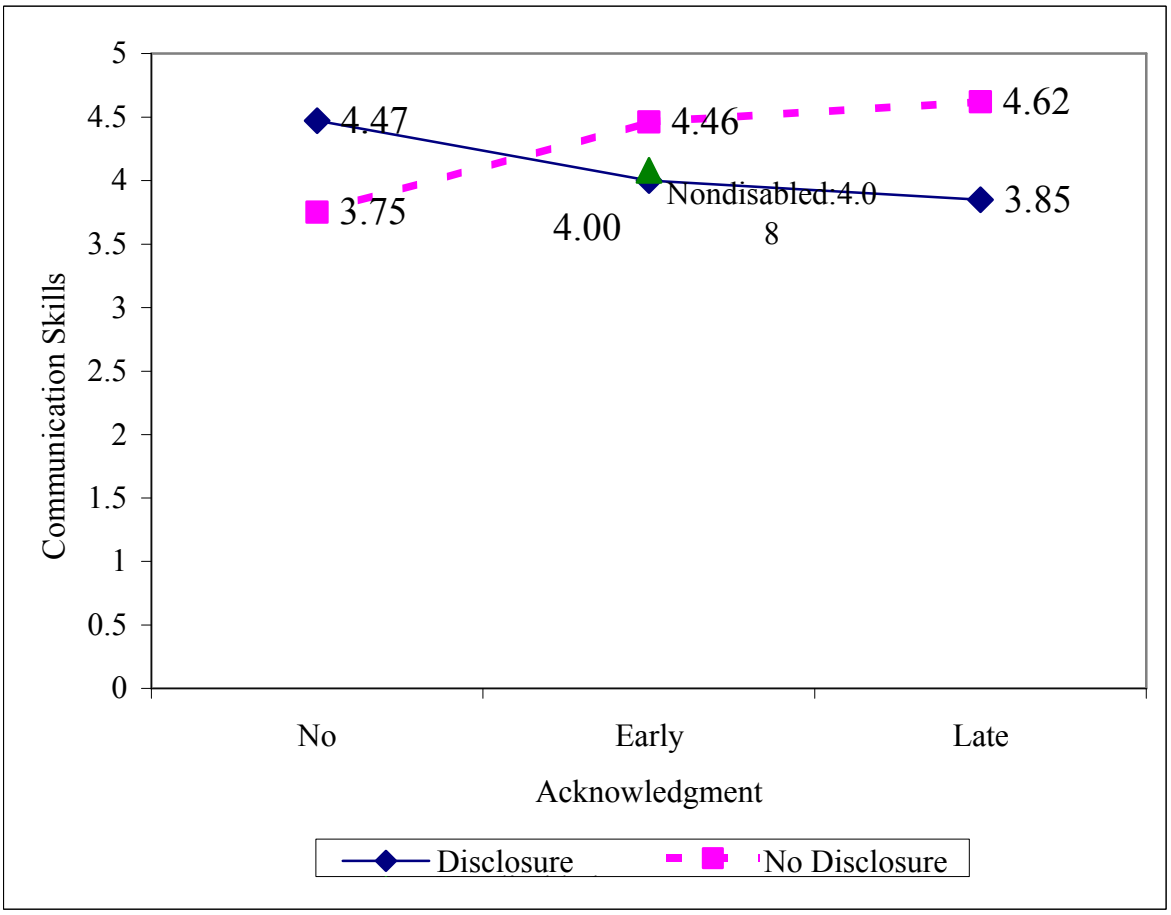
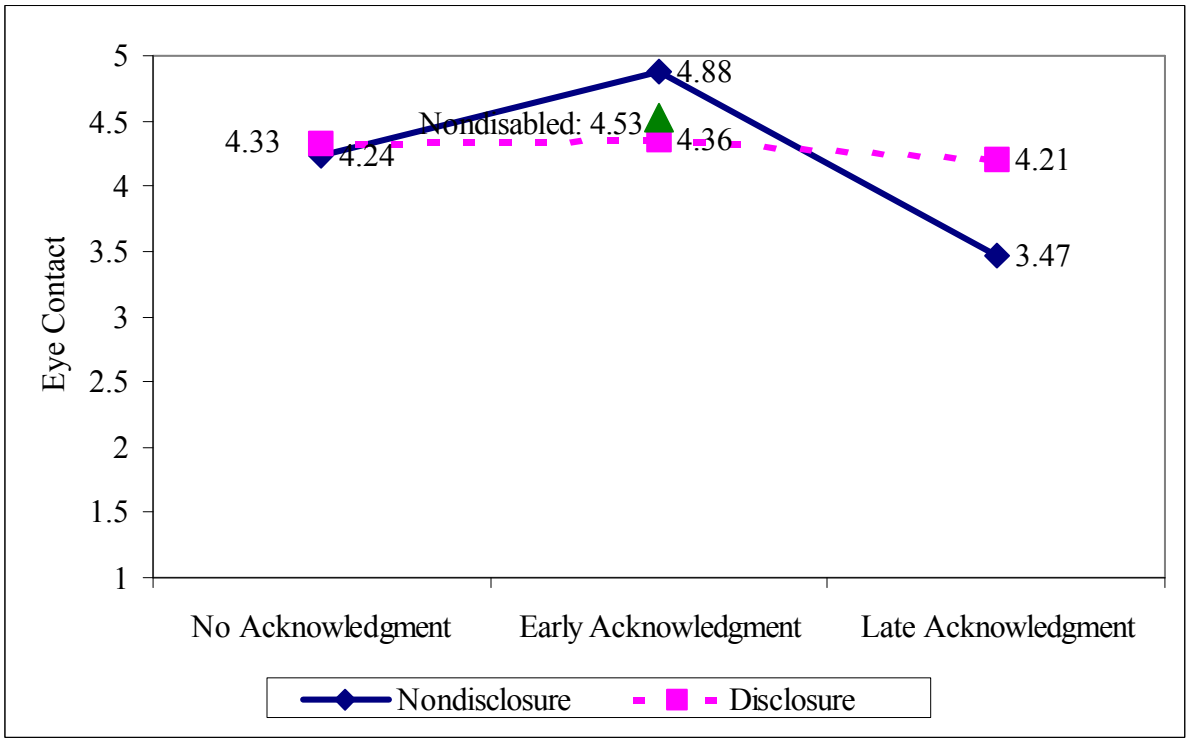

5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
0.5
0
Communication Skills
4.47
4.46
4.62
3.75
4.00
Nondisabled.4.0
8
3.85
No
Early
Late
Acknowledgment
Disclosure
No Disclosure

Figure Caption

Figure 4. Mean eye contact ratings as a function of disability acknowledgment and disclosure.


5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
Eye Contact
4.33
4.24
4.88
Nondisabled: 4.53
4.36
4.21
3.47
No Acknowledgment
Early Acknowledgment
Late Acknowledgment
Nondisclosure
Disclosure