

**STEREOTYPE THREAT AND INTERPERSONAL
INTERACTIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR CROSS-GENDER
SELECTION INTERVIEWS**

by

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Bachelor of Arts (Hons), Simon Fraser University 2004

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

In the
Department
of
Psychology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

2007

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Abstract

This study aimed to expand research on stereotype threat into the domain of intergroup interactions by manipulating fear of appearing sexist for male participants interviewing female participants in a mock selection interview. Males were instructed to avoid sexist behaviour, or not. Following the interview, participants completed self- and partner-ratings of social skills and interview skills. Counter to a stereotype threat prediction, males under threat rated their social skills more positively than males in the control condition. This positive effect did not spread to females. Male ratings of female performance were further moderated by desire to respond without sexism. The findings are discussed with reference to a model of intergroup contact. Pro-diversity norms, familiarity with the outgroup, ease of task, contrast effects, and beliefs regarding the controllability of behaviour may have increased motivation and self-efficacy so that males under threat were able to successfully modulate their behaviour.

Keywords: stereotype threat; gender; selection interview; interaction

Subject Terms: Threat; Stereotyped Attitudes; Ingroup Outgroup; Intergroup Dynamics; Social Behaviour

*This thesis is dedicated to my parents Anne and Gerd,
to Jack, Pieter, and Lenni.*

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Stephen Wright for his guidance and encouragement throughout this project. I am very grateful to be able to work with such an inspiring and creative supervisor. I would also like to thank Dr. Rebecca Cobb for her help and feedback on this project and Dr. Steven Heine for serving as my external committee member and providing some interesting insights into my work.

I would like to thank Chandy and Jennifer for their help with the data collection. Thank you Norann and Leo for always providing a helping hand, an open ear, and creative input. Most importantly, I want to thank the two of you for being such great friends. Thank you to everyone else in the Social Psychology Lab for your positive attitude and great sense of humour. Also, I would like to thank Dr. Mario Liotti's lab and especially Fern for all their hard work with Mass Testing.

Last, I want to thank my partner Jack for keeping me grounded and always making me laugh, as well as my parents and brothers for always being there for and believing in me.

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

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Introduction

Stereotype threat occurs when fear of inadvertently confirming a negative stereotype, in others' eyes or in one's own, produces behaviour that is consistent with the stereotype (see Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). Thus, fear of inadvertently confirming a negative group stereotype can undermine performance in stereotype relevant domains. In the first major study of this phenomenon, Steele and Aronson (1995) showed that Black students performed worse on a test that was described as diagnostic of intelligence and when their racial identity was made salient than when the same test was not described as diagnostic of intelligence and racial identity was not made salient. The adverse effect of stereotype threat on performance has since been extended to the performance of other disadvantaged groups including performance of individuals from low socioeconomic backgrounds on intelligence tests (Croizet & Claire, 1998), performance of the elderly on cognitive tests (Hess, Auman, Colcombe, & Rahhal, 2003), and performance of women on math tests (e.g., Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999).

Social Psychology has seen a surge of research on stereotype threat since Steele and Aronson (1995) introduced the phenomenon just over a decade ago. Entering the term *stereotype threat* into the PsycInfo search engine generates 271 published articles. One reason for this extensive interest is that stereotype threat can undermine performance even if individuals are treated

fairly. Women taking a math test with experimenters or professors who are treating them the same way they treat men may still perform poorly on the test if stereotype threat is raised. In addition, the targets of the threat need not believe that the negative stereotype about their group is true; knowledge of a negative stereotype by itself is enough for stereotype threat to exert its adverse impact (see Steele et al., 2002). Women who are under stereotype threat, for instance, perform worse on a math test than women who are not under stereotype threat even if they do not believe that women are bad at math (see Steele et al., 2002). Also astonishing is the finding that stereotype threat affects individuals who are highly skilled in and care a lot about the domain related to the stereotype. Steele and Aronson (1995), for instance, demonstrated the impact of stereotype threat on an intelligence test in Black students who were high achieving undergraduates at Stanford University.

Stereotype Threat: Competency Stereotypes to Intergroup Stereotypes

Most past studies have defined and measured the impact of stereotype threat as fear of confirming competency stereotypes (see Steele et al., 2002). Schneider (2004) defines stereotypes as qualities perceived to be associated with particular groups or categories of people. Consequently, competency stereotypes represent a subset of these beliefs and can be defined as qualities that impact on performance in a particular domain that are associated with particular groups or categories of people. Past research on competency stereotypes has investigated and demonstrated the adverse consequences of

stereotype threat on performance on academic tasks such as intelligence and math tests (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995; Spencer et al., 1999) and on cognitive tasks such as memory tests (e.g., Hess et al., 2003).

Several researchers have extended stereotype threat research to competency on tasks other than academic and cognitive tests. In Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, and Darley's (1999) study, White participants did significantly worse on an athletic golf task when stereotype threat was raised by the presence of Black athletes and by framing the task as diagnostic of athletic ability. Beilock, Jellison, Rydell, McConnell, and Carr (2006) investigated stereotype threat in high-level golfers. They asked expert male golfers to perform a series of puts after either raising the negative stereotype that men are poorer putters than women or after receiving control information telling them that putting performance differs as a function of skill level. Beilock and colleagues found that golfers under stereotype threat putted significantly worse than golfers in the control condition.

However, perceptions of groups include more than beliefs about particular competencies. When members of one group think about interactions with members of another group, beliefs about social aspects of behaviour become important. In other words, there are often stereotypes held by one group about another group's social behaviours. These stereotypes could be labelled social stereotypes and can be defined as traits or characteristics that are thought to be associated with particular groups or categories of people that influence behaviour in social encounters. Examples include the stereotypes that Blacks are aggressive, that men are insensitive, and that women are caring.

The distinction between competency and social stereotypes parallels Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu's (2002) Stereotype Content Model. Fiske and colleagues demonstrated that there are two primary dimensions of stereotypes, competence and warmth. These dimensions differ on the basis of a stereotype's intergroup functions. Group status predicts competence stereotypes, whereas the degree of intergroup competition predicts warmth stereotypes (Fiske & Cuddy, 2006). More specifically, if the outgroup is perceived to be of high status (economically successful, well-educated, and holding prestigious jobs), then outgroup members are seen as more competent, confident, skilful, and able. If the ingroup is in competition with the outgroup for resources and power, then outgroup members are seen as less warm, friendly, and trustworthy.

Competency stereotypes can be mapped onto Fiske and colleagues' dimension of competence. Social stereotypes, which are about interpersonal abilities and sensitivity, are more similar to the warmth dimension of the Stereotype Content Model. Despite the clear importance of social (warmth) stereotypes for intergroup relations demonstrated by Fiske and colleagues (2002; Fiske & Cuddy, 2006), this dimension of stereotypes has received relatively little attention in the stereotype threat literature. Yet, fear of confirming social stereotypes may result in social behaviours that undermine social interactions with others much the same as the fear of confirming competency stereotypes undermines performance on relevant tasks. If a Black person enters a social situation with a White person, for instance, fear of confirming the stereotype that Blacks are aggressive may make the interaction more difficult and uncomfortable

and thus disrupt the Black person's social behaviour. A quote by James Jones (1997) demonstrates the predicament of confirming social stereotypes for a Black man standing behind a White woman at an ATM machine:

When I go to an ATM machine and a woman is making a transaction, I think about whether she may fear I will rob her. Given that I have no such intention, how to I put her at ease? Maybe I can't put her at ease, or maybe she has no such expectation. But, the thought goes through my mind. Stereotypes not only affect their holder, but their target. (p. 262)

A few recent studies appear to support the prediction that the fear of confirming social stereotypes may undermine social interactions. Koenig and Eagly (2005) investigated fear of confirming the social stereotype of males as insensitive and demonstrated that this fear negatively affected men on a test of social sensitivity. Male participants who were told that the test assessed social sensitivity and that women typically do better on the task performed worse on the test than male participants who were told that the test assessed information processing. Similarly, Leyens, Désert, Croizet, and Darcis (2000) reported that men who were reminded that males are not as good as females at processing affective information made more mistakes in classifying affective versus non-affective words in a lexical decision task than did men who were not under stereotype threat.

To recap, competency stereotypes are performance qualities that individuals associate with particular groups or categories of people (e.g., women are bad at math). Social stereotypes describe interpersonal traits or interpersonal qualities that individuals associate with particular groups of people (e.g., women are caring). When thinking about the implications of these two classes of

stereotypes for social interactions, social stereotypes may often have stronger impacts on the quality of social interactions than do competency stereotypes. For a smooth and comfortable social encounter, it may matter more whether you believe that your interaction partner thinks you are friendly versus aggressive than whether you believe s/he thinks you are good versus bad at math.

In addition to the social-competency distinction, the current research highlights a particular class of social stereotypes that might be labelled *intergroup stereotypes*. Intergroup stereotypes refer to beliefs about a specific group concerning how members of that group will behave toward members of another specific group (but not toward people in general). A general belief that members of a specific group are particularly likely to dislike or maltreat members of other social groups would be an intergroup stereotype, such as the belief that members of a particular group are racist. There are, however, many other intergroup stereotypes. There are beliefs that management holds about the attitudes of union representatives towards management, for instance. Management may believe that union representatives are argumentative, offensive, and even aggressive when interacting with management. Negotiations over a new collective agreement, for instance, may be affected by these expectations. Managers may appear sterner when expecting aggressive behaviour from union representatives. This is not about the general characteristics of union representatives but rather is specifically about how they will act towards management. Another example involves parents and their adolescent children. Many parents (at least in North America) may believe that

adolescent children are likely to rebel against them. Again, this expectation is specific to the relation between parents and their adolescent children and this behaviour would not be expected when the same adolescents interact with their peers or with younger children.

There is some research demonstrating that individuals may be afraid of confirming negative intergroup stereotypes. Most Whites do not want to be perceived as being racist, for instance (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). In addition, like other cases of stereotype threat, the fear of confirming negative intergroup stereotypes about one's ingroup may undermine performance. A recent study by Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, and Hart (2004) showed that Whites' fears of appearing prejudiced impacted on their performance on the Race Implicit Association Test (IAT), which measures implicit attitudes towards Blacks. White individuals showed stronger implicit pro-White attitudes when stereotype threat was raised by telling them that the test measured racism than when they were told that the test was not diagnostic of racial attitudes.

Stereotype Threat and Social Interactions

The few published studies looking at fear of confirming social stereotypes (including intergroup stereotypes) have mainly measured the adverse impact of stereotype threat in terms of performance on paper- or computer-based tests. Even though these studies are interested in the impact of stereotype threat on social behaviour, they rarely measure real behaviour in social interactions. Frantz and colleagues (2004) assessed the impact of fear of appearing racist on performance on a computer-based reaction time test (the IAT). Similarly, Koenig

and Eagly (2005), as well as Leyens and colleagues (2000), investigated the impact of stereotype threat on men's performance on a paper-based multiple-choice test of social sensitivity and a computer-based lexical decision task measuring processing of affective information respectively.

An interesting question then is whether stereotype threat also has adverse impacts on observable behaviour in social interactions. It may be the case that individuals who are afraid of confirming a negative intergroup stereotype appear more nervous and less friendly in social interactions with outgroup members than those who are not afraid of confirming intergroup stereotypes. To illustrate, when a Black individual meets a White person for the first time and when both are aware of the stereotype that Whites are racist, this could seriously undermine their social interaction. This intergroup stereotype could not only influence the holder of the stereotype (here the Black person) but also the target (here the White person). The White person could be afraid of appearing racist and this fear, in turn, could impact both verbal and nonverbal behaviour and make the social interaction less fluid and more awkward.

There is a small body of literature on identity threat in interethnic interactions (see Shelton, Richeson, & Vorauer, 2006). A few studies have focused on majority group members' evaluative concerns in interactions with minority group members. These studies have shown that majority group members feel threatened if they believe that minority group members view them according to negative stereotypes. Vorauer, Main, and O'Connell (1998), for instance, found that White Canadians felt threatened by the belief that First

Nations individuals perceive Whites as prejudiced, biased, selfish, and closed-minded. Vorauer and Turpie (2004) went even further and researched the relation between fear of appearing prejudiced and performance in cross-group interactions. In their study, low-prejudice White participants performed worse in a video-mediated interaction with a First Nations individual when they believed that their interaction partner had an expectation of discrimination than when this belief had not been induced. When participants believed that their partner expected discrimination, they showed less intimacy building behaviours and increased intergroup anxiety (e.g., they felt more self-conscious, uncomfortable, and tense). Vorauer and Turpie interpreted their findings in terms of evaluative concerns, rather than in a stereotype threat framework. Yet, when discussing their findings, the authors acknowledged that a stereotype threat interpretation of the findings is also possible.

In a recent study, Jauernig, Wright, Lubensky, and Tropp (2006) tested whether the threat of confirming the stereotype that Whites are racist would undermine social skill in a face-to-face interaction with a Black interaction partner. In this study, participants did worse in the interactions when stereotype threat was raised; this was evident in self- and confederate-ratings of social anxiety and social skill. In addition, social anxiety partially mediated the relation between the stereotype threat manipulation and self-reported social skill.

Stereotype Threat in Dynamic Social Interactions

In real life, interpersonal encounters are dynamic processes; both interaction partners' attitudes and behaviour have complex and constantly

evolving influences on the other person. This dynamic nature of interpersonal encounters has not been a major focus in social psychological research. Studies investigating social interactions often investigate an interaction between a participant and a trained confederate. Vorauer and Turpie (2004) assessed self-ratings of anxiety, evaluative concerns, and performance, as well as video-coding data of intimacy-building behaviours and nonverbal behaviour in a video-mediated interaction. Jauernig and colleagues (2006) looked at self- and confederate-ratings of social skill and social anxiety. In these past studies, the influence of person A's behaviour on person B's behaviour may be considered but the reciprocal influence of person B's behaviour on person A is not assessed.

Two recent exceptions in the intergroup relations literature explored social behaviour as a dynamic back and forth. Pinel (2002) led female participants to believe that their male interaction partner was either sexist or not. Females high in stigma consciousness evaluated a supposedly sexist male more negatively and the male participant, in turn, rated his female partner more negatively. Shelton, Richeson, and Salvatore (2005) investigated expectations of prejudice and their impact on interethnic interactions. In their study, a White participant and an ethnic minority participant engaged in a social interaction in form of a 10-minute conversation. They manipulated minority participants' expectations of White prejudice and found that the more ethnic minorities expected Whites to be prejudiced, the more negative experiences and especially affect the minority group members had during the cross-group interaction. This was evident in their self-ratings. Minority group members did, however, engage in more self-

disclosure in the prejudice-expectation condition. This verbal and nonverbal engagement, in turn, lead to more positive experiences for White participants. Whites liked their minority partner more in the prejudice expectation condition. These studies demonstrate that looking at dynamic interactions by making both interaction partners naïve participants can reveal information that is crucial to the study of intergroup relations.

A classic study illustrating the dynamic nature of interpersonal interactions is Word, Zanna, and Cooper's (1974) study on the so-called *self-fulfilling prophecy*. The self-fulfilling prophecy takes place when person A's expectations lead him or her to act in a way that elicits behavioural changes in person B that are consistent with person A's expectations. This change in person B's behaviour can then elicit favourable or unfavourable evaluations from person A or from other observers. Word and colleagues demonstrated this effect in a mock interview context. They found that White participant interviewers spent less time interviewing Black confederate applicants than White confederate applicants. The interviewers also made more speech errors when interviewing Blacks than when interviewing Whites. In a second study, White interviewers were trained to act like either the interviewers of the Black or White applicants in the first study. These trained White interviewers then interviewed half of the White participant applicants the same way that Black applicants had been interviewed in the first study and the other half of the White participants in the same way that White applicants had been interviewed in the first study. White participant applicants treated like Black applicants were judged to perform worse and to be more

nervous than participant applicants treated like Whites. In summary, social behaviour was dynamic, White interviewers' behaviour elicited reactions in Black applicants that were consistent with the White interviewers' behaviour. This, in turn, affected the evaluations of the Black applicants.

However, it may be possible to re-interpret Word and colleagues' (1974) study using a stereotype threat framework. It may have been the case that White participants in the first study, rather than being racist, were afraid of appearing racist when interviewing Black participants. This fear of appearing racist may have been elicited automatically as soon as they noticed the ethnicity of the applicant and may then have lead White participants to do a poorer job interviewing Black applicants (e.g., making more speech errors). Thus, it may have been Whites' fear of being perceived as racist, which ironically lead Black applicants to perform and be evaluated worse than White applicants. This alternative interpretation makes apparent the importance of specifically manipulating and studying stereotype threat in dynamic social interactions.

The Time Course of Stereotype Threat in Dynamic Social Interactions

Stereotype activation has been linked to the occurrence of stereotype threat. Steele and Aronson (1995) showed that raising stereotype threat activated racial stereotypes in Black participants. Black participants under threat completed more word fragments in a word-stem completion task with stereotype-related words than Black participants who were not under stereotype threat or than White participants. In addition, research on stereotype activation shows that

it dissipates with time. Kunda, Davies, Adams, and Spencer (2002) demonstrated that exposure to a videotaped interview with a Black person lead initially to stereotype activation among Whites, but this activation dissipated when it was measured after 12 minutes. Since the occurrence of stereotype threat is related to stereotype activation and stereotype activation dissipates with time, it may be the case that the adverse impact of stereotype threat on social interactions is strong at first, but may also weaken or disappear over time.

However, in dynamic social interactions, person A's behaviour can influence person B and person B's behaviour, in turn, can influence person A. Thus, the time course of stereotype threat may play out in three possible ways. As mentioned above, it could be the case that the adverse effect of stereotype threat dissipates over time due to fading of stereotype activation. Alternatively, it could be the case that the negative effect of stereotype threat escalates due to the dynamic nature of the interaction. The adverse effect of stereotype threat may lead the person under threat to act less socially skilled and more nervously and this, in turn, may lead the interaction partner to act less friendly in the interaction. The negative response of the interaction partner could further decrease social performance and increase nervousness for the person under threat. Alternatively, it may be the case that the interaction partner responds in a friendly and reassuring way when interacting with someone who initially acts clumsy or nervous. This positive response could counteract the effects of stereotype threat as well as decrease nervousness and even improve performance in the person under stereotype threat.

Who is Most Impacted by Stereotype Threat: Domain Identification

Stereotype threat has a more adverse impact when individuals care about the domain being considered (Steele, 1997). For example, stereotype threat has the most negative impact on women who are highly identified with the domain of mathematics and who care about doing well on math tests (Steele, 1997).

Vorauer and Turpie (2004) found that fear of appearing prejudiced affected individuals who scored low on modern racism or low on ingroup identification more than individuals who scored high on these variables. Consequentially, one variable that may moderate the relation between intergroup stereotype threat and the interpersonal performance of the person under threat is motivation to respond without prejudice. Stereotype threat may affect Whites who care about appearing non-prejudiced (high motivation to respond without prejudice) more than Whites who care less about appearing non-prejudiced. Similarly, males who care about appearing non-sexist (high motivation to respond without sexism) may be more adversely impacted than males who care less about appearing non-sexist.

Stereotype Threat and Selection Interviews

One interpersonal domain where stereotype threat may be of particular relevance is the domain of selection interviews. Even though research on personnel selection has consistently reported poor psychometric properties in the form of poor reliability and validity, the interview remains one of the most frequently used selection devices (Gatewood & Feild, 2001). Poor reliability and

validity seem to be at least in part due to a lack of structure in selection interviews (Conway, Jako, & Goodman, 1995).

Some scholars claim that majority members' judgments in selection interviews are biased by applicant characteristics such as race and gender (see Cesare, 1996). Word and colleagues' (1974) study on the self-fulfilling prophecy shows how differential treatment of majority versus minority applicants in selection interviews can lead to poorer performance and, in turn, poorer evaluation of minority group members. Research findings on the effects of gender bias in selection interviews are mixed (Cesare, 1996). Although some studies found no effect (Cesare, 1996), in a meta-analysis of 19 experimental studies, Olian, Schwab, and Haberfeld (1988) found that there was a slight and inconsistent tendency for male applicants to receive higher ratings than females, but the gender main effect accounted for only 4% of the variance in interview ratings.

One variable that may help explain the inconsistent findings on gender bias in selection interviews is the type of job in question. Research suggests that type of job can moderate the occurrence of gender bias in selection interviews. Female applicants, for instance, received lower interview ratings than male applicants when the job domain in question was traditionally male-dominated (e.g., engineer or construction worker; see Cesare, 1996) and males scored lower for traditionally female-dominated jobs (Muchinsky & Harris, 1977). The finding that job type moderates the relation between gender bias and decision making in selection interviews may reflect simple sexism; females may simply be

seen as less effective in the interviews for male-dominated jobs no matter what their actual performance indicates. However, this effect may also be partly attributable to stereotype threat. Studies on biases in selection interviews typically do not hold the behaviour of the applicants constant by using trained confederates as applicants. It may be the case that women perform worse in selection interviews than men even though they are being treated fairly. It could be that interviews for traditionally male-dominated jobs raise relevant stereotypes. These interviews may automatically raise fear of confirming the stereotype that women do poorly in these domains (such as on tasks relevant to engineering careers). It could be the case that even though male interviewers are not overtly biased toward female applicants, cues that focus attention on gender may elicit behaviour in female applicants that is consistent with implicit negative stereotypes and small performance decrements may be the consequence. These performance decrements may elicit less favourable evaluations of female applicants.

Much the same as females may be affected by stereotype threat in selection interview contexts, so may males. In female-dominated domains, raising the salience of gender may raise concerns about social capabilities and males may be adversely affected by stereotype threat due to fear of confirming stereotypes about these abilities and skills. Research indeed shows that males are negatively impacted if fear of confirming social/warmth stereotypes, such as appearing insensitive, is raised (Koenig & Eagly, 2005; Leyens et al., 2000).

Apart from these social stereotypes, there are also important intergroup stereotypes about males. One intergroup stereotype that is relevant to selection interviews is the stereotype that males are sexist. If men find themselves in cross-gender interviews, stereotype threat in form of fear of appearing sexist could undermine male performance much the same as fear of appearing insensitive does. Specifically, the threat of confirming this stereotype could lead male participants to appear less friendly and more nervous in selection interviews with females.

Current Study and Predictions

The current study aimed to expand research on stereotype threat in five main ways. First, the study contributes to the small but growing body of literature that focuses on social stereotypes and even more specifically on intergroup stereotypes. Second, the current study measured the outcome of stereotype threat in a face-to-face social interaction, rather than only looking at participants' responses on paper- or computer-based questionnaires without a direct interaction. Third, the study explored stereotype threat in a dynamic interaction in which both interaction partners were participants. Thus, both individuals in the interaction exhibited spontaneous behaviour and responses to the other's behaviour. Fourth, the current study investigated the time course of stereotype threat to determine if it dissipates over time due to fading of stereotype activation or if the adverse effect escalates or is reversed due to the dynamic nature of the interaction. Fifth, the study explored the effect of stereotype threat in a yet

unstudied domain with immediate applied relevance, the domain of cross-gender selection interviews.

Male participants received information that made salient the issue of male sexism, or not (control), and engaged in a mock selection interview with a female applicant. This distribution of roles (male interviewer and female applicant) was chosen because interviewers in selection interviews are typically in roles of power. They conduct an evaluation of the applicant and are involved in the decision to hire. Past research, on the self-fulfilling prophecy for instance, shows that interviewers' behaviour can have strong impacts on applicant behaviour (e.g., Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974; Dipboye, 1982). Behaviour of male interviewers under stereotype threat may thus have especially adverse consequences for female applicants.

To test the effects of stereotype threat, several outcome variables were assessed. Following the selection interview, general social skill and interview-specific skill were both measured with series of Likert items. Male interviewers and female applicants both rated their own and their partners' social and interview skill. Further, to investigate the time course and dynamic nature of stereotype threat, male and female performance were measured several minutes into the interview. To research potential moderators of stereotype threat in the current study, male and female participants' past experience in interviews as well as males' motivation to appear non-sexist were assessed.

Main Effects of Stereotype Threat: Hypotheses A and B

Consistent with past findings that Whites did worse in an interpersonal encounter with a Black person when stereotype threat was raised (Jauernig et al., 2006), it was hypothesized that males under stereotype threat would perform poorer in a cross-gender interview than males not under stereotype threat (hypothesis A). The adverse effect of stereotype threat should be evidenced as a main effect of condition on both the self- and partner-rated measures of social skill and interview skill.

Based on the argument that social encounters are dynamic processes, it was hypothesized that females would perform poorer when the male interviewer was under stereotype threat than when he was not (hypothesis B). The adverse effect of male stereotype threat on the performance of his female partner should be evidenced as a main effect on both the self- and partner-rated measures of social skill and interview skill.

Time Course of Stereotype Threat: Hypothesis C

The adverse effect of stereotype threat may dissipate with time. Alternatively, the negative effect may escalate if females respond negatively to males under stereotype threat. It could also be the case that the initial negative effect of stereotype threat could lead to more positive self- and partner-ratings if females respond in positive and reassuring ways to the nervousness of males under threat. These potential effects of stereotype threat over time lead to three competing predictions (hypothesis C), which were tested by considering self-

ratings and partner-ratings on two occasions, early in the interview and at the end of the interview.

Moderating Effect of Domain Identification: Hypothesis D

Vorauer and Turpie (2004) found that individuals low in modern racism or low in ingroup identification were more adversely impacted by fear of appearing prejudiced in cross-group encounters. Correspondingly, it was hypothesized that the negative impact of intergroup stereotype threat would be more pronounced for men high in motivation to respond without sexism (hypothesis D). This should be evidenced in an interaction effect of stereotype threat and motivation to respond without sexism on the self-rated and partner-rated measures of social and interview skill.

Mediating Effect of Males' Behaviour: Hypothesis E

Based on the argument that social interactions are dynamic processes where person A's behaviour affects person B, it was predicted that the behaviour of male interviewers would partially mediate the effect of the stereotype threat manipulation on female applicants' self- and partner-rated social and interview skill (hypothesis E).

Moderating Effect of Interview Experience: Exploratory Hypothesis

The current study investigated the effect of intergroup stereotype threat on performance in mock selection interviews. Consequently, experience in selection interviews, both as an applicant and as an interviewer, was assessed in this study to test if relevant experience moderates the effect of stereotype threat

on performance. If there is a moderating effect, it should be evidenced as an interaction effect of stereotype threat and interview experience on the self-rated and partner-rated measures of social and interview skill for both males and females.

Method

Overview

Participants took part in a pre-testing session in which they provided demographic information including gender and ethnicity. Male participants also completed a measure of motivation to respond without sexism. Participants were then called back to participate in pairs. Each pair consisted of one male and one female participant. Once in the lab for the main study, participants were told that they would be participating in a study on job interviews and that they would be randomly assigned to be either the interviewer or the applicant. In reality, male participants were always the interviewer and females were always the applicant. Participants completed a questionnaire on interview experience (Selection Interview Scale). They also completed a set of pre-interaction measures of general social skill (Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale) and interview-specific skill (Pre-Interaction Interview Skill Scale). Males then received information that made salient the issue of male sexism (stereotype threat condition) or not (control condition). Next, the pairs engaged in a 7-minute face-to-face mock selection interview. Two minutes into the interview they completed four Likert scale items rating their own and their partner's performance and comfort level (Mid-Interview Scale). After the interaction, participants completed a set of post-interaction measures of their own and their partner's performance (Post-Interaction Self-Rated Social Skill Scale, Post-Interaction Self-Rated Interview Skill Scale, Post-

Interaction Partner-Rated Social Skill Scale, and Post-Interaction Partner-Rated Interview Skill Scale).

Pre-Testing Session

Undergraduate students at Simon Fraser University were recruited from Psychology classes, through advertising on campus, or through email to participate in pre-testing sessions. Students either participated in a paper-based version in a room with many other student participants and were paid \$5 or they participated in an online version and were entered in a \$50 lottery. All participants completed demographic items. Males also completed the Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Sexism Scale (IMS-S and EMS-S; Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005). This is a commonly used measure of individuals' motivation to appear non-sexist. It consists of 10 statements (e.g., "According to my personal values, using stereotypes about women is ok.") to which participants respond on a Likert-Scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Participants

Participants from the pre-testing were contacted to participate in the main study. The sample for the main experiment consisted of 138 participants (79.1% of the participants had completed the paper-based pre-testing version and 20.9% the online version). Individuals participated in pairs consisting of one female and one male participant. The 69 pairs were randomly assigned to conditions. Two pairs (four participants) did not complete all the measures in the study and were

excluded from all analyses. Of the remaining 67 pairs, 34 pairs were in the control and 33 pairs in the stereotype threat condition. The mean age of participants was 19.90 years ($SD = 2.91$). An attempt was made to match pairs for ethnicity and 84% of the participants were matched. There were 17 White-White pairs, 40 Asian-Asian pairs, and 9 mixed-ethnicity pairs (including Asian, East Indian, Middle Eastern, White, and biracial participants). Ethnicity of participant pairs was equally distributed across the control and stereotype threat conditions.

Apparatus and Procedure

Participant pairs were randomly assigned to the male stereotype threat or the control condition. Once in the laboratory, each participant was immediately seated in an individual room. In this way, participants did not meet or see their partner before commencing with the study. Once seated in separate rooms, the experimenter told participants that they would be participating in a study on selection interviews. Participants then completed a computer-based questionnaire. Questionnaire data was collected using *Medialab* software. Instructions for the questionnaire were displayed on the computer screen and heard through audio headphones.

Pre-Interaction Self-Ratings

Participants (both male interviewers and female applicants) first completed a 7-item Selection Interview Scale. This scale was constructed for the purpose of this study and measured experience related to job interviews, as an

applicant in interviews, and as an interviewer (see Appendix 1). Responses were made on 9-point Likert scales. This Selection Interview Scale also served to bolster the cover story.

Next, participants completed two self-rating scales assessing their expectations about the upcoming interview interaction. All items were responded to on 9-point Likert scales. The Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale consisted of 19 adjectives and two statements related to general social performance in the upcoming interaction (see Appendix 2). Adjectives included, among others, confident, assertive, attractive, and embarrassed. The two statements were: "Right now, my hands are shaking a little." and "Right now, my heart is racing a little." This scale was developed in a previous study on intergroup stereotype threat (Jauernig et al., 2006). There was a male interviewer and a female applicant version of the Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale. The wording in the two versions of the scales differed slightly to reflect participants' roles in the interview.

Participants also completed the Pre-Interaction Interview Skill Scale, measuring their anticipated interview-specific performance. The scale consisted of 23 statements asking participants about their anticipated performance and their nervousness about the upcoming interview interaction (see Appendix 3). This Likert Scale was created for the purpose of this study. There was a male interviewer and a female applicant version of the scale. The scale included items such as "I feel I will be able to ask questions easily." (interviewer version) or correspondingly "I feel I will be able to answer questions easily." (applicant version).

Interview Preparation

After the pre-interaction self-ratings, participants received instructions for the interview. All instructions were displayed for participants on the computer screen and participants also listened to the instructions on audio headphones.

Both male interviewers and female applicants first received the job posting for which the female applicant was being interviewed. The job was described as a “Team Leader” co-op summer position with high pay and flexible hours (see Appendix 4). The skill requirements listed in the job posting were applicable to many different jobs and fields. They included among others “team work” and “communication skills”. A pilot survey ensured and confirmed that the job description and job title were desirable and not associated with gender-stereotypes.¹

To investigate the effect of male stereotype threat on both male and female performance, it was important to ensure that both male interviewers and female applicants talked enough in the interview. Hence, male interviewers and female applicants received instructions designed to ensure an interaction in which both participants talked about an equal amount of time. Male interviewers and female applicants were told that the other participant’s opinion of their performance really mattered and that they should pay close attention to the other

¹ To ensure that the job description was desirable to undergraduate students and that it was not perceived as male- or female-dominated, 22 undergraduate participants completed a pilot survey (9 men, 13 women/ 9 White, 9 Asian, 4 other/ Mean age = 21.8). Participants rated the job description as desirable to undergraduate students on a 5-item scale ($M = 5.8$ on a 7-point scale, $MD = 6.00$, $SD = 1.23$) and as equally held by males and females ($M = 3.77$ on a 7-point scale where 1.00 = only held by males, 4 = equally held by males and females, and 7 = only held by females; $MD = 4.00$, $SD = .97$). The job title Team Leader was selected from a list of seven job titles, because it was rated as desirable ($M = 5.64$ on a 7-point scale, $MD = 6.00$, $SD = .66$) and as equally held by males and females ($M = 4.09$, $MD = 4.00$, $SD = .68$).

person in the interview. Male interviewers (not female applicants) were also told to try hard to determine how reliable and skilled the applicant is for the position. Female applicants (not male interviewers) were also told do the best job they could answering questions in terms of their past experiences and capabilities. Both male and female participants were informed that they should both gather relevant information from the other person and communicate relevant information to the other person. Both male interviewers and female applicants were then instructed to ensure a balanced interview in which both participants speak an equal amount of time.

Next, they were told that they would take turns asking and answering questions. Male interviewers were told to come up with and pose interview questions to inquire about the applicant's relevant skills (competence), the applicant's personal interests, the applicant's interpersonal skills (ability to get along with others), the applicant's team building skills, and the applicant's ability to deal with stress. Female applicants were instructed to ask about the interviewer's own leadership style, the interviewer's educational background, the work environment in the company, the job posting, the company itself, and the interviewer's expectations of the applicant.

To investigate the dynamic effect of male stereotype threat on female applicants, it was ensured that male interviewers spoke in the first two minutes of the interview and that the opening was not dominated by female applicants. Thus, male interviewers were instructed to start the interview by describing the company to the applicant. They were provided with a company profile describing

the company as Canadian-based leader in the food and beverage industry (see Appendix 5) and were told to open the interview with a summary of this company profile.

Manipulation

The manipulation of stereotype threat followed after the interview preparation. The experimental manipulation of stereotype threat was based on a study by Vorauer and Turpie (2004). They made fear of appearing prejudiced and the importance of not appearing prejudiced salient by telling White participants that their interaction partner had an expectation of discrimination. In the current study, fear of appearing sexist was raised in the stereotype threat condition with three additions to the protocol. First, the following statement was added to the end of the interview instructions on the computer screen and communicated through the headphones to males in the stereotype threat condition: "Research shows that sexism is still a large problem in business and organizational settings. Studies demonstrate that sexism is even an issue in college and university environments. When pretesting this study, we ran into some problems with sexist behaviour. If you are a male participant, please make sure that you do not appear sexist in the selection interview, as this will wreck the current study and make data unusable." Second, male participants in the stereotype threat condition were told the following on the computer screen and through the headphones: "Please avoid asking questions that can be re-interpreted as human rights issues, such as asking females whether they intend to have children. In Canadian interviews, we are not allowed to ask such

questions by law.” Third, during the interview itself, one of the question themes differed for males in the stereotype threat and males in the control conditions. Males in the stereotype threat condition were instructed to inquire whether the applicant prefers working with men or women, whereas males in the control condition were instructed to ask whether the applicant prefers working in small or large groups.

The Interview

Next, participants were relocated to the interview room, where they engaged in the face-to-face interview. At the beginning of the interview, participants introduced themselves. Next, the male interviewer described the company to the female applicant. Then, the male interviewer and the female applicant took turns asking and answering each other’s questions. There were short summary sheets on the interview table in front of the participants to remind them of the themes they could ask about. For the male interviewers, the sheet also summarized the company profile.

Mid-Interview Ratings

After two minutes, participants were given a signal by a beeping timer. At this point, participants turned to separate tables in the back of the interview room and completed four Likert scale items about the interview interaction so far (Mid-Interview Scale). Two self-rating items assessed how well participants thought they had performed in the interview so far (“I performed well during the interview so far”) and how comfortable they felt (“I felt comfortable during the interview so

far”). Two partner-rating items assessed how well the partner had performed so far (“My partner performed well during the interview so far”) and how comfortable the partner felt (“My partner felt comfortable during the interview so far”).

After completing this scale, participants returned to the main table and continued with the interview. The experimenter entered the interview room and stopped the interview after seven minutes. Participants then returned to their individual rooms to fill out the post-interaction ratings.²

Post-Interaction Self-Ratings

After the interview, participants completed another set of computer-based questionnaires. These post-interaction ratings of social skill (Post-Interaction Social Skill Scale) and of interview-specific skill (Post-Interaction Interview Skill Scale) were equivalent to the Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale and the Pre-Interaction Interview Skill Scale with the tense changed to past tense.

Post-Interaction Partner-Ratings

After completing the post-interaction self-ratings, all participants completed a Post-Interaction Partner-Rated Social Skill Scale and a Post-Interaction Partner-Rated Interview Skill Scale to rate their partner’s social skill and interview-specific skill. These scales were equivalent to the post-interaction self-ratings with the wording of the scales changed slightly to reflect that ratings were about one’s partner. For example, males rated statements like “Generally, the

² The length of the interview and the instructions were pilot-tested; seven minutes was a reasonable length and the instructions were clear to participants.

applicant performed well during the interview.” and females “Generally, the interviewer performed well during the interview.”

Manipulation Checks

To check whether the stereotype threat manipulation was effective, male participants were asked whether they were worried about appearing sexist during the interview. To include a female version of this question, females were asked whether their partner seemed worried about appearing sexist.

Results

Principle Components Analyses and Reliabilities

The two primary outcome measures were the Social Skill Scale and the Interview Skill Scale. Each scale had three versions: Pre-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Self-Rated, and Post-Interaction Partner-Rated.

Principle components analyses were conducted to determine the factors underlying each of these scales. Separate principle components analyses were conducted on each of the three versions of the Social Skill Scale and on each of the three versions of the Interview Skill Scale for both male interviewers and female applicants, for a total of 12 analyses. Extraction was set to include factors with Eigenvalues of at least 1.0 and varimax rotation was used. Items with weights below .20 on all factors were dropped from the scales.

Principle components analyses of the Social Skill Scales (Pre-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Partner-Rated) for males and females revealed a three-factor solution. The solution held for each of the three versions of the scale for both males and females. The three factors were positive social skill (the 11 positive performance-related adjectives: confident, relaxed, assertive, friendly, attractive, liked, happy, humorous, pleasant, socially skilled, and competent), negative social skill (the seven negative performance-related adjectives: embarrassed, awkward, self-conscious, uncomfortable, irritated, defensive, and nervous), and physical anxiety (the two

behaviours: hands shaking and heart racing). One item (careful) was dropped from all analyses because its loading on all of the three factors was below .20. Table 1 shows the reliabilities for each of the three subscales of social skill for each of the three versions of the scale for both males and females.

Principle components analyses of the Interview Skill Scales (Pre-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Partner-Rated) revealed a two-factor solution. This solution held for each of the three versions of the scale for both males and females. Twenty of the 23 items formed an interview skill factor (e.g., "I felt that I was able to ask questions easily.", "I was able to build good rapport with the applicant.") and the remaining three items formed an interview nervousness factor (i.e., "The video camera made me nervous", "Being in an interview made me nervous.", and "The applicant made nervous."). Table 1 shows the reliabilities for each of the two subscales of interview skill for each of the three versions of the scale for both males and females.

Table 1: Reliabilities of the social skill and interview skill subscales for males and females

Outcome Variable	Subscale	Pre-Interaction α	Post-Interaction α	Partner-Rated α
Male Interviewers				
Social Skill Scale	Positive Skill	0.81	0.87	0.84
	Negative Skill	0.85	0.82	0.77
	Physical Anxiety	0.58	0.85	0.76
Interview Skill Scale	Interview Skill	0.91	0.87	0.81
	Interview Nerv.	0.84	0.64	0.77
Female Applicants				
Social Skill Scale	Positive Skill	0.91	0.86	0.84
	Negative Skill	0.85	0.76	0.73
	Physical Anxiety	0.82	0.82	0.80
Interview Skill Scale	Interview Skill	0.96	0.94	0.75
	Interview Nerv.	0.76	0.65	0.73

Intercorrelations of Outcome Variable Subscales

Bivariate correlations among the Pre-Interaction Self-Rated, Post-Interaction Self-Rated, and Post-Interaction Partner-Rated versions of the three Social Skill subscales as well as of the two Interview Skill subscales were computed for male interviewers and female applicants to decide whether multivariate tests should be conducted in addition to univariate tests.

The bivariate correlations among the Social Skill subscales and among the Interview Skill subscales were mainly moderate to high and statistically significant (see Tables 2 and 3). Hence, the main hypotheses were tested with multivariate followed by univariate tests. MANCOVAs and ANCOVAs were used on self-ratings, when the corresponding pre-interaction versions of the scales

could be used as covariates, and MANOVAs and ANOVAs on the partner-ratings, where there were no corresponding pre-interaction ratings.

Table 2: Intercorrelations of the social skill subscales

	Positive Skill	Negative Skill	Physical Anxiety
Pre-Interaction Self-Ratings for Male Interviewers:			
Positive Skill	—	-.50**	-.22
Negative Skill		—	.49**
Physical Anxiety			—
Pre-Interaction Self-Ratings for Female Applicants:			
Positive Skill	—	-.71**	-.29*
Negative Skill		—	.60**
Physical Anxiety			—
Post-Interaction Self-Ratings for Male Interviewers:			
Positive Skill	—	-.56**	-.22
Negative Skill		—	.65**
Physical Anxiety			—
Post-Interaction Self-Ratings for Female Applicants:			
Positive Skill	—	-.67**	-.38**
Negative Skill		—	.63**
Physical Anxiety			—
Post-Interaction Partner-Ratings by Male Interviewers:			
Positive Skill	—	-.57**	-.23
Negative Skill		—	.52**
Physical Anxiety			—
Post-Interaction Partner-Ratings by Female Applicants:			
Positive Skill	—	-.68**	-.35**
Negative Skill		—	.57**
Physical Anxiety			—

* Correlation significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Table 3: Intercorrelations of the interview skill subscales

	Interview Skill	Interview Nervousness
Pre-Interaction Self-Ratings for Male Interviewers:		
Interview Skill	—	-.49**
Interview Nervousness		—
Pre-Interaction Self-Ratings for Female Applicants:		
Interview Skill	—	-.56**
Interview Nervousness		—
Post-Interaction Self-Ratings for Male Interviewers:		
Interview Skill	—	-.34**
Interview Nervousness		—
Post-Interaction Self-Ratings for Female Applicants:		
Interview Skill	—	-.46**
Interview Nervousness		—
Post-Interaction Partner-Ratings by Male Interviewers:		
Interview Skill	—	-.17
Interview Nervousness		—
Post-Interaction Partner-Ratings by Female Applicants:		
Interview Skill	—	-.40**
Interview Nervousness		—

* Correlation significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

Preliminary Analyses: Ethnicity

Preliminary analyses tested for potential moderating effects of ethnicity on the effect of threat.

Male Interviewers

For males, a MANCOVA (with pre-interaction ratings of social skill as the covariate) revealed no significant main effect of ethnicity on post-interaction self-ratings of social skill, $F(6, 66) = .93, p = .48, \eta^2 = .05$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of social skill were significant. A second MANCOVA (with pre-interaction ratings of interview skill as the covariate) revealed no significant main

effect of ethnicity on post-interaction ratings of interview skill, $F(4, 66) = 2.00, p = .10, \eta^2 = .06$. The ANCOVA of the interview skill subscale revealed a main effect of ethnicity, $F(4, 66) = 3.49, p = .04, \eta^2 = .10$. The means for the White-White and the mixed-ethnicity groups were similar to each other at 6.50 ($SD = .90$) and 6.40 ($SD = .96$); whereas the mean of the Asian-Asian individuals was lower at 5.50 ($SD = 1.27$). The ANCOVA of interview nervousness was not significant.

More importantly for the current study were potential interaction effects of ethnicity and threat condition. For males a MANCOVA revealed no significant interaction effect on post-interaction self-ratings of social skill, $F(6, 66) = .70, p = .65, \eta^2 = .05$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of social skill were significant. A second MANCOVA revealed no significant interaction effect on post-interaction self-ratings of interview skill, $F(4, 66) = 1.48, p = .21, \eta^2 = .05$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of interview skill were significant.

Female Applicants

For females, a MANCOVA revealed no significant main effect of ethnicity on social skill, $F(6, 66) = .95, p = .46, \eta^2 = .05$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of social skill were significant. A second MANCOVA revealed no significant main effect on females' interview skill, $F(4, 66) = 1.54, p = .20, \eta^2 = .05$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of interview skill were significant.

For females, a MANCOVA revealed no significant interaction effect of ethnicity and threat on post-interaction self-rated social skill, $F(6, 66) = .59, p = .74, \eta^2 = .03$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of social skill were significant. For interview skill, the MANCOVA revealed no interaction effect, $F(4,$

66) = .11, $p = .98$, $\eta^2 = .00$. None of the ANCOVAs of the subscales of interview skill were significant.

Ethnicity was not included in any of the other analyses, because it did not significantly moderate the effect of threat on social or interview skill for males or females.

Main Effects of Stereotype Threat: Hypotheses A and B

Hypothesis A

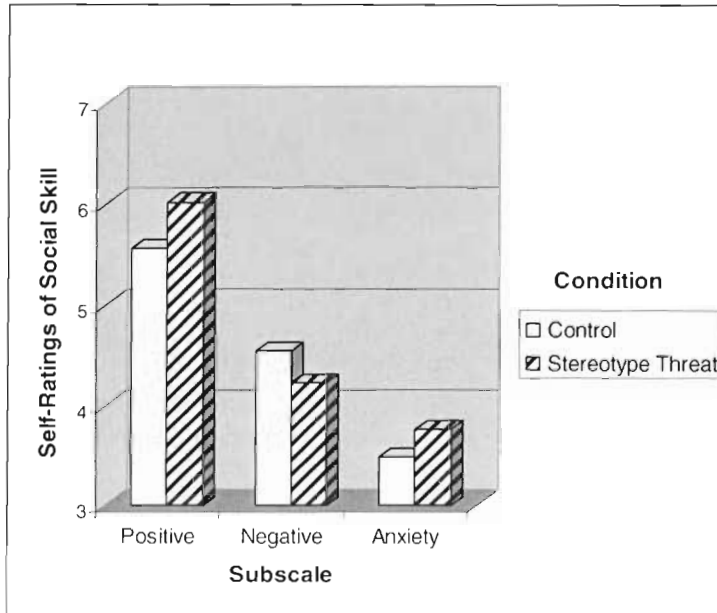
The first hypothesis was that males under stereotype threat would perform poorer as interviewers than males who were not under stereotype threat.

To check whether males in the stereotype threat condition were more afraid of appearing sexist than males in the control condition, a manipulation check item was included (“Were you worried about appearing sexist during the interview?”). Males in both conditions scored very low on this item. In line with the hypothesis, however, the mean for males in the control condition was slightly lower than the mean for those in the stereotype threat condition; 1.94 ($SD = 1.59$) and 2.42 ($SD = 1.95$) respectively. The difference, however, was not statistically significant, $F(1, 65) = 1.23$, $p = .27$, $\eta^2 = .02$.

To test whether male participants in the stereotype threat condition would perform worse than those in the control condition, male participants in the control and the stereotype threat condition were compared on their post-interaction ratings of social skill and of interview skill. Corresponding pre-interaction ratings were entered into the analyses as covariates.

The MANCOVA of social skill showed that males' self-ratings of their social skill differed significantly between the control and stereotype threat conditions, but contrary to hypothesis A, males in the stereotype threat condition rated their social skill generally more favourably than participants in the control condition (see Figure 1 and Table 4). Follow-up ANCOVAs showed that while the mean differences between the two groups on positive and negative social skill were in the same direction and opposite to the original prediction (higher scores on positive skill and lower scores on negative skill in the threat compared to the control condition), the strongest and statistically significant effect was for positive social skill. The physical anxiety subscale, on the other hand, was in line with the hypothesis with males in the threat condition feeling more anxious than males in the control condition, even though this univariate difference was not statistically significant. The finding of more anxiety in the threat compared to the condition parallels the group differences for males on the manipulation check item with males under threat experiencing more anxiety than males in the control group.

Figure 1: Hypothesis A - Main effect of stereotype threat for males on social skill self-ratings



The MANCOVA of interview skill showed that males' self-ratings of their interview skill did not differ significantly between the control and stereotype threat conditions, but contrary to hypothesis A, males in the stereotype threat condition rated their interview skill (constituting of interview skill and interview nervousness) slightly more favourably than participants in the control condition (see Table 4). Follow-up ANCOVAs showed that the difference between the two groups was not significant for either interview skill or for interview nervousness.

Female applicants conducted partner-ratings of their male partners' social and interview skill. MANOVAs were used to analyze female ratings of male performance (there were no pre-interaction partner-ratings); one MANOVA included the three Social Skill subscales and a second MANOVA the two Interview Skill subscales. As shown in Table 4, although the five mean differences were all opposite to hypothesis A, with males in the stereotype threat

condition being rated more favourably than males in the control condition, these differences were not statistically significant, neither for the MANOVAs nor the ANOVAs.

Table 4: Hypothesis A - Multivariate and univariate analyses for male interviewers

Outcome Variable	Mcontrol (SD)	Mthreat (SD)	df	F	p	η^2
Post-Interaction Self-Rating						
1. Social Skill Scale:						
MANCOVA			3	2.90	0.04	0.13
ANCOVA Positive Skill	5.56 (1.13)	6.02 (1.07)	1	5.67	0.02	0.08
ANCOVA Negative Skill	4.55 (1.48)	4.23 (1.56)	1	0.75	0.38	0.01
ANCOVA Physical Anxiety	3.50 (2.07)	3.77 (2.17)	1	0.76	0.38	0.01
2. Interview Skill Scale:						
MANCOVA			3	0.91	0.41	0.03
ANCOVA Interview Skill	5.74 (1.24)	6.09 (1.02)	1	2.07	0.16	0.03
ANCOVA Interview Nerv.	4.30 (1.78)	4.03 (1.54)	1	0.16	0.69	0.00
Post-Interaction Partner-Rating (women rating men)						
1. Social Skill Scale:						
MANOVA			3	1.22	0.31	0.06
ANOVA Positive Skill	5.72 (1.00)	5.99 (1.10)	1	1.08	0.30	0.02
ANOVA Negative Skill	4.64 (1.37)	4.04 (1.95)	1	3.64	0.06	0.05
ANOVA Physical Anxiety	4.54 (1.86)	4.09 (2.02)	1	0.91	0.34	0.01
2. Interview Skill Scale:						
MANOVA			3	0.70	0.50	0.02
ANOVA Interview Skill	6.27 (1.90)	6.52 (1.22)	1	0.71	0.40	0.01
ANOVA Interview Nerv.	4.79 (1.82)	4.34 (1.49)	1	1.22	0.27	0.02

Hypothesis B

The second hypothesis to be tested was that females would perform worse when the male interviewer was under stereotype threat than when he was not.

As a manipulation check for females, they were asked the following: "Do you think that your partner was worried about acting sexist in the interview?"

Females in both conditions scored very low on this item. The mean for

participants in the control condition was slightly lower than the mean for those in the stereotype threat condition; 2.15 ($SD = 1.56$) and 2.27 ($SD = 1.51$) respectively, but the difference was not statistically significant, $F(1, 65) = .11$, $p = .74$, $\eta^2 = .00$.

The MANCOVA of social skill revealed no significant differences between the control and stereotype threat conditions and follow-up ANCOVAs showed no significant differences on positive social skill, negative social skill, or physical anxiety (see Table 5).

The MANCOVA of interview skill showed that females' self-ratings of their interview skill did not differ significantly between the control and stereotype threat conditions and follow-up ANCOVAs showed that the difference was not significant for either interview skill or interview nervousness (see Table 5).

Male interviewers conducted partner-ratings of their female partner's social and interview skill. As shown in Table 5, there were no statistically significant differences for the MANOVAs or follow-up ANOVAs.

Table 5: Hypothesis B - Multivariate and univariate analyses for female applicants

Outcome Variable	Mcontrol (SD)	Mthreat (SD)	df	F	p	η^2
Post-Interaction Self-Rating						
1. Social Skill Scale:						
MANCOVA			3	1.15	.34	.05
ANCOVA Positive Skill	5.66 (1.11)	6.12 (1.05)	1	2.66	.11	.04
ANCOVA Negative Skill	4.24 (1.37)	3.77 (1.31)	1	2.76	.10	.04
ANCOVA Physical Anxiety	3.78 (2.16)	3.67 (2.16)	1	.021	.89	.00
2. Interview Skill Scale:						
MANCOVA			3	.49	.62	.02
ANCOVA Interview Skill	5.64 (1.49)	6.07 (1.39)	1	.41	.53	.01
ANCOVA Interview Nerv.	4.80 (2.01)	4.30 (1.81)	1	1.04	.31	.02
Post-Interaction Partner-Rating (men rating women)						
1. Social Skill Scale:						
MANOVA			3	.19	.91	.01
ANOVA Positive Skill	5.99 (.92)	6.09 (.91)	1	.19	.67	.00
ANOVA Negative Skill	4.37 (1.30)	4.15 (1.33)	1	.48	.49	.01
ANOVA Physical Anxiety	4.38 (1.80)	4.11 (1.87)	1	.38	.54	.01
2. Interview Skill Scale:						
MANOVA			3	1.30	.28	.04
ANOVA Interview Skill	6.47 (1.87)	6.87 (.87)	1	2.37	.13	.04
ANOVA Interview Nerv.	4.43 (2.08)	4.08 (1.77)	1	.55	.46	.01

Time Course of Stereotype Threat: Hypothesis C

To test whether the effect of stereotype threat dissipates over time due to fading of stereotype activation, or whether the negative effect escalates or reverses due to the dynamic nature of the interaction, performance two minutes into the interview (Mid-Interview Scale) was analyzed. Mid-interview performance of males and females was assessed with two self-rated and two partner-rated Likert items assessing how well participants thought they had performed in the interview so far and how comfortable they felt. Two MANOVAs were conducted to compare male participants in the control and the stereotype threat condition on their self- and partner-rated mid-interview performance and comfort ratings.

Male Interviewers

The first MANOVA revealed that males' mid-interview self-ratings differed significantly between the control and stereotype threat conditions. Males in the stereotype threat condition rated themselves significantly more favourably than participants in the control condition for both the comfort and the performance item. The follow-up ANOVAs showed that the difference between the two groups was consistent but stronger and statistically significant only for the more general rating of comfort level and not for the performance item (see Table 6). This finding parallels the results of post-interaction self-ratings where differences were consistent for general social skill and interview-specific skill but stronger and statistically significant only for the more general self-rating (social skill). See tables 4 and 6 to compare the effects of threat on male mid-interview and post-interview self-ratings.

A second MANOVA revealed that female applicants' mid-interview ratings of male interviewers' performance did not differ significantly between the control and the stereotype threat conditions. Females rated male interviewers in the control and stereotype threat conditions similar in terms of performance and comfort level. The follow-up ANOVAs were not significant (see Table 6).

Table 6: Hypothesis C - Multivariate and univariate analyses for male mid-interview performance and comfort level

Outcome Variable	Mcontrol (SD)	Mthreat (SD)	df	F	p	η^2
Mid-Interview Self-Ratings						
MANOVA			2	3.50	.04	.10
ANOVA Performance	5.35 (1.84)	5.73 (1.53)	1	.18	.37	.01
ANOVA Comfort Level	5.18 (1.82)	5.94 (1.75)	1	6.26	.02	.09
Mid-Interview Partner-Ratings (women rating men)						
MANOVA			3	.19	.91	.01
ANOVA Performance	6.68 (1.67)	6.82 (1.40)	1	.14	.71	.00
ANOVA Comfort Level	6.12 (2.24)	6.27 (1.66)	1	.10	.75	.00

Female Applicants

To test whether female participants' performance in the stereotype threat condition differed from the control condition two minutes into the interview, a pair of MANOVAs was conducted on their self- and partner-rated mid-interview performance and comfort ratings.

The first MANOVA revealed that females' mid-interview self-ratings did not differ significantly between the two conditions and follow-up ANOVAs were also not significant (see Table 7).

The second MANOVA revealed that male interviewers' mid-interview ratings of female applicants differed significantly between the two conditions. Males rated female applicants' performance and comfort level in the stereotype threat condition more favorably than males in the control condition. The follow-up ANOVAs revealed that the mean difference was consistent but was stronger and statistically significant for the performance rating (see Table 7).

Table 7: Hypothesis C - Multivariate and univariate analyses for female mid-interview performance and comfort level

Outcome Variable	Mcontrol (SD)	Mthreat (SD)	df	F	p	η^2
Mid-Interview Self-Ratings						
MANOVA			2	1.60	.21	.05
ANOVA Performance	5.18 (1.82)	5.94 (1.75)	1	3.06	.09	.05
ANOVA Comfort Level	5.44 (2.21)	6.21 (1.90)	1	2.35	.13	.04
Mid-Interview Partner-Ratings (men rating women)						
MANOVA			2	5.00	.01	.14
ANOVA Performance	6.26 (1.62)	7.27 (.91)	1	9.77	.00	.13
ANOVA Comfort Level	6.21 (1.69)	6.82 (1.42)	1	2.58	.11	.04

Moderating Effect of Domain Identification: Hypothesis D

This hypothesis predicted that the impact of intergroup stereotype threat would be more pronounced for men high in motivation to respond without sexism. The moderating effect of motivation to respond without sexism on the relation between stereotype threat and male performance was tested by creating a centered interaction term between threat and motivation to respond without sexism and then seeing whether this interaction term accounted for variability in the outcome variables above-and-beyond the impact of threat and motivation to respond without sexism. One regression analysis was conducted for each Social Skill and Interview Skill subscale.³

Male interviewers scored a mean of 4.30 out of 9 on the whole scale ($SD = .86$). Motivation to respond without sexism had a significant main effect on male interviewers' self-rated negative social skill $\beta = .27$, $p = .03$ and on interview

³ The Internal and External Motivation to Respond Without Sexism Scale (Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005) had acceptable reliability levels (whole scale $\alpha = .71$; internal subscale, IMS-S $\alpha = .73$, external subscale EMS-S $\alpha = .76$). Since the reliability for the whole scale was comparable with reliabilities for the subscales, the entire scale was used to test moderation. (The effects did not look different when testing for moderation using the subscales.)

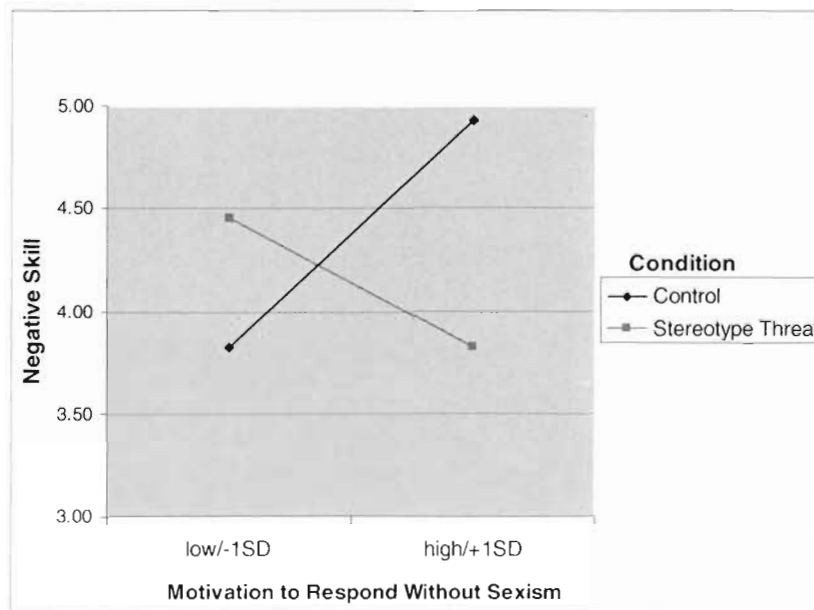
nervousness, $\beta = .28$, $p = .03$. Male interviewers higher in motivation to respond without sexism rated themselves as higher on negative social skill items, $t(65) = 2.20$, and as more nervous in the interview, $t(65) = 2.30$. Motivation to respond without sexism did not have main effects on any of the other subscales of male or female performance.

More importantly in terms of the hypothesis, the Motivation to Respond Without Sexism Scale did not significantly moderate the impact of the stereotype threat manipulation on male interviewers' self-ratings on any of the five subscales.

Motivation to respond without sexism did, however, moderate the impact of stereotype threat on male interviewers' ratings of female applicants' performance. It moderated the impact on negative social skill, $\beta = -1.02$, $t(65) = -2.79$, $p = .01$, on physical anxiety, $\beta = -.95$, $t(65) = -2.54$, $p = .01$, and on interview nervousness, $\beta = -1.16$, $t(65) = -3.21$, $p < .01$. As shown in Figure 2, for male participants in the control condition, those high in motivation to respond without sexism thought that female applicants displayed more negative social skill than did those low in motivation to respond without sexism, $\beta = .44$, $t(33) = 2.80$, $p = .01$. However, male participants in the stereotype threat condition showed the opposite trend, with those high in motivation to respond without sexism describing female applicants as displaying less negative social skills than those low in motivation to respond without sexism. However, this trend failed to reach statistical significance, $\beta = -.23$, $t(32) = -1.29$, $p = .21$. An identical pattern of moderation emerged for male interviewers' ratings of female applicants'

physical anxiety (control group: $\beta = .36$, $t(33) = 2.20$, $p = .04$; stereotype threat group: $\beta = -.26$, $t(32) = -1.50$, $p = .15$) and interview nervousness (control group: $\beta = .45$, $t(33) = 2.85$, $p = .01$; stereotype threat group: $\beta = -.30$, $t(32) = -1.71$, $p = .10$).

Figure 2: Hypothesis D - Moderating effect of motivation to respond without sexism on the effect of threat on male ratings of female negative social skill

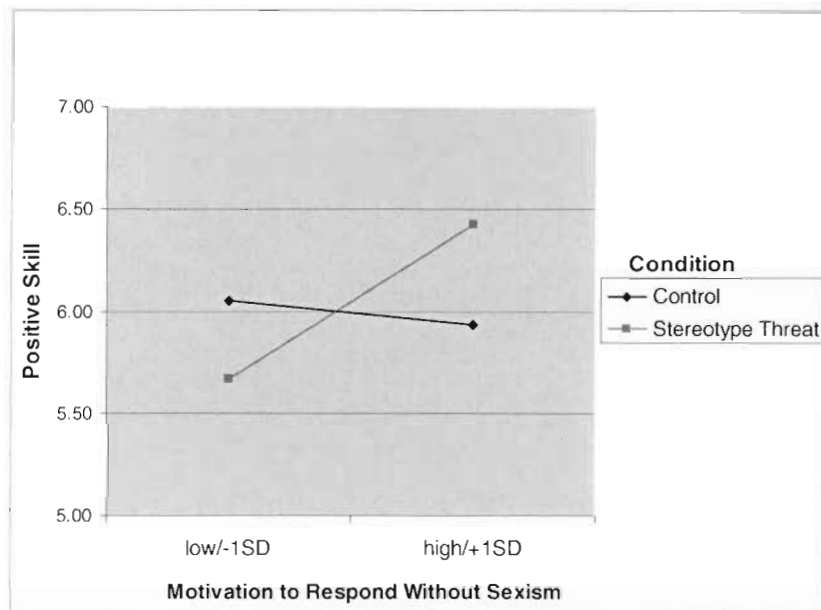


The pattern of moderation for physical anxiety and interview nervousness were the same as the pattern for negative social skill displayed above.

The moderating effect of motivation to respond without sexism on positive social skill approached significance, $\beta = .75$, $t(65) = 1.99$, $p = .05$. The ratings of female applicants' positive social skill by male interviewers in the control condition were virtually unaffected by their level of motivation to respond without sexism $\beta = -.07$, $t(33) = -.38$, $p = .70$. In the stereotype threat condition, however, males high in motivation to respond without sexism thought that female

applicants displayed more positive social skill than did males low in motivation to respond without sexism, $\beta = .41$, $t(32) = 2.50$, $p = .02$ (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Hypothesis D - Moderating effect of motivation to respond without sexism on the effect of threat on male ratings of female positive social skill



The only male-rated measure of female performance that was not significantly moderated by motivation to respond without sexism was interview skill, $\beta = .44$, $t(65) = 1.15$, $p = .26$.

Mediating Effects of Males' Behaviour: Hypothesis E

This hypothesis predicted that the behaviour of male interviewers would partly mediate the effect of stereotype threat on female applicants' performance. Threat condition did not have a significant effect on female performance (neither for social skill nor for interview skill) in the current study. Hence, mediation could not be tested adequately.

Moderating Effect of Interview Experience: Exploratory Hypothesis

One additional exploratory hypothesis was tested in the current study. Participants' interview-related experience was analyzed as a potential moderator. Interview-related experience was measured with the Selection Interview Scale; this scale measured interview related experience in two domains; experience as an applicant in interviews and experience as an interviewer.⁴ To test for moderation, a centered interaction term was created between threat and interview experience. It was tested whether this interaction term accounted for variability in the outcome variables above-and-beyond the impact of threat and experience.

Male Interviewers

For male interviewers, the mean on interview experience was 4.80 ($SD = 1.34$). Not surprisingly, there were significant main effects of interview experience on most of the self-rated subscales of social skill and interview skill for males. Experience in interviews lead male participants to believe that they displayed more positive social skill, $\beta = .42$, $t(65) = 3.80$, $p < .01$, less negative social skill, $\beta = -.45$, $t(65) = -4.04$, $p < .01$, less physical anxiety during the interview, $\beta = -.36$, $t(65) = -3.03$, $p < .01$, as well as to rate their interview skill more positively, $\beta = .48$, $t(65) = 4.42$, $p < .01$. There were no main effects of interview experience on

⁴ Four items measured applicant experience (male $\alpha = .65$, female $\alpha = .64$) and two items measured interviewer experience (male $\alpha = .63$, female $\alpha = .55$). One item was dropped from the analyses, because it did not load highly onto either the applicant or the interviewer factor of the Selection Interview Scale ("I have participated in interview-related workshops."). The reliability for the whole scale was acceptable and higher than the reliabilities for the subscales (male $\alpha = .64$, female $\alpha = .74$). Hence, the entire scale was used to test for moderation.

male self-ratings of their own interview nervousness or on any of the males' ratings of their female partner's performance on any subscales.

There were also no significant moderation effects of interview experience on the impact of threat on male interviewers' self-ratings or on their ratings of their female partner's performance.

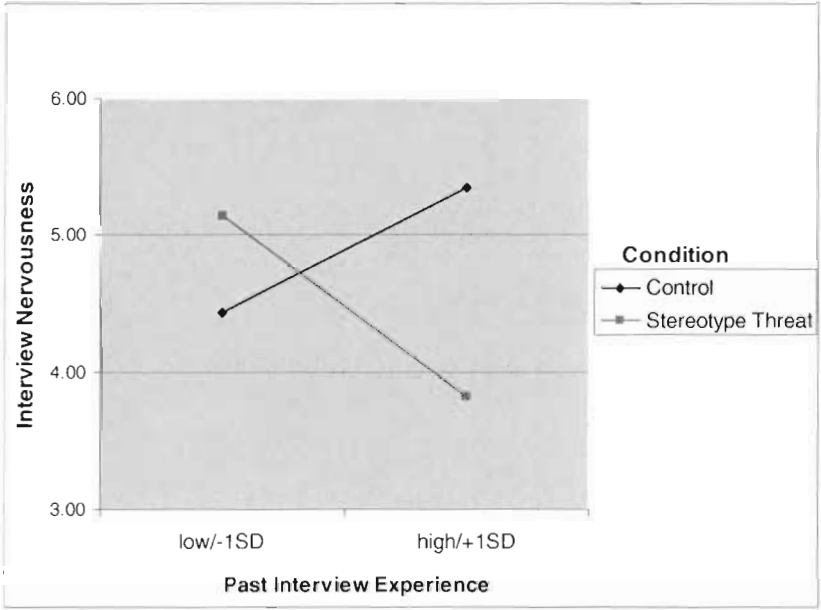
Female Applicants

For female applicants, the mean of interview experience was 4.90 ($SD = 1.54$). There were significant main effects of interview experience on female performance. Experience in interviews lead female participants to believe that they displayed more positive social skill, $\beta = .39$, $t(65) = 3.40$, $p < .01$, less negative social skill, $\beta = -.24$, $t(65) = -1.93$, $p = .06$, less physical anxiety, $\beta = -.29$, $t(65) = -2.23$, $p = .03$, less interview nervousness, $\beta = -.30$, $t(65) = -2.51$, $p = .02$, as well as to rate their interview skill more positively, $\beta = .40$, $t(65) = 3.42$, $p < .01$. There were no main effects of interview experience on the females' ratings of their male partner's performance on any subscales.

One significant moderation effect of interview experience emerged. Experience moderated the impact of stereotype threat on female applicants' ratings of their male interviewer's nervousness, $\beta = -1.17$, $t(65) = -2.63$, $p = .01$. As shown in Figure 4, females in the stereotype threat condition who were higher in interview experience rated males as less nervous than did females who had less interview experience, $\beta = -.52$, $t(32) = -3.35$, $p < .01$. In the control condition, on the other hand, females high in interview experience rated males as more

nervous than did females with less interview experience. However, this trend was not statistically significant, $\beta = .20$, $t(33) = 1.14$, $p = .26$.

Figure 4: Moderating effect of interview experience on the effect of threat on female ratings of male interview nervousness



Discussion

The current study aimed to take research on stereotype threat a step closer to real world social encounters. First, the study explored stereotype threat in relation to intergroup stereotypes; intergroup stereotypes are beliefs about a group's intergroup attitudes and cross-group behaviour. Second, the study investigated the impact of stereotype threat on social behaviour in a face-to-face interaction. Third, the current study investigated the dynamic nature of social interactions where both interaction partners were naïve participants. Fourth, the current study investigated the time course of stereotype threat effects in this dynamic context. Fifth, stereotype threat was studied in a domain with immediate practical relevance for many individuals, the domain of cross-gender selection interviews.

The Effect of Stereotype Threat on Male Performance

Male Interviewers' Self-Ratings

The manipulation check revealed non-significant differences between males in the threat and the control condition (even though the means of the two groups differed in the predicted direction with male interviewers under stereotype threat being more concerned about appearing sexist than those in the control group). It may be that the manipulation check in the current study was poorly chosen. Participants were asked whether they were worried about appearing sexist during the interview. This manipulation check asked about anxiety rather

than stereotype threat per se. Even though participants in the threat condition may have been more conscious of gender and sexism concerns than participants in the control condition, their self-rated anxiety (worry) may not have reflected this difference. Male participants may have even been motivated to downplay anxiety in order to make themselves look better. There is one piece of evidence suggesting that the manipulation check may have really measured anxiety. Males who were reminded about sexism in the threat condition indicated that they felt more physically anxious than males who were not reminded about sexism. Physical anxiety was the only self-rated subscale for which males scored worse in the threat compared to the control condition (even though the univariate difference did not reach significance). Consequentially, it may have been more appropriate to assess whether males were aware of the sexist stereotype, perhaps even measuring this at the implicit level. Including a lexical decision task using words related to the sexist stereotype, for instance, may have been a more appropriate way of checking whether intergroup stereotypes were cognitively activated.

One of the main aims of this study was to test whether the intergroup stereotype of appearing sexist would affect males in an interpersonal interaction with a female partner. Unexpectedly, the findings for self-rated social skill and interview skill were counter to the original prediction. Male interviewers who were reminded not to be sexist thought they appeared more socially skilled and thought they performed generally more positively than males who were not reminded about sexism. Male interviewers also rated their interview-specific skill

more favourably in the threat compared to the control condition, although this difference was not statistically significant.

The finding that men believed they exhibited more positive social skill when reminded not to be sexist differed from Vorauer and Turpie's (2004) as well as from Jauernig and colleagues' (2006) results. Vorauer and Turpie found that reminders not to be racist negatively affected White individuals' intimacy building behaviour and social anxiety when interacting with a First Nations individual in a video-mediated interaction. Jauernig and colleagues showed that even raising the salience of racism negatively affected Whites' self-rated social skill in an interaction with a Black confederate. To understand the discrepancy in findings between the current and these past research findings, it is crucial to scrutinize the differences in experimental context.

A recent theoretical paper by Shelton, Richeson, and Vorauer (2006) in which they outline a model of social identity threat in interethnic interactions offers a framework to consider the unexpected positive effect of intergroup stereotype threat in the current study. Similar to stereotype threat, Shelton and colleagues define social identity threat as concerns about being viewed on the basis of a stereotype as well as fear of confirming a negative stereotype. Shelton and colleagues propose three potential responses to identity threat: avoiding or escaping from cross-group interactions; becoming less tolerant of the outgroup's perspective; and managing one's behaviour to reduce the threat. The finding of more positive social skill for males under stereotype threat in the current study fits well with Shelton and colleagues' third coping response. When faced with

social identity threat (the possibility of appearing sexist), male interviewers may have tried to modulate their behaviour. According to Shelton and colleagues (2006), the type of coping response an individual chooses depends on two main factors: motivation and self-efficacy. Motivation refers to the degree to which the individual cares about not confirming the relevant stereotypes. Self-efficacy refers to the belief that one can engage in the necessary responses and that these will lead to a desired outcome. Individuals who are high in motivation to appear unprejudiced and who believe they have the ability to respond in an unprejudiced manner are more likely to modulate their behaviour than individuals who are low in motivation and/or self-efficacy.

Motivation

Shelton and colleagues' (2006) model includes several contextual factors that are believed to increase motivation and self-efficacy and, in turn, make behaviour modulation more likely. First, social norms that promote tolerance and diversity are believed to increase behaviour modulation motivations among individuals under social identity threat. The current study was conducted in the multicultural city of Vancouver and on a campus that places a strong value on diversity (Simon Fraser University). More than 36% of Vancouver's inhabitants are visible minority group members and this percentage is expected to increase to 49% by 2017 (Belanger & Caron-Malenfant, 2005). Simon Fraser University was recently recognized among five Canadian employers with an award for its commitment to workplace diversity by The Canadian Immigrant Magazine ("Top Employers for Workplace Diversity", 2006). In the current study, these pro-

diversity norms may have strengthened motivation. Specifically, pro-diversity norms may have increased motivation to respond without sexism in male participants who were reminded to act non-sexist.

Self-Efficacy

There are also several contextual factors in the current study that may have increased self-efficacy in males under threat. According to Shelton and colleagues (2006), familiarity with the outgroup in question is a contextual factor that increases behaviour modulation. In the current study, male interviewers interacted with females as the relevant outgroup. Male participants are likely to have had an abundance of contact and familiarity with female peers before participating in this study. The majority of male participants were enrolled in an introductory psychology class, where the majority of students were female. Familiarity with the outgroup was likely much higher in the current study than in Jauernig and colleagues' (2006) or in Vorauer and Turpie's (2004) studies. The outgroup in Jauernig and colleagues' study, Black interaction partners, represents a very small percentage of the student body at the University of Santa Cruz in California where the study was conducted. The same holds for Vorauer and Turpie's project. The relevant outgroup here, First Nations students, represents only a small percentage of the student body at the University of Manitoba. This high familiarity with the relevant outgroup in the current study may have lead males to feel more comfortable around and believe that they were capable of performing positively in an interview with a female partner. In other

words, familiarity may have increased self-efficacy when males were reminded not to be sexist in the current study.

Another contextual factor that may increase behaviour modulation in interviewers under stereotype threat is task difficulty. In past research, stereotype threat effects are greatest, and often only occur, if the task is difficult (see Steele et al., 2002). Spencer and colleagues (1999), for instance, found that women only underperformed on a math test after stereotype threat was raised when the test was difficult. Spencer, Iserman, Davies, and Quinn (2001) found that women under stereotype threat only underperformed on an easy math test when they took the test under cognitive load. Research shows that increased arousal benefits performance on easy tasks. Social Facilitation Theory, for instance, holds that arousal arising from the mere presence of another individual can increase the tendency to display one's dominant response (Zajonc, 1965). For easy tasks, a person's dominant response is typically performance without errors or enhanced performance. For difficult or novel tasks, on the other hand, the dominant response is often performance with mistakes or impaired performance. In the current study, male participants in the interaction played out a clearly defined role. They were given detailed instructions and information on how to succeed in that role (they received information about the company profile, the job description for the interview, and questions to ask female applicants). These instructions may have decreased task difficulty. With reduced task difficulty the arousal that might have resulted from the reminder not to be sexist may have increased self-efficacy in male participants.

The third contextual factor that may have increased self-efficacy in the current study is a contrast effect. Contrast effects occur when perception and judgment are impacted by contextual primes or stimuli that appear evaluatively non-representative, extreme, or self-incongruent (Herr, Sherman, & Fazio, 1983). For judgments of animal size, for instance, individuals are affected when previously viewed primes are very large (e.g., whale) or very small (e.g., flea), but not when primes are moderately large or small (e.g., cow and cat; Herr et al., 1983). Contrast effects also impact performance. Dijksterhuis and colleagues (1998) found that priming participants with a professor lead to more correct answers, whereas priming Einstein, who is an exemplar of intelligence, decreased performance. In the same study, priming participants with an elderly exemplar led participants to walk away faster. The stereotype threat manipulation in the current study advising male interviewers not to act in sexist ways used strong wording. Participants were explicitly told that there had been problems with sexist behaviour in this study in the past. Describing very sexist behaviour by others may have seemed extreme and highly disparate with the participants' own self-concept. This incongruence, in turn, may have elicited a contrast effect in male participants. Male participants who were told about the obviously sexist behaviour of others may have thought that they would appear favourably in contrast to these very sexist males. In other words, males' self-efficacy may have been strengthened through social comparison with other obviously more sexist males.

A fourth contextual factor that can increase self-efficacy is the belief that stereotype-relevant behaviours are controllable. In a recent study, Dar-Nimrod and Heine (2006) found that the negative effects of stereotype threat can be severely reduced if people believe that the causes of the stereotype-relevant behaviour are experiential (learned) and not genetic. The stereotype threat manipulation in the current study reminded participants not to appear sexist, implying that behaving sexist is something controllable. By describing sexist behaviour in experiential terms, self-efficacy may have been strengthened.

To sum up, motivation may have been increased by strong pro-diversity norms in the current study, whereas self-efficacy may have been strengthened by familiarity with the outgroup, ease of task, contrast effects, and beliefs that the relevant behaviour is controllable. In line with Shelton and colleagues' (2006) theoretical model, the combination of motivation to appear non-prejudiced and self-efficacy may have then led male participants to successfully modulate their behaviour in the threat condition (or at least perceive themselves to have done so).

Female Applicants' Ratings of their Male Partners

If male interviewers attempted to modulate their behaviour in the stereotype threat condition, the question remains whether they were successful, that is whether their behaviour modulation attempts translated into real and observable behaviour. In the current study, there is some evidence that females rated males under stereotype threat more favourably in terms of social and interview skill but the differences were not statistically significant. There are two

potential reasons why male interviewers' self-ratings might show stronger effects than female applicants' ratings of male performance. First, it could be the case that males were only marginally successful in showing positive observable social skill despite the strong self-perceptions that they had done so. Male interviewers may have tried to modulate their behaviour, but with only limited success. Alternatively, female applicants may have been highly nervous themselves, too nervous to notice behaviour modulation of male interviewers in the stereotype threat condition. Interviews are generally very anxiety-provoking experiences for job seekers. By placing females in the applicant role, high levels of anxiety may have been induced. Consequentially, females may have been so focused on their own performance in both conditions that they did not notice successful behaviour modulation attempts of males under stereotype threat to the same extent that males themselves did.

There is one piece of evidence in the current study supporting the second explanation and suggesting that behaviour modulation attempts of males under threat may have translated to observable behaviour in the interview. When looking at the moderating impact of interview experience, females with more past experience described male interviewers in the stereotype threat condition as less nervous than males in the control condition. The females who had more experience clearly indicated that they were less anxious and felt generally more positive about their performance in the interview (main effects of past interview experience on female self-rated social and interview skill). Females with more experience in interviews may have hence been more proficient at evaluating

male interviewers' performance and may have been more likely to pick up on subtle differences in male interviewers' behaviour. Thus, to the least nervous and most experienced eye, the behaviour modulation of males reminded about sexism may have lead males to appear noticeably less nervous.

General versus Interview Specific Self-Ratings

Male interviewers under threat rated their interview-specific performance better in the stereotype threat compared to the control condition in the current study, but this difference did not reach statistical significance. Shelton and colleagues (2006) mentioned that behaviour modulations are especially likely for general types of behaviour, specifically for behaviour that is unrelated to the stereotype in question. Miller, Rothblum, Felicio, and Brand (1995) found that obese women who thought they were visible to normal weight participants behaved more socially skilled than those who thought they were not visible. This was a general change in behaviour and not one directly related to the dominant stereotypical beliefs about obese individuals (dominant stereotypes typically refer to obese individuals as lazy; e.g., Chambliss, Finley, & Blair, 2004). This may explain why the more general behavioural assessment of social skill in the current study showed stronger positive effects than the more specific skill for interviewing, where sexist stereotypes may be directly relevant.

Stereotype Threat Effects over Time

To test what happens to stereotype threat effects over time, in addition to the final post-interaction measures, participants' performance and comfort level

were assessed early in (two minutes into) the interview. Past research shows that stereotype activation fades with time (Kunda et al., 2002). It could have been the case that performance was affected early in the interview and then rebounded to match the control group as the stereotypes faded. Alternatively, the dynamic nature of the interaction could have lead to more negative male performance if escalation took place or to more positive male performance if female applicants' responses served to calm down the male interviewer.

However, male performance two minutes into the interview mirrored performance rated after the interaction. Males rated themselves generally more favourably in the stereotype threat compared to the control condition. Males reminded of sexism rated themselves as more comfortable two minutes into the interview and as more socially skilled at the end of the interview. Their more specific performance ratings also showed a similar but smaller effect of the reminder about sexism with reminders about sexism leading to positive effects for mid-interview performance and post-interaction interview skill ratings that did not reach significance. However, the primary finding here was that there was no apparent effect of time on the perception that a reminder not to be sexist improved male interviewers' social performance.

Moderating Effects

Past research shows that stereotype threat affects those who care about the domain under question the most (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995) Consequentially, the current study measured motivation to respond without sexism for male interviewers. However, this motivation did not influence the

effect of threat on male performance in the current study. One potential explanation for this result is that the sample of males came from a campus with strong norms of valuing diversity. Consequentially, most male participants scored high on motivation to respond without sexism, especially on external motivation to respond without sexism ($M = 5.31$ out of 7, $SD = 1.33$). Thus, most participants seemed adequately motivated to avoid appearing sexist. That is, it mattered to the large majority of participants. If a moderating effect of motivation to respond without sexism exists, future research that selects male participants who are especially high and especially low in motivation to respond without sexism might be able to uncover this effect.

Unexpectedly, male motivation to respond without sexism changed the impact of threat on male ratings of female performance. There were moderating effects for positive social skill, negative social skill, physical anxiety, and interview nervousness. For the three negative performance variables (negative social skill, physical anxiety, and interview nervousness), when not reminded about sexism male interviewers who were high in desire to respond without sexism rated female performance more negatively than those low in motivation to respond without sexism. However, when male interviewers were reminded not to be sexist, the difference between those high and low in motivation to respond without sexism disappeared.

For positive social skill, the unexpected negative effect of motivation to respond without sexism on males' ratings of female performance when there were no reminders of sexism was not as strong as for the negative performance

measures (and not statistically significant). The effect of motivation on positive social skill, however, looked similar to the effect for negative social skill, physical anxiety, and interview nervousness in the stereotype threat condition. Reminders not to appear sexist led male interviewers who were high in desire to respond without sexism to rate their female partner more favourably than did males who were low in desire to respond without sexism.

Even though this is not the main focus of the current paper, it is ironic that motivation to respond without sexism (and maybe efforts to be egalitarian in general) lead male interviewers to focus more heavily on and notice more negative aspects of female applicants' performance, but that the stereotype threat manipulation, which reminded males not to appear sexist, wiped out this negative effect. The effects of motivation to respond without sexism on the negative and positive performance indicators in the stereotype threat condition of the current study are consistent with Shelton and colleagues' (2006) model. Specifically, Shelton and colleagues claim that motivation to appear non-prejudiced leads to positive behaviour modulation. In the current study, reminders not to appear sexist could have further increased motivation in males who had a stronger desire to respond without sexism to start with, which in turn could have led to more positive evaluations of female performance, both for ratings of negative and positive behaviours.

Limitations

The study has several methodological limitations worth addressing. First, it may be that intergroup stereotype threat has subtle impacts on behaviours that

are somewhat difficult to detect. Micro-coding of video tapes of the interactions might provide evidence of performance effects that were not detected or consciously recognized by the participants. Also, there was a discrepancy between male interviewers' and female applicants' ratings of male social skill and of female mid-interview performance in the current study. By including observer-coded data as a third source, one might be able to explain whether the discrepancy was due to bias in male self-ratings or high anxiety levels of female participants.

Second, as previously mentioned, the manipulation checks in the current study seem less than optimal. Instead of asking males whether they were afraid of appearing sexist and females whether their partner seemed concerned about appearing sexist, an implicit measure of relevant stereotypes such as a lexical decision task might have been a better way of assessing the effectiveness of the stereotype threat manipulation.

Implications

The strongly worded manipulation initially seemed like a strength of this study. It was a modification of Vorauer and Turpie's effective manipulation (2004), where fear of appearing prejudiced was made salient by telling participants that their interaction partner had an expectation of discrimination. By modifying Vorauer and Turpie's statement to strengthen the manipulation and to fit with the groups in the current study, instead of raising fear of confirming the sexist stereotype, the manipulation may have inadvertently heightened male

interviewers' self-efficacy and motivation to demonstrate their non-sexist self, a task they felt competent to perform.

One key goal of this study was to apply intergroup stereotype threat, here in the form of fear of appearing sexist, to interpersonal interactions. In the real world, interpersonal interactions are dynamic processes where person A's behaviour influences person B. Hence, the current study tested whether the effect of stereotype threat on one person can spread to an interaction partner, here from the male interviewer under threat to the female applicant. Although consistent with this idea, most outcome measures of female applicant performance were weak and did not reach significance. The one exception were male interviewers' ratings of their female partners' mid-interview performance. Male interviewers rated females more favourably two minutes into the interview in the threat compared to the control condition. Of course, it is just as likely that the positive ratings of female applicants' mid-interview performance by males under threat were a result of male bias rather than representing a real difference in females' behaviour. The more positive ratings of female applicants by males under threat are also consistent with the claim that males experienced increased motivation to appear non-sexist in the threat condition. In real interviews, the goal of the applicant is to impress the interviewer to get a job offer. If the interviewer (here male) rates the applicant's (here female's) performance positively, this has obvious practical implications as it would increase the chances that the applicant gets the job. Thus, whether this more positive first impression expressed by males reminded about sexism was the result of their efforts to appear non-sexist

or resulted from the women actually performing better in the situation, the current findings may have immediate practical relevance for cross-gender interviews.

The findings of this study also point to the possible importance of self-efficacy and motivation for intergroup stereotype threat effects. This should be given serious consideration in future research. Future research could manipulate motivation and self-efficacy to test whether and under what conditions increased motivation and self-efficacy lead to positive effects of stereotype threat in cross-group interactions. The absence of self-efficacy and motivation may lead to negative effects of stereotype threat on interpersonal performance, whereas the presence of both may lead to positive effects as appeared to be the case in the current study. It would also be interesting for future research to investigate and manipulate motivation and self-efficacy separately. By exploring which of these underlying factors has a stronger impact on stereotype threat effects and under what conditions, researchers might be able to develop potential inoculations and interventions against the often negative effects of stereotype threat.

Stereotype threat is a robust effect that has been demonstrated with various groups (minority and majority) and in different domains of performance (see Steele et al., 2002). The findings of a positive effect of an intergroup stereotype threat manipulation in the current study are interesting, because they represent a reversal of usual stereotype threat findings. The current research provides some initial support for Shelton and colleagues' (2006) model of intergroup contact as an explanation for this positive effect of stereotype threat. Specifically, the impact of pro-diversity norms, familiarity with the outgroup, ease

of task, contrast effects, and beliefs that relevant behaviour is controllable on both motivation and self-efficacy may lead to positive behaviour modulation. These five contextual factors could be used to manipulate motivation and self-efficacy in future research. In this way, the theoretical framework used to explain the current findings could be empirically tested.

Social interactions with others are one of, if not, the defining feature of our day-to-day lives. In an increasingly diverse social world, many of these interactions involve persons with different group memberships. Hence, extending the study of stereotype threat to intergroup relations has immediate applied implications. The results of the current study, even though surprising considering the original hypotheses, are encouraging from an intergroup perspective. They are a first indicator of when stereotype threat can have positive compared to devastating consequences. If active behaviour modulation can be elicited under specified circumstances such as in situations where motivation and self-efficacy are high, then it may be possible to counteract the negative consequences of intergroup stereotype threat for social interactions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Selection Interview Scale

In this questionnaire you will be asked about your experience with job interviews. Click the number on the scale that best describes you.

1 = Strongly disagree, 9 = Strongly agree

1. I have experience being interviewed by other people in job interviews.
2. I have experience interviewing other people in job interviews.
3. I have read tips for successful interviews.
4. I have participated in interview-related workshops.
5. I know how to succeed as an applicant in job interviews.
6. I know how to succeed as an interviewer in job interviews.
7. I may be looking for a job where I would conduct interviews (be the interviewer) in the future.

Appendix 2: Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale Male Version

In this exercise you will find a list of feelings and behaviours that someone could exhibit during a job interview. Please rate how each feeling or behaviour represents how you feel right now as you think of the mock job interview you are about to enter.

Remember to answer all questions thinking of yourself as the INTERVIEWER in the upcoming job interview.

1 = Not at all, 9 = Very much

1. I (as the interviewer) feel CONFIDENT right now.
2. I (as the interviewer) feel EMBARRASSED right now.
3. I (as the interviewer) feel RELAXED right now.
4. I (as the interviewer) feel ASSERTIVE right now.
5. I (as the interviewer) feel FRIENDLY right now.
6. I (as the interviewer) feel ATTRACTIVE right now.
7. I (as the interviewer) feel AWKWARD right now.
8. I (as the interviewer) feel LIKED right now.
9. I (as the interviewer) feel HAPPY right now.
10. I (as the interviewer) feel HUMOROUS right now.
11. I (as the interviewer) feel SELF-CONSCIOUS right now.
12. I (as the interviewer) feel UNCOMFORTABLE right now.
13. I (as the interviewer) feel IRRITATED right now.
14. I (as the interviewer) feel CAREFUL right now.
15. I (as the interviewer) feel PLEASANT right now.
16. I (as the interviewer) feel DEFENSIVE right now.
17. I (as the interviewer) feel NERVOUS right now.
18. I (as the interviewer) feel SOCIALLY SKILLED right now.
19. I (as the interviewer) feel COMPETENT right now.
20. Right now, my hands are shaking a little.
21. Right now, my heart is racing a little.

Note: The Pre-Interaction Social Skill Scale Male Version was modified for female applicants and for the post-interaction self-rating and the post-interaction partner-rated versions of the scale.

Appendix 3: Pre-Interaction Interview Skill Scale Male Version

Please select the number on the scale that best describes how you will do in the job interview that you are about to enter.

Remember to answer all questions thinking of yourself as the INTERVIEWER in the upcoming job interview

1 = Strongly disagree, 9 = Strongly agree

1. I feel I will be able to ask questions easily.
2. The applicant will understand what I say.
3. I will ask interesting questions.
4. I am likely to leave long gaps in the conversation.
5. The applicant will like me.
6. The applicant is likely to get along with me.
7. If this interview was for a real job, the applicant would likely choose to work for me.
8. Generally, I will perform well during the interview.
9. I will be my "normal self" during the interview.
10. The video camera will make me very nervous.
11. I am nervous about being in an interview.
12. The applicant will make me nervous.
13. I will NOT be very accomplished in this interview.
14. I will find the interview to be as enjoyable and comfortable as it can be under the circumstances.
15. I will do well at asking questions.
16. I will NOT be a strong interviewer.
17. I will do well at asking about the applicant's past experiences.
18. I will probably be invited to conduct a second interview if there is one.
19. The applicant is likely to evaluate my performance positively.
20. If this interview was for a real job, I would be a good boss.
21. I will do a good job with nonverbal communication (e.g. body language).
22. I will be able to build good rapport with the applicant.
23. I will NOT communicate well with the applicant.

Note: The Pre-Interaction Interview Skill Scale Male Version was modified for female applicants and for the post-interaction self-rating and the post-interaction partner-rated versions of the scale.

Appendix 4: Job Posting

Co-Op Summer Job Position:

Job Title: Team Leader

Salary Range: High

Flexible Hours

A positive, flexible attitude and good interpersonal and communications skills are required. Your ability to prioritize and adapt to changing demands and pressures will be essential.

Position Outline:

- Provides senior level support, interacts with, and provides information to team members and other staff
- Works as part of the management team
- Arranges and participates in meetings with team members and clients, including coordination and preparation of meetings
- Performs other related duties consistent with position title
- The ideal candidate will possess the following competencies, skills and attributes:
 - Currently enrolled at a post-secondary institution
 - People skills and the ability to work in a team environment
 - Communication and effective listening skills
 - Organizational skills and ability to prioritize multiple responsibilities
 - Judgment and strong problem solving skills

Appendix 5: Company Profile

With 50 brands spanning 5 categories of food products, we touch many people's lives in many different ways. We are the global market-leader in all the food categories in which we operate: Dressings, Spreads, Soups, Tea, and Ice Cream.

As a Canadian company founded in 1963 in Vancouver/BC, we have a clear goal: to be as close as possible to consumers, regardless of which province they live in. We're constantly enhancing our brands to deliver more intense, rewarding product experiences. We invest 100 million dollars every year in cutting edge research and development, and have five laboratories around the world that explore new thinking and techniques to help develop our products. We produce and deliver environmentally friendly organic food products and support local growers.