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Professional vs. Personal-Oriented Self-Disclosure on LinkedIn: The Impact of Gender and Occupation on Recruiters' Recommendation for Interview

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Table of content

Abstract	2
1. Introduction	3
2. Literature review 2.1. Recruitment using SNSs 2.2. Personal vs. professional-oriented self-disclosure 2.3. Implicit bias 2.4. Occupational norms 2.5. Gender norms	7 7 11 13 14 14
3. Theory and hypotheses 3.1. Professional self-disclosure, Occupational Norms and Recruiters' Recommendation for interview 3.2. The Interplay Between Professional-Oriented Self-Disclosure, Occupational Norms and Gender Norms	15 15
4. Method 4.1. LinkedIn profile design 4.2. Subjects 4.3. Procedures	20 20 23 23
5. Data Analysis and Results 5.1. Principal component analysis 5.2. Scale reliabilities 5.3. Manipulation check 5.4. Hypothesis testing	25 25 27 28 30
6. Discussion 6.1. A Discussion of Findings Relating to Hypothesis 1 (H1). 6.2. A Discussion of Findings Relating to Hypothesis 2 (H2). 6.3. Implications 6.3.1. Implications for individuals 6.3.2. Implications for recruiters 6.3.3. Implications for organizations 6.4. Limitations 6.5. Suggestions for future research	34 34 35 38 38 39 40 41
7. Conclusion	42
References	43
Appendix A	59
Appendix B	60
Appendix C	62

Abstract

Social networking sites (SNSs) have become established arenas for many forms of social interaction. Recruitment and selection of job candidates using SNSs is a current trend that we are yet to understand the potential consequences of. The purpose of this study was to examine whether there is a difference between professional-oriented and personal-oriented self-disclosure on LinkedIn profiles in predicting recruiter's recommendation for interview, with the impact of occupation and gender. We created LinkedIn profiles that varied in regards to 1) type of self-disclosure (personal-, professional-oriented), 2) occupation (accountant, marketing coordinator), and 3) gender (male, female). The study was conducted as an online survey where respondents with recruitment experience or education related to recruitment participated by making their candidate evaluations based on general job descriptions for both occupations. We found that it is more beneficial for accountants to have a professional-oriented type of selfdisclosure on LinkedIn than for marketing coordinators, and that recruiters' recommendation for interview is higher for female accountants with professionaloriented self-disclosure than for female accountants with personal-oriented selfdisclosure. The same difference does not apply for male accountants. The results indicate that norms and biases related to gender and occupation, and how LinkedIn users disclose their profile information can lead to biased recruiter decisions when LinkedIn is the platform for candidate assessment. This knowledge could imply the need for implicit bias training and generally higher awareness around such unconscious mental processes when using SNSs in recruitment processes.

1. Introduction

The participation in social networking sites (SNSs) online has grown rapidly, and an increasingly bigger part of our social lives unfolds online (Burkell, Fortier, Wong, & Simpson, 2014). SNSs can be defined as online arenas where people can choose to be loosely connected through common interests and shared acquaintances (Alloway & Alloway, 2012, p. 1748), and where "members of the sites present themselves to others through an online profile, which contains self-descriptions (e.g., demographics, interests) and one or more pictures" (Valkenburg, Peter, & Schouten, 2006, p. 584). A fairly recent development involves the extensive use of SNSs in recruitment and selection processes, also known as social recruiting (El Ouirdi, Pais, Segers, & El Ouirdi, 2016). In general, 5 out of 10 job seekers use social media to search for and apply for jobs. Also, 29 % of the job seekers have been contacted by a recruiter through SNSs at least once and 9 % have received a job offer through SNSs (Zanella & Pais, 2014). Recruiters report using SNSs actively in order to identify talents and familiarize themselves with applying job candidates above and beyond their CV and application letter (Berg, Frydenberg, Ellingsen, & Mariussen, 2014; CareerBuilder, 2017; Strømsted, 2018; Fernandez, 2018). Some even reveal that in case of two equally qualified candidates, having a publically open profile on a SNS and participating actively can make you the preferred person for the job (Strømsted, 2018). In other words, having a social presence online could potentially be a game changer when looking for new job opportunities.

One example of a SNS used in recruitment and selection processes is LinkedIn. LinkedIn is a professionally focused SNS where one creates a profile that essentially is an extensive online résumé (Chiang & Suen, 2015, p. 522) providing information about the user's education, career path and current organization. For the users/members of this SNS, LinkedIn is claimed to be an interface for professional self-promotion (Van Dijck, 2013). LinkedIn have professional groups that the users can join in order to connect with other professionals within a common area (Davison, Maraist, Hamilton, & Bing, 2012). LinkedIn also consists of a newsfeed and network updates (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 208), which enables users to stay updated on the latest events, publications and discussions from their network. Users can share articles, reflections and opinions and comment on and/or share the content posted by others

(Nations, 2018). They can also receive recommendations from people who validate their knowledge and skills. A relatively new feature is the 'profile stats', which contains information about the names, titles and companies of the people who visits a user's profile. This enables users to examine the popularity of their profile or the so-called "state of your professional brand" (Van Dijck, 2013, p. 208). LinkedIn has developed their own platform for job postings where users can search and apply for jobs, and they even have a specific mobile application just for this feature (Nations, 2018). LinkedIn as a SNS has had a rapid growth with 90 million users in 2011 (LinkedIn, as cited in Davison et al., 2012, p. 3) to over 530 million users today (LinkedIn, 2018a).

From a recruitment point of view, LinkedIn can be used as a sourcing and assessment tool (Zide, Elman, & Shahani-Denning, 2014, p. 583). Given that an increasing amount of personal and professional information is readily available through LinkedIn and other SNSs, there has also been an increase in the use of these sites as an HR tool to search for and screen job applicants. In 2006, a survey from Society for Human Resource Management reported that 79 % of employers never used SNSs during the recruitment processes, while in 2012 Levinson found that 80 % of HR managers either used or planned to use SNS for this purpose (as cited in Davison et al., 2012, p. 3). The range of information provided by users on LinkedIn can be visible to the organizations to which they apply for jobs. Organizations and recruiters can also analyze the networks of their existing employees to identify potential candidates for job vacancies (Caers & Castelyns, 2011). Thus, LinkedIn can be used as a platform for headhunting. The objectives behind using SNSs in recruitment are often related to speed and costs (Karl, Peluchette, & Schlaegel, 2010), since the information that the candidates provide online are easily accessible. In addition, the information disclosed by individuals on SNSs can differ significantly from the information obtained through more traditional recruitment methods, as it can be broader in scope and less filtered (Davison et al., 2012, p. 4).

Despite the growing popularity of using LinkedIn and other similar SNSs for career advancement and recruitment purposes, the consequences arising from the level of information disclosed by individuals on these sites for their actual recruitment prospects, are severely under-researched (e.g., Zide et al., 2014, p. 601). For example, researchers emphasize the importance of gaining more insight into how

gender can affect SNS-based selection assessments (El Ouirdi et al., 2016, p. 412). Some claim that recruitment via SNSs entails a higher risk for discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity and background, and that the implications can vary between industries (Jeske & Shultz, 2016; Zide et al., 2014). In general, there appears to be a lack of knowledge about how information disclosed by individuals on LinkedIn and other similar SNSs could affect the evaluation of these individuals as potential job candidates, and potentially the likelihood of these individuals to be recruited for a job that they are qualified for.

Based on these remarks, our research aims to address how the information disclosed by individuals in their LinkedIn profiles affects their prospects of being recruited for relevant, new job opportunities. Self-disclosure is defined as a process where one is making the self known to other individuals through information that is communicated to a targeted audience of people (Jourard & Lasakow, 1958). In our research, self-disclosure refers to the communication made by one person that reveals information about himself or herself that would otherwise be unknown so it becomes a shared knowledge that might exist between pair of people, within groups or between an individual and organizations (Joinson & Paine, 2007). Two of the numerous categories and different aspects of self-disclosure that has been introduced in the literature is career-oriented and inappropriate self-disclosure (El Ouirdi, Segers, El Ouirdi, & Pais, 2015). Career-oriented self-disclosure refers to "individual-related artifacts shared on social media for professional audience" (El Ouirdi et al., 2015, p. 3). The opposite notion of inappropriate self-disclosure involves "artifacts about an individual, shared on social media by himself/herself or his/her connections, and which would be considered unsuitable for a professional audience" (El Ouirdi et al., 2015, p. 2). In the present research we wish to investigate self-disclosure that is intended for, and generally appropriate for, a professional audience more closely. We believe that self-disclosure in a professional context can be professional-oriented, reflected in the use of language, images, and shared artifacts that represent who the individual is professionally. However, self-disclosure can also be more personal-oriented, reflected in the disclosure of information and imagery that emphasize the individual's personal style and interests. Accordingly, in the present research we investigate if there is a difference between professionaloriented self-disclosure and personal-oriented self-disclosure on one's LinkedIn profile in predicting recruiters' recommendation to contact a job candidate for an

interview, based on the recruiter's review of the LinkedIn profile in question. We will discuss this further in the literature review and in regards to our hypotheses.

In this paper, we also investigate if the relationship between these two different types of self-disclosure on LinkedIn profiles and recruiters' recommendation to call the job candidate in for an interview vary significantly based on the job candidate's gender and occupation/industry. In accordance with recent statements made by recruitment specialists about which SNS profiles they look into depending on the job seekers gender (Strømsted, 2018) and that using SNSs as part of recruitment processes can vary between occupations (Jeske & Shultz, 2016; Zide et al., 2014), we argue for possible differences between marketing and accounting positions as well as between men and women.

When discussing decision-making and recruitment assessments it is relevant to incorporate a concept related to the mental processes we are not aware of. Implicit bias or implicit social cognition can be conceptualized as an indirect and unconscious mode of operation for attitudes, stereotypes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995, p. 4), memory (Schacter, 1987), perception (Kihlstrom, Barnhardt, & Tataryn, 1992), self-esteem (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000) and self-concept (Rudman, Greenwald, & McGhee, 2001). Regarding norms connected to gender and occupation, we are dealing with unconscious biases in the form of attitudes and stereotypes. Gender norms can be described as "social expectations for appropriate behaviors" for men and women (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008, p. 322), or as specified, acceptable behavioral boundaries for the two sexes (Seguino, 2007). These boundaries are not static, unchangeable truths. Instead individuals "reconstruct" them, through interpretation and subjective adjustments of the norms that surround them (Barker, 2001). Occupational norms are defined as "the statistically normative terms and conditions of a job associated with employment in a given occupation" (Carney & Junor, 2014, p. 473), or behavioral regularities that generate customary expectations of the behavior for most professionals within an occupation (Basu, Madsen, Reppenhagen, & Waymire, 2013). In conclusion, these expectations can be summed up as a combination of several implicit attitudes and stereotypes regarding how men and women should behave and which characteristics/values people should embody in a particular occupation.

Given this research agenda, we intend to make an important and necessary contribution to research on the use of SNS in recruitment. This paper seeks to address the increasing use of SNSs in recruitment processes through respondent's evaluations of fictitious LinkedIn profiles. Although researchers have looked at candidates' perception of fairness (e.g. Madera, 2012; Bauer et al., 2006), there are still large gaps in our knowledge about what actually characterizes the assessments being made when using SNSs as a part of a recruitment process, a topic which unarguably is of high importance when considering the extensive use and increasing popularity. As noted, the significance of gender and occupation/industry in this context has been pointed out (Zide et al., 2014; Jeske & Shultz, 2016; Strømsted, 2018), but the joint impact of these two elements in regards to recruitment using SNSs are not yet investigated. We seek to make an important contribution in this regard.

2. Literature review

2.1. Recruitment using SNSs

A range of articles is examining the topic of recruitment through SNSs such as LinkedIn, and in the following section we will go through a selection of these findings. Jeske and Shultz (2016) discuss several arguments both in favor of and against social media screening. The authors consider possible ethical, legal and practical issues that might arise, and how the use of social networking content in selection processes can potentially be in violation of legislation in the UK and the USA. In general, the discussion is rooted in the potential low degrees of validity and reliability. Multiple concerns are presented, specifically regarding the impact of impression management, biases and different types of discrimination in addition to the issues of data protection, privacy and security. Also, they stress the risk of managers making inaccurate assumptions of causality between an applicant's profile on a SNS and actual personality traits and how the person will behave in the workplace (Jeske & Shultz, 2016, p. 542). Others have found that information provided on SNSs actually correlate with certain personality traits (Karl et al., 2010). Among arguments that support social media screening, Jeske and Shultz (2016) refer to how it can be faster and more cost efficient. Some employers also insist that

information obtained on SNSs provides them with valid knowledge about candidates that they otherwise would not have acquired. The question that still remains to be answered is whether the presented upsides are real, and whether the use of SNSs in employment situations actually is useful and fair.

Research has investigated how job applicants perceive the use of SNSs as a selection tool, focusing on selection process fairness and job pursuit intentions. Madera (2012) conducted an experiment that involved asking participants attending a career fair for hospitality jobs to complete a questionnaire after reading about a hospitality company that does or does not use SNS as a selection tool. They found that the participants considered the company that uses SNS in recruitment to be less fair, and they reported a lower level of job pursuit intention towards this company. A reason for these findings could be that people fear an invasion of their privacy when companies assess Facebook and LinkedIn-profiles and base their recruitment process on the information obtained from such sites. This could again affect to which extent people intend to apply for a position at the company (Madera, 2012, p. 1277-1278). This study raises an important question related to recruitment in social media: is it fair? Even though perceived fairness does not investigate actual level of fairness and whether recruitment in social media is discriminatory, it is an indicator of some potential negative implications that companies should take into account.

Some studies have looked at how social media can be used to improve recruitment effectiveness. Carrillat, d'Astous and Grégoire (2014) investigated how firms can use Facebook to recruit top job applicants. Through SNSs such as Facebook, organizations and individuals can create a public profile and develop a list of relations. Facebook is an internet-based network of individuals who share personal and/or professional information about themselves online (Davison et al., 2012). Van Dijck (2013) argues that Facebook particularly facilitates personal self-presentation content. Carrillat et al. (2014, p. 475) found that event sponsorships could be beneficial in the promotion of an employer's brand towards possible candidates through SNSs. In other words, employer branding through social media can yield positive organizational outcomes if employers have a suitable presence on the right sites. This result, combined with findings suggesting that people tend to lie less and be more professional on LinkedIn than on traditional résumés (Guillory, & Hancock,

2012), provides another argument for the potential usefulness of this kind of recruitment strategy.

In addition to possible pros and cons, there has been conducted research on how LinkedIn profiles differ across occupations. As previously mentioned, Zide et al. (2014) examined which aspects of a LinkedIn profile that recruiters and employers concentrate on through interviews, and then used these findings to investigate specific profiles across different industries. Through the implementation of ANOVA tests they found significant differences in people's self presentation in the HR, sales/marketing and industrial/organizational psychology industries. Results showed that HR and sales/marketing LinkedIn users were most likely to present their professional interests on their profile, and a bigger proportion of the same people had 500 + connections compared to industrial-organizational psychologists. This study also took into consideration the gender aspect, and found that males are more likely to give other recommendations and also have more recommendations written by others. Furthermore, women tend to not provide information about personal and professional interests to the same extent as men (Zide et al., 2014), and by applying the theoretical assumptions of the inferred information model, it is likely that profiles with more information are viewed better than those with less (Johnson, 1989). In sum, type of industry and gender appear to be important aspects to consider in recruitment through SNSs.

El Ouirdi et al. (2016) present a study that examined how the personal characteristics of recruiters may affect applicant assessments. They collected data from 256 Italian and Dutch recruiters and found that the assessment of candidate's non-professional content on SNSs varied between the recruiter's culture, while the assessment of the professional content differed by recruiter's gender. This article is of interest because of the provided directions for future research, especially linked to the significance of gender in the assessment of professional content (which one can argue is very relevant on LinkedIn). It also offers empirical evidence that the evaluation of different social media profiles can be biased, and further suggests that we need to obtain more knowledge about how the information on SNSs is perceived and evaluated relative to other more traditional forms of information in the recruitment and selection process (e.g. résumé).

Since recruitment using SNSs involves the evaluation of people's shared online selfimage (Valkenburg et al., 2006), it is useful to explore the concept of selfpresentation. Self-presentation on SNSs has been discussed thoroughly in the literature (e.g. Hogan, 2010; Krämer & Winter, 2008; Seidman, 2013). In general, the rationale behind self-presentation is for a person to attain the acceptance of others on his/her personal image (Goffman, 1959). Hogan (2010) transfers Goffman's dramaturgical approach (i.e. the front- and backstage distinction) into the context of online presentation of self, and suggests that this is more like an exhibition rather than a performance. While performances involve impression management due to observation and self-monitoring, exhibitions (e.g. lists of status updates) are "subject to selective contributions and the role of a third party" (Hogan, 2010, p. 384). A third party is in this sense a SNS member that function as a curator that filters, orders and search content. There is a specific logic to the exhibitions that adds another dimension to the concept of self-presentation. What is also interesting, according to Hogan (2010), is that social media "exhibitions" are accompanied by situational activities (e.g. live chat). One can therefore argue that self-presentation on SNSs is more complex and composed that self-presentation in our analog lives. Seidman (2013) argues that after the fundamental need to belong, self-presentation is the largest motivation to use SNSs such as Facebook. His study investigated the relationship between the Big Five personality traits and using Facebook to fulfill a sense of belonging and self-presentational needs. Extroverted people tended to use Facebook as a communication channel to a high degree, while conscientiousness was related to being more cautious when self-presenting online. The results showed that low conscientiousness and high neuroticism best predicted self-presentational behaviors on SNSs. Krämer and Winter (2008) argue that one has more control over one's self-presentation on SNSs than in face-to-face communication. This relationship between self-reported personality traits and self-presentation in social networking profiles, shows that self-efficacy regarding impression management is strongly related to number of friends on SNSs, level of profile detail and the style of personal photo. This relationship is slightly influenced by extraversion, but there is no significant effect of self-esteem. Therefore, personality aspects are more specific than extraversion and self-esteem. Results show that SNSs are really social and that those users seem to be aware of communication and impression management.

In recruitment and selection situations, self-presentation involves that candidates must present themselves in accordance with contextual norms of which impressions to convey (Leary, 1995), in order to secure a positive evaluation from recruiters (Jansen, König, Stadelmann, & Kleinmann, 2012; Lievens & Peeters, 2008). Even though research shows that some users disclose information on Facebook to seek popularity (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2009), engage in strategic self-presentation in order to enhance their profiles (Utz, Tanis, & Vermeulen, 2012) or create possible or ideal selves (Manago, Graham, Greenfield, & Salimkhan, 2008), the presentation of self on SNSs actually tends to be accurate in most cases (Back et al., 2010).

A central contribution to the research on the role of self-presentation on SNSs is the study of Chiang and Suen (2015). They investigated how job seekers' self-presentation on LinkedIn profiles (argument quality and source credibility) affects how recruiters evaluate applicants' attractiveness, and they also identify some specific categories of self-presentation that contribute to this evaluation process. The participants were asked to rate their overall perception of quality on several LinkedIn profiles, and make hiring recommendations based on that evaluation. The study found that recruiters draw conclusions about people's person-job fit and personorganization fit based on argument quality in self-presentation categories such as portrait, profile summary, experience, acknowledgements and discussion posts and comments. Furthermore, this predicted whether the recruiter recommend people for hiring. The results involved a non-significant relationship between person-person fit perception and hiring recommendations (Chiang & Suen, 2015, p. 56).

2.2. Personal vs. professional-oriented self-disclosure

Individuals are generally expected to present themselves on SNSs in ways that are appropriate for the intended audience. With this in mind, El Ouirdi, Segers, El Ouirdi, & Pais (2015, p. 3) define career-oriented self-disclosure as "individual-related artifacts shared on social media for a professional audience". The information disclosed to this audience can include artifacts related to education, work experiences, abilities, achievements and qualifications. It can also include the disclosure of personal hobbies, interests and achievements. Regardless of whether the information disclosed to this audience is more professional- or

personal-oriented, the content is always connected to the user's desired image, and people who seek to present themselves in a positive manner are generally less inclined to disclose negative characteristics about themselves (Gibbs, Ellison, & Heino, 2006).

Inappropriate self-disclosure, on the other hand, can be viewed as "artifacts about an individual, shared on social media by himself/herself or his/her connections, and which would be considered unsuitable for a professional audience" (El Ouirdi et al., 2015, p. 2). In a study where public Facebook profiles of surgical residents were evaluated, results showed that displaying political and religious comments and wearing questionable attire was considered potentially unprofessional (Langenfeld, Cook, Sudbeck, Luers, & Schenarts, 2014). Furthermore, some recruiters have been found to emphasize unprofessional email addresses in making negative assessments of candidates (Zide et al., 2014). Also, any information that will be considered unfitting in the context of an employment interview tend to be considered inappropriate for professional environments (Newness, Steinert, & Viswesvaran, 2012).

As LinkedIn can be seen as a SNS mainly for building professional relations (Zide et al., 2014), individuals are generally expected to present themselves on LinkedIn in a way that is appropriate for a professional audience, and not share things that would not be shared in a job interview. Findings supporting the "posting paradox" state that users' awareness of inappropriate self-disclosure do not necessarily prevent them from displaying that kind of behavior (El Ouirdi et al., 2015; Miller, Parsons, & Lifer, 2010). Also, the nature of appropriate content people choose to share on LinkedIn can differ in subtle ways.

We seek to investigate the more subtle differences in how LinkedIn users present themselves appropriately within the context of this SNS. Accordingly, for our study we choose to expand upon the conceptualizations of career-oriented self-disclosure to distinguish between professional-oriented and personal-oriented self-disclosure. To exemplify, professional self-disclosure involves corporate attire such as suits, shirts and blazers, office settings and rather serious, formal poses. Textual information is quite specific, to the point and seeking to disclose career-relevant skills and competencies rather than evoking emotions and disclosing a

person's whole self. By contrast, personal-oriented self-disclosure is reflected in more informal language, images that show the individual in more casual outfits, relaxed poses and/or sceneries that express everyday life contexts (e.g. the beach, city life, on the couch). Personal-oriented types of self-disclosure are not socially deviant or highly inappropriate for the context. However, we expect that the personal-oriented self-disclosure, i.e. information that emphasizes an individual's personal character, will be evaluated less favorably than professional-oriented self-disclosure that emphasizes an individual's professional character.

2.3. Implicit bias

As previously presented, there are several forms of implicit bias. For this paper we wish to focus on two types, namely the biases that take form as attitudes and stereotypes (Greenwald & Benaji, 1995). Research has found that attitudes are activated by subliminal stimuli that appear too fast for our conscious attention (Bargh, Chaiken, Govender, & Pratto, 1992; Greenwald, Klinger, & Liu, 1989). The automatic development of stereotypes is extensively documented, and research on implicit memory has documented that gender stereotypes are developed in this unconscious manner (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), and that even though it is possible for a person to explicitly retrieve a memory, the actual behavior displayed can be unintentional and therefore expressed implicitly (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006, p. 947).

A typical feature stating how the implicit bias works is that previous experiences can remain in the memory to such an extent that they influence the performance of an individual, without being available to self-examination or reflection (e.g. Greenwald, 1990; Jacoby, Lindsay, & Toth, 1992; Roediger, Weldon, & Challis, 1989). Meaning, the individual does not recall and cannot consciously reflect upon the experience, but it can still manifest itself in the individual's behavior. Implicit bias is a very broad and general notion that includes many subcategories. It is helpful to keep this framework in mind when discussing norms and beliefs that shape individuals' perceptions and evaluations.

2.4. Occupational norms

As stated by Carney and Junor (2014), occupational norms are informal guidelines about expected, social behavior of people working within a specific occupation. This relates to general definitions of norms as habits and conventions, which outline expectations of behavior that again produce behavioral conformity (Coleman, 1990; Hechter & Opp, 2001). Occupational norms are related to the concept of display rules, which can be defined as "a set of shared, albeit often latent rules" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 268). These rules can represent expectations to the employees that stems from a specific occupation or an organization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Essentially, it is all about what is considered to be appropriate and desirable performance by professionals based on the occupation they have. One example of behavioral norms linked to an occupation is social and interpersonal skills. When these properties are present where they are expected, they can generate and maintain relative harmony both within a given organization and also in external relations with clients and customers (Jeacle, 2008).

The importance of norms in a recruitment context, as discussed by Leary (1995), Jansen et al., (2012), Zide et al. (2014) and Lievens and Peeters (2008), also applies in regards to different occupations and industries.

2.5. Gender norms

Societal and individual beliefs and values related to gender is a large field of research, and the existence of gender roles and stereotypes have been discussed through several different approaches; e.g. role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), social role theory (Franke, Crown, & Spake, 1997), person-situation approach and gender-organization-system approach (Fagenson, 1990). Concentrating on the workplace, some claim that expectations about gender-related behaviors and different roles of men and women at work are so well established in our mindsets that they equal an institution (Martin, 2004; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Previous research from tertiary sector states that women to a larger extent are treated differently in regards to promotions to higher ranked positions, and that ideological norms can keep women from reaching their

potential (Subramaniam & Lambert, 1993; Carolfi, Hasselback, & Pillsbury, 1996; Probert, Ewer, & Whiting, 1998).

Circling back to the topic of self-presentation on SNSs, Tifferet and Vilnai-Yavetz (2018) found that females were more likely to signal emotions while males were more likely to signal status when presenting themselves on LinkedIn. When it comes to gender-related self-presentation on LinkedIn, they argue that users are inspired to display their uniqueness and attractiveness. Since females and males differ in the way they present themselves in face-to-face encounters, by using gender-norms tactics, these differences are seen online as well (Tifferet & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2018). Thus, the nature of a person's self-disclosure, the basis of SNS-based assessments done by recruiters, can differ fundamentally between men and women.

3. Theory and hypotheses

Based on the professional nature of LinkedIn as a SNS (Chiang & Suen, 2015; Van Dijck, 2013), and the theoretical and empirical work on career-oriented and inappropriate self-disclosure (El Ouirdi et al., 2015), we believe that recruiters' recommendation to interview a job candidate generally will be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented. While there are logical reasons to believe that recruiters' recommendation to interview a job candidate will be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented, it is also possible to consider conditions that moderate this relationship. In the following sections we consider occupational norms and gender norms as likely moderators.

3.1. Professional self-disclosure, Occupational Norms and Recruiters' Recommendation for interview

Occupational norms refer to regularities in behavior for most professionals within an occupation that generate or maintain behavioral expectations (Basu et al., 2013). The relevance of considering norms in recruitment processes has been thoroughly

illustrated (Leary, 1995; Jansen et al., 2012; Lievens & Peeters, 2008), as have differences in self-presentation on SNSs between industries (Zide et al., 2014; Jeske & Shultz, 2016). Therefore it is plausible that occupational norms can play a role also in the assessments of job candidates' LinkedIn profile.

In our study we want to look at the interplay of occupational norms and gender norms in predicting recruiters' recommendation for interview. Thus, it was important to identify at minimum two occupations that would have significantly different norms, but that were not at the same time typical gender-skewed occupations such as engineers (males) or nurses (females) (Ertsås, 2017; Utdanning.no, 2017a). Two occupations that can be considered as quite neutral are accountants and marketing coordinators (Couch & Sigler, 2001, p. 696; Utdanning.no, 2017b). As these two occupations also differ significantly in regards to norms, work tasks and general characteristics, we use them as the basis for our hypothesis development below. The accounting stereotype of a grey suited, serious and dreary professional has haunted the occupation for decades, and research through the last 30 years has tried to establish the level of legitimacy of this characteristic (Aranya, Meir, & Bar-ilan, 1978; DeCoster & Rhode, 1971; Imada, Fletcher, & Dalessio, 1980; Shackleton, 1980). Bougen (1994) argues that there has not been extensive attempts to disprove this caricatured image, and that part of the reason why is that it actually can benefit the profession. Professional credibility in the sense of being honest and trustworthy is vital for any accountant (Bougen, 1994; Friedman & Lyne, 2001) and the stigma can thus be characterized as a valid description. However, recent findings suggest that it is time to leave this stereotype behind due to new orientations that expands auditing into consulting and marketing, and the fact that accountants appear to be more colorful and diverse than the stereotypical impression portrays (Jeacle, 2008). Still, one can argue that the traditional norms still exist and that these will have a negative impact on the evaluations of the personal-oriented LinkedIn profiles.

Marketing is unquestionably very different from accounting. More specifically, one obvious distinction between marketing coordinators and accountants is the requirements for formal education and certification. A position in marketing does not necessarily demand any formal education or training at all (McClaren, Adam, & Vocino, 2010), and there are many ways to obtain such a position (e.g. work experience, attitude and/or personality characteristics). Pefanis Schlee and Harich

(2010, p. 347) found that two of the most frequently listed skills in marketing job ads are team/relational/leadership skills (66 %) and creative problem solving (46,4 %). The findings of Heide and John (1992) indicate that behavioral expectations and occupational values for jobs within marketing are related to flexibility, proactive information exchange and solidarity. The multidimensional scale of marketing personnel's deontological norms created by Vitell, Rallapalli, and Singhapakdi (1993), introduces guidelines about pricing, distribution, promotion, obligation, honesty and integrity, amongst others. A part from the last two, the focus of these norms differs significantly from the ones of accounting.

Due to these differences in occupational norms, we expect that professional self-disclosure is potentially less important for marketing coordinator jobs than for accountant jobs as accountants are expected to be serious, rational and credible with formal qualifications, while marketing coordinators are expected to be creative and flexible with great relational skills, but not necessarily with any education or certifications. On the other hand, personal self-disclosure can perhaps lead to a more positive evaluation for the marketing coordinator profile than the accountant profile as one can argue that the behavioral expectations for marketing professionals is a better fit with the personal-oriented type of self-disclosure because this in general involves more casual, relaxed and less rigid self-presentation. In many ways, one can claim that the role of marketing coordinator has more space for the whole person, and that it is more acceptable, perhaps even welcomed, to be more personal-oriented in this job. Based on these arguments, we suggest the following:

Hypothesis 1 (*H1*). Recruiters' recommendation to interview a job candidate will be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented for accounting professionals, but not for marketing coordinator professionals.

3.2. The Interplay Between Professional-Oriented Self-Disclosure, Occupational Norms and Gender Norms

While the gender distribution within the occupational field of accounting is generally balanced, the occupation if often perceived as being more masculine. Some have even argued that the masculine nature of accounting is a problem for the retention of

top female candidates within the accounting education (Harris, Thiele, & Currie, 1998), and that accounting essentially is considered to be a male occupation (Fisher & Murphy, 1995), even though the demographics of the profession say otherwise. Dellinger (2002, p. 6) suggests that because accountants are responsible of the "bottom line" of business and because they work with numbers and hard facts, they are frequently considered to be objective and rational. Such features are normally linked to men and masculinity (Dellinger, 2002). On a more general level, women tend to be perceived less favorably than men at work in regards to both competence and rationality, in addition to emotional stability and independence (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995). In line with these assumptions, Subramaniam (2003) found that perceptions of gender-based discrimination among female accountant students are generally stronger than among male accountant students. According to rational bias theory, gender discrimination can occur due to business norms. The preconditions for this type of bias is that the people within the business generally accept one gender more than the other and that people making hiring decisions feel a pressure to comply to the norms of business (Dexter, 1985; Larwood, Szwajkowski, & Rose, 1988; Szwajkowski & Larwood, 1991).

Due to the masculine nature of the accountant profession, gender-based discrimination based on business norms and the general difference in what men and women socially express, we can argue that women will struggle to match the expectations and ideas people have of an accountant. Male accountants comply with the occupational norms by being masculine, thus they do not need to compensate to the same extent with increased professionality. Accordingly, we expect that it will be more important for female accountants to comply with occupational norms in other ways, such as dressing professionally and generally communicating a highly professional-oriented style.

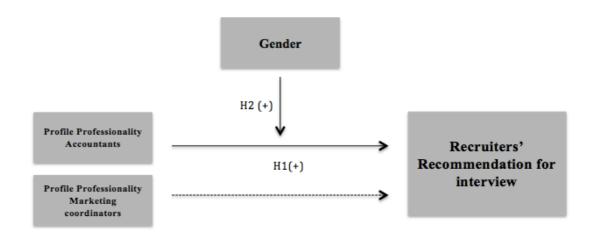
There are findings suggesting that it can be more positive for women to be more personal-oriented when presenting themselves in a professional setting, for example because assertive self-promotion is more normative and acceptable for males than females (Rudman, 1998). This statement has been supported by several experiments (Martin, 2007; Steinhovden, 2015). The research on different signals communicated by men and women through self-presentation on LinkedIn also supports this outcome (Tifferet & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2018). However, due to the strong presence of

occupational norms in the accountant occupation and the specific characteristics of the norms in this context, we believe that a professional-oriented type of selfdisclosure will be more positive for female accountants in our study. Thus, we propose the following:

Hypothesis 2 (*H2*). For accounting professionals, recruiters' recommendation to interview a female job candidate will be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented, whereas no significant difference is expected for male job candidates.

Figure 1.

A conceptual research model of the relationship between personal-oriented and professional-oriented self-disclosure on LinkedIn profiles with different occupations and recruiters' recommendation for interview with the impact of gender.



4. Method

4.1. LinkedIn profile design

Our study employs an experimental design using a set of LinkedIn profiles created for the study that vary among the following 3 elements; 1) type of self-disclosure (personal-, professional-oriented), 2) occupation (accountant, marketing coordinator), and 3) gender (male, female). In total, 8 unique and fictional LinkedIn profiles were created on the actual website for the purpose of this study (see Table 1). The profiles were deleted from LinkedIn as soon as print screens of them were saved.

Table 1LinkedIn profiles created

Personal self- disclosure, accountant, male	Personal self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, male	Personal self- disclosure, accountant, female	Personal self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, female
Professional self-disclosure, accountant, male	Professional self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, male	Professional self-disclosure, accountant, female	Professional self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, female

The design of the fictional LinkedIn profiles included a profile picture and personal summary in addition to work experience and educational background, both of which were rooted in existing research and empirical evidence. The relevance of including profile picture as an element has been demonstrated by studies with eye tracking-based heat maps which showed that recruiters, when processing an online candidate profile, spend an average of 19 % of the total time looking at the pictures (Evans, 2012), and findings that suggest that users who add a profile picture are considered more socially attractive and competent than users who do not (Edwards, Stoll, Faculak, & Karman, 2015). On a LinkedIn profile it is possible to add a profile picture of yourself that is the first thing a viewer/visitor will see when entering a profile. Whether you add a picture or what kind of picture you add is completely

optional, within the guidelines and regulations provided by LinkedIn (LinkedIn, 2018b). Fisher (2016) states on LinkedIn's official blog that members with a profile picture receives 20 % more profile views than those who do not, so it appears to make a real difference. Combining all this knowledge, we decided to include profile picture as an element.

The pictures used in this study were found online licensed under the Creative Commons Zero (CC0) license, which makes the pictures free for personal and commercial use (Pexels, 2018). We chose pictures of people who easily could have been someone's profile picture on a SNS, and we looked for images that clearly differ in regards to type of self-disclosure. In the professional-looking images the people are dressed in suits posing in a quite formal manner. In the pictures with personal self-disclosure the people are dressed more casually (see Appendix C for profiles). In order to secure as little influence from other factors as possible, we tried to make sure that the two males and two females were quite similar to the extent possible. Due to the findings of Saegusa & Watanabe (2016) on the positive effect of direct gaze in judgments of facial attractiveness, we included only pictures where the person is looking directly into the camera.

The element of personal summary was examined by Chiang and Suen (2015), and it has also been discussed in the media as one of the best ways to get the most out of your LinkedIn-profile (Andersen, 2017). A brief explanation of this profile element: beneath your name and profile picture it is possible to add a summary of yourself, your achievements and your career or generally provide the readers with a presentation of who you are. The summary can function as a general cover letter, but some argue that it should have some sort of focus as well (Han, 2017), in order to stand out from the crowd. By studying several actual LinkedIn profile summaries online of both marketing coordinator and accountant professionals, we identified that there are differing approaches. Some focuses on their specific skills and mentions details about software they are familiar with and/or work projects that they have been involved in, which provides a quite professional, formal impression. Other profiles are more private and look like a very general, casual introduction of who the person is; some even include their hobbies and personal characteristics. We used these observations to design two different summaries for each occupation, one more professional-oriented and one more personal-oriented.

Profile picture and personal summary do not necessarily contain information about a job candidate's experience and academic background. Since this arguably is of high interest when evaluating person-job fit (Cole, Rubin, Feild, & Giles, 2007; Knouse, 1994), we added these on the profiles as well. In order to find suitable and probable schools and companies for the candidates, we researched online, both on LinkedIn and in general, to find out where marketing coordinators and accountants usually complete their education and where they tend to work. Number of jobs and educations on their CV was limited to 3 of each in order to avoid too much information for the respondents to assess.

Another rationale for choosing profile picture and personal summary as the two profile elements of interest is that we believe the quality and characteristics of these elements can have an impact on candidate evaluation and hiring recommendations, and they are the two first elements that pop up on a LinkedIn profile. Yet, they do not necessarily provide the viewer with information about the job candidate's experience and academic background, which arguably is of high interest when evaluating person-job fit (Cole et al., 2007; Knouse, 1994).

The result of Chiang and Suen's (2015, p. 519) pilot study concluded that self-presentation categories such as number of LinkedIn connections and groups joined should be excluded from profiles because they are rarely noticed by recruiters and not often used by job seekers. However, in order to create as realistic profiles as possible we took print screens of the number of connections on actual LinkedIn profiles and manipulated them onto the print screens of our survey profiles. In accordance with the observations made during our research on LinkedIn of number of connections of marketing coordinator professionals versus accountant professionals, we assigned 500+ connections to all the marketing coordinator profiles and 239 connections for the accountants. Additionally, inspired by Chiang and Suen (2015), we made sure that the survey profiles contained information about relevant work experience and education since this determines the recruiter's initial evaluation of the candidate (Cole et al., 2007). Work experience and education were kept static within the two different professions, as were name and occupation.

As in the study of Chiang and Suen (2015, p. 519), the survey profiles reflect the majority of LinkedIn members: people who currently have jobs, but who are interested in new career possibilities, and who are prepared to act upon these opportunities in this SNS (Dekay, 2009). The 8 profiles created can be found in Appendix C.

4.2. Subjects

233 people who either work in positions where they make hiring decisions to different extents or have education related to recruitment viewed the LinkedIn profiles and participated in the study.

Our sample consists of 132 women and 101 men. The biggest age group is 25-34 with 95 respondents. The distribution of industries is the following:

Administration/Office (5), Bank, Finance and Assurance (19), Retail (8),

Education and Research (6), Hotel, Restaurant and Tourism (2), HR, Organization and Personnel (42), Engineers (4), IT and Telecom (9), Legal Services (1),

Consultant and Freelance (19), Art and Culture (3), Media, Information and PR

(3), Recruitment (80), Sales and Marketing (7) and Finance and Accounting (4).

There are 10 full time students and 11 respondents working within other, unspecified industries.

4.3. Procedures

Data was obtained from study participants through the use of an online survey distributed in Qualtrics. In the survey, respondents were first introduced to the study with an explanation of purpose that stated that we were looking for factors which affects recruiters' judgments when evaluating LinkedIn profiles of job seekers (see Appendix A for introduction). No further details were revealed in order to avoid the possible issue of social desirability (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Participants were then randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions (see Table 2), where they were presented with two LinkedIn profiles – one accounting, one marketing coordinator – that had been manipulated with regards to self-disclosure and gender.

Table 2Experimental Conditions

Condition 1		Condition 2		
Personal self- disclosure, accountant, male	Personal self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, male	Personal self- disclosure, accountant, female	Personal self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, female	
Professional self- disclosure, accountant, male	Professional self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, male	Professional self- disclosure, accountant, female	Professional self- disclosure, marketing coordinator, female	
Condition 3		Conc	lition 4	

In each condition, participants were presented with a job description representing an accountant position and a job description representing a marketing coordinator position, respectively. The job descriptions were designed as a general combination of relevant personal characteristics and desired qualifications in addition to a short list explaining the work tasks (see Appendix B for job descriptions). We used a large job search web site and looked through several actual job postings for the two positions (Finn, 2018), and derived the most common and frequent information. Participants were specifically asked to not compare the two profiles as they represented to different occupations.

After reading the job descriptions and reviewing the assigned LinkedIn profiles, participants were then asked to indicate if they would recommend contacting this candidate for an interview. We adapted the items of Chiang and Suen (2015, p. 520) on the variable hiring recommendation and created the variable recruiters' recommendation for interview. Specifically, the Norwegian translation of the following three items were used: 'I consider the job seeker to be a strong candidate for this job', 'I consider the job seeker to be eligible for interviewing for this job' and 'I would contact this job seeker for an interview for this job'. All items used a 6-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (6).

Lastly, we included a manipulation check where respondents were asked to rate how professional they perceived each candidate to be on a scale from 1-10. A manipulation check can be a useful way of investigating how robust the results of experiments are when they are based on "subjects' attention to treatments" (Aronow, Baron, & Pinson, 2015). As our study involved respondents providing subjective assessments, we considered this kind of test to be valuable for our analysis.

5. Data Analysis and Results

5.1. Principal component analysis

We initiated the analysis by performing an Exploratory Principal Component Analysis with promax rotation on the multiple item "Recruiters' recommendation for Interview" measure across all conditions/ scenarios. This was done to evaluate the factor structure and ensure that all items have a loading of 0.50 or higher on the target construct (Nunnally & Bernstein, 2007). As all loadings are above 0.80 we can conclude that the items have a satisfactory loading on the target construct (see Table 3).

Table 3Exploratory Principal Component Analysis

	Condition 1		Condition 2	
Items (Recruiters' rec. for interview)	Accountant Marketing coordinator		Accountant	Marketing coordinator
I consider the job				
seeker to be a strong	.91	.84	.88	.89
candidate for this job				
I consider the job				
seeker to be eligible	.96	.90	.94	.95
for interviewing for				
this job				
I would contact this				
job seeker for an	.95	.90	.91	.91
interview for this job				

_	Condi	tion 3	Condition 4		
Items (Recruiters' rec. for interview)	Accountant Marketing coordinator		Accountant	Marketing coordinator	
I consider the job seeker to be a strong candidate for this job	.92	.82	.88	.92	
I consider the job seeker to be eligible for interviewing for this job	.92	.95	.95	.94	
I would contact this job seeker for an interview for this job	.94	.90	.96	.94	

5.2. Scale reliabilities

Next, we analyzed the scale reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) of the recruiters' recommendation for interview measure for each condition, and determined if each is higher than the generally accepted threshold of 0.70. As displayed in Table 4, the \propto score for our items range from 0.85 to 0.93, which indicate a strong internal consistency.

Table 4
Cronbach's Alpha

	Condi	tion 1	Condition 2	
Items (Recruiters' rec. for interview)	Accountant Marketing coordinator		Accountant	Marketing coordinator
I consider the job				
seeker to be a strong				
candidate for this job				
I consider the job				
seeker to be eligible	.93	.85	.90	.90
for interviewing for				
this job				
I would contact this				
job seeker for an				
interview for this job				

	Condition 3		Condition 4	
Items (Recruiters' rec. for interview)	Accountant Marketing coordinator		Accountant	Marketing coordinator
I consider the job				
seeker to be a strong				
candidate for this job				
I consider the job				
seeker to be eligible	.91	.86	.92	.92
for interviewing for				
this job				
I would contact this				
job seeker for an				
interview for this job				

5.3. Manipulation check

Checks of the profile self-disclosure manipulation revealed that the manipulations were successful. Descriptives of the manipulation check can be found in Table 5.

A one-way ANOVA found that subjects' ratings of profile professionality differed significantly between the personal self-disclosure and professional self-disclosure conditions for both accountants F(1, 218) = 29.32, p < .000 and marketing coordinators F(1, 232) = 8.05, p < .005 profiles (see Table 6). The mean score on this index for Accounting profiles was 6.75 in personal self-disclosure conditions and 7.88 for professional self-disclosure conditions. The mean score on this index for marketing coordinator profiles was 5.79 for personal self-disclosure conditions and 6.43 for professional self-disclosure conditions.

Table 5Descriptives table, Manipulation check

		N	Mean (SD)	SE
Manipulation	Personal	114	6.75 (1.73)	.16
check,	Professional	105	7.88 (1.31)	.12
Accountant	Total	219	7.29 (1.64)	.11
Manipulation	Personal	122	5.79 (1.66)	.15
check,	Professional	111	6.43 (1.76)	.16
Marketing	Total	233	6.09 (1.73)	.11
coordinator				

Table 6One-way ANOVA, Manipulation check

		df	F	Sig.
Manipulation check, Between Groups		1	29.32	.00
Accountant	Within Groups	217		
	Total	218		
Manipulation check,	Between Groups	1	8.05	.005
Marketing	Within Groups	231		
coordinator	Total	232		

5.4. Hypothesis testing

Hypothesis 1 predicted that recruiters' recommendation to interview a job candidate would be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented for Accounting professionals, but not for marketing coordinator professionals.

A one-way ANOVA found that subjects' recommendation to interview a job candidate differed significantly between the professionally-oriented and personally-oriented self-disclosure conditions for Accounting profiles F(1, 218) = 6.41, p < .01, but not for marketing profiles F(1, 232) = .51, p = .47 (see Table 7). The mean score on this index for Accounting profiles was 4.71 in personal self-disclosure conditions and 5.02 for professional self-disclosure conditions. As presented in Table 8, the mean score on this index for marketing profiles was not significantly different between conditions: 4.27 when LinkedIn profiles were personal-oriented and 4.36 when they were professional-oriented. Accordingly, H1 was supported.

Table 7
One-way ANOVA, H1

		df	F	Sig.
Recruiters' rec. for Between Groups		1	6.41	.012
interview, Accountant	Within Groups	217		
	Total	218		
Recruiters' rec. for	Between Groups	1	.51	.47
interview, Marketing	Within Groups	231		
coordinator	Total	232		

Table 8Descriptives table, H1

		N	Mean (SD)	SE
Recruiters' rec. for	Personal	114	4.71 (1.00)	.09
interview, Accountant	Professional	105	5.02 (.73)	.07
	Total	219	4.86 (.89)	.06
Recruiters' rec. for	Personal	122	4.27 (.96)	.08
interview, Marketing	Professional	111	4.36 (.95)	.09
coordinator	Total	233	4.31 (.95)	.06

Hypothesis 2 predicted that for accounting professionals, recruiters' recommendation to interview a female job candidate would be higher when self-disclosure on the job candidate's LinkedIn profile was professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented, whereas no significant difference was expected for male job candidates.

A one-way ANOVA (see Table 9) found that subjects' recommendation to interview an accounting job candidate differed significantly between the professional-oriented and personal-oriented self-disclosure conditions when the job candidate was female, but not when the job candidate was male. Table 10 shows that the Tukey post hoc test revealed that the mean recruiters' recommendation to interview score for female accounting job candidates was 5.03 in the professional self-disclosure condition compared to 4.50 in the personal selfdisclosure condition, resulting in a significant mean difference score of .52 (p > .01) (see Table 11). No significant difference was found between recruiters' recommendation to interview scores for male accounting job candidates across the professional and personal self-disclosure conditions. The mean score of professional-oriented male accounting LinkedIn profiles was 5.01, compared to 4.95 for personal-oriented male accounting LinkedIn profiles (mean difference = -.05, p = .98). Accordingly, H2 was supported. Further, it is notable to point out that recruiters' recommendation to interview scores were significantly lower for female candidates who had a personal LinkedIn profile than for male candidates, regardless of if male candidates LinkedIn profile was professional-oriented (mean

difference -.50, p > .01) or personal-oriented (-.45, p > .03). The findings are visualized through a box plot (See Figure 2).

Table 9One-way ANOVA, H2, Recruiters' recommendation for interview, Accountants

	df	F	Sig.
Between groups	3	4.72	.003
Within groups	215		
Total	218		

Table 10

Descriptives table, H2, Recruiters' recommendation for interview, Accountants

Condition	N	Mean (SD)	SE
Female, Personal	60	4.50 (1.08)	.14
Female, Professional	50	5.03 (.68)	.09
Male, Personal	54	4.95 (.84)	.11
Male, Professional	55	5.01 (.78)	.10
Total	219	4.86 (.89)	.06

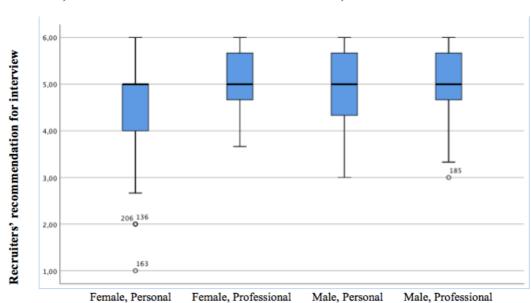
Table 11

Tukey Post hoc test, Recruiters' recommendation for interview, Accountants

		Mean difference		
(I) Condition	(J) Condition	(I-J)	SE	Sig.
Female, Personal	Female, Professional	52*	.16	.01
	Male, Personal	45*	.16	.03
	Male, Professional	50*	.16	.01
Female, Professional	Female, Personal	.52*	.16	.01
	Male, Personal	.07	.17	.97
	Male, Professional	.02	.17	.99
Male, Personal	Female, Personal	.45*	.16	.03
	Female, Professional	07	.17	.97
	Male, Professional	05	.16	.98
Male, Professional	Female, Personal	.50*	.16	.01
	Female, Professional	02	.17	.99
	Male, Personal	.05	.16	.98

^{*} p<0 .05

Figure 2.Box Plot, Recruiters' recommendation for interview, Accountants



Conditions

6. Discussion

6.1. A Discussion of Findings Relating to Hypothesis 1 (H1).

The support of H1 indicates that how a person presents him- or herself on LinkedIn, with regards to personal- or professional-oriented self-disclosure, does have implications for their recruitment prospects, particularly among accounting professionals. We found that having a professional-oriented LinkedIn profile as an accountant results in a higher likelihood of being recommended for an interview by a recruiter than if the profile was personal-oriented. As displayed in Table 10, accountant profiles with professional-oriented self-disclosure were slightly more likely to be recommended for an interview than accountant profiles with personal-oriented self-disclosure. On a general level, one can argue that this finding supports the notion that LinkedIn is a SNS with a clear focus on career and business (Chiang & Suen, 2015), and that profile content complying with this focus is likely to be evaluated more favorably by recruiters. However, the result cannot be discussed without including the role of occupation.

Furthermore, the result of H1 could be explained by occupational norms and how the different rules and expectations within these norms (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) influence how LinkedIn user profiles are evaluated. Occupational norms are the normative terms and conditions about a job, the informal guidelines about what is expected and the social behavior of those within the specific occupation (Carney & Junor, 2014). While accounting has informal guidelines that result in the stereotype of a grey suited, serious and dreary professional (Aranya et al., 1978; DeCoster & Rhode, 1971; Imada, et al., 1980; Shackleton, 1980), the occupational norms within marketing provide stereotypes of more creative people with fewer strict requirements for education and certification, and instead more emphasis on previous work experience, personality traits (McClaren et al., 2010; Pefanis Schlee and Harich, 2010) and behavioral characteristics such as flexibility and solidarity in addition to information exchange (Heide & John, 1992).

One interesting finding is how the subject's rating of professionalism is generally lower for marketing coordinator profiles. It has previously been established that when job candidates present themselves on SNSs they should present themselves

within the contextual norms of the impression they wish to communicate (Leary, 1995). The finding of H1 indicates that regarding self-disclosure on LinkedIn, occupational norms are relevant to consider for the job candidates, at least when choosing between personal and professional-oriented self-disclosure.

Professional-oriented self-disclosure can be more in accordance with the norms of accounting, while communicating personal-oriented self-disclosure could be more in accordance with the norms of marketing. Still, even though findings indicate that it is more acceptable or more in accordance with occupational norms to have a personal-oriented self-disclosure as a marketing coordinator than as an accountant, it is not necessarily negative for job seekers within marketing to have a professional-oriented self-disclosure on their LinkedIn profile. It is important to state that results for the marketing coordinator profiles are not statistically significant, so whether they have personal-oriented or professional-oriented self-disclosure does not matter.

The results of this study suggest that although type of self-disclosure can benefit from following the patterns of occupational norms, how recruiters perceive and interpret these norms and how they use these norms to evaluate the candidates can be influenced by their own implicit mental processes. Recruiters judging a LinkedIn profile may possess a set of unconscious attitudes and stereotypes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) that could lead them to generate expectations about which characteristics/values people within these occupations should have and consequently what they should convey on their LinkedIn profile. Also, our findings indicate that these stereotypes can assert themselves when recruiters are identifying and evaluating important and valuable characteristics of job candidates within different occupations. In sum, we believe occupational norms and stereotypes make up the basis of the findings in H1, as recruiters' recommendation for interview in fact is higher for accountants when self-disclosure is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented.

6.2. A Discussion of Findings Relating to Hypothesis 2 (H2).

The results also supported hypothesis 2, meaning that recruiters' recommendation for interview for female accountants is higher when the self-disclosure on

LinkedIn profile is professional-oriented than when it is personal-oriented. Also as predicted in H2, we found no such significant difference for male accountants.

It is plausible that implicit biases are a part of the explanation for this outcome as well. As previously discussed, research has established that gender stereotypes are developed unconsciously (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), and they can have a profound impact on how people behave (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Greenwald, 1990; Jacoby et al., 1992). Considering this knowledge, we can argue that female accountants receive a higher recommendation for interview when they have a professional-oriented self-disclosure on their LinkedIn profile because of norms and stereotypes linked to unconscious attitudes and stereotypes about women and men. These attitudes and stereotypes can again influence decision-making behaviors that take place in recruitment processes, and a combination of these can be the basis for the support of H2.

As suggested by Barker (2001), perhaps social expectations related to gender are reconstructed, adjusted and upheld through observation of behavior and social interaction both in the workplace and elsewhere. Maybe the presence of these norms are reinforced through practices regarding promotions (Subramaniam & Lambert, 1993; Carolfi et al., 1996, Probert et al., 1998) or through women's tendencies to disclose less information about themselves online (Zide et al., 2014) and how they are also more inclined to communicate emotions (Tifferet & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2018). These kinds of behaviors might be one of the reasons why gender norms appear to be present to the extent they are, both at the workplace and in general, and why H2 was confirmed. Similarly, such behaviors could somewhat explain why, according to the results of our study, it does not matter for male accountants what kind of self-disclosure they present on LinkedIn, while the opposite seem to be the case for their female peers. In this paper, we have identified several normative guidelines related to gender within the accountant profession. It is possible that the perception of accounting as a male occupation (Fisher & Murphy, 1995) due to the nature of work tasks (Dellinger, 2002) and the tendency to perceive women as less competent and rational at work (Heilman et al., 1995), leads to similar assessments of male accountants regardless of how they disclose information on their LinkedIn profile, while female accountants are less fortunately rated when they do not comply with business norms that favor a

suited, rational and credible style communicating integrity (Bougen, 1994; Friedman & Lyne, 2001). It is possible that these business norms contribute to gender discrimination, as described by the rational bias theory. Based on this framework, one can explain the difference in assessments made in our study by claiming that men working with accounting are accepted to a higher degree than women, and that this is an existing latent rule (Hochschild, 1983). However, when women present themselves in a professional manner by wearing suits and providing highly rational and career-focused information that emphasize their skills, they are evaluated better by recruiters in the sense of being more likely recommended for an interview. It appears that female accountants need to make more of an effort in the way they present themselves on SNSs in order to live up to the normative expectations and values of their occupation. The professional characteristics of LinkedIn could naturally also be of significance, although the findings indicate that male accountants who have personal-oriented profiles are rated about as high as female accountant profiles with a professional orientation (See Table 10).

The findings made with regards to H2 indicates that the interaction of gender norms and occupational norms are important to consider, and that displaying a professional orientation is required of women who want to be rated as competent in this occupation, because of the strong occupational norms favoring men and masculinity. It is paradoxical that even though accountancy is considered having a relatively even gender distribution occupation with a more or less balanced gender distribution both academically and in the workplace (Couch & Sigler, 2001, p. 696; Utdanning.no, 2017b), there seem to exist implicit beliefs about the nature of the occupation that tend to favor men. Why is there a mismatch between the occupational norms and the gender distribution for this particular occupation? One can argue that for occupations such as nursing, the norms are still very much linked to feminine qualities (Sebrant, 1999) such as forming friendly and supportive relationships with others (del Pilar Sánchez-López, Saavedra, Dresch, & Limiñana-Gras, 2014), due to the fact that a vast majority of nursing students and working nurses still are women (Ertsås, 2017; Utdanning.no, 2017a). It is still considered a highly feminized occupation on many levels (del Pilar Sánchez-López et al., 2014). For accountants, the same skewness in gender representation is not present and it is therefore quite interesting that there exists a significant

difference between how female and male accountants are evaluated as job seekers in regards to self-disclosure. We believe that the occupational norms are a big part of the explanation as to why this is. The reason why we did not find any significant results for the marketing coordinator profiles could potentially be that this occupation's norms (McClaren et al., 2010; Pefanis Schlee & Harich, 2010; Heide & John, 1992) are not as prevalent or present to the same extent as in accounting.

6.3. Implications

As previously stated, it is important to look at how people perceive the use of SNSs in recruitment processes, as indicated by Madera (2012), but we need to also look at the actual evaluation being done. The main implications of this study concentrate around how recruiters evaluate profile content on SNSs, particularly how job candidates' way of disclosing information about themselves can play an important role in these assessments, but possibly only for certain combinations of gender and occupation. However, our findings do not only have implications linked to the actual evaluation and practical execution, but they could also affect how job seekers use and perceive SNSs as a recruitment channel. This can particularly be the case for accountants, due to the previously discussed ethical aspect of the accountant occupation. Belonging to an occupation based on integrity and honesty is not a good match with empirical findings indicating discrimination. Our results provide support for the concerns of Zide et al. (2014), El Ouirdi et al. (2016), and Jeske and Shultz (2016) regarding level of fairness, potential discrimination and the occurrence of biases that can impact recruitment and selection decisions, especially if SNSs are used as the primary or only source of information. This can be problematic for the candidates being recruited through SNSs and it can also decrease the validity and reliability of the recruitment process. How can job candidates feel secure that they are being fairly treated and judged on the most relevant criteria such as experience and education, and how can recruiters and organizations be sure that they hire the best qualified candidates?

6.3.1. Implications for individuals

The findings of this study indicate that female LinkedIn users looking for new career opportunities should be aware of how they present themselves on their profile, as

they could suffer more from making unconscious/poor choices in regards to self-disclosure online. Because women also tend to disclose less information online in general (Zide et al., 2014), they could benefit from a higher awareness around their online presence. Our findings also indicate that it is beneficial for female LinkedIn users to consider the norms of their occupation when creating online profiles, especially on a career-oriented SNS such as LinkedIn. Successfully matching profile self-disclosure with occupational norms could have an impact on how likely a recruiter is to recommend a candidate for an interview, and maybe also other decisions that are made in a recruitment process.

6.3.2. Implications for recruiters

The results of our study indicate that recruiters also should be more aware when using LinkedIn in their recruitment processes. The potential impact of implicit biases triggered by gender norms and occupational norms on the assessments of job candidates on SNSs should not be ignored, as it represents an imminent risk of erroneous decisions making. Surely, these biases can influence traditional recruitment processes as the assessment of CVs, applications and references also involve the subjective evaluation done by one or more individuals. Still, due to the relative newness, increasing popularity of SNS recruitment procedures and how individuals typically put more and/or different information on SNSs than on their CV, we believe recruiters should follow the trend with caution, as the information displayed can trigger implicit bias. It could even be an idea for recruiters to undergo implicit bias training that covers not only issues related to typical diversity categories, i.e. gender and race (Jackson, Hillard, & Schneider, 2014; Lebrecht, Pierce, Tarr, & Tanaka, 2009), but also occupational norms.

Based on our findings, it could also be beneficial for recruiters to rely on a combination of different sources of information, and not restrict the process to only include online assessments. However fast and easily available, this study suggest that SNSs alone are not reliable or ethically appropriate enough to function as the main tool in a recruiter's toolbox.

6.3.3. Implications for organizations

Our findings could also represent a challenge for organizations, especially those who already have adopted a digital strategy including recruitment through SNSs. One can argue that organizations could benefit from facilitating fair and thorough recruitment

processes and making sure that departments responsible for recruitment and selection have the sufficient resources available to achieve this, but also the knowledge about pros and cons when utilizing SNSs as a new recruitment channel. One can also discuss the potential significance for employer branding related to candidates' perception of fairness when companies identify and/or assess job candidates via SNSs. It is possible that companies who openly promote this kind of recruitment strategy can be viewed as less fair and inclusive, especially if empirical research continues to indicate the risk of discrimination and biased decisions.

With existing research in the field of recruitment using SNSs still being quite limited, we have made an empirical and useful contribution to the research on self-presentation on SNSs by including both gender norms and occupational norms. Theoretically, our findings provide a continuation of Chiang and Suen's (2015) model on the link between job seeker self-presentation and recruiter hiring recommendation on SNSs. The discussion of our results is rooted in several conceptual frameworks such as rational bias theory and role congruity theory, and can be seen as a contribution to theory development within these fields of research by pointing out the relevance of gender and occupational norms in the context of recruitment using SNSs.

6.4. Limitations

Applying a critical eye, there are several limitations to our study that should be addressed. Due to the fact that our variables were measured using self-reports of recruiters, similarly to Chiang and Suen (2015), there is a risk of Common Method Variance (CMV) affecting the results. This is a valid concern when collecting data from a single source (Avolio, Yammarino, & Bass, 1991) as well as a potential problem when applying an experimental design (O'Brien, 1981).

Regarding the sample, the respondents are not exclusively from the industries that are represented in the profiles. Despite the respondents' recruitment experience and/or knowledge, the lack of insight into accountancy and marketing occupations could have made it difficult for them to effectively evaluate the candidates' profiles up against the provided job descriptions, particularly given the limited information provided in both. On the other hand, 19 respondents reported to work within Bank/Finance/Insurance, 7 within Sales/Marketing and a total of 122 respondents reported working with recruitment or HR/Organization/Personnel in general, which

can involve recruiting for several different occupations and industries. Thus, we believe that the sample was not poorly suited to the task required in the experiment. Still, future studies that replicate this experiment could improve the design by using a sample of experienced recruiters for the relevant occupations.

Furthermore, the LinkedIn profiles were presented in an online survey with only white space surrounding the pictures and information. While the format and design of the profiles themselves are identical to how they look on LinkedIn, there are no ads, suggestions for new connections or any other extra information surrounding the profiles as on the LinkedIn web page. This can reduce the ecological validity of the measures, because the research design is not directly in accordance with the setting as it is in real life (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p. 51).

Finally, the choice of profile pictures and the formulation of the personal summaries were based on a number of best practices in order to appeal generally to the study participants. How these elements were actually perceived by the individual respondents, however, is highly subjective. Accordingly, it is possible that aspects such as the job candidate's appearance and the exact choice of words affected the respondents' assessments, and not the professional- or personal-oriented type of self-disclosure of the candidate profiles.

6.5. Suggestions for future research

For future research it could be interesting to conduct a similar study using a different SNS as context, in order to investigate whether or not similar tendencies occur when recruiters use for example Facebook as a recruitment channel. Additionally, based on the conclusions of Evans (2012) indicating that recruiters easily get distracted by the visual complexity on LinkedIn, it could potentially be of relevance to design similar studies with SNS profiles on the actual websites displaying other content such as ads and network suggestions in order to ensure the ecological validity to a higher extent than this study. We could also suggest that future research include several other sources of information in addition to a SNS, such as assessment of CV, motivation letter and references, to cover a larger portion of a normal recruitment process. One can argue that it is more realistic that SNSs, such as LinkedIn, function as new, additional sources of information to the traditional methods instead of being the primary approach. The results of this study indicate that gender and occupation can have an impact on recruiters' assessments of job candidates online. Therefore, it

might be interesting to consider gender in combination with other types of occupations as well, opposites or not, to investigate whether or not occupational norms have an impact also when evaluating job candidates within other industries.

7. Conclusion

To summarize, this paper investigated the relationship between LinkedIn users' type of self-disclosure and recruiters' recommendation for interview, with the impact of the occupational norms of accounting and marketing in addition to gender norms. Both hypotheses were confirmed, meaning that for accountants, a professionaloriented self-disclosure on LinkedIn has a more positive impact on recruiters' recommendation for interview than personal-oriented self-disclosure, and that professional-oriented self-disclosure is more beneficial for female accountants regarding the likelihood of being recommended for an interview. Even though some research suggests that LinkedIn profiles can be less deceptive about vital candidate information than traditional forms of candidate assessment our results suggest that norms, attitudes and stereotypes related to gender and occupation, and the personal or professional orientation of how LinkedIn users disclose their profile information can lead to biased recruiter decisions when LinkedIn is the platform for candidate assessment. These findings represent a relevant contribution to the research field of recruitment and selection using SNSs, and particularly in regards to the topic of recruiter assessments and how self-presentation characteristics as well as candidates' personal characteristics (e.g. gender and occupation) can affect these assessments. The tendencies identified in this research support existing concerns of potential cons and pitfalls of this recruitment strategy, and reinforce the need for more knowledge and understanding of what it can entail for all parties in a recruitment process before it becomes the predominant go-to approach for recruiters in an even wider range of industries.

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Appendix A

Introduction to survey

A. Introduction to survey

Velkommen til vår spørreundersøkelse!

Denne undersøkelsen har som mål å identifisere faktorer som påvirker folks oppfatninger når man vurderer LinkedIn-profiler til aktuelle jobbsøkere. Du vil bli bedt om å se på og evaluere to forskjellige LinkedIn-profiler separat. Du kan gå frem og tilbake i undersøkelsen hvis du ønsker å se gjennom eller endre svarene dine, men vi ber deg om å stole på din første evaluering og ikke tenke for lenge før du svarer.

Vær oppmerksom på at du IKKE skal sammenligne de to profilene, da de representerer ulike bransjer og yrker. Det er mulig at du vil møte yrker/bransjer som du har begrenset eller ingen kjennskap med, men vi ber deg om å sette deg inn i informasjonen du blir presentert og etter beste evne gjøre en vurdering basert på denne informasjonen.

Alle data som samles inn vil kun bli brukt i forbindelse med vår masteroppgave, og de vil slettes 01.09.2018.

Hvis du har noen spørsmål tilknyttet studien generelt eller selve undersøkelsen, vennligst send en e-post til: <u>Karoline.Skogstad@student.bi.no</u>

Lykke til!

Appendix B

Job descriptions

B.1. Job description, Marketing coordinator

Stillingsbeskrivelse: Markedskoordinator

Om stillingen:

- · Gjennomføring og koordinering av markedsaktiviteter
- · Koordinering av digitale prosjekter, intranett og sosiale medier
- · Salgs- og markedsprosesser
- · Planlegging og koordinering av eksterne og interne arrangementer
- · Generell innholdsproduksjon

Personlige egenskaper:

- · Utadvendt og strukturert
- · Høy gjennomføringsevne
- Evnen til å bygge gode relasjoner til kunder og ansatte
- Svært god skriftlig og muntlig fremstillingsevne både på norsk og engelsk
- Kommersielt fokus
- · Kreativ og tilpasningsdyktig

Ønskede kvalifikasjoner:

- · Relevant høyere utdanning.
- 3-5 års erfaring som markedskoordinator eller lignende stillinger.
- · Bred praktisk erfaring med employer branding og digital markedsføring.

B.2. Job description, Accountant

Stillingsbeskrivelse: Revisor

Om stillingen:

- · Prosjektbasert, finansiell rådgivning
- Analyse av regnskap
- Finansiell rapportering
- Risikovurdering
- Kontinuerlig dialog med kunder/samarbeidspartnere

Personlige egenskaper

- · God forretningsforståelse
- Analytiske egenskaper og integritet
- Evne til å etablere og vedlikeholde positive kunderelasjoner
- · Strukturert, systematisk og nøyaktig

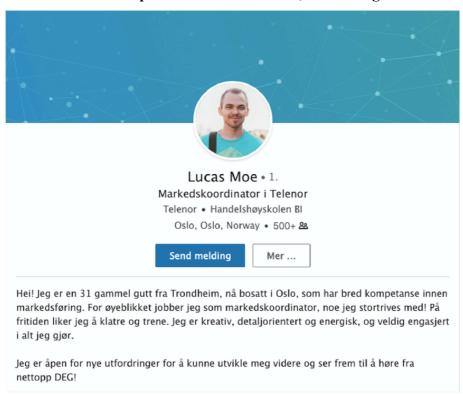
Ønskede kvalifikasjoner

- · Høyere utdanning innen revisjon/regnskap/økonomi
- Minimum 2-3 års arbeidserfaring som revisor eller regnskapsfører
- · Statsautorisering er en fordel, men ikke et krav

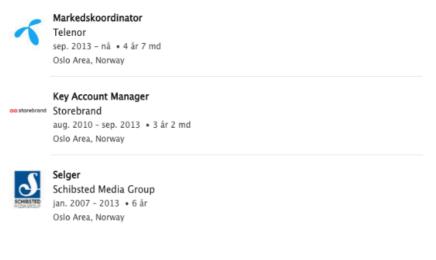
Appendix C

LinkedIn profiles, all conditions

C.1.1. Condition 1: personal self-disclosure, Marketing Coordinator, male



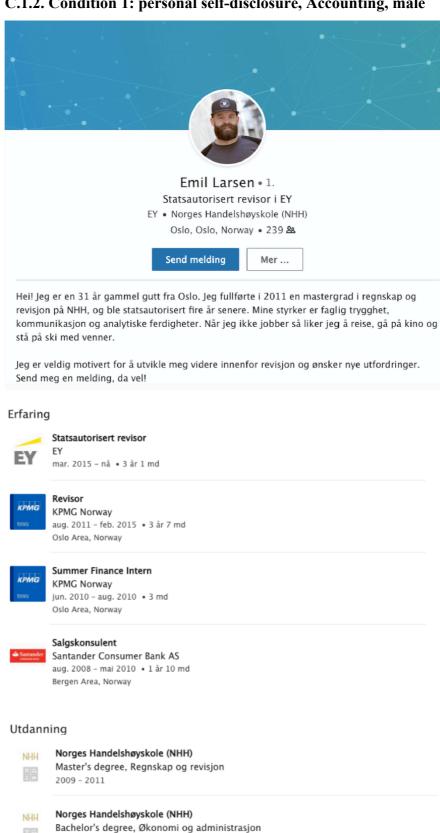
Erfaring



Utdanning



C.1.2. Condition 1: personal self-disclosure, Accounting, male

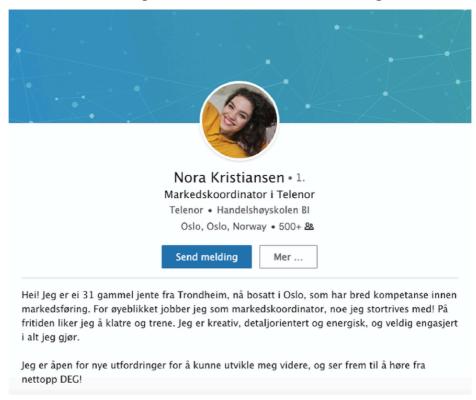


Studiespesialiserende: Språk, samfunnsfag og økonomi 2003 - 2006

2006 - 2009

Oslo Handelsgymnasium

C.2.1. Condition 2: personal self-disclosure, Marketing Coordinator, female



Erfaring



Markedskoordinator

sep. 2013 - nå • 4 år 7 md Oslo Area, Norway



orebrand Storebrand

aug. 2010 - sep. 2013 • 3 år 2 md Oslo Area, Norway



Selger

Schibsted Media Group jan. 2007 - 2013 • 6 år Oslo Area, Norway

Utdanning



Handelshøyskolen BI

Bachelor's degree, Markedsføring 2007 - 2010



Høyskolen Kristiania

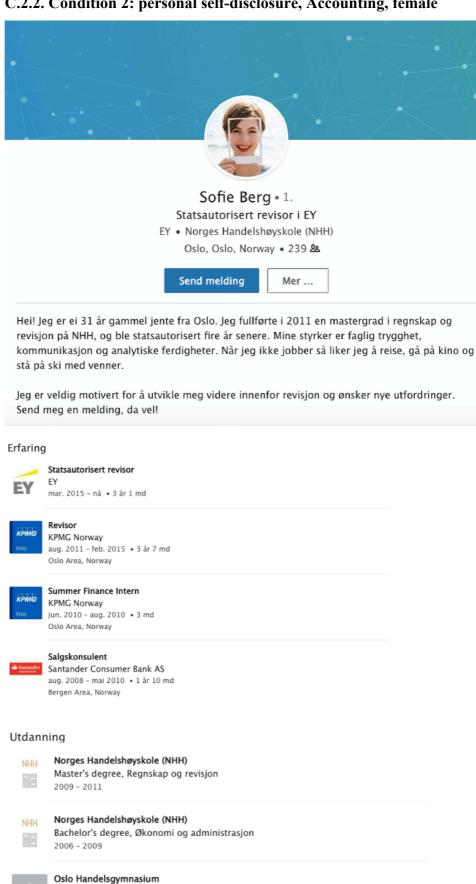
Årsenhet, Markedsføring og salg 2006 - 2007



Byåsen Videregående Skole

Medier og kommunikasjon 2003 - 2006

C.2.2. Condition 2: personal self-disclosure, Accounting, female



Studiespesialiserende: Språk, samfunnsfag og økonomi

C.3.1. Condition 3: professional self-disclosure, Marketing Coordinator, male



hovedinteresser. Solid erfaring med prosjektarbeid fra min tid som Key Account Manager. Har også kurs og noe erfaring innen SEM og branding. Tar gjerne imot seriøse henvendelser vedrørende spennende karrieremuligheter.

Erfaring



Markedskoordinator

Telenor

sep. 2013 - nå • 4 år 7 md Oslo Area, Norway

Key Account Manager nd Storebrand

> aug. 2010 - sep. 2013 • 3 år 2 md Oslo Area, Norway



Selger

Schibsted Media Group jan. 2007 - 2013 • 6 år

Oslo Area, Norway

Utdanning



Handelshøyskolen BI

Bachelor's degree, Markedsføring

2007 - 2010



Høyskolen Kristiania

Årsenhet, Markedsføring og salg

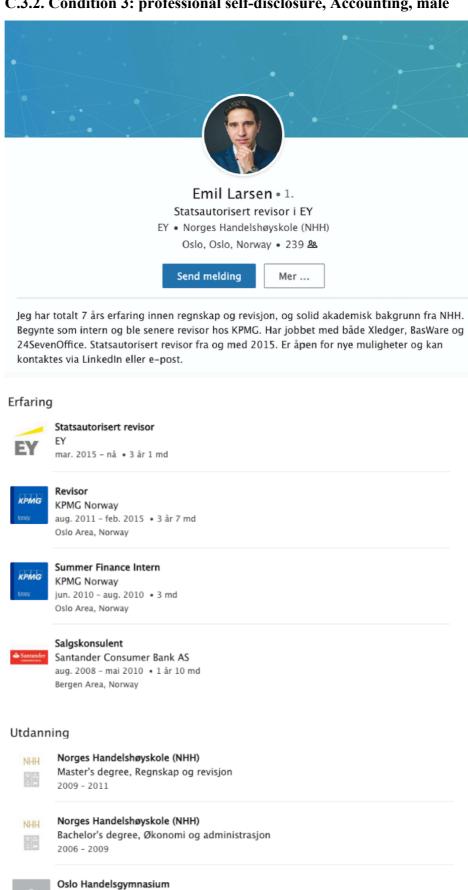
2006 - 2007



Byåsen Videregående Skole

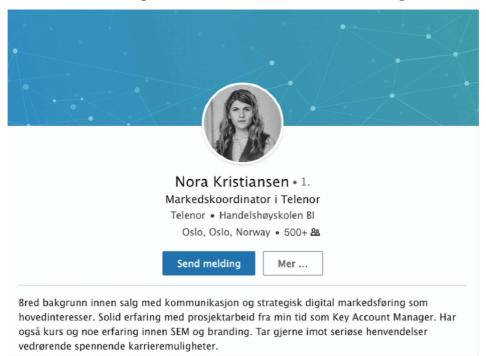
Medier og kommunikasjon

C.3.2. Condition 3: professional self-disclosure, Accounting, male



Studiespesialiserende: Språk, samfunnsfag og økonomi

C.4.1. Condition 4: professional self-disclosure, Marketing Coordinator, female



Erfaring



Markedskoordinator

Telenor

sep. 2013 - nå • 4 år 7 md Oslo Area, Norway

Key Account Manager

storebrand Storebrand

aug. 2010 - sep. 2013 • 3 år 2 md Oslo Area, Norway



Selger

Schibsted Media Group

jan. 2007 - 2013 • 6 år

Oslo Area, Norway

Utdanning



Handelshøyskolen BI

Bachelor's degree, Markedsføring 2007 - 2010



Høyskolen Kristiania

Årsenhet, Markedsføring og salg 2006 - 2007



Byåsen Videregående Skole

Medier og kommunikasjon 2003 - 2006

3.4.2. Condition 4: professional self-disclosure, Accounting, female

