CYBERVETTING: THE ROLE OF NEGATIVE CONTENT

by

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ABSTRACT

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Mixed support has surfaced regarding the use of online information for personnel selection (i.e., cybervetting), which commonly involves the evaluation of social media profiles. Research to date has largely focused on investigating the psychometric properties of this assessment technique, and little attention has been devoted to understanding rater judgment and decision making processes in a cybervetting evaluation. Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine the mechanisms by which raters use negative social media content to assess applicant suitability, through their perceptions of applicant attributes. Using an experimental design, results from this study found that negative social media content had an indirect effect on applicant suitability ratings via perceptions of applicant integrity and conscientiousness, among male (but not female) applicants. More specifically, the presence of negative content on social media reduced perceptions of applicant attributes, which then positively influenced perceptions of applicant suitability. Further, results revealed evidence of gender bias, such that female applicants were generally described as having lower integrity, cognitive ability, and conscientiousness compared to their male counterparts, suggesting that female applicants are at an immediate disadvantage when it comes to social media evaluation for employment purposes. In sum, this study identified the mechanisms by which raters form judgments about candidates,

which then influence their perceptions of applicant suitability. Implications and future directions are discussed regarding the use of cybervetting for personnel selection.

Keywords: cybervetting, personnel selection, gender bias

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2016, 69% of Americans were using some type of social media platform, and this trend is on the rise (Pew Research Center, 2017). Whereas social media's original intent may have been to connect with social contacts, recent data suggests that individuals use social media for a variety of reasons, including seeking employment or to take a mental break from work (Greenwood, Perrin, & Duggan, 2016). Thus, it comes as no surprise that organizations are also using social media in various personnel practices, including cybervetting, or the process of screening online information for personnel selection purposes (Berkelaar, 2014). In fact, a recent survey found that 43% of organizations use social media to screen job applicants, and 47% of those organizations believe they can obtain valuable information about job applicants through this method (SHRM, 2016). However, despite the growing popularity and convenience of cybervetting, there is little research on the impact of social media content on employment decisions. Therefore, this study bridges a gap in the literature by examining judgment and decision making in a cybervetting context.

1.1 Cybervetting in Organizations

Organizations may screen applicants' social media pages for a variety of reasons, including to avoid hiring "bad apples," to avoid negligent hiring claims, to determine potential job or organizational fit (Chauhan, Buckley, & Harvey, 2013; Hoek, O'Kane, & McCracken, 2015), or to reduce the size of the applicant pool (Byrnside, 2008). Of the organizations who do not cybervet, 74% report avoiding the practice due to potential legal issues (SHRM, 2013). As Davison, Bing, Kluemper, and Roth (2016) discuss, there is currently no national legislation that broadly protects social media users from employers. Notably, organizations are not prohibited

from obtaining publicly available information from social media sites, and job applicants may not even be aware that organizations engage in cybervetting practices (Schroeder & Lile, 2016). This has serious implications for job applicants, especially if employers are using the content in an unethical or illegal way.

Of the few studies examining cybervetting, mixed findings have surfaced regarding the psychometric qualities ascribed to this approach. Some research has suggested that cybervetting is a reliable practice in a selection context. For example, Kluemper and colleagues (Kluemper & Rosen, 2009; Kluemper, Rosen, & Mossholder, 2012) found evidence of interrater reliability in evaluating personality traits on Facebook. Similarly, Buffardi and Campbell (2008) found that raters were able to detect narcissism based on Facebook content. However, others have questioned whether content on Facebook is job-related (see e.g., Davison et al., 2016), and there is contradictory evidence that calls into question the validity of cybervetting assessments. For example, Van Iddekinge, Lanivich, Roth, and Junco (2016) found that there was no relationship between Facebook content and supervisor ratings of job performance, turnover intentions, or actual turnover, and they also found evidence of subgroup differences, such that females and racial majority group members tended to be viewed more favorably than their counterparts. In contrast, Kluemper et al. (2012) found personality traits assessed via social media were correlated with job performance, hireability, and undergraduate grade point average (GPA), as well as provided incremental validity above self-reported personality. In addition, as discussed by Davison et al. (2016), cybervetting approaches often lack standardization in terms of scoring and administration, as well as in the variability in what content is available across applicants, which creates a variety of issues that would typically be controlled for in traditional selection assessments (e.g., structured interviews). However, regardless of the benefits and pitfalls of

cybervetting, a number of organizations continue to use this screening method. As such, an understanding of how employers utilize social media content to influence their decisions is needed.

1.2 Judgment and Decision Making

Several constructs in the judgment and decision making literature are relevant to a cybervetting context where job candidates are evaluated based on their social media websites, such as the use of biases and heuristics (i.e., decision-making shortcuts). More specifically, a discussion of the negativity bias and the representativeness heuristic is provided.

Negativity bias. Negativity bias occurs when individuals give more weight to negative rather than positive information when making decisions (Hamilton & Huffman, 1971; Ito, Larsen, Smith, & Cacioppo, 1998). This phenomenon has been summarized as the "bad is stronger than good" (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001, p. 1). A widely accepted explanation for this bias is that negative information is typically perceived as being more diagnostic than positive information, thus influencing evaluations (Herr et al., 1991). Negativity bias has long been investigated in the social sciences, and several underlying themes have emerged that provide evidence for this bias in real-world contexts. For example, in marketing research, negative online information about a company can lead to negative brand evaluations (Chio, Hsu, & Hsieh, 2012). Similarly, this bias is often examined in political campaigns such that perceived negative (rather than positive) content dominates candidate evaluations (Meffert et al., 2006). In a selection context, negative information could include behaviors that are considered predictive of or incidences of counterproductive workplace behavior (CWB), as well as behavioral indicators of low cognitive ability and low conscientiousness, two of the strongest predictors of job performance. A brief discussion of

CWB, cognitive ability, and conscientiousness, and their relevance to employee selection is provided below.

CWB is defined as intentional acts that harm organizations and/or their stakeholders (e.g., customers; Spector & Fox, 2005). Although there are several CWB models, this study will focus on Spector et al.'s (2006) model of CWB, which suggests that there are five CWB dimensions: (a) abuse against others (i.e., harmful behaviors directed toward coworkers and others that include both physical and psychological harm), (b) production deviance (i.e., intentional failure to perform job tasks effectively), (c) sabotage (i.e., destruction of property belonging to the organization), (d) theft (i.e., stealing organizational property), and (e) withdrawal (i.e., behaviors that limit time allocated to job duties). As CWBs run counter to organizational goals, one way organizations attempt to reduce CWB is through employee selection (MacLane & Walmsley, 2010), often through the use of pre-employment integrity assessments (Berry, Sackett, & Wiemann, 2007). For example, Ones, Viswesvaran, and Schmidt (1993) found integrity tests to predict CWB engagement. As some organizations engage in cybervetting to screen out "bad apples" (Berkelaar, 2017; Chauhan et al., 2013, p. 128), it is likely that employers would view CWB-type behaviors on a social media profile as being problematic and potential indicators of low integrity. For example, Schroeder, Medeiros, and Whitaker (2018) found that cybervetters identified negative content on Facebook profiles as a basis for which they assessed ethicality.

In contrast to CWBs, which would be viewed negatively from an employer's perspective, employers often screen employees for applicant qualities that are positively related to job performance. Across the literature, general cognitive ability consistently arises as one of the strongest predictors of job performance (see Schmidt, 2002 for a review). Notably, meta-analytic findings revealed medium to large effect sizes (i.e., .38 to .57) in examining general cognitive

ability as a predictor of supervisor ratings of job performance across jobs of varying complexity (Hunter & Hunter, 1984). A variety of different measures have been used to assess general cognitive ability, including standardized academic assessments (e.g., ACT scores; Van Iddekinge et al., 2016), intelligent quotient tests (e.g., Wonderlic, 2000), assessments of general knowledge (e.g., Irwing, Cammock, & Lynn, 2001), or even assessments of English language rules, such as spelling and grammar (Chan, Schmitt, DeShon, Clause, & Delbridge, 1997). As such, behavioral indicators of low cognitive ability on a social media profile are likely to be viewed as negative.

In addition to general cognitive ability, personality traits have been identified as important for personnel selection purposes, conscientiousness in particular. Individuals high in conscientiousness can be characterized as being dependable, responsible, reliable, and organized (McCrae & Costa, 1992). As discussed by Schmidt, Ones, and Hunter (1992), conscientiousness is positively related to both academic and occupational achievement. Notably, meta-analytic findings have identified conscientiousness as the strongest predictor of job performance criteria in comparison to other personality traits, with correlations ranging from .20-.25 across a variety of jobs (Barrick & Mount, 1991). Given the importance of conscientiousness in predicting job performance, it is likely that behavioral indicators of low conscientiousness may not be desirable from an employer's standpoint. As such, it is expected that social media content reflecting low applicant levels of conscientiousness (e.g., status updates that allude to irresponsibility, such as being late to work) may be perceived negatively in a cybervetting context.

Thus, building on these ideas, the first goal of this paper is to investigate the inferences drawn when negative content is presented on a social media page, and how these inferences impact evaluations. Specifically, it is predicted that evaluators will make inferences about job

applicants on the basis of behavioral indicators of negative content, which in turn, will negatively affect evaluation ratings.

Hypothesis 1 (H1): The relationship between negative content presence and applicant evaluation ratings will be mediated by perceptions of applicant (a) integrity, (b) cognitive ability, and (c) conscientiousness, such that the presence of negative content will be inversely related to perceptions of the applicant, which in turn, will be positively related to applicant evaluation ratings (see Figure 1).

In addition to the role of negative content on applicant perceptions and evaluation ratings, another goal of this study is to examine the relative impact of the different types of negative content. Specifically, this study will compare the effects of each type of negative content (e.g., admission of theft, posts displaying irresponsible behaviors) to see which type of content carries the most weight in applicant evaluation ratings.

Research Question 1 (RQ1): Which type of negative content will be most impactful in applicant evaluation ratings.

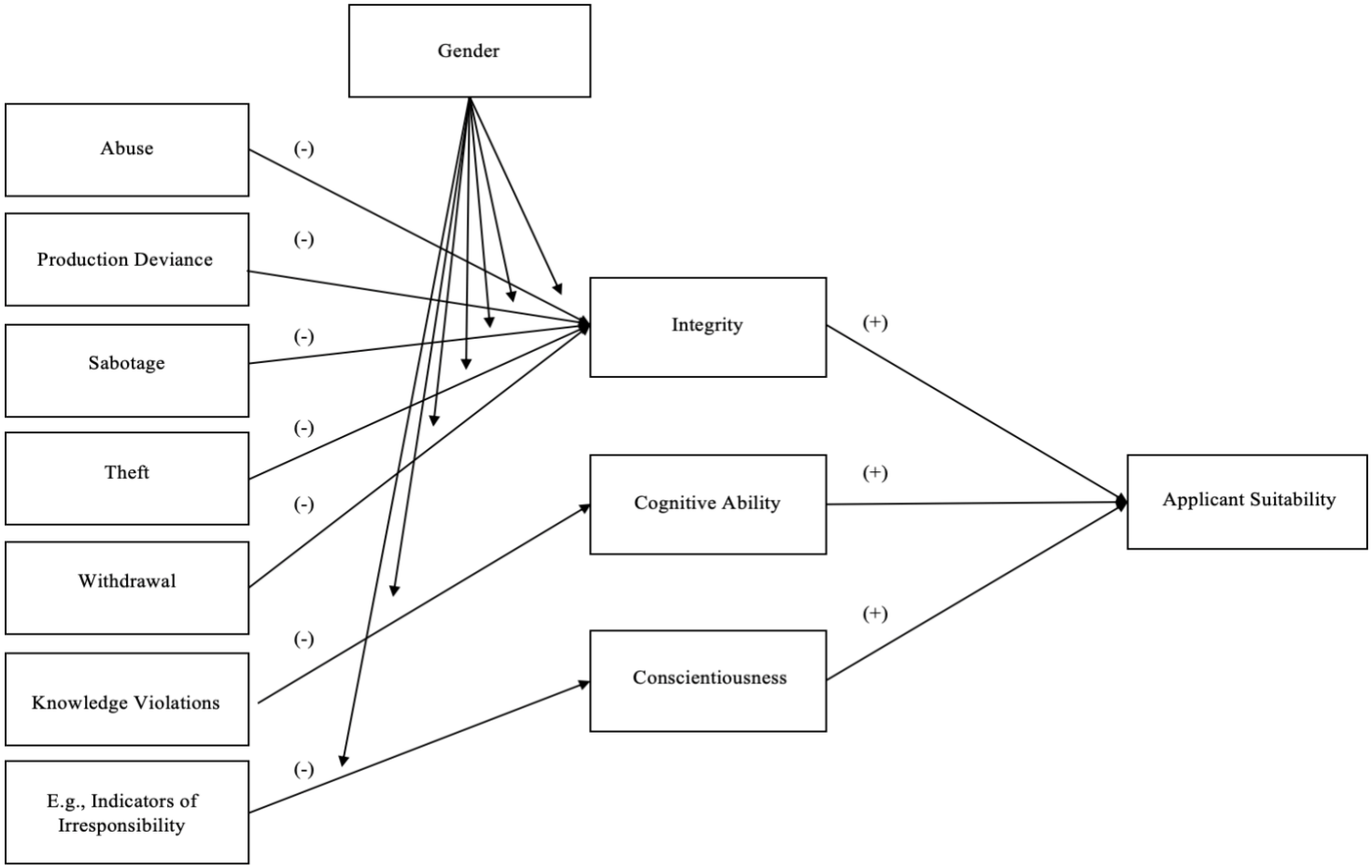

Figure 1. Mediation model predicting that inferences regarding applicant characteristics will mediate the relationship between negative social media content and applicant evaluation ratings, and the relationship between negative social media content and inferences regarding applicant characteristics will be moderated by applicant gender.

Representativeness heuristic. Another relevant construct is the representativeness heuristic, which refers to situations where an individual categorizes an object and then makes further judgments based on that original categorization (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). According to this heuristic, individuals will form judgments based on the degree of similarity that the object shares with other objects in a particular category, thereby relying on the representativeness or the similarity of the object, rather than the statistical likelihood of category membership to form judgments (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Researchers have highlighted the conceptual overlap that the representativeness heuristic shares with stereotyping (Bordalo, Coffman, Gennaiolo, & Shleifer, 2016), which is often used to guide judgments, especially in situations where ambiguity is present (Bodenhausen, 1988; Bodenhausen & Lichtenstein, 1987). However, Hastie and Dawes (2010) noted that even though stereotypes are regularly used to produce judgments, this method is flawed, as there is often an overreliance on similarity when estimating the likelihood that two objects or events are related.

Relevant to the selection context, the role of individuating information, or available job-relevant information about an applicant or employee (e.g., work experience or credentials) has been found to reduce the effects of stereotyping in employment decisions (Heilman, 1984). Likewise, meta-analytic findings have revealed that when employers have more job-relevant information, they make less biased decisions (Tose & Einbender, 1985). In a cybervetting context, the amount of individuating information is likely low, as most social media platforms (e.g., Facebook) are not primarily intended for professional purposes (Davison et al., 2016). Of particular interest to the selection literature concerns biased decisions regarding applicant gender. Specifically, gender bias in employment has been long investigated, as it is often the case that there are employment-related discrepancies between men and women (Davison & Burke, 2000;

Koch, D'Mello, & Sackett, 2015) on a variety of organizational outcomes (e.g., hiring decisions, compensation; see Koch et al., 2015 for a review), such that men are often the recipients of more positive outcomes than women.

Employment-related gender bias has been attributed to a discrepancy between gender stereotypes and job characteristics that are important for workplace success (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001). For example, women are expected to be communal in nature, whereas men are expected to be agentic (Heilman, 2012). If a woman were to hold a position that was more consistent with agentic work characteristics (e.g., leadership position), then this would result in a discrepancy between prescriptive stereotypes and job characteristics. Broadly speaking, men are often perceived as more competent and hireable than female applicants (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Olian, Schwab, & Haberfeld, 1988), and both men and women may be more likely to hire a male applicant than a female applicant with identical qualifications (Steinpreis, Anders, & Ritzke, 1999). Notably, in a meta-analysis examining sex discrimination in employment contexts, Davison and Burke (2000) found that when raters were provided with less job-relevant information (i.e., individuating information), female applicants were penalized more in employment decisions compared to their male counterparts. The authors suggested that lack of job-relevant information led to a greater dependency on the use of stereotype-based information in the decision-making process, such that evaluators were more likely to match applicant sex to the sex stereotype of the job (Davison & Burke, 2000). In contrast, in a cybervetting context, Van Iddekinge et al. (2016) found evidence of adverse impact such that female applicants were viewed more favorably than their male counterparts. This finding was attributed to differences in posting habits between men and women on Facebook (e.g., males are more likely to post about alcohol and use profanity than

women on social media pages; Shelton & Skalski, 2014). However, as the current study will utilize an experimental design that controls for the effects of posting habits, it is expected that females will receive lower evaluation ratings compared to their male counterparts.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Females will receive lower applicant evaluation ratings than males in a cybervetting context.

Taking a closer examination of gender bias in a selection context, not only are women perceived less favorably than men when there is a discrepancy between stereotypes and job characteristics, but research has also revealed that women are subject to greater penalization as a result of stereotype violation in comparison to their male counterparts (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). When women engage in counterstereotypical behaviors, they are often subject to personal derogation and may even receive unfavorable work-related outcomes, such as decreased recommendations for workplace rewards (e.g., salary increase, promotion; Heilman & Chen, 2007). More specifically, when women engage in behaviors that are inconsistent with prescriptive gender norms (e.g., engaging in prohibited behaviors such as aggressive communication), they are more likely than men to suffer negative consequences (Heilman, 2012). For example, competitive negotiations are not consistent with female prescriptive norms, as it is viewed as an inappropriate behavior for a woman to request privileges that do not correspond to their status level, or to engage in aggressive and demanding behaviors that are often present in negotiation strategies (Bowles, Babcock, & Lai; 2007). Bowles et al. (2007) found that women who negotiated their pay received greater penalties (e.g., lower hireability ratings) than their male counterparts who performed the same behaviors. Similarly, women are also penalized when they fail to engage in behaviors consistent with prescriptive norms, such as acting communally or caring (Heilman, 2012). For example, Heilman and Chen (2005) found

that when both men and women did not engage in altruistic workplace behaviors, women were evaluated more negatively and received less awards than males. Finally, regarding workplace deviance, Bowles and Gelfand (2010) found that men (but not women) evaluated male-initiated workplace deviance more leniently than female-initiated workplace deviance, and they punished females more harshly than males. As such, given that negative content has been shown to have greater weight in evaluations, and some negative content (e.g., workplace deviance) violates gender-based norms for women, it is expected that women will be penalized more in the presence of negative social media content compared to their male counterparts.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Applicant gender will moderate the relationship between the presence of negative content and perceptions of applicant (a) integrity, (b) cognitive ability, and (c) conscientiousness such that the negative relationship will be stronger for females than males in a cybervetting context (see Figure 1).

Another relevant consideration in a selection context is the gender of the rater. Specifically, some research has found that male evaluators tend to rate male applicants more favorably compared to their female counterparts, whereas this effect is not found for female evaluators (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011; Rice & Barth, 2016). These effects have been attributed to greater weight being placed on gender stereotypes in the workplace by men, whereas women are more egalitarian in their beliefs (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011; Larsen & Long, 1988). In contrast, other findings have suggested that both male and female raters give higher selection ratings to male than female applicants (Davison & Burke, 2000), even when they have identical qualifications (Steinpreis et al., 1999). Specific to the social media context, some research has revealed gender differences in social media usage, which may result in different evaluation strategies for male and female raters in a cybervetting context. For example, as

compared to men, women are more likely to report using Facebook as a means to get information (Park, Kee, & Valenzuela, 2009; Shen & Khalifa, 2010), provide others with information, and solve problems (Shen & Khalifa, 2010). Additionally, others have found that women use Facebook for entertainment purposes and maintenance of interpersonal relationships (Hunt et al., 2012; Sheldon, 2008), whereas men report using Facebook for seeking romance and developing friendships (Sheldon, 2008). Given that previous research has demonstrated mixed findings regarding the impact of rater gender on evaluations of male and female candidates, as well as research suggesting that there may be diverging normative behavior on social media sites for men versus women, another goal of this paper is to examine rater differences in evaluating applicants in a cybervetting context on an exploratory basis.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): How does rater gender impact the evaluation of male versus female applicants in a cybervetting context?

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

2.1 Pilot Study One

Participants. Twelve undergraduate research assistants and three psychology graduate students participated in pilot testing the materials that were selected for the experimental study.

Materials. Participants completed a survey that assessed a variety of attributes about potential study materials. Each component is discussed below.

Profile pictures. Participants evaluated 22 head shot pictures (i.e., 11 male and 11 female) that were gathered from Google images (see Appendix A). Participants provided ratings of physical attractiveness using a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *very unattractive* to 7 = *very attractive*). In addition, participants estimated the age of the individual in the picture using an open-ended format. Finally, the participants were instructed to select the race they believed best represented the person. See Appendix B for profile picture rating scales.

An examination of ratings and estimations for attractiveness, age, and race were taken under consideration in order to select the profile pictures to be used in the experimental study. Specifically, pictures rated most similarly across males and females in terms of attractiveness with means closest to the midpoint of the scale, and the smallest standard deviations were identified (male: $M = 5.33$, $SD = .90$; female: $M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.10$), as well as pictures with small standard deviations in terms of age (male: $M = 30.20$; female: $M = 32.20$). These profile pictures were also categorized similarly in terms of race, such that all participants identified the male as White/Caucasian, and 80% of participants identified the female as White/Caucasian. Notably, three participants identified the female target as Hispanic.

Cover photo. Each participant rated 10 pictures gathered from Google images (see Appendix C) using a seven-point Likert scale that assessed photo appropriateness in a workplace environment (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*; see Appendix D). In addition, participants responded to one item examining perceptions of the gender of the individual posting the content (1 = *much more likely to be posted by a female* to 7 = *much more likely to be posted by a male*). This item was included to control for gender norms in social media use to ensure that content was equally likely to be viewed on both male and female social media pages to enhance experimental realism, as well as to limit the likelihood that a confound related to gender norms was introduced. The cover photo selected had relatively moderate ratings of appropriateness for the workplace (M = 5.07, SD = 1.67), and gender norms near the midpoint of the scale (M = 3.67, SD = 1.05).

Timeline filler content. Each participant evaluated 11 shares that were gathered from real Facebook profiles, seven pictures that were gathered from Google images, and 15 status updates that were created by the researcher (see Appendix E). Each item was rated using a seven-point Likert scale that evaluated content appropriateness in a workplace environment (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*), three items that assessed the level of cognitive ability, conscientiousness, and integrity reflected in the post (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much* on each scale), and one item examined the perceptions of the gender of the individual posting the content (1 = *much more likely to be posted by a male* to 7 = *much more likely to be posted by a female;* see Appendix F for timeline filler content scales). The three items used to assess cognitive ability, conscientiousness, and integrity were included to ensure that perceptions of these constructs cannot be inferred on the basis of filler content. In other words, this provided further support that any effects witnessed in the focal study will be due to the manipulations, as opposed

to filler content presented on the social media profile. A definition of each construct (i.e., cognitive ability, conscientiousness, and integrity) was provided to the participants (see Appendix F). The last item was included to ensure that the content was equally likely to be viewed on a male and female page to maintain social media profile realism, as well as minimize the likelihood of a gender-related confound.

A total of 15 filler content posts that received neutral ratings (i.e., near the midpoint of the scale) on the basis of appropriateness and gender norm item means and standard deviations were selected as the content that were held consistent across each condition in the experimental study (i.e., thirteen filler content posts that will be held constant across experimental conditions, and fifteen filler content posts will be held constant in the two control conditions). Content with low means and small standard deviations on the definitional items or that was reported to not reflect any of the three defined constructs was also taken into consideration. See Table 1 for the descriptive statistics for the timeline filler content.

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations for Filler Content

Variable	Final Content	Appropriateness		Gender Expectations		Cognitive Ability		Conscientiousness		Integrity	
		M	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***
Shares											
	1	3.87	1.407	5.27	1.387	2.79	1.122	2.79	1.188	2.64	1.286
	2	3.93	1.223	4.60	1.242	2.77	1.641	2.83	1.642	2.73	1.794
	3	3.27	1.438	3.13	1.187	2.29	1.204	2.31	1.182	2.25	1.288
Pictures											
	1	4.87	1.223	4.27	1.387	2.91	1.514	3.36	1.433	3.09	1.514
	2	5.27	1.387	4.33	0.724	3.06	1.514	3.09	1.514	3.30	1.494
Status Updates											
	1	4.53	1.457	4.00	0.926	2.92	1.165	2.77	1.235	2.67	1.497
	2	4.13	1.407	4.60	1.183	3.80	1.656	3.43	1.828	3.00	1.472
	3	3.40	1.404	4.07	1.100	2.75	1.658	3.00	1.732	2.70	1.337
	4	3.93	1.033	4.13	0.516	3.17	1.403	3.15	1.345	3.00	1.247
	5	4.20	1.320	4.00	1.069	2.58	1.240	2.62	1.193	3.20	1.549
	6	3.67	1.047	4.93	1.486	3.33	1.614	3.00	1.537	3.10	1.663
	7	4.93	1.335	3.33	1.047	3.08	1.801	3.33	1.839	3.27	1.831
	8	4.20	0.941	4.20	0.941	3.79	1.626	4.27	1.751	3.15	2.075
	9*	4.27	1.335	4.80	1.474	2.46	1.391	3.46	1.506	2.80	1.398
	10*	4.53	1.060	3.99	0.926	3.40	1.844	4.53	1.767	2.64	1.433
Cover Photo											
	1	5.07	1.67	3.67	1.05						

Manipulated content. Negative CWB-related content was created by adapting items from the five dimensions of Fox and Spector's (2003) 45-item measure of CWB. The researcher-created negative content intended to reflect low cognitive ability was based on spelling and grammar errors, and low conscientiousness content included posts describing behaviors demonstrating irresponsibility and unreliability. Each participant rated 70 posts (i.e., 10 posts per negative content dimension; see Appendix G) using the same measures described in the timeline filler content section (see Appendix F).

Manipulated content that demonstrated low means for the appropriateness items, high means for the appropriate definitional items (e.g., a post intended to reflect low conscientiousness should have result in a high mean for conscientiousness and a low mean for cognitive ability and integrity), neutral means (i.e., near the midpoint of the scale) for the gender norm item, and small standard deviations were selected for the experimental study. Notably, the cognitive ability manipulation content did not adequately meet the desired criteria for the experimental study, as the means for cognitive ability were no higher than that of conscientiousness and integrity. Thus, a second pilot was conducted in an effort to refine the cognitive ability manipulation.

2.2 Pilot Study Two

Participants. Two undergraduate research assistants and nine psychology graduate students participated in pilot testing additional cognitive ability materials to be used in the experimental study.

Materials. Participants completed a survey that assessed a variety of attributes that were to be used for the cognitive ability manipulation. Negative cognitive ability content was designed by the researcher on the basis of Irwing, Cammock, and Lynn's (2001) six-factor model of

general knowledge, which included family, current affairs, physical health and recreation, fashion, arts, and science categories. Between three and five status updates were created per general knowledge factor that were intended to reflect violations of general knowledge. Each participant rated 22 posts (see Appendix H) using the same measures described in the timeline filler content section (see Appendix F).

Statuses were selected on the basis of high means and small definitions for the cognitive ability definition and low means and small standard deviations for definitional items referring to conscientiousness and integrity. Further, low means and small standard deviations in terms of workplace appropriateness, as well as neutral means and small standard deviations for gender norms were also taken into consideration. See Table 2 for the descriptive statistics on the final manipulated content.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Manipulated Status Updates

Variable	Final Content	Appropriate		Gender		Cognitive Ability		Conscientious		Integrity	
		M	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***	***M***	***SD***
General Knowledge Violations											
	1	2.78	1.093	4.00	0.866	5.22	2.628	4.71	2.628	3.00	1.265
	2	3.22	1.302	4.33	0.707	5.44	1.509	4.57	1.718	3.00	1.000
Irresponsibility and Unreliability											
	1	1.87	0.915	3.73	1.223	3.31	1.797	5.00	2.236	3.69	1.843
	2	1.93	1.163	4.07	1.100	4.36	1.906	5.47	2.066	3.67	1.073
Withdrawal											
	1	1.47	0.516	3.37	0.900	3.55	1.916	4.93	2.336	5.33	2.320
	2	1.73	0.884	3.60	0.910	3.82	1.991	5.14	2.214	5.40	2.165
Production Deviance											
	1	2.20	0.941	3.80	1.014	3.50	1.977	4.79	2.119	5.00	2.000
	2	1.87	0.990	4.20	1.146	3.42	2.103	4.46	2.170	5.00	2.104
Theft											
	1	2.21	0.802	3.29	0.913	3.58	2.065	4.42	2.151	5.29	2.016
	2	1.79	0.669	3.71	0.992	3.33	1.969	4.92	2.178	5.43	2.138
Sabotage											
	1	1.36	0.633	3.86	2.552	4.50	2.714	4.50	2.741	5.07	2.702
	2	2.14	0.864	4.07	1.207	3.45	1.864	4.55	2.339	5.31	2.394
Abuse											
	1	1.57	0.852	3.64	1.008	3.75	2.179	4.42	2.610	5.00	2.689
	2	1.21	0.426	3.71	1.541	4.00	2.494	4.00	2.646	5.07	2.526

Note. Status updates with an asterisk indicate that they will be used in the control condition profiles.

2.3 Experimental Study

Participants. Data were collected from an initial 366 participants (77% female; mean age = 19.861; 38.5% White/Caucasian, 34.1% Hispanic, 21.9% Asian, 13.9% Black/African American, 9.5% other; mean work experience = 3.415 years) who were recruited using a psychology department subject pool at a large Southwestern US university. Participants were required to meet the following eligibility requirements: (a) must have a Facebook profile (b) must be 18 years or older, and (c) must have at least six months of experience working 20+ hours per week. The Facebook profile requirement ensured that participants were familiar with this social media platform, and the work experience requirement ensured that participants had familiarity with selection procedures in an employment context. After data screening, a total of eight participants did not have a Facebook profile, and 48 did not meet the minimum work experience requirement. Thus, a total of 56 participants were removed from analyses for failing eligibility requirements. Further, a total of 55 participants were excluded from failed manipulation checks (see Manipulation Checks for more information), leaving a final sample comprised of 279 participants (76.3% female; mean age = 19.878; 41.2% White/Caucasian, 34.1% Hispanic, 19.7% Asian, 12.5% Black/African American, 8.3% Other; mean work experience = 3.635 years).

Materials. Each participant completed a survey that assessed rater attributes, conducted a social media evaluation, and responded to three manipulation checks.

Rater attributes. Each participant completed a brief survey that assessed demographic characteristics including gender, age, race, years of work experience, and social media profile evaluation experience (see Appendix I).

***Social media profiles*.** Based on the pilot study results, two Facebook profiles were created for use in the experimental study that each contained a total of 15 posts. Of the fifteen posts, thirteen had a positive or neutral valence and remained constant across experimental conditions. Post content included shares, status updates, and images. The two posts not held constant across profiles contained two status updates that reflected one of the three types of negative content categories (i.e., indicators of cognitive ability, conscientiousness, and integrity). In addition, two control conditions (i.e., one for each of the male and female profiles) were created that did not include negative content; thus, two additional neutral or positive content posts were included in the control conditions (i.e., a total of 15 posts).

Social media evaluation. To assess applicant suitability, Schroeder and Cavanaugh's (2018) three-item measure was used (see Appendix J) and obtained a coefficient alpha of .89. Using seven-point Likert scales, items assessed interview and hire likelihood (1 = *extremely unlikely* to 7 = *extremely likely*) and applicant attractiveness (1 = *extremely unattractive* to 7 = *extremely attractive*).

Applicant inferences. To assess perceptions of the applicants' cognitive ability, participants responded to the following item, "*Based on his/her social media profile, what do you think this person's undergraduate college grade point average (GPA) was on a 4-point scale*?", using an open-ended text response. Perceptions of conscientiousness were assessed using nine items from the Big Five Index (John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008; $\alpha = .91$) using a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 7 = *strongly agree*). The stem for the survey was adapted to "*I think this applicant is someone who…,*" and a sample item includes "*does a thorough job.*" Finally, to assess perceptions of applicant integrity, participants completed a 10-item personality-based integrity measure (Catano, O'Keefe, Francis, & Owens; $\alpha = .87$). The stem for this

measure was adapted to "*I think the applicant is someone who*…", and a sample item includes "*is always generous when it comes to helping others*" on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree;* see Appendix K).

Manipulation checks. Participants completed a total of three manipulation checks (see Appendix L) after completion of the Facebook profile evaluation. First, they completed two items assessing the valence of the negative status updates included in the profiles (i.e., on a scale of one to seven, seven indicating extremely positive). Next, to assess the gender manipulation, participants indicated whether they perceived the applicant to be male or female. Data screening revealed that five participants did not correctly identify the gender of the applicant, 49 did not perceive the status updates to be negative in the experimental conditions (i.e., they rated as a four or higher on a seven-point scale), and one participant perceived a filler status update in the control condition to be negative (i.e., rated as a three or lower). Thus, a total of 55 participants were excluded from analyses due to failed manipulation checks.

2.4 Procedure

This study utilized a 2 (applicant gender) x 7 (negative content) between-subjects experimental design. In addition, two profiles (i.e., one for each male and female profile) were created that did not contain any negative content to serve as control conditions. Thus, participants were randomly assigned to one of 16 study conditions. Profiles varied in terms of applicant gender (i.e., Gary Smith for the male applicant or Lisa Smith for female applicant), and negative content (i.e., abuse towards others, production deviance, sabotage, theft, withdrawal, low cognitive ability, or low conscientiousness). Each profile contained only one level of each of the three manipulated factors, except for the two control conditions which contained only neutral

or positive content. Race and age were held constant across profile pictures, such that both profiles featured a Caucasian in his/her early thirties.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Descriptive statistics and correlations among study variables can be found in Table 3. To test model 1, PROCESS model 7 (Hayes, 2018) with 5000 bootstrap estimates was used to examine the effects of negative content on applicant suitability via perceptions of applicant attributes, as moderated by applicant gender. Model 1 was significant, $R^2 = .629$, $F(10, 265) = 44.831$, $p < .001$.

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics, Intercorrelations, and Scale Reliabilities for Experimental Study

Variable by Condition	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4
Control Group						
1. Cognitive Ability	3.154	0.436				
2. Conscientiousness	4.132	1.530	0.551**	**0.95**		
3. Integrity	4.454	1.345	0.471**	0.899**	**0.93**	
4. Suitability	4.068	2.196	0.435**	0.908**	0.849**	**0.96**
Knowledge Violation						
1. Cognitive Ability	2.747	0.568				
2. Conscientiousness	3.951	0.627	0.730**	**0.74**		
3. Integrity	4.394	0.551	0.067	0.602*	**0.80**	
4. Suitability	4.750	1.285	0.647**	0.842**	0.569*	**0.82**
Irresponsibility						
1. Cognitive Ability	3.036	0.380				
2. Conscientiousness	3.077	0.894	0.451**	**0.78**		
3. Integrity	3.513	0.908	0.100	0.589**	**0.87**	
4. Suitability	3.231	1.406	0.489**	0.592**	0.454**	**0.84**
Withdrawal						
1. Cognitive Ability	2.979	0.277				
2. Conscientiousness	2.964	0.775	0.566**	**0.77**		
3. Integrity	3.868	0.624	0.613**	0.601**	**0.78**	
4. Suitability	3.344	1.234	0.434*	0.502**	0.565**	**0.78**

Table 3 Continued. Descriptive Statistics, Intercorrelations, and Scale Reliabilities for Experimental Study

Variable by Condition	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4
Sabotage						
1. Cognitive Ability	3.077	0.365				
2. Conscientiousness	3.715	1.334	0.573**	**0.94**		
3. Integrity	3.706	0.973	0.350	0.713**	**0.87**	
4. Suitability	3.521	1.572	0.482**	0.867**	0.693**	**0.92**
Abuse						
1. Cognitive Ability	3.064	0.361				
2. Conscientiousness	3.092	1.210	0.384*	**0.93**		
3. Integrity	3.569	1.060	0.549**	0.826**	**0.88**	
4. Suitability	2.253	1.097	0.017	0.487**	0.497**	**0.76**
Theft						
1. Cognitive Ability	3.063	0.358				
2. Conscientiousness	3.593	0.968	0.294	**0.86**		
3. Integrity	3.919	0.891	0.395*	0.770**	**0.85**	
4. Suitability	3.880	1.305	0.210	0.533**	0.449**	**0.80**
Production Deviance						
1. Cognitive Ability	2.978	0.331				
2. Conscientiousness	3.072	1.038	0.674**	**0.84**		
3. Integrity	3.838	0.863	0.551*	0.570**	**0.85**	
4. Suitability	3.568	1.204	0.489**	0.631**	0.587**	**0.75**

Note. Scale reliabilites within each condition are presented in the diagonals in bold.
** $p < 01$. * $p < .05$.

In looking at predictors of applicant integrity (i.e., the first *a* path in the mediated model; see Table 4), the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .190$, $F(15, 260) = 4.063$, $p < .001$. Specifically, all negative social media content variables inversely predicted perceptions of applicant integrity except knowledge violations. Additionally, applicant gender significantly predicted perceptions of applicant integrity such that female applicants were generally described as having lower levels of integrity than male applicants.

Table 4. Model 1 Path Coefficients

	Integrity					Cognitive Ability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violations	-0.265	0.279	-0.950	0.343	-0.816, 0.285	-0.502**	0.107	-4.676	<.001	-0.713, -0.290
Irresponsibility	-1.111**	0.204	-5.443	<.001	-1.513, -0.709	-0.169*	0.078	-2.152	0.032	-0.323, -0.014
Withdrawal	-0.778**	0.217	-3.584	<.001	-1.206, -0.351	-0.227**	0.083	-2.728	0.007	-0.392, -0.063
Sabotage	-0.945**	0.217	-4.349	<.001	1.374, -0.517	-0.126	0.084	-1.515	0.131	-0.291, 0.038
Abuse	-1.076**	0.225	-4.782	<.001	-1.520, -.633	-0.171*	0.086	-1.977	0.049	-0.341, -0.001
Theft	-0.729**	0.207	-3.514	0.001	-1.137, -0.320	-0.141†	0.080	-1.774	0.077	-0.298, 0.016
Production Deviance	-0.848**	0.210	-4.045	<.001	-1.261, -0.435	-0.228**	0.081	-2.839	0.005	-0.387, -0.070
Applicant Gender	-1.320**	0.260	-5.085	<.001	-1.831, -0.809	-0.360**	0.010	-3.609	<.001	-0.556, -0.163
Knowledge Violations X Gender	1.196*	0.561	2.131	0.034	0.091, 2.302	-0.036	0.216	-0.165	0.870	-0.460, 0.389
Irresponsibility X Gender	1.445**	0.407	3.552	0.001	0.644, 2.246	0.630**	0.156	4.033	<.001	0.322, 0.937
Withdrawal X Gender	1.408**	0.433	3.252	0.001	0.556, 2.260	0.445**	0.166	2.680	0.008	0.118, 0.773
Sabotage X Gender	1.443**	0.434	3.324	0.001	0.588, 2.298	0.440**	0.167	2.639	0.009	0.112, 0.768
Abuse X Gender	1.326**	0.451	2.939	0.004	0.437, 2.214	0.081	0.173	0.465	0.643	-0.261, 0.422
Theft X Gender	1.447**	0.413	3.504	0.001	0.634, 2.261	0.218	0.159	1.374	0.171	-0.094, 0.530
Production Deviance X Gender	1.089**	0.420	2.596	0.010	0.263, 1.915	0.361*	0.161	2.241	0.026	0.044, 0.678

Table 4 Continued. Model 1 Path Coefficients

	Conscientiousness					Overall Suitability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violations	-0.450	0.317	-1.422	0.156	-1.074, 0.173	0.922**	0.296	3.119	0.002	0.340, 1.504
Irresponsibility	-1.314**	0.231	-5.680	<.001	-1.769, -0.858	0.317	0.221	1.436	0.152	-0.118, 0.752
Withdrawal	-1.402**	0.246	-5.696	<.001	-1.887, -0.917	0.375	0.236	1.592	0.113	-0.089, 0.839
Sabotage	-0.583*	0.246	-2.365	0.019	-1.068, -0.098	0.057	0.232	0.246	0.806	-0.400, 0.515
Abuse	-1.267**	0.255	-4.967	<.001	-1.770, -0.765	-0.725**	0.239	-3.034	0.003	-1.195, -0.254
Theft	-0.781**	0.235	-3.322	0.001	-1.244, -0.318	0.413†	0.218	1.894	0.059	-0.016, 0.842
Production Deviance	-1.311**	0.238	-5.516	<.001	-1.778, -0.843	0.554*	0.224	2.477	0.014	0.114, 0.995
Applicant Gender	-1.610**	0.294	-5.472	<.001	-2.189, -1.031					
Knowledge Violations X Gender	1.273*	0.636	2.000	0.047	0.020, 2.526					
Irresponsibility X Gender	1.867**	0.461	4.050	<.001	0.959, 2.775					
Withdrawal X Gender	1.895**	0.491	3.861	<.001	0.928, 2.861					
Sabotage X Gender	2.014**	0.492	4.093	<.001	1.045, 2.983					
Abuse X Gender	1.673**	0.511	3.273	0.001	0.667, 2.680					
Theft X Gender	2.054**	0.468	4.388	<.001	1.132, 2.976					
Production Deviance X Gender	1.871**	0.476	3.935	<.001	0.935, 2.807					
Cognitive Ability						0.212	0.186	1.143	0.254	-0.153, 0.578
Conscientiousness						0.735**	0.091	8.048	<.001	0.555, 0.915
Integrity						0.347**	0.099	3.499	0.001	0.152, 0.542

Note. The negative SNS content conditions were coded as 0 = control condition, 1 = experimental condition.

** p < .01. * p < .05. † p = < .10

Further, applicant gender moderated the relationship between each of the seven types of negative social media content and perceptions of applicant integrity. Specifically, for males, knowledge violations (M = 4.440), irresponsibility (M = 3.475), withdrawal (M = 3.825), sabotage (M = 3.641), abuse (M = 3.567), theft (M = 3.856), and production deviance (M = 3.909) resulted in significantly lower ratings of integrity compared to male profiles with no negative content (M = 5.281), whereas the presence of negative content did not impact perceptions of applicant integrity for female applicants (see Figures 2-8).

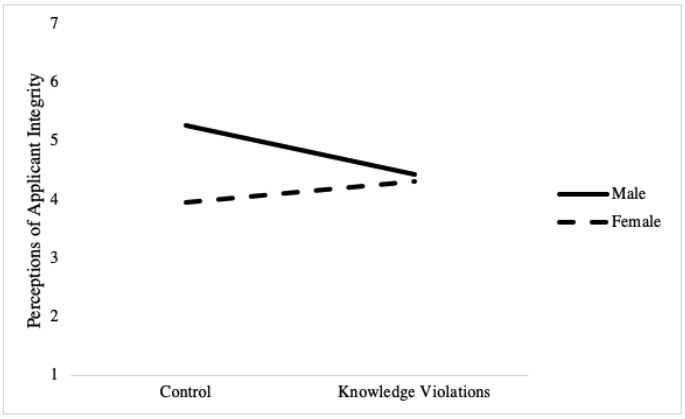

Figure 2. Interactive effects of knowledge violations and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

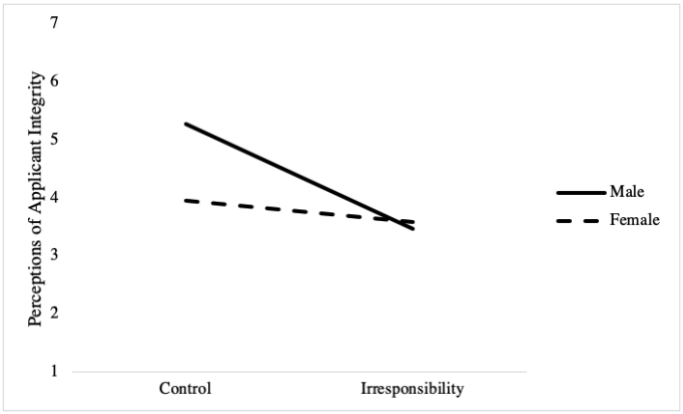

Figure 3. Interactive effects of irresponsibility and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

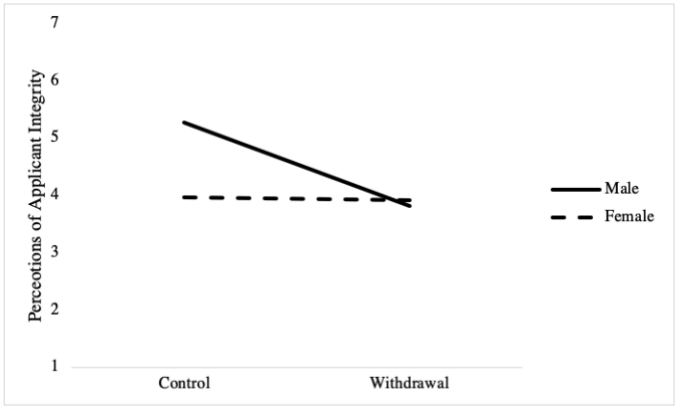

Figure 4. Interactive effects of withdrawal and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

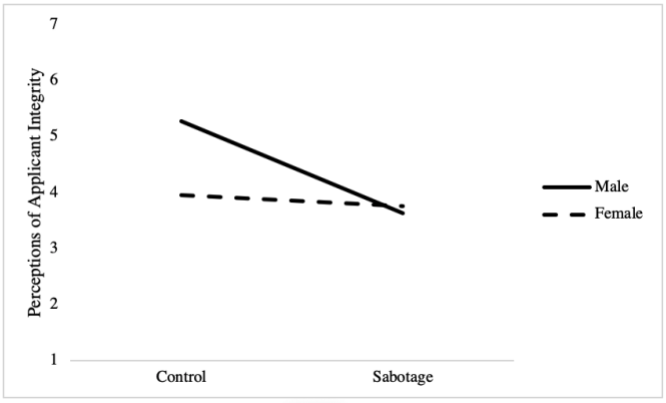

Figure 5. Interactive effects of sabotage and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

Figure 6. Interactive effects of abuse and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

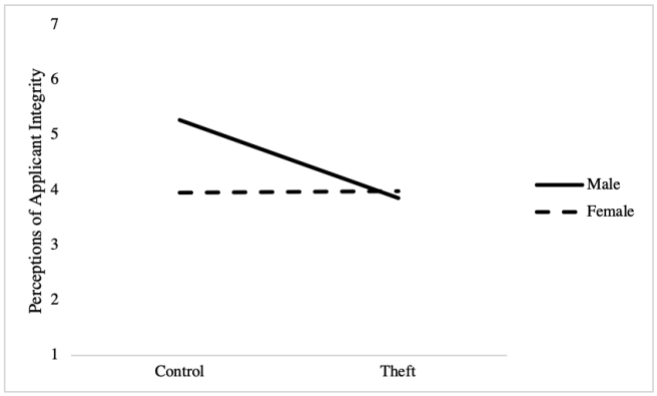

Figure 7. Interactive effects of theft and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

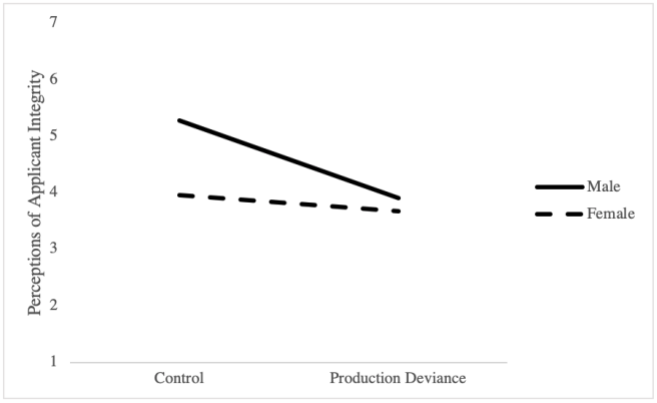

Figure 8. Interactive effects of production deviance and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity.

Second, examining predictors of applicant cognitive ability perceptions, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .151$, $F(15, 260) = 3.093$, $p < .001$. As shown in Table 4, knowledge violations, irresponsibility, withdrawal, abuse, and production deviance were inversely related to perceptions of applicant cognitive ability, and theft emerged as a marginally significant predictor of cognitive ability perceptions. Additionally, applicant gender significantly predicted perceptions of cognitive ability, such that female applicants were generally perceived as having lower levels of cognitive ability compared to male applicants.

In examining interactive effects between negative social media content and applicant gender, four significant interactions emerged. Namely, for males, the presence of irresponsibility ($M = 2.908$), withdrawal ($M = 2.938$), sabotage ($M = 3.041$), and production deviance ($M =$

2.977) resulted in significantly lower cognitive ability perceptions compared to the control condition (M = 3.380), whereas the presence of negative content did not impact perceptions of applicant cognitive ability for female applicants (see Figures 9-12).

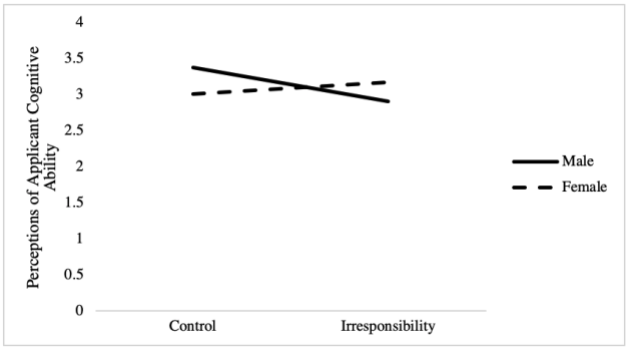

Figure 9. Interactive effects of irresponsibility and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant cognitive ability.

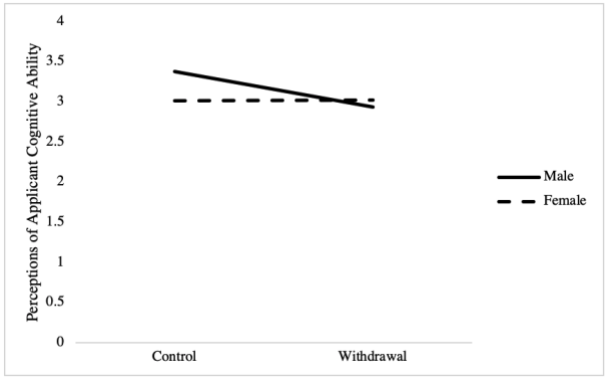

Figure 10. Interactive effects of withdrawal and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant cognitive ability.

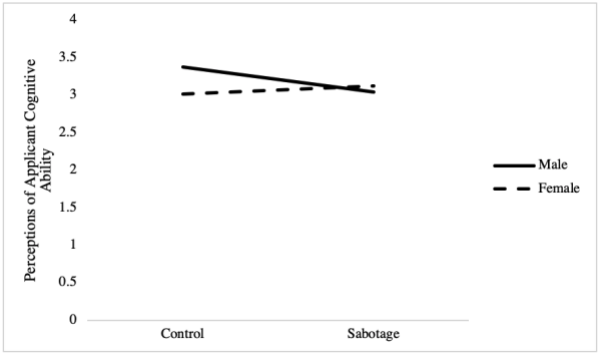

Figure 11. Interactive effects of sabotage and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant cognitive ability.

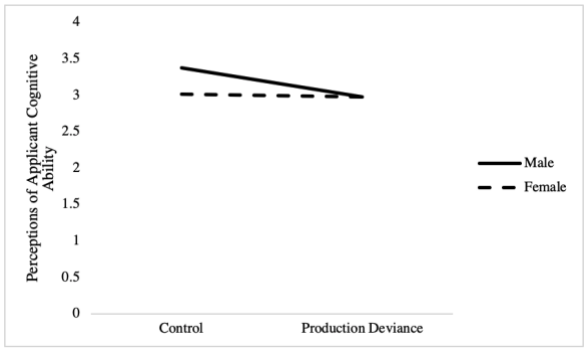

Figure 12. Interactive effects of production deviance and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant cognitive ability.

Third, in examining the predictors of perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .243$, $F(15, 260) = 5.566$, $p < .001$. As shown in Table 4, irresponsibility, withdrawal, sabotage, abuse, theft, and production deviance were inversely related to perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, whereas knowledge violations did not impact perceptions of applicant conscientiousness. Further, applicant gender significantly predicted perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, such that female applicants were generally perceived as being less conscientious than male applicants.

Examining applicant gender as a moderator of the relationship between negative social media content and perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, seven significant interactions emerged. Specifically, for males, the presence of knowledge violations ($M = 4.078$), irresponsibility ($M = 2.928$), withdrawal ($M = 2.826$), sabotage ($M = 3.588$), abuse ($M = 3.068$), theft ($M = 3.370$), and production deviance ($M = 2.929$) resulted in significantly lower ratings of conscientiousness compared to male profiles with no negative content ($M = 5.141$), whereas the presence of negative content did not impact perceptions of applicant conscientiousness for female applicants (see Figures 13-19).

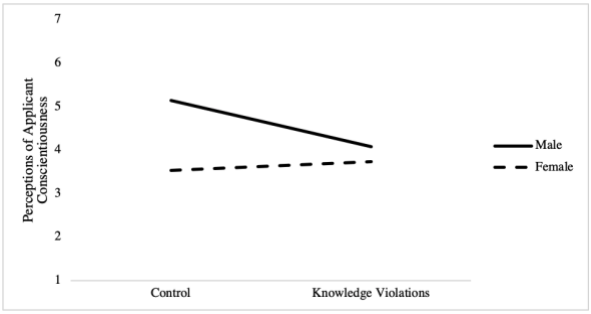

Figure 13. Interactive effects of knowledge violations and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

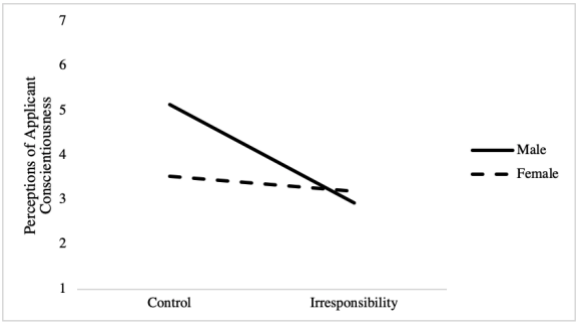

Figure 14. Interactive effects of irresponsibility and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

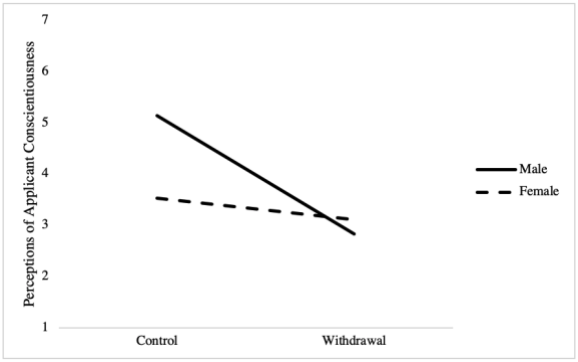

Figure 15. Interactive effects of withdrawal and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

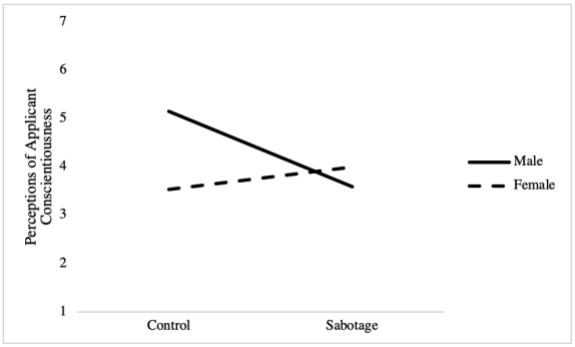

Figure 16. Interactive effects of sabotage and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

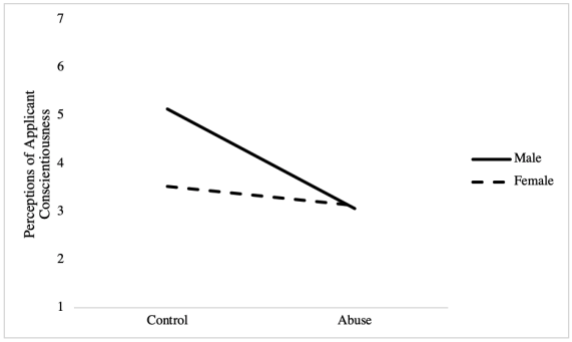

Figure 17. Interactive effects of abuse and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

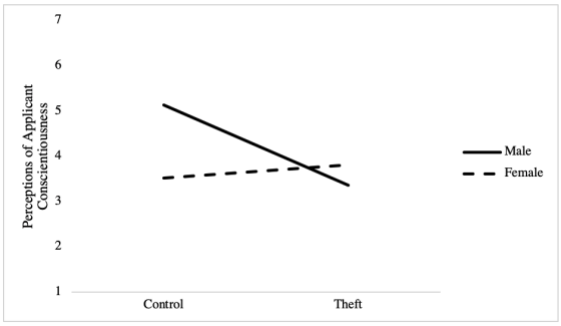

Figure 18. Interactive effects of theft and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

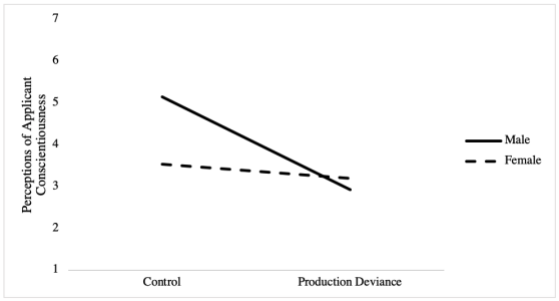

Figure 19. Interactive effects of production deviance and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness.

In examining predictors of applicant suitability (i.e., the first *b* path in the mediated model), perceptions of applicant integrity emerged as a predictor of applicant suitability. Examining the indirect effect of negative social media content on applicant suitability via perceptions of applicant integrity, moderated mediation was demonstrated for all negative content conditions. Specifically, indirect effects were found only among male applicants but not female applicants (see Table 5). Contrary to expectations, perceptions of applicant cognitive ability failed to predict overall applicant suitability. Likewise, focusing on the indirect effect of perceptions of applicant cognitive ability as an intermediary between negative social media content and applicant suitability, none of the conditional indirect effects (i.e., evidence of moderated mediation) were significant (see Table 5). Additionally, as expected, perceptions of applicant conscientiousness significantly predicted overall suitability. Results demonstrated evidence of moderated mediation for all negative content conditions. Specifically, in examining the indirect effect of negative social media content on applicant suitability via perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, all seven indirect effects were significant among male applicants, but not female applicants (see Table 5).

Table 5. Model 1 Indirect Effects

		b	*SE*	*95% CI*
Indirect Effect				
Knowledge Violation -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.292*	0.124	-0.562, -0.077
	Female	0.123	0.122	-0.086, 0.410
		$\Delta b = 0.415$*	0.195	0.098, 0.859
Irresponsibility -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.626*	0.215	-1.082, -0.232
	Female	-0.126	0.107	-0.352, 0.070
		$\Delta b = 0.501$*	0.216	0.147, 0.974
Withdrawal -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.505*	0.171	-0.858, -0.187
	Female	-0.017	0.010	-0.208, 0.194
		$\Delta b = 0.488$*	0.207	0.145, 0.938
Sabotage -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.569*	0.192	-0.965, -0.215
	Female	-0.069	0.146	-0.361, 0.224
		$\Delta b = 0.500$*	0.234	0.117, 1.019
Abuse -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.595*	0.233	-1.108, -0.184
	Female	-0.135	0.105	-0.353, 0.065
		$\Delta b = 0.460$*	0.232	0.093, 0.999
Theft -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.495*	0.183	-0.890, -0.174
	Female	0.007	0.094	-0.176, 0.207
		$\Delta b = 0.502$*	0.214	0.143, 0.966
Production Deviance -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	-0.476*	0.166	-0.824, -0.179
	Female	-0.098	0.121	-0.351, 0.132
		$\Delta b = 0.378$*	0.188	0.066, 0.796

Table 5 Continued. Model 1 Indirect Effects

		b	*SE*	*95% CI*
Indirect Effect				
Knowledge Violation --> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.103	0.104	-0.328, 0.091
	Female	-0.110	0.128	-0.426, 0.079
		Δb = -0.008	0.095	-0.236, 0.179
Irresponsibility -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.100	0.099	-0.315, 0.077
	Female	0.034	0.043	-0.031, 0.142
		Δb = 0.134	0.133	-0.102, 0.428
Withdrawal -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.094	0.091	-0.291, 0.073
	Female	0.001	0.029	-0.061, 0.063
		Δb = 0.095	0.097	-0.070, 0.315
Sabotage -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.072	0.074	-0.238, 0.059
	Female	0.022	0.037	-0.039, 0.113
		Δb = 0.093	0.097	-0.075, 0.310
Abuse -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.045	0.055	-0.182, 0.031
	Female	-0.027	0.040	-0.126, 0.031
		Δb = 0.017	0.049	-0.061, 0.146
Theft -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.052	0.054	-0.175, 0.042
	Female	-0.006	0.032	-0.080, 0.061
		Δb = 0.046	0.060	-0.043, 0.190
Production Deviance -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	-0.085	0.084	-0.267, 0.071
	Female	-0.009	0.029	-0.078, 0.045
		Δb = 0.077	0.081	-0.063, 0.261

Table 5 Continued. Model 1 Indirect Effects

		b	*SE*	*95% CI*
Indirect Effect				
Knowledge Violation -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-0.782*	0.221	-1.246, -0.385
	Female	0.154	0.286	-0.368, 0.742
		$\Delta b = 0.935$*	0.369	0.267, 1.704
Irresponsibility -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.627*	0.308	-2.275, -1.054
	Female	-0.255	0.229	-0.699, 0.198
		$\Delta b = 1.372$*	0.370	0.697, 2.127
Withdrawal -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.701*	0.300	-2.312, -1.154
	Female	-0.309	0.240	-0.796, 0.154
		$\Delta b = 1.392$*	0.360	0.735, 2.145
Sabotage -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.141*	0.299	-1.775, -0.587
	Female	0.338	0.345	-0.317, 1.043
		$\Delta b = 1.480$*	0.480	0.626, 2.486
Abuse -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.524*	0.357	-2.256, -0.840
	Female	-0.294	0.292	-0.863, 0.302
		$\Delta b = 1.230$*	0.447	0.404, 2.181
Theft -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.302*	0.286	-1.874, -0.752
	Female	0.208	0.238	-0.236, 0.690
		$\Delta b = 1.510$*	0.381	0.785, 2.295
Production Deviance -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	-1.626*	0.305	-2.246, -1.056
	Female	-0.251	0.267	-0.781, 0.275
		$\Delta b = 1.375$*	0.376	0.667, 2.151

Note: Δb refers to the difference in simple effects across applicant gender.

* $p < .05$

In sum, results provided support for *H1a*, *H1c*, and *H2*, but failed to support *H1b* and *H3*. Related to *RQ1*, irresponsibility emerged as the strongest predictor of integrity compared to other negative content. Additionally, knowledge violations was the strongest predictor of perceptions of applicant cognitive ability compared to all other negative content conditions. Further, withdrawal was the strongest predictor of conscientiousness compared to other negative social media content, although irresponsibility, abuse, and production deviance were weighted similarly in predicting perceptions of conscientiousness. Perceptions of applicant conscientiousness emerged as the strongest predictor of overall applicant suitability compared to the other perceived applicant attributes. Finally, knowledge violations emerged as the stronger predictor of applicant suitability, followed by abuse and production deviance.

Additionally, a second model was tested to explore rater gender as a moderator of the applicant gender and negative social media content interaction in predicting applicant suitability via perceptions of applicant attributes using PROCESS model 11 (Hayes, 2018) with 5000 bootstrap estimates. However, due to sample size limitations resulting in issues related to statistical power, participants who failed manipulation checks or who did not meet inclusion criteria were included in model 2. Specifically, given the skewed distribution of male and female raters (i.e., 77% of raters were female) when rater gender was included in the model, too few male raters were in each condition to examine the model when screening out those who failed attention and manipulation checks. Therefore, the following results should be interpreted with caution. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = .643$, $F(10, 345) = 62.236$, $p < .001$. Compared to model 1, $\Delta R^2 = .014$, which was a significant increase ($p < .001$), indicating that rater gender did explain additional variance in the overall model.

First, in looking at predictors of applicant integrity (see Table 6), the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .270$, $F(31, 324) = 3.867$, $p < .001$. Rater gender emerged as a significant predictor of perceptions of applicant integrity, such that female raters generally provided higher ratings than male raters. Additionally, although there were no significant three-way interactions in predicting applicant integrity, results revealed a significant two-way interaction between rater gender and irresponsibility (see Figure 20). Specifically, for female raters, ratings of integrity were significantly lower in the irresponsibility ($M = 3.375$) condition compared to the condition without negative content ($M = 4.854$), and the presence of negative content did not impact perceptions among male raters. Additionally, results revealed a marginally significant interaction between rater gender and production deviance, such that female raters provided lower ratings in the production deviance condition ($M = 3.726$) compared to the condition with no negative content ($M = 4.854$), and negative content presence did not impact perceptions of integrity among male raters (see Figure 21).

Table 6. Model 2 Path Coefficients

	Integrity					Cognitive Ability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violations	0.124	0.192	0.643	0.521	-0.255, 0.502	-0.280**	0.076	-3.705	<.001	-0.429, -0.131
Irresponsibility	-1.219**	0.193	-6.314	<.001	-1.598, -0.839	-0.175*	0.076	-2.301	0.022	-0.324, -0.025
Withdrawal	-0.813**	0.197	-4.134	<.001	-1.200, -0.426	-0.219**	0.077	-2.835	0.005	-0.372, -0.067
Sabotage	-1.089**	0.199	-5.478	<.001	-1.480, -0.698	-0.112	0.078	-1.433	0.152	-0.266, 0.042
Abuse	-1.178**	0.217	-5.430	<.001	-1.605, -0.751	-0.185*	0.085	-2.169	0.031	-0.353, -0.017
Theft	-0.716**	0.210	-3.415	0.001	-1.129, -0.304	-0.106	0.083	-1.280	0.202	-0.268, 0.057
Production Deviance	-0.930**	0.196	-4.752	<.001	-1.315, -0.545	-0.244**	0.077	-3.173	0.002	-0.396, -0.093
Applicant Gender	-1.184**	0.245	-4.829	<.001	-1.666, -0.702	-0.349**	0.096	-3.614	<.001	-0.538, -0.159
Knowledge Violations X Gender	1.197**	0.384	3.116	0.002	0.441, 1.952	0.257	0.151	1.702	0.897	-0.040, 0.554
Irresponsibility X Gender	1.438**	0.385	3.732	<.001	0.680, 2.196	0.650**	0.152	4.289	<.001	0.352, 0.948
Withdrawal X Gender	1.235**	0.393	3.145	0.002	0.423, 2.008	0.308*	0.155	1.990	0.047	0.004, 0.612
Sabotage X Gender	1.308**	0.396	3.292	0.001	0.527, 2.090	0.471**	0.156	3.016	0.003	0.164, 0.779
Abuse X Gender	1.282**	0.435	2.951	0.003	0.427, 2.137	0.088	0.171	0.512	0.609	-0.249, 0.424
Theft X Gender	1.142**	0.418	2.731	0.007	0.319, 1.964	0.113	0.164	0.669	0.492	-0.210, 0.437
Production Deviance X Gender	1.128**	0.391	2.883	0.004	0.358, 1.897	0.372*	0.154	2.418	0.016	0.069, 0.675
Rater Gender	0.615*	0.272	2.263	0.024	0.080, 1.149	0.105	0.107	0.978	0.329	-0.106, 0.315
Knowledge Violations X Rater Gender	-0.659	0.442	-1.490	0.137	-1.529, 0.211	-0.218	0.174	-1.254	0.211	-0.560, 0.124
Irresponsibility X Rater Gender	-1.189*	0.424	-2.805	0.005	-2.023, -0.355	-0.159	0.167	-0.956	0.340	-0.487, 0.169
Withdrawal X Rater Gender	-0.606	0.458	-1.324	0.187	-1.506, 0.294	-0.029	0.180	-0.163	0.871	-0.383, 0.325
Sabotage X Rater Gender	-0.742	0.470	-1.578	0.116	-1.667, 0.183	-0.068	0.185	-0.370	0.712	-0.432, 0.296

Table 6 Continued. Model 2 Path Coefficients

	Integrity					Cognitive Ability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Abuse X Rater Gender	-0.557	0.501	-1.111	0.267	-1.543, 0.429	0.172	0.197	0.874	0.383	-0.216, 0.560
Theft X Rater Gender	-0.407	0.612	-0.665	0.506	-1.612, 0.797	-0.210	0.241	-0.872	0.384	-0.684, 0.264
Production Deviance X Rater Gender	-0.902	0.486	-1.855	0.065	-1.859, 0.055	-0.257	0.191	-1.343	0.180	-0.633, 0.119
Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.033	0.542	0.061	0.951	-1.032, 10.08	-0.085	0.213	-0.400	0.689	-0.504, 0.334
Knowledge Violations X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	-0.223	0.883	-0.253	0.801	-1.971, 1.515	-0.020	0.347	-0.057	0.955	-0.703, 0.664
Irresponsibility X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.723	0.847	0.854	0.394	-0.943, 2.390	0.487	0.333	1.462	0.145	-0.169, 1.143
Withdrawal X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	-0.167	0.914	-0.182	0.855	-1.934, 1.631	0.490	0.359	1.365	0.173	-0.217, 1.197
Sabotage X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	1.546	0.940	1.646	0.101	-0.302, 3.395	0.147	0.370	0.398	0.691	-0.580, 0.874
Abuse X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.685	1.003	0.683	0.495	-1.288, 2.658	0.329	0.394	0.835	0.405	-0.447, 1.105
Theft X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.579	1.217	0.476	0.635	-1.815, 2.973	0.556	0.479	1.161	0.246	-0.386, 1.497
Production Deviance X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	-0.665	0.973	-0.683	0.495	-2.578, 1.249	0.374	0.383	0.977	0.330	-0.379, 1.126

Table 6 Continued. Model 2 Path Coefficients

	Conscientiousness					Overall Suitability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violations	-0.118	0.222	-0.531	0.596	-0.554, 0.319	1.001**	0.203	4.934	<.001	0.602, 1.400
Irresponsibility	-1.420**	0.223	-6.372	<.001	-1.858, -0.981	0.323†	0.205	1.773	0.077	-0.040, 0.765
Withdrawal	-1.397**	0.227	-6.154	<.001	-1.844, -0.950	0.467*	0.210	2.224	0.027	0.054, 0.880
Sabotage	-0.707**	0.230	-3.081	0.002	-1.159, -0.256	0.072	0.211	0.340	0.734	-0.343, 0.487
Abuse	-1.452**	0.251	-5.796	<.001	-1.945, -0.959	-0.566*	0.225	-2.518	0.012	-1.008, -0.124
Theft	-0.735**	0.242	-3.036	0.003	-1.211, -0.259	0.267	0.197	1.359	0.175	-0.120, 0.654
Production Deviance	-1.421**	0.226	-6.292	<.001	-1.866, -0.977	0.582**	0.207	2.808	0.005	0.174, 0.989
Applicant Gender	-3.386**	0.283	-4.896	<.001	-1.943, -0.829					
Knowledge Violations X Gender	1.183*	0.443	2.668	0.008	0.311, 2.055					
Irresponsibility X Gender	1.695**	0.445	3.811	<.001	0.820, 2.570					
Withdrawal X Gender	1.531**	0.454	3.377	0.001	0.639, 2.424					
Sabotage X Gender	1.765**	0.459	3.847	<.001	0.862, 2.667					
Abuse X Gender	1.642**	0.502	3.274	0.001	0.656, 2.629					
Theft X Gender	1.803**	0.483	3.737	<.001	0.854, 2.752					
Production Deviance X Gender	1.593**	0.452	3.527	0.001	0.704, 2.481					
Rater Gender	0.555†	0.314	1.770	0.078	-0.062, 1.172					
Knowledge Violations X Rater Gender	-0.946†	0.510	-1.854	0.065	-1.951, 0.058					
Irresponsibility X Rater Gender	-0.938†	0.489	-1.918	0.056	-1.901, 0.024					
Withdrawal X Rater Gender	-0.244	0.528	-0.463	0.644	-1.283, 0.795					
Sabotage X Rater Gender	-0.523	0.543	-0.963	0.336	-1.591, 0.545					

Table 6 Continued. Model 2 Path Coefficients

	Conscientiousness					Overall Suitability				
Predictor	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***	***b***	***SE***	***t***	***p***	***95% CI***
Abuse X Rater Gender	-0.695	0.579	-1.202	0.230	-1.833, 0.443					
Theft X Rater Gender	-0.264	0.707	-0.374	0.709	-1.655, 1.126					
Production Deviance X Rater Gender	-0.842	0.561	-1.501	0.134	-1.947, 0.262					
Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.248	0.625	0.397	0.692	-0.982, 1.478					
Knowledge Violations X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	-0.338	1.020	-0.332	0.740	-2.344, 1.668					
Irresponsibility X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.104	0.978	0.107	0.915	-1.820, 2.029					
Withdrawal X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	-0.175	1.055	-0.166	0.868	-2.249, 1.900					
Sabotage X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	1.459	1.085	1.345	0.180	-0.675, 3.593					
Abuse X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.286	1.158	0.247	0.805	-1.992, 2.563					
Theft X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.147	1.405	0.105	0.917	-2.616, 2.910					
Production Deviance X Applicant Gender X Rater Gender	0.497	1.123	0.442	0.659	-1.713, 2.705					
Cognitive Ability						0.139	0.166	0.842	0.400	-0.186, 0.465
Conscientiousness						0.743**	0.082	9.034	<.001	0.581, 0.904
Integrity						0.311**	0.090	3.459	0.001	0.134, 0.487

Note. The negative SNS content conditions were coded as 0 = control condition, 1 = experimental condition.

** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. † $p = < .10$

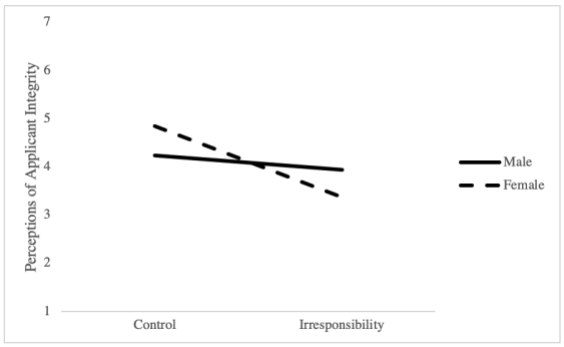

Figure 20. Interactive effects of irresponsibility and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity in Model 2.

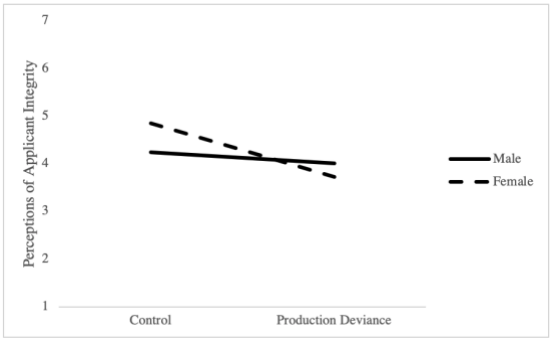

Figure 21. Interactive effects of production deviance and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant integrity in Model 2.

Second, in looking at predictors of applicant cognitive ability, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .141$, $F(31, 324) = 1.173$, $p = 0.012$. However, rater gender failed to predict perceptions of applicant cognitive ability, and there were no significant interactions including rater gender. Third, in looking at predictors of applicant conscientiousness, the overall model was significant, $R^2 = .279$, $F(31, 324) = 4.036$, $p < .001$. Rater gender emerged as a marginally significant predictor of applicant conscientiousness perceptions, such that female raters generally provided higher ratings than male raters. There were no significant three-way interactions in predicting applicant conscientiousness, but marginally significant two-way interactions emerged between both rater gender and knowledge violations (see Figure 22), and rater gender and irresponsibility (see Figure 23). Specifically, male raters provided higher ratings in the knowledge violation condition ($M = 4.644$) compared to the condition with no negative content

(M = 4.018), whereas negative content presence did not impact perceptions among females. Further, male raters provided lower ratings in the irresponsibility condition (M = 3.276) compared to profiles without negative content (M = 4.018; this simple effect was marginally significant), and female raters provided significantly lower ratings in the irresponsibility condition (M = 2.956) compared to the condition with no negative content (M = 4.578). The difference in mean scores were greater among female raters (i.e., Δ =1.622) compared to male raters (i.e., Δ = 0.742).

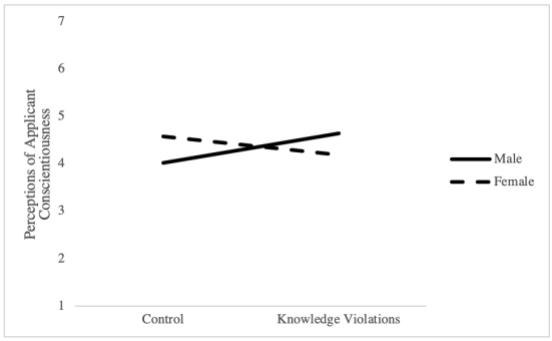

Figure 22. Interactive effects of knowledge violations and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness in Model 2.

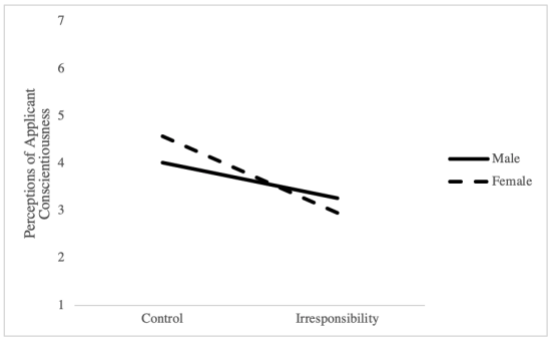

Figure 23. Interactive effects of irresponsibility and applicant gender on perceptions of applicant conscientiousness in Model 2.

Finally, there was not evidence of three-way moderated indirect effects with perceptions of applicant integrity, cognitive ability, or conscientiousness as mediators (see Table 7). Related

to RQ2, even though there was some evidence that female raters provided higher ratings of applicant attributes compared to male raters, but rater gender did not moderate the relationship.

Table 7. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violation --> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.013	0.141	-0.294, 0.286
	Male	Female	-0.184	0.094	-0.387, -0.021
	Female	Male	0.412	0.242	0.004, 0.939
	Female	Female	0.172	0.120	-0.022, 0.446
			Δb = -0.069	0.278	-0.637, 0.483
Irresponsibility -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.227	0.148	-0.554, 0.027
	Male	Female	-0.707	0.228	-1.168, -0.278
	Female	Male	0.046	0.193	-0.313, 0.470
	Female	Female	-0.210	0.107	-0.442, -0.021
			Δb = 0.225	0.282	-0.311, 0.810
Withdrawal -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.316	0.160	-0.664, -0.049
	Male	Female	-0.479	0.157	-0.804, -0.181
	Female	Male	0.108	0.173	-0.198, 0.503
	Female	Female	-0.107	0.094	-0.312. 0.065
			Δb = -0.052	0.241	-0.575. 0.420
Sabotage -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.176	0.129	-0.456, 0.057
	Male	Female	-0.644	0.207	-1.070, -0.248
	Female	Male	-0.142	0.244	-0.666, 0.338
	Female	Female	-0.130	0.129	-0.407, 0.113
			Δb = 0.480	0.334	-0.091, 1.222

Table 7 Continued. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Abuse -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.347	0.189	-0.772, -0.025
	Male	Female	-0.625	0.225	-1.092, -0.216
	Female	Male	-0.114	0.175	-0.482, 0.209
	Female	Female	-0.179	0.109	-0.417, 0.017
			Δ*b* = 0.213	0.290	-0.300, 0.867
Theft -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.231	0.133	-0.518, 0.000
	Male	Female	-0.446	0.162	-0.786, -0.156
	Female	Male	-0.016	0.163	-0.340, 0.324
	Female	Female	-0.051	0.085	-0.229, 0.124
			Δ*b* = 0.179	0.246	-0.293, 0.711
Production Deviance -> Integrity -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.324	0.210	-0.792, 0.033
	Male	Female	-0.502	0.167	-0.849, -0.194
	Female	Male	0.186	0.259	-0.230, 0.789
	Female	Female	-0.198	0.126	-0.475, 0.016
			Δ*b* = -0.206	0.347	-0.969, 0.420

Table 7 Continued. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violation --> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.034	0.052	-0.147, 0.067
	Male	Female	-0.063	0.087	-0.247, 0.101
	Female	Male	0.004	0.046	-0.087, 0.116
	Female	Female	-0.028	0.055	-0.127, 0.055
			Δ*b* = -0.003	0.074	-0.176, 0.148
Irresponsibility -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.026	0.047	-0.140, 0.060
	Male	Female	-0.082	0.112	-0.330, 0.126
	Female	Male	0.012	0.036	-0.044, 0.104
	Female	Female	0.024	0.042	-0.047, 0.127
			Δ*b* = 0.068	0.110	-0.116, 0.338
Withdrawal -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.224	0.063	-0.188, 0.088
	Male	Female	-0.060	0.083	-0.240, 0.092
	Female	Male	-0.033	0.054	-0.152, 0.070
	Female	Female	-0.002	0.024	-0.057, 0.048
			Δ*b* = 0.068	0.112	-0.145, 0.324
Sabotage -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.033	0.050	-0.145, 0.063
	Male	Female	-0.053	0.075	-0.219, 0.080
	Female	Male	0.017	0.050	-0.064, 0.147
	Female	Female	0.018	0.038	-0.042, -0.111
			Δ*b* = 0.021	0.074	-0.103, 0.207

Table 7 Continued. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Abuse -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.033	0.050	-0.144, 0.064
	Male	Female	-0.032	0.051	-0.160, 0.044
	Female	Male	-0.056	0.082	-0.236, 0.101
	Female	Female	-0.009	0.028	-0.083, 0.036
			$\Delta b = 0.046$	0.088	-0.091, 0.265
Theft -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	0.030	0.048	-0.047, 0.145
	Male	Female	-0.038	0.055	-0.160, 0.061
	Female	Male	-0.014	0.062	-0.143, 0.123
	Female	Female	-0.005	0.024	-0.063, 0.039
			$\Delta b = 0.078$	0.121	-0.157, 0.342
Production Deviance -> Cognitive Ability -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.012	0.047	-0.118, 0.086
	Male	Female	-0.074	0.099	-0.282, 0.115
	Female	Male	-0.001	0.037	-0.076, 0.079
	Female	Female	-0.010	0.029	-0.081, 0.039
			$\Delta b = 0.052$	0.095	-0.102, 0.289

Table 7 Continued. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Knowledge Violation --> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.073	0.393	-0.831, 0.754
	Male	Female	-0.652	0.215	-1.096, -0.251
	Female	Male	1.000	0.451	0.103, 1.897
	Female	Female	0.170	0.337	-0.456, 0.856
			Δ*b* = -0.251	0.703	-1.603, 1.137
Irresponsibility -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-1.107	0.407	-1.973, -0.366
	Male	Female	-1.842	0.327	-2.535, -1.252
	Female	Male	0.092	0.461	-0.732, 1.063
	Female	Female	-0.566	0.251	-1.066, -0.072
			Δ*b* = 0.076	0.694	-1.353, 1.397
Withdrawal -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-1.509	0.405	-2.389, -0.766
	Male	Female	-1.626	0.289	-2.215, -1.096
	Female	Male	-0.271	0.351	-0.963, 0.411
	Female	Female	-0.518	0.280	-1.082, 0.012
			Δ*b* = -0.130	0.613	-1.360, 1.040
Sabotage -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-0.457	0.345	-1.152, 0.211
	Male	Female	-1.381	0.316	-2.042, -0.801
	Female	Male	0.014	0.392	-0.754, 0.801
	Female	Female	0.173	0.368	-0.534, 0.926
			Δ*b* = 1.084	0.698	-0.306, 2.492

Table 7 Continued. Model 2 Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	*Applicant Gender*	*Rater Gender*	***b***	***SE***	***95% CI***
Abuse -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-1.200	0.386	-2.007, -0.478
	Male	Female	-1.821	0.364	-2.560, -1.121
	Female	Male	-0.144	0.380	-0.903, 0.577
	Female	Female	-0.553	0.389	-1.323, 0.219
			$\Delta b = 0.212$	0.705	-1.133, 1.654
Theft -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-1.014	0.297	-1.645, 0.476
	Male	Female	-1.264	0.281	-1.836, -0.746
	Female	Male	0.241	0.436	-0.609, 1.130
	Female	Female	0.100	0.264	-0.409, 0.635
			$\Delta b = 0.109$	0.616	-1.142, 1.302
Production Deviance -> Conscientiousness -> Suitability	Male	Male	-1.014	0.459	-1.925, -0.152
	Male	Female	-1.822	0.307	-2.456, -1.242
	Female	Male	-0.117	0.480	-1.006, 0.865
	Female	Female	-0.556	0.308	-1.194, 0.027
			$\Delta b = 0.369$	0.735	-1.114, 1.781

Note: Δb refers to the difference in simple effects across applicant gender.
* $p < .05$

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the mediating role of perceptions of applicant attributes in the relationship between negative social media content and perceptions of applicant suitability. Consistent with expectations, results indicated that the relationship between negative social media content and applicant evaluations was mediated by perceptions of both applicant conscientiousness and integrity. More specifically, the presence of negative social media content was inversely related to perceptions of conscientiousness and integrity, which in turn, positively influenced applicant suitability ratings. Unexpectedly, however, perceptions of applicant cognitive ability did not mediate the relationship between negative social media content and perceptions of applicant suitability. Interestingly, although knowledge violations emerged as the strongest predictor of applicant cognitive ability, raters did not perceive GPA to be related to applicant suitability (i.e., there was a nonsignificant relationship between cognitive ability and applicant suitability). This finding may imply that raters had similar judgments of the association between social media content and applicant attributes, but they did not believe GPA was influential in determining suitability, suggesting that their impression of the applicant did not inform their perception of applicant suitability. This finding is interesting, as the job-relatedness of social media evaluation is a frequently expressed concern (e.g., Roth et al., 2016), and it is still unknown if employers can garner job-related information from social media profiles and make informed employment decisions (e.g., Kluemper et al., 2012 and Van Iddekinge et al., 2016 found contradictory findings related to cybervetting assessments in predicting job performance). These effects are important as they provide insight into the process of judgment

formation in a cybervetting-based evaluation context, a process that, up until this point, has been largely ignored in this area of research.

Further, in general, female applicants were evaluated as having lower integrity, cognitive ability, and conscientiousness than male applicants, which corresponds with previous findings that women are evaluated as less competent and hirable than men (e.g., Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). This robust finding has been attributed to a perceived lack of fit between applicant attributes and job characteristics (i.e., lack of fit theory; Heilman, 1983), or a when there is a discrepancy between how one behaves and how they are expected to behave (i.e., gender-role theory; Eagly, 1987). To illustrate this effect, meta-analytic data have indicated that females are evaluated as less favorable leaders compared to males (Eagly et al., 1992) and receive lower selection ratings than male applicants (Davison & Burke, 2000). This again demonstrates that women are at a disadvantage when it comes to employment-related evaluations.

Further, even though applicant gender served as a moderator of the relationship between negative social media content and perceptions of applicant attributes, the nature of this effect was unexpected. Namely, male applicants were evaluated less favorably when their profiles contained negative content, whereas negative content did not adversely affect perceptions of female applicants. Even though female applicants were not evaluated differently when they had negative content on social media versus when they did not, this may indicate that female applicants are at an immediate disadvantage in regard to social media evaluation. In other words, it did not matter if females had negative content present on their profile, as they were already perceived less favorably compared to their male counterparts. Notably, the profile used for both the male and female applicant was identical with the exception of the profile picture, and the filler content was pilot tested to ensure that no gender norm confounds were introduced. These

findings demonstrate evidence of gender bias, a commonly expressed concern about cybervetting usage for employment decisions (e.g., Davison et al., 2016; Roth et al., 2016), given the exposure to protected class information (e.g., gender).

Finally, model indirect effects were only demonstrated for male applicants. This was likely due to the moderating effect of applicant gender, such that only male applicants were penalized in the presence of negative content, whereas female applicants were not evaluated differently across conditions. In other words, because the relationship between negative content and perceptions of applicant attributes was not significant among female applicants, this likely explains why the overall indirect effect of negative content did not influence applicant suitability via applicant attributes for female applicants.

Additionally, on an exploratory basis, this study examined which type of negative content was most impactful in applicant evaluation ratings. First, knowledge violations emerged as the strongest predictor of applicant cognitive ability such that the presence of knowledge violations resulted in lower perceptions of applicant cognitive ability. This supports the decision to include knowledge violations as an indicator of cognitive ability in a social media context. Related to perceptions of applicant conscientiousness, withdrawal emerged as the strongest predictor, such that the presence of withdrawal behaviors on social media resulted in lower perceptions of applicant conscientiousness. Similarly, irresponsibility was the strongest predictor of applicant integrity, such that the presence of irresponsibility indicators resulted in lower perceptions of applicant integrity. It is worth noting that in all conditions, conscientiousness and integrity were positively related to each other, which may explain why the negative content representing conscientiousness (i.e., irresponsibility) and integrity (i.e., withdrawal) were strongly associated with both of these applicant attributes. Additionally, perceptions of applicant conscientiousness

was the strongest predictor of applicant suitability, followed by perceptions of applicant integrity. Previous research has demonstrated the strong predictive nature of both conscientiousness and integrity in relation to job performance (e.g., Schmidt & Hunter, 1988), thus it comes to no surprise that they are strongly related to perceptions of applicant suitability.

Lastly, this study explored the role of rater gender in social media evaluations and how applicant assessments may vary based on applicant gender. However, due to power limitations, we were unable to obtain a clear image of how rater gender influences applicant evaluations. The inclusion of rater gender only contributed an additional 1% of the explained variance in applicant suitability ratings. Further, results provided some evidence that female raters provided higher ratings of applicant attributes compared to male applicants. One possible conclusion for these findings is that females are expected to act more communal in nature compared to men (Heilman, 2008), which could explain the higher ratings provided by female raters in the present study.

Results from this study are among the first to shed light on rater judgment and decision making in a cybervetting context, demonstrating that social media evaluation impacts rater perceptions of applicant attributes, which then affects overall assessments of applicant suitability. More specifically, this study identified mechanisms by which judgments are formed when conducting social media evaluations. These findings correspond with the idea that behavioral residue (i.e., traces of a person's behavior; Vazire & Gosling, 2004) is often present on social media pages, which raters rely on to make inferences about the profile owner. Thus, this study provides information regarding the way in which behavioral residue is used to impact perceptions of applicant attributes, which is used to determine suitability. Further, this study addresses a gap in the literature regarding social media evaluation. More specifically, studies

have examined the convergence among self-reported and rater-assessed personality based on social media evaluation (e.g., Kluemper et al., 2012, Kluemper & Rosen. 2009), and others have looked at the relationship between social media content and self-reported personality (e.g., Gosling, Augustine, Vazire, Holtzman, & Gaddis, 2011; Tong, Van Der Heide, Langwell, & Walther, 2008), but this is the first study to identify the mechanisms by which social media content influences applicant suitability ratings via perceptions of applicant attributes.

4.1 Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study provides important information related to our understanding of how social media content influences judgments related to applicant suitability, this study is not without limitations. First, this study used profiles that were created by the research team as opposed to using real profiles. Although this could have reduced realism, the use of an experimental design allowed for the exclusion of potential confounding effects due to extraneous content on social media profiles. Additionally, two pilot studies were conducted in order to carefully select social media content and construct profiles to enhance experimental realism. Nevertheless, future work should examine the role of negative social media content using real profiles.

Second, concerns could be raised regarding the prevalence of various types of negative social media content used in the current study on real social media profiles. For instance, how often do individuals admit to behaviors such as stealing from their employer on their social media pages? Previous work has highlighted that organizations may cybervet as a screen out process (e.g., Berkelaar, 2018), which often involves the identification of content (e.g., applicant "red flags", Berkelaar, 2018, p. 1126) that is similar to what was portrayed in present study (e.g., behavioral indicators of CWB). Interestingly, as many as 25% of wall comments have been

demonstrated to include derogatory comments about employers (Peluchette & Karl, 2007), which is similar to the negative content used in the present study (e.g., indicators of abuse). Likewise, researchers have begun to investigate the extent to which social media faux pas (i.e., social media content that employers would consider inappropriate) are present on Facebook profiles, highlighting that negative content is posted on real profile pages (Karl, Peluchette, & Schlaegel, 2010). Also noteworthy is that the effects demonstrated in the current study were found when only a small proportion of the content on each profile (i.e., approximately 13% of content) was negative. This highlights that even minimal negative social media content can have an impact on impression formation and influence hiring decisions. Future work should first continue to investigate what employers consider to be negative content on social media, as well as examine the extent to which negative behavior is posted on social media.

Third, results suggest that the cognitive ability manipulations (i.e., indicators of knowledge violations) were not always perceived to be negative. Specifically, 39 participants were screened out because they did not perceive the knowledge violation manipulations to be negative. Likewise, results revealed that knowledge violations was the most impactful predictor of applicant suitability compared to all other negative content conditions, although this relationship was in an unexpected direction (i.e., positive). Perhaps knowledge violations was not an ideal operationalization of cognitive ability, although this was pilot tested twice. However, as previously discussed, the negative relationship between knowledge violations and applicant cognitive ability implies that raters perceived an association between these constructs, but they did not perceive an association between GPA and applicant suitability. Alternately, these results could be an artifact of the sample used in this study, such that students perceive a number of factors to impact GPA (e.g., courses chosen, work or family demands), which reduced rater

perceptions of the value of GPA in determining applicant suitability. Future work should attempt to uncover how impressions of applicant cognitive ability or other representations of intelligence are formed by viewing social media pages. Additionally, future research should also investigate how other applicant attributes, such as judgment and decision making skills or professionalism, are evaluated in a cybervetting-based assessment context.

Fourth, sample size limitations prevented a clear analysis of how rater gender influences the evaluation of job candidates via social media. Results demonstrated some evidence that female raters provided higher ratings of applicant attributes compared to males. However, a definitive interpretation cannot be provided in the present study. Future work should continue to investigate rater differences in applicant assessments conducted via social media evaluation, given that existing research has provided mixed evidence related to how rater gender impacts the evaluation of both male and female job applicants (e.g., Davison & Burke, 2000; Rice & Barth, 2016).

There are myriad other potential research opportunities related to cybervetting-based evaluations. For example, whereas this study relied on a fictitious hiring scenario and examined applicant suitability ratings as the outcome of interest, future work should examine other outcomes such as supervisor ratings of job performance in a real hiring context, or even attitudinal reactions to the cybervetting process such as organizational attraction. Likewise, as results demonstrated gender bias in social media evaluation, future work should investigate other forms of bias that may occur in a cybervetting context (e.g., race- or age-related bias). Finally, whereas in this study most of the negative content was directly job-related (e.g., status updates indicating stealing from employers), future work could examine how non-work-related negative content influences applicant suitability ratings. For example, content related to sexual

experiences is typically evaluated negatively on a social media profile (Karl et al., 2010), which suggests that even content indirectly related to work could influence perceptions of applicant characteristics, and in turn, affect ratings of applicant suitability.

4.2 Conclusion

Overall, this study provides a rare glimpse into how social media content is used to make inferences about job applicants. Results indicated that perceptions of applicant attributes (i.e., conscientiousness and integrity) partially mediated the relationship between negative social media content and applicant suitability evaluations. This has important implications for all stakeholders of the cybervetting process (e.g., applicants, practitioners, researchers). Namely, applicants should be aware that the social media content they post can have a direct impact on how others perceive them, practitioners should know that they may be at risk of being biased toward applicant gender, and researchers should consider the mediating processes that occur in judgment formation in the design of future research. In sum, results from this study provide valuable information indicating that social media content has a direct impact on perceptions formed about applicants, and that this process then influences ratings of applicant suitability. Additionally, this study demonstrated that the presence of negative content on social media can have detrimental effects on perceptions of applicant suitability. Finally, this study provided evidence of gender bias in social media evaluation, a widely voiced concerned regarding the use of this practice for employment purposes (e.g., Van Iddekinge et al., 2016). This study bridged a critical gap in the literature regarding rater judgment and decision making processes in a cybervetting-based evaluation context and broadens the opportunities for work related to this frequently used, but under-researched hiring practice.

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Appendix A

Profile Pictures

Females:

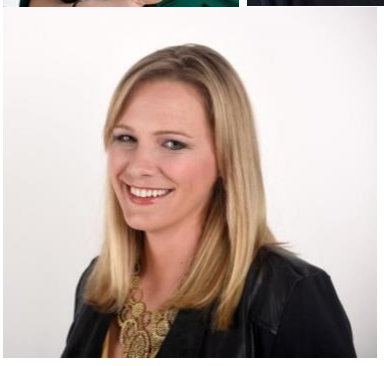






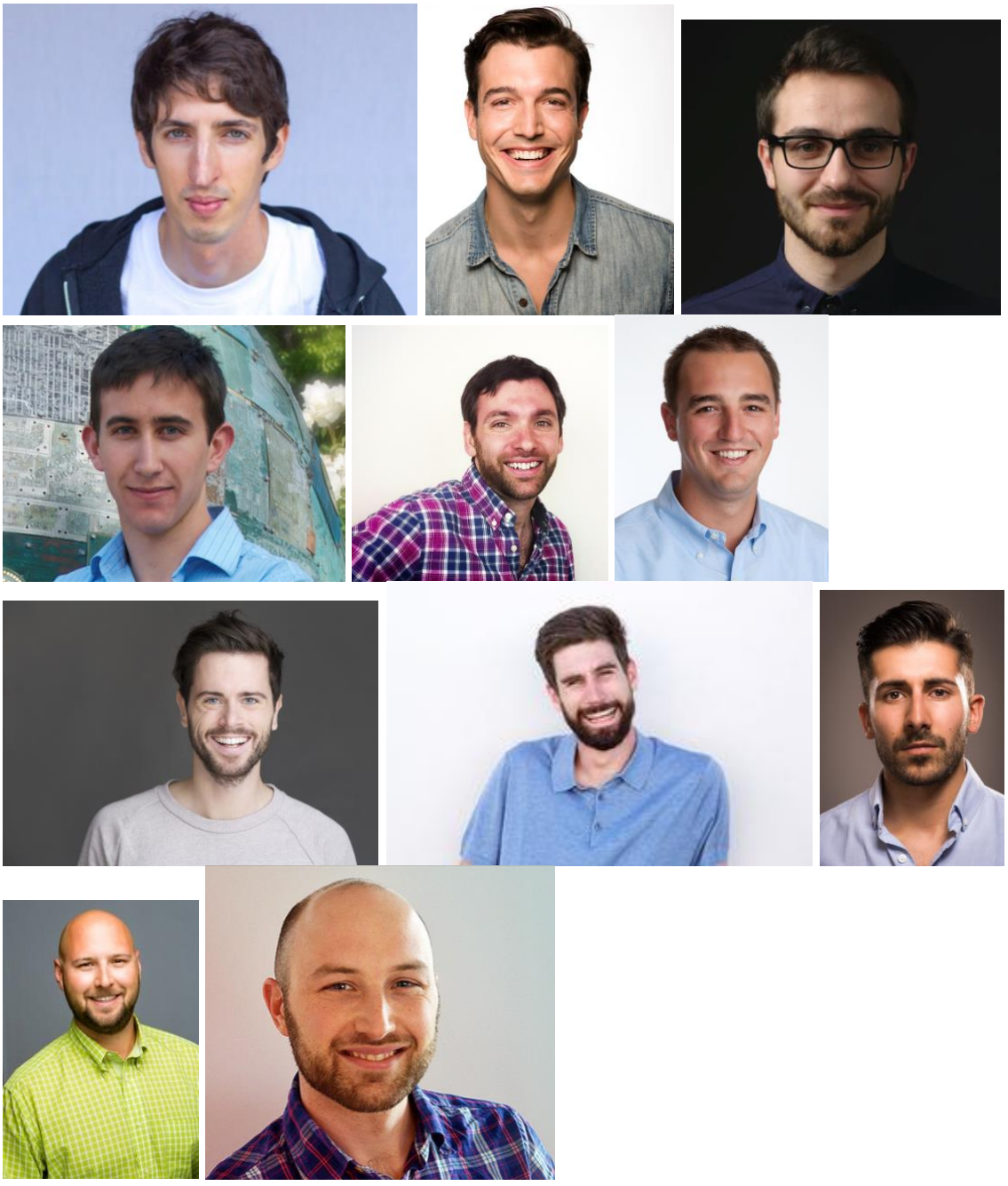






Appendix A (continued)

Males:



Appendix B

Profile Picture Rating Scales

1. How attractive do you think this person is? (1 = *very unattractive* to 7 = *very attractive*)
2. How old do you think this person is? ____
3. Select the race that you believe best describes the person:
    a. White/Caucasian
    b. African American
    c. Hispanic origin
    d. Asian American
    e. Native American
    f. Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
    g. Other (please specify):

Appendix C

Cover Photo Pictures

Appendix D

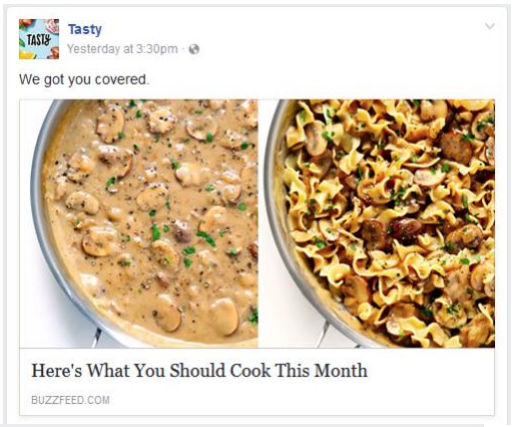
Cover Photo Rating Scales

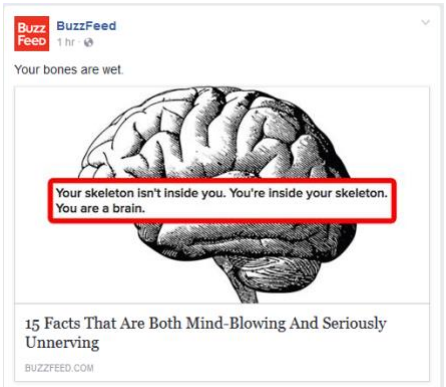
1. In terms of appropriateness for a workplace environment, how positive or negative is this picture? (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*)
2. What is the likelihood that this image would be posted by a male or female on Facebook? (1 = *much more likely by a male* to 7 = *much more likely by a female*)

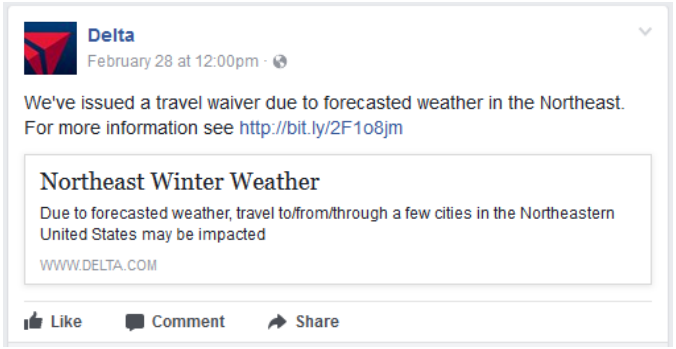
Appendix E

Timeline Filler Content

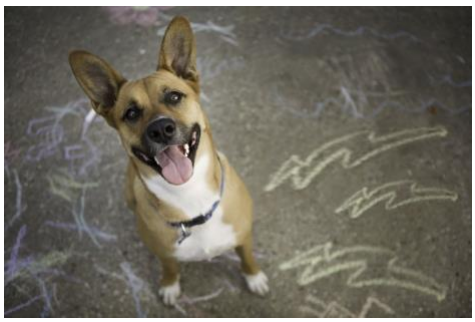
Shares:



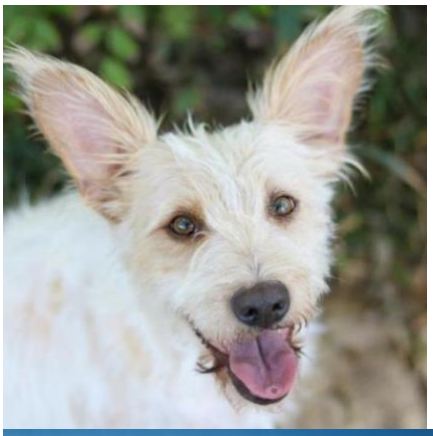


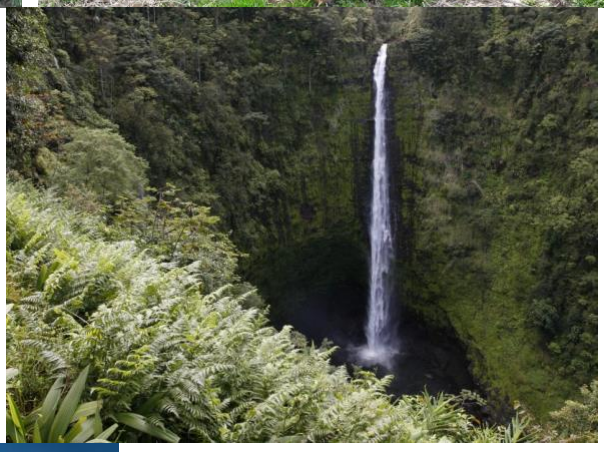


Appendix E (continued)



Appendix E (continued)





Appendix E (continued)

Status Updates:

1. Thank you everyone for the birthday wishes! I had a great day.
2. It's going to be a great weekend at the lake!
3. I played Team Trivia tonight with friends. It was surprisingly fun!
4. I plan on taking my dog to the park tonight if the weather clears up.
5. I just booked my ticket for vacation this summer! #FloridaBound
6. Just a heads up, gas is only $2.19 at the grocery store on Cooper Street!
7. I wonder who will win Best Director at the Oscars tonight… Any guesses?
8. Only a few more months until The World Cup starts! #FIFA18
9. Does anyone have Netflix recommendations?
10. I plan on watching a new movie on my flight next weekend. Does anyone have a recommendation?
11. If you haven't tried the new pizza place on Main Street yet, I highly recommend it!
12. I'm getting excited for concert season!
13. I just want to let you all know that there is a bad wreck on I-30 so you may want to consider an alternative on the way home.
14. I got a flat tire on my way to work this morning, but luckily I bought a new spare last week.
15. Congratulations to Fountain County High School on their semi-state win!

Appendix F

Timeline Filler Scales

1. In terms of appropriateness for a workplace environment, how positive or negative is this picture? (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*)
2. Cognitive ability refers to one's general mental ability, or level of intelligence. Indicate the level of cognitive ability reflected in this post: (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*; 8th item "*does not reflect cognitive ability*")
3. Conscientiousness is a personality trait that can be characterized by dependability, reliability, organization, and responsibility. Indicate the level of conscientiousness reflected in this post: (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*; 8th item "*does not reflect conscientiousness*")
4. Integrity can be defined as the quality of being honest and having strong moral principles. Indicate the level of integrity reflected in this post: (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*; 8th item "*does not reflect integrity*")
5. What is the likelihood that this image would be posted by a male or female on Facebook? (1 = *much more likely by a male* to 7 = *much more likely by a female*)

Appendix G

Manipulated Content

Cognitive Ability:

1. Yesterday I went to the store to by califlower and they did not have any?! Sense when is that a thing?
2. I went to starbucks and theyre credit card machines dont work today FYI
3. I switched up my dogs food today nd I really hope there stomach isn't upset.
4. In college, I consistently made C's (sometimes D's) on everythin. I just couldn't do any better than that!
5. Today is a gret day to go too the dog park!
6. Kroger is havin a sale: for avocados for $5 bucks!
7. I'm needing some cofee suggestions. Do u all have any favorites?
8. What a great game! There really stepping it up this season.
9. College is getting harder and harder these day. Good thing back in my day C's got degress!
10. This week im goin on a hike up in the blue hills mountains if anyone wants to join!

Conscientiousness:

1. I don't think I will ever be someone who will show up on time. I just can't seem to plan well enough!
2. My friend asked me three separate times to bring a DVD to them to borrow and I just keep forgetting. They must mistake me for someone more responsible.
3. I wish I was more responsible… I received a plant as a gift and I never get around to watering it.
4. I'm not sure how people keep their calendar organized. I just managed to show up late to a meeting, and then realized I double-booked myself and had to cancel another one.
5. My coworker asked for a client report by 2:00 yesterday. I just now got it to her, but at least it's good quality!
6. My life is very disorganized. I cannot seem to keep anything straight.
7. I'm supposed to be at work everyday by 9:00 but I'm not organized enough to make that happen.
8. I should learn how to make grocery lists. I'm not responsible enough to go shopping without some guidance.
9. If I had a dollar for every instance I showed up late to something, I'd be a wealthy person.
10. I'm the kind of person that needs to be told the event starts at 9:00, when it really starts at 9:30, just to allow for me running late.

Appendix G (continued)

Sabotage:

1. I definitely jammed the office printer today at work on purpose.
2. Have you ever purposely littered at your place of work just because you can? I have!
3. I just dropped my leftovers from lunch in the hallway on my way back to my desk. I definitely just left it there and kept walking.
4. I think I will unplug the phones at work today so customers cannot reach us.
5. There are so many sales brochures scattered around the office. I'm just going to throw them away because I don't like them.
6. I think I will throw away all of the coffee filters at work today so everyone has a miserable day.
7. I'm considering hiding the connection cord in the conference room today so our meeting is cancelled.
8. Maybe I should hide the hand sanitizer so everyone gets a cold and we all get a few more sick days…
9. One time I hid the stapler so we didn't have to update the sales board at work.
10. Sometimes I have not relayed a message to a coworker on purpose, but they always figure it out eventually.

Withdrawal:

1. I just called into work and said I was sick when in reality I'm just not in the mood.
2. I'm only allowed to take a 15-minute lunch break. I think I will make that a solid hour.
3. I get off work at 5:00pm… but it is already 3:45 so I think I will call it a day.
4. Today I am going to take it upon myself to come into work 30 minutes late just because.
5. I am going to stretch my lunch break extra long today because I want to.
6. I plan on leaving work early today without asking for permission. It has been done before!
7. Officially, I am supposed to be at work by 9:00am, but I never come in until 10.
8. I think I'll call it a day and head home. It's only an hour early.
9. I think my couch is more comfortable than my office chair. It's looking like I will show up a bit late today. Oh well!
10. I'm out running an errand for my boss right now. Instead of heading straight back to the office, I think I will go grab some lunch and relax a bit.

Appendix G (continued)

Production Deviance:

1. Work is very busy today. I am going to work a bit slower just to set the pace.
2. Have you all ever gone to a coworker's desk to ask a pointless question just to give yourself a break? I know I do.
3. Does anyone else always walk slowly back to their desk at work just to give yourself a longer break? I know I do!
4. I am going to make copies of this sales report really slowly to avoid the meeting.
5. I always walk slowly back to my desk at work just to give myself a longer break.
6. Sometimes I go pretend to fill up my water bottle just to break up the workday.
7. Today I did a work task slightly incorrect so my boss had to pass along a boring task to someone else.
8. I spend way too much time on Facebook while I'm at work. This probably slows down my productivity if I had to guess.
9. Even if there isn't traffic on my way to work, it's pretty common for me to sit in my car a few extra minutes to just delay the work day, and then blame it on traffic.
10. Sometimes I work a bit slow on purpose just to avoid getting another work task.

Theft:

1. I really need a new stapler at home. The office has several so I will just help myself.
2. Today I left work at 5:05, so naturally I will document that I left at 5:30.
3. I think it is only fair if I take some petty cash from work. That's the point of it, right?
4. My coworker bought a new keyboard, but I think it would be better off at my desk, so naturally I will take it myself.
5. I love when our work stocks up on cleaning supplies. I definitely swipe a few things and take them home.
6. I always end up taking some of our office supplies from work home with me. No one ever notices!
7. My coworker brought lasagna to work today. I think I will help myself without their permission.
8. I wonder if my boss would notice if I took my computer with me and worked from home?
9. I admit that I have taken lunch breaks without clocking out.
10. My boss ordered a new desk calendar for my coworker, but she hasn't seen it yet so I'm going to switch it out with mine!

Appendix G (continued)

Abuse:

1. I wish these customers weren't so ignorant. My life would be a lot easier.
2. My coworkers have sad and boring lives. They are very irrelevant.
3. I accidently made an error on a client report, but luckily I have ignorant coworkers to blame for that.
4. If there was an award for best cruel office pranks, I would win annually.
5. The mail delivery service at work just dropped off a coworker's mail to my desk. I think I will go ahead and open it anyway.
6. My coworker is such a joke. He should just quit.
7. I am surrounded by a sea of idiots at work.
8. My boss is a moron… Who chose her to be our manager?
9. You ever just pretend to not hear a coworker asking you a question? I have.
10. If my boss says one more stupid comment in the meeting, I'm going to call him out for his ignorance.

Appendix H

Knowledge Violation Manipulations

1. I wonder why my food always catches on fire when I cover it up with some foil in the microwave?
2. People always are setting new trends with food. I'm going to give this a shot and try my chicken medium rare tonight. I'll let you all know how it is. Yum!
3. I recently starting drinking wine, and I've been trying out new ones. Tonight though, I bought a bottle and it has a cork in it? How on earth do you get that out? What happened to twist tops?
4. I got really sunburned at the beach today and desperately needed some aloe. My aunt said that she had a plant in the bathroom if I wanted to use it. That's weird, right? Aloe comes in a bottle, not a plant!
5. Some doctors are crazy! I keep seeing commercials that advertise getting injected with the flu virus to prevent getting the flu. Why not just get the flu shot? That's insane!
6. Since when are presidential terms a maximum of 8 years? I swear they used to be 10.
7. I want to take a road trip to Hawaii. It has always been a dream of mine!
8. I booked my flight to Paris months ago, and when I got to the airport they wouldn't let me go without a passport! What is wrong with my driver's license? Such a waste of money.
9. I just bought a brand new Gatorade before getting to the airport and TSA made me throw it away at security! When did this 3-ounce rule become a thing?
10. I am thinking about adopting a cat. Do they all come with claws?
11. Why is everyone so worried about drinking water from a creek? It tastes fine.
12. I was watching this tennis match today, and every once in a while the players would yell out "love" in between rallies. It's nice to see people who aren't afraid to express their emotions.
13. I just watched Forest Gump for the first time. Man, I wish I could've met him when he was still alive!
14. I wonder if Prince is touring this Fall. I'd love to see him in concert.
15. I need a new country artist to listen to. Is Kanye West any good?
16. I'm going to a jazz festival with my dad tonight. I've never really listened to jazz but I am excited to hear some banjos.
17. Today at our office party we played a game about everyone's favorite "thing." I'm not sure why, but everyone thought it was really funny when I said my favorite painter was Mozart?
18. My favorite Shakespeare novel has to be The Odyssey. Do you all have any favorites?
19. I just ran into a group of people on the street raising money for the cure to rabies. What a great cause!
20. I may not have been the best chemistry student in high school, but this kid today told me that the element potassium is indicated by a "K" when it clearly is a "P." Maybe they should go back to spelling class.
21. I really want to go outside today to get some sun. I need to soak up that B12!

22. I’d really love to meet Lance Armstrong one day. What an honor it must be to be the first person to walk on the mo

Appendix I

Rater Demographic Scales

1. Please select which best describes you:
    a. Male
    b. Female
2. Please report your age in years: _____
3. Select all of the following that apply to you:
    a. White/Caucasian
    b. African American
    c. Hispanic origin
    d. Asian American
    e. Native American
    f. Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
    g. Other (please specify):
4. In months and years, please report how much work experience you have of working at least 20+ hours per week: _____
5. How much experience do you have evaluating job applicants via social media? (1 = *no experience* to 7 = *extensive experience*)

Appendix J

Social Media Evaluation Scales

Applicant Suitability Scale (Schroeder & Cavanaugh, 2018):

1. What is the likelihood that you would offer this job applicant an interview? (1 = *extremely unlikely* to 7 = *extremely likely*)
2. What is the likelihood that you would hire this job applicant? (1 = *extremely unlikely* to 7 = *extremely likely*)
3. How attractive is this applicant to the organization? (1 = *very unattractive* to 7 = *very attractive*)

Appendix K

Experimental Study Measures

Cognitive Ability Perception:

1. Based on his/her social media profile, what do you think this person's undergraduate college grade point average (GPA) was on a 4-point scale? ____

Conscientiousness Perception (John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008):

I think this applicant is someone who: (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*)

1. Does a thorough job
2. Can be somewhat careless (R)
3. Is a reliable worker
4. Tends to be disorganized (R)
5. Tends to be lazy (R)
6. Perseveres until the task is finished
7. Does things efficiently
8. Makes plans and follows through with them
9. Is easily distracted (R)

(R) indicates a reverse-scored item.

Integrity Perceptions (Catano, O'Keefe, Francis, & Owens, 2018)

I think this applicant is someone who: (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*)

1. Likes to keep their belongings neat and organized.
2. Is organized.
3. Is neat.
4. Always has a place for everything and everything is in its place.
5. Is always generous when it comes to helping others.
6. Likes to help others when they are down on their luck.
7. Is helpful.
8. Always treats others with kindness.
9. Often feels like they may have a breakdown when they are under stress. (R)
10. Feels discourages and wants to give up. (R)

(R) indicates a reverse-scored item.

Appendix L

Manipulation Checks

1. In terms of a workplace environment, how appropriate is this post? (1 = *very negative* to 7 = *very positive*)
2. What was the gender of the applicant?
    a. Male
    b. Female