

**Appearing self-confident and getting credit for it:**

**Why it may be easier for men than women to gain influence at work**

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### **Abstract**

Appearing self-confident is instrumental for progressing at work. However, little is known about what makes individuals appear self-confident at work. We draw on attribution and social perceptions literatures to theorize about both antecedents and consequences of appearing self-confident for men and women in male-dominated professions. We suggest that performance is one determinant of whether individuals are seen as confident at work, and that this effect is moderated by gender. We further propose that self-confidence appearance increases the extent to which individuals exert influence in their organizations. However, for women, appearing self-confident is not enough to gain influence. In contrast to men, women in addition are “required” to be prosocially oriented. Multisource, time-lag data from a technology company showed that performance had a positive effect on self-confidence appearance for both men and women. However, the effect of self-confidence appearance on organizational influence was moderated by gender and prosocial orientation, as predicted. Through self-confidence appearance, job performance directly enabled men to exert influence in their organization. In contrast, high performing women gained influence only when their self-confidence appearance was coupled with prosocial orientation. Our results have practical implications for gender equality and leadership. They suggest that HR and senior management should play a key role in building more diversity-friendly organizations. In particular, ensuring that the same job requirements – explicit and implicit – are applied to both female and male employees is crucial for fair individual outcomes in organizations.

*Keywords:* Self-confidence appearance; gender; job performance; prosocial orientation; organizational influence

## Appearing self-confident and getting credit for it:

## Why it may be easier for men than women to gain influence at work

Evidence suggests that gender differences in career aspirations and the importance individuals place on such job attributes as prestige, challenge, and power have been shrinking over the past decades (Astin, Parrott, Kom, & Sax, 1997; Ely & Rhode, 2010; Konrad, Ritchie, Lieb, & Corrigan, 2000; c.f., Gino, Wilmuth, & Brooks, 2015). At the same time, women are still a minority in male-dominated professions encompassing a range of occupations from science to technology and engineering and including leadership positions in most industries (e.g., Catalyst, 2015, 2016; Kakabadse et al., 2015; National Science Foundation, 2015). When attempting to gain organizational influence and progress in their careers, women encounter multiple well-documented barriers (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001).

One reason often used to explain gender gaps in many professions involves self-confidence (Ely & Rhode, 2010). The argument goes: women are less confident than men, and this hurts their chances of promotion. Yet, research found no consistent gender differences in self-confidence in achievement-oriented domains (e.g., Guillén, Mayo, & Korotov, 2015; Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Lenney, 1977; Mayo, Kakarika, Pastor, & Brutus, 2012; Singer, 1991; Zhao, Seibert, & Hills, 2005). Nevertheless, *self-confidence appearance*, or whether others see an individual as self-confident, matters because it may trigger important social consequences at work. For example, research has shown that individuals appearing confident emerge as leaders in team interactions and influence substantially team decisions (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009). Projecting self-confidence might be particularly important in male-typed occupations where successful individuals are expected to be assertive and achievement-oriented (Heilman, 2001). In this paper, we aim

at providing further insights into the question of how people gain influence in male-typed occupations and whether the answer differs for men and women. In particular, we focus on self-confidence appearance as a precursor of individual influence in organizations.

Self-confidence appearance has been suggested to relate positively to many individual outcomes in organizations such as hiring and promotion decisions (Smith, 2013). Perhaps not surprisingly, the popular press offers many prescriptions for individuals “to instantly appear more confident,”<sup>1</sup> with the assumption that projecting a confident image is instrumental for individuals’ organizational success. Academic scholars have also evoked confidence as an essential quality for success in roles as varied as organizational leaders, politicians, and technical experts (Bass, 1991; Citrin & Green, 1986; Phillips, 2001), in part because those who exude confidence are more likely to be seen as trustworthy, reliable, and influential (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Zaleznik & Kets de Vries, 1975). However, although confidence self-perceptions have attracted research attention (e.g., Bandura, 1997), the importance of appearing confident in the eyes of others has been much more often evoked than empirically tested (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Shamir, House, & Arthur, 1993). Given the broad implications of self-confidence appearance for professional success, it is important to understand how confidence perceptions are formed and what consequences they entail. We propose that in male-typed professions, different ingredients are necessary for men and women to be seen as self-confident at work and to reap the benefits of it.

We define *self-confidence appearance* at work as others’ perception of whether an individual is confident about being able to meet his/her performance standards, or has a sense of agency at work (Bandura, 1997) (e.g., “s/he seems confident in what s/he is doing”). In what follows, we specifically focus on supervisor perceptions of employee self-

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., <http://www.nerdfitness.com/blog/2010/09/09/5-ways-to-immediately-appear-more-confident/>

confidence because supervisors have reward power in terms of promotions, pay, and professional development of employees, and hence these career outcomes are likely to be affected by employee appearance in the eyes of supervisors. To understand the antecedents of self-confidence appearance at work and its consequences for men and women, we build on attribution (e.g., Green & Mitchell, 1979; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993; Kulich, Ryan, & Haslam, 2007) and social perceptions literatures (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004).

Drawing on past research, we expect successful job performance to enhance supervisor perceptions of employee self-confidence. However, this effect is likely to be moderated by the employee gender. In particular, we expect performance to play a stronger role in determining self-confidence appearance for men than women. As for the consequences of self-confidence appearance, we expect it to unconditionally increase the chances of men to gain influence in their organizations. In contrast, for women, we predict that self-confidence appearance increases influence only when women also display high prosocial orientation – or the motivation to benefit others (Grant, 2008). Taken together, we suggest that through self-confidence appearance, the effect of job performance is carried on to predict the extent to which men and women exert influence in their organizations. Fig. 1 summarizes our hypothesized model.

-----Insert Figure 1 about here-----

Our study contributes to several streams of research. First, we add to the attribution literature (e.g., Kulich et al., 2007) by showing that in male-typed occupations, self-confidence is attributed to high performers, both men and women. Second, we advance knowledge on social perceptions (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001; Heilman et al., 2004) by exploring how appearing self-confident in the eyes of supervisors has different consequences depending on one's gender and prosocial orientation. Our results

show that women low in prosocial orientation are penalized at work, as compared to men and also to women high in prosocial orientation. Our findings also point to self-confidence appearance as a mechanism that explains gender variations in the effect of performance on broad career outcomes such as gaining influence in organizations. Finally, we also contribute to the leadership literature that has pointed to the importance of appearing confident for gaining influence and being recognized as a leader (Ely & Rhode, 2010; Howell & Shamir, 2005). By documenting that different “ingredients” are necessary for men and women to gain organizational influence, we advance our understanding of leadership processes and career progression in organizations.

### **Theory and hypotheses**

#### **Performance as antecedent of self-confidence appearance**

As noted above, drawing on Bandura’s (1997) notion of self-efficacy, we define *self-confidence appearance* at work as others’ (and in particular supervisors’) perceptions of whether an individual is confident about being able to succeed at work, or has a sense of personal agency at work (e.g., “s/he seems confident in what s/he does”). Confidence constitutes a key of human agency (Bandura, 1977), which is a broad motive including goal attainment, achievement, mastery, status, and power (Bakan, 1966; Lippa, 1995). Other agentic attributes include ambition, resilience, dominance, assertiveness, academic ability, and leadership (Abele & Wojcizske, 2005; Bakan, 1966; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Perceptions of an individual’s agency are highly dependent on performance (Awamleh & Gardner, 1999; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985; Shamir, 1992). Especially in achievement-oriented contexts, individuals are attributed confidence, along with other agency-related characteristics, when they achieve high levels of performance (Lord, Binning, Rush, & Thomas, 1978; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). For example, organizational performance impacts how people view the CEOs, such that when

organizations perform well, their CEOs are more likely to be attributed charisma (e.g., Awamleh & Gardner, 1999), which is related to agency (e.g., Bass, 1985; House, Sprangler, & Woycke, 1991; Yagil, 1998). Ultimately, these CEOs are considered “superstars” and enjoy a bulk of prestigious rewards (Malmendier & Tate, 2009).

Furthermore, the person-work role fit (e.g., Kristof-Brown, Zimmer, & Johnson, 2005) and identity literatures (Ibarra, Snook, & Guillén, 2010; Shamir & Eilam, 2005) also suggest that successful individuals are perceived as matching their professional roles. High performing individuals are seen as willing to take responsibility, achieve power and status, and to possess such attributes as confidence, ambition, and leadership (Hogan & Holland, 2003).

These ideas suggest that people are more likely to attribute personal agency to successful individuals. Consequently, we propose that employee successful job performance, or proficiently carrying out one’s job responsibilities (Borman & Motowidlo, 1993), is related to supervisor perceptions of employee agency at work, including perceptions of employee self-confidence (e.g., “s/he is successful, therefore s/he must know what s/he is doing”). Thus:

***Hypothesis 1: Job performance is positively related to self-confidence appearance.***

However, there might be important variations across individuals in terms of the extent to which their job performance translates into self-confidence appearance. The social categories individuals belong to affect the way they are perceived by their social counterparts (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consequently, due to his/her membership in a particular social category, an individual can be rated high or low on several dimensions (halo effect) (Wayne & Kacmar, 1991). One of such categories is gender. Gender is often salient in people’s minds and thus influences social perceptions across many situations (Mayo, van Knippenberg, Guillén, & Firfiray, 2016; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glas, 1992).

To state the obvious, individuals cannot just leave their gender behind when they enter the workplace, which inevitably affects how they are perceived in their professional roles (Nkomo & Cox, 1999).

Gender roles (Biddle, 1979; Sarbin & Allen, 1968) prescribe men but not women to display agentic characteristics and be achievement-oriented (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fiske & Stevens, 1993). Furthermore, the male gender role stereotypes are highly correlated with implicit beliefs about attributes of success in male-dominated professions (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consequently, people find it more difficult to reconcile women's success in male-typed jobs and occupations with what women should be like and how they are expected to behave. These processes imply that whether successful performance has positive consequences for an individual depends on the individual's gender. We specifically propose that as compared to women, men are more likely to appear self-confident at work as a result of their successful job performance. We elaborate on this prediction below.

First, the more individuals are perceived as prototypical members of the social categories they belong to (e.g., leader, tech consultant, teacher), the more powerful they appear, and the more credit they are given for their work (Hogg & Van Knippenberg, 2003; Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984). Because expectations in male-typed professions and occupations include mainly agentic behaviors, which fit male gender stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001), these roles are seen as more suitable for men than women. Since in male-typed professions men are perceived as prototypical members, their success appears to be more likely than that of women, and their successful performance is more likely to be attributed to their personal skill and ability (Kulich et al., 2007; Schein, 1973). In contrast, the gender role stereotypes make women in male-typed professions appear less equipped with the necessary skills to succeed in such professions (Carli, 2001). Furthermore, for women, there are no pre-existing "causal theories" to explain their

achievements at work in terms of agentic qualities (Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1981). The absence of a “shortcut” explanation linking successful performance with agency for women increases the chances that other reasons such as luck are used to explain their successful performance. Consequently, for women, successful job performance is less likely to be attributed to their personal characteristics (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

In a similar vein, the achievement orientation men are expected to have implies that people see them in control of their goal accomplishment and professional future, thus being entirely responsible of their own successes and failures (“self-made men”). In contrast, women are typically seen as “reactive” (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999), less committed to work objectives (Mockler, 2015), and less credible (Kulich et al., 2007). These processes similarly suggest that in contrast to men, women’s job performance is less likely to be attributed to their personal ability.

Second, attribution processes are moderated by status (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2006). In male-typed professions, women pertain to a lower-status group compared to men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Members of high-status groups are often credited with more respect and credibility than those of low-status groups. This reasoning also suggests that success is more likely to be attributed to personal characteristics for men than women (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Igarria & Baroudi, 1995). Because women’s achievements may go unacknowledged (Heilman, 2001), successful performance is less likely to help them build a confident image. In addition, people tend to set higher ability standards for women than men, which makes it more difficult for women to prove that their performance is due to ability (Biernat & Kobryniewicz, 1997). Consequently, we expect that in traditionally male jobs, the positive effect of job performance on self-confidence appearance is moderated by gender. Thus:

*Hypothesis 2: The positive relationship between job performance and self-confidence appearance is moderated by gender, such that it is stronger for men than women.*

### **The effect of self-confidence appearance on influence**

Appearing confident at work matters because the more self-confidence individuals project in their roles, the more likely they are to elicit respect (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Spreitzer, 1995), appear trustworthy and reliable (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Zaleznik & Kets de Vries, 1975), and gain credibility in their organizations (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1991). An individual perceived as confident signals a congruence between his/her personal characteristics and those required to successfully fulfill his/her job responsibilities, which is likely to lead to positive job outcomes (Edwards & Shipp, 2007; Hoffman & Woehr, 2006), including higher performance (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) and being seen as an influential player in the organization (Bauer, 1964; Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Howell & Shamir, 2005). We define *organizational influence* as the degree of influence individuals have in the decision-making processes in their organizations (Siegel & Ruh, 1973).

We suggest that individuals appearing self-confident are likely to gain more influence in their organizations. Leadership research has shown that people are more susceptible to being influenced by individuals with a positive self-view (Nevicka, Ten Velden, De Hoogh, & Van Vianen, 2011). Moreover, research on decision-making in teams suggests that individuals who appear confident end up being the most influential players in their teams, independently of the actual depth of knowledge they have (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; see also Pfeffer & Sutton, 1998). Finally, social exchange theories similarly highlight that appearing confident is a necessary condition for being influential in interpersonal relations (e.g., Nemeth & Watchler, 1974). These ideas support our prediction

that individuals who appear self-confident are likely to exert more influence in their organizations. Thus:

***Hypothesis 3:** Self-confidence appearance is positively related to organizational influence.*

However, appearing confident is unlikely to completely eliminate the barriers women face in traditionally male jobs. Heilman and her colleagues (2004) suggest that, contrary to what happens to their agentic male colleagues, women displaying agentic behaviors (e.g., being assertive and decisive) are often seen as hostile, abrasive, manipulative, untrustworthy, selfish, and hence as overall less attractive working partners. The social backlash that women displaying agentic traits such as self-confidence face has been extensively documented (e.g., Carli, LaFleur, & Loeber, 1995; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consequently, appearing self-confident is likely to be more an asset for men than women.

Carli (2001) and Eagly and Karau (2002) suggest that for self-assured, agentic women at stereotypically male jobs, an antidote against social resistance is behavioral displays of communality. When women complement their confident, agentic behavior with prosocial behaviors, they may be able to overcome the social discredit at work (Carli, 2001). Thus, for women in male-typed jobs, appearing confident at work may translate into positive consequences only when they are also prosocially oriented. In contrast, for men, appearing self-confident is likely to enhance their organizational influence regardless of their prosocial motivation. This is so because it is normative for men to portray themselves in an agentic way (Leary, Robertson, Barnes, & Miller, 1986), and they do not need to be communal to make a good impression on others (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consequently, appearing self-confident is likely to help them gain social influence regardless of their prosocial orientation. Thus:

***Hypothesis 4:** Self-confidence appearance, gender, and prosocial orientation jointly predict organizational influence. The effect of self-confidence appearance on influence is stronger for men than women. This gender difference is smaller for individuals with high – as compared to low – prosocial orientation.*

Our hypothesized model (Fig. 1) thus proposes an indirect positive effect of job performance on organizational influence, mediated by self-confidence appearance, and moderated by gender and prosocial orientation. First, we predict that women are likely to be handicapped in the first part of our model, where job performance is less likely to help women than men to appear self-confident. Second, because in the second part of the model the path from self-confidence appearance to influence is likely to be moderated by both gender and prosocial orientation, prosocial women may be able to reduce the “female handicap” and reach levels of influence comparable to those of men. In contrast, women low in prosocial orientation are likely to have a handicap at both parts of our model and hence be significantly less influential in their organizations than men.

***Hypothesis 5:** The relationship between job performance and organizational influence is mediated via self-confidence appearance, and moderated by gender and prosocial orientation. The gender difference in the indirect effect of job performance on influence is smaller for individuals with high – as compared to low – prosocial orientation.*

## **Method**

### **Participants**

We tested our model using multisource time-lag data collected from a multinational software development company that employs over 4,000 people worldwide. The data were collected via online surveys as part of a larger data collection project, the objective of which was to provide individual feedback with developmental purposes across all national

offices in one of the countries where the company had presence (employing a total of over 500 people). All participants were assured their responses would be confidential. Our sample consisted of highly skilled computer engineers, as well as their supervisors and peers. In our sample, 23% of the engineers and 5% of supervisors were female, which is comparable to other organizations in science, technology, engineering, and other male-dominated industries (Catalyst, 2015).

Engineers worked in project teams to develop software applications for service organizations. In particular, the teams were in charge of creating codes for different software applications in the domains of finance, human resource management, and resource planning. Team members were involved in project planning, management and control of time and resources allocated to the project, quality assurance, web services development, and management of the relations with clients. Because of the project-based team structure, participants in our sample had no line management responsibilities.

### **Procedure**

The director of the human resources (HR) department invited 352 computer engineers along with their supervisors and peers to participate in the study. At Time 1, engineers were asked to complete the self-report measure of prosocial orientation. In addition, a wide range of stakeholders including supervisors, peers, and internal clients, were invited by the HR director to assess job performance of each engineer. We chose to rely on multiple sources to assess job performance because doing so is likely to result in more reliable assessments than using a single source (e.g., supervisor ratings) (Mount et al., 1998). Multiple authors similarly recommend to pool job performance ratings across multiple sources to tap the greatest proportion of individuals' true performance (e.g., Borman, 1997; Craig & Hannum, 2006; LeBreton, Burgess, Kaiser, Atchley, & James, 2003). The HR department selected the stakeholders for each participant based on the

frequency of their project-based interactions.

At Time 1, we obtained responses from 256 stakeholders on overall job performance. Each stakeholder rated on average 4 engineers, ranging from 1 to 26, resulting in a total of 984 responses corresponding to 297 engineers (84% response rate). At Time 2, a total of 22 direct supervisors (one of which was female) assessed engineers' self-confidence and organizational influence. The supervisors were on average 48.24 years old ( $SD = 6.32$ ) and had an average of 22.6 years ( $SD = 6.32$ ) of work experience. Across the two data collections, complete responses were obtained for 236 engineers (23% female; response rate = 80%). The engineers were on average 42.11 years old ( $SD = 8.18$ ) and had an average work experience of 14.46 years ( $SD = 8.57$ ).

### Measures

Unless otherwise indicated, respondents indicated the extent to which they agreed with each item on a 7 point Likert-type scale from 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much so*. Appendix 1 includes all items used in this study.

**Job performance.** At Time 1, superiors, peers and internal clients of our focal engineers were asked to assess their job performance through the three-item overall job performance scale developed by Motowidlo and Van Scotter (1994). Sample items include "exceeds standards for job performance" ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

**Gender.** Participants' gender was coded as follows: 0 = male, 1 = female.

**Prosocial orientation.** The focal engineers were asked to self-assess the extent to which they had a tendency to be concerned about others' welfare using four items of Grant's (2008) scale. The scale was adapted from Ryan and Connell's (1989) self-regulation scale, designed to measure prosocial motivation at work. Sample items include "I care about benefiting others through my work" and "It is important to me to do good for others through my work" ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

***Self-confidence appearance.*** At Time 2, direct supervisors rated the extent to which participants appeared to be self-confident at work by responding to the three-items self-confidence scale by Spreitzer (1995). We adapted the items from first (“I”) to third person (“s/he”). Sample items include “S/he is confident about his/her ability to do his/her job” ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

***Organizational influence.*** At Time 2, direct supervisors rated participants on the five items from the influence scale developed by Lam, Chen, and Schaubroeck (2002). A sample item is “In this organization, s/he has high degree of influence in company decisions” ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

***Control variables.*** In our analyses, we controlled for the effect of age, because it can affect self-confidence appearance and hence organizational influence (Kunze, Boehm, & Bruch, 2011; Levinson, 1978; Maurer, 2001). We also controlled for the effect of technical expertise on supervisor’s assessments of the engineers. Because of their in-role knowledge and credentials, experts might be seen as more confident independently of their actual job performance. We obtained technical expertise ratings from personnel files. These ratings are consensus evaluations performed by area managers and the HR specialists across a range of technical tasks the participants are required to successfully perform in their roles. Finally, when testing our hypothesized model, we controlled for the effect of self-confidence appearance and organizational influence at Time 1 on those at Time 2 to account for the possibility that these two variables and job performance were related at Time 1 (and they indeed were, see Table 1) and thus to better disentangle the hypothesized effects. Supervisors assessed engineers’ self-confidence ( $\alpha = .94$ ) and organizational influence ( $\alpha = .90$ ) at Time 1 on the same scales as at Time 2.

## **Analyses**

To test our hypothesized model, we performed *structural equation modeling* (SEM,

Bollen, 1989) analyses in STATA. Following Mount et al.'s (1998) recommendations, we considered each rater's performance ratings separately instead of aggregating the ratings into an averaged performance score per participant. Due to the nested nature of the data (i.e., 236 engineers working in 22 teams were evaluated by 256 stakeholders and 22 supervisors), the answers were not independent, thereby violating the OLS regression assumption. To account for that, we conducted conservative tests of our predictions by specifying clustered standards errors (Rogers, 1993) at the highest level of our data structure, i.e., teams. Furthermore, being evaluated by the same supervisor might have consequences for individual team members beyond their personal characteristics. To control for potential idiosyncratic supervisor effects, we created 21 dummy variables and entered them as additional predictors into our models. To avoid multi-collinearity problems, we centered predictor variables (i.e., job performance, prosocial orientation, self-confidence appearance) prior to computing interaction terms (Edwards, 1994).

## Results

### Measurement models

We first assessed the underlying structure of the four focal variables in our model (i.e., job performance, prosocial orientation, self-confidence appearance, and organizational influence) through confirmatory factor analyses (Bentler & Dudgeon, 1996). A four-factor model demonstrated a good fit with the data ( $\chi^2(83) = 483.43$ , RMSEA = .07). A two-factor model that included all other-rated items (i.e., job performance, self-confidence appearance, and influence) as a single underlying dimension resulted in a significant decrease in fit with respect to the four-factor model ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 5131.51$ ,  $\Delta df = 3$ ,  $p < .001$ ). A three-factor model with only self-confidence appearance and influence grouped into a single underlying dimension also resulted in a significantly worse fit than the four-factor model ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 2350.84$ ,  $\Delta df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ). These results indicate the appropriateness of

treating the four focal variables as separate constructs.

### **Descriptive statistics**

Descriptive statistics appear in Table 1. Job performance was related to neither prosocial orientation ( $r = .01, ns.$ ) nor gender ( $r = .05, ns.$ ). Self-confidence appearance and organizational influence were positively related (Time 2:  $r = .50, p < .001$ ). Gender was negatively related to self-confidence appearance ( $r = -.08, p < .05$ ).

-----Insert Table 1 about here-----

### **Hypotheses testing**

We used a series of structural equation models to test our hypotheses, such that we started with a model testing only for the direct effect of job performance on organizational influence mediated by self-confidence appearance. We then progressively added the interaction terms as further predictors of self-confidence appearance and organizational influence (Table 2). In all models, we entered the following control variables: the supervisor dummy variables (paths to self-confidence appearance and organizational influence), age and technical expertise (paths to all focal variables in the hypothesized model, Fig. 1), self-confidence appearance at Time 1 (path to self-confidence appearance at Time 2), and influence at Time 1 (path to influence in Time 2).

In line with our Hypothesis 1, job performance had a positive and significant effect on self-confidence appearance ( $.09, p < .01$ , Model 1 in Table 2). The path from self-confidence appearance to organizational influence was also positive and significant ( $.56, p < .001$ ), supporting our Hypothesis 3.

To test the hypothesized moderation by gender, in Model 2, we included a gender X job performance interaction as an additional predictor of self-confidence appearance and a gender X self-confidence appearance interaction as an additional predictor of organizational influence. As shown in Table 2, the interaction gender X job performance

was not significant in predicting self-confidence appearance ( $-.07$ , *ns.*), contrary to Hypothesis 2. Consistent with this result, adding the interaction term to the model did not significantly increase the  $R^2$  of the model (Wald test: 2.69, *ns.*).

-----Insert Tables 2 and 3 about here-----

To test the remaining hypotheses and our overall model (Fig. 1), we added the moderation by prosocial orientation. In particular, in Model 3 (Table 2), we added all the terms of the three-way interaction between prosocial orientation, gender, and self-confidence appearance as predictors of organizational influence.<sup>2</sup> Significant effects ( $p < .05$ ) of control variables in this final model (not shown in Table 3) were: from technical expertise to job performance (.63) and organizational influence (.18), from self-confidence appearance at Time 1 to that at Time 2 (.30), and from organizational influence at Time 1 to that at Time 2 (.32).<sup>3</sup>

Consistent with Hypothesis 4, the three-way interaction between self-confidence appearance, gender, and prosocial orientation was significant in this final model (.38,  $p < .05$ ). Adding the three-way interaction significantly increased the  $R^2$  of the model (Wald test: 5.27,  $p < .05$ ). The paths prosocial orientation  $\rightarrow$  organizational influence ( $-.02$ , *ns.*) and gender  $\rightarrow$  organizational influence (.00, *ns.*) were non-significant. To interpret the three-way interaction, we analyzed the effect of the two-way interaction between self-confidence appearance and gender separately for high and low prosocial orientation (Fig. 2).

-----Insert Figure 2 about here-----

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<sup>2</sup> We conducted additional analyses to verify that a potential endogeneity issue did not bias the estimated coefficients (e.g., Antonakis, Bendahan, Jacquart, & Lalive, 2010). In particular, we tested an alternative model in which the error terms of self-confidence appearance and organizational influence at Time 2 were allowed to correlate. The resulting coefficient for the correlation between them was not significant, suggesting that this correlation should not be included in the model, and that endogeneity was not an issue in these analyses.

<sup>3</sup> Following Becker's (2005) recommendations, we tested our models with and without controls and results were essentially identical.

Simple slopes for the effect of self-confidence appearance on influence and the indirect effects (Bauer & Curran, 2005) of job performance on influence are shown in Table 3. When prosocial orientation was high (Fig. 2, upper panel), the simple slope of the effect of self-confidence appearance on organizational influence was positive and significant for both men and women (.47, SE = .09,  $p < .001$  and .75, SE = .19,  $p < .001$ , respectively). A slope difference test (Dawson & Richter, 2006) indicated that these were not significantly different from each other (.29, *ns.*). In contrast, when prosocial orientation was low (Fig. 2, lower panel), self-confidence appearance had a positive and significant effect on influence for men (.63, SE = .02,  $p < .001$ ), but not for women (.25, SE = .16, *ns.*). A slope difference test showed that the difference between these slopes was significant, (.39,  $p < .01$ ), providing support for Hypothesis 4.

Finally, we tested the indirect effect of job performance on organizational influence (Hypothesis 5). First, the direct effect of job performance on influence was significant in Model 1, but not in Model 3 (.05, *ns.*, Table 2). This result suggests that the effect of job performance on organizational influence was fully mediated via self-confidence appearance. Second, as shown in Table 3, the indirect effect was significant for men regardless of their prosocial orientation (.05 and .07,  $p < .01$ , for high and low prosocial orientation, respectively). In contrast, the indirect effect for women was positive and significant at high prosocial orientation (.08,  $p < .05$ ), but not when prosocial orientation was low (.03, *ns.*). The difference between the indirect effects for men and women was not significant when prosocial orientation was high (.03, *ns.*). When prosocial orientation was low, the indirect effect for men was significantly stronger than the one for women (.04,  $p < .01$ ). These results support Hypothesis 5.

Finally, we used a bootstrapping procedure to construct 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals (CI) for the conditional indirect effects, based on 5,000 random

samples with replacement from the full sample (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). For men, the 95% CI excluded zero, both when they were high [.01, .07] and low in prosocial orientation [.02, .09]. In contrast, for women, the 95% CI included zero when they were low in prosocial orientation [-.05, .01], but not when their prosocial orientation was high, [.01, .07]. These results further support Hypothesis 5.

### **Discussion**

In this paper, we study what makes men and women be seen as confident in their professional roles, as well as the consequences of self-confidence appearance at work. Our results show that in male-typed positions, job performance and self-confidence appearance go hand in hand for both men and women. In particular, successful performance makes both men and women appear self-confident in the eyes of their supervisors. However, we also found that self-confidence appearance is not equally rewarded for men and women.

The more confident male engineers in our sample appeared to be, the more influence they had in the organization. In contrast, the effect of female engineers' appearance of self-confidence was conditional on their prosocial orientation. Women were able to translate their self-confident image into influence only when they also displayed high prosocial orientation, or the motivation to benefit others. The more complex "requirements" for women to gain influence were so strong that even high job performance did not help less affable women to gain influence in their organization. These results have a number of theoretical and practical implications.

#### **Theoretical contributions**

This research contributes to the attribution, social perceptions, and leadership literatures.

**Attribution literature.** Our study contributes to the understanding of attributional processes in traditionally male-typed organizational settings. While previous research has

extensively examined attributions of organizational success to individuals occupying upper levels of organizational hierarchies (e.g., Meindl et al., 1985), much less is known about attributional processes at lower levels of the organizational ladder. Puffer (1990) showed that personal success at work impacts favorably the perceptions of employees' agentic qualities, such as leadership, expertise, and risk taking. Our results suggest that in achievement-oriented settings, high performing employees are also attributed individual agency by their supervisors.

We found no support for our hypothesis that high performing men would be attributed more self-confidence than equally high performing women. Men and women benefitted equally from their successful performance in terms of appearing self-confident in the eyes of their superiors. This finding suggests that in male-dominated professions, women can be attributed agentic qualities similar to men. Kulich and colleagues (2007) similarly hypothesized gender differences in attributional processes, but found no gender differences in whether leadership and charisma were attributed to high performing male as compared to female managers. Rosette and Leigh (2010) offer a plausible explanation of these results. Women occupying top positions in organizations may have an advantage in how credible they appear in their roles. To survive and succeed in male-dominated organizations and professions, women are expected to work harder than men. Consequently, when women make it to the top, they are believed to be truly capable. It is possible that in our sample of computer engineers, similar processes were at play such that successful women were perceived as really knowledgeable and skillful, and hence attributed agency similarly as men were. Complementing the findings of Rosette and Leigh (2010), our results open the possibility that in male-dominated professions, high performing women may benefit from a "female advantage" that makes them appear as agentic as men even at lower levels of organizational hierarchies.

Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1993) suggested that gender biases in attributions are only evoked when a woman's success univocally violates the gender role expectations. This idea can provide another potential explanation of our results. It is possible that moderately high performance is not sufficient to trigger perceptions of violated gendered expectations, and that our data did not allow us to clearly differentiate between stellar and moderately high performance. Measuring job performance through a scale with more response points (e.g., from 1 to 10) may thus be insightful for future research. While in our data high performance triggered agency attributions for both female and male computer engineers, different processes might be underlying these agency attributions. Future research needs to clarify this question.

As for the consequences of individual agency, agentic attributions have been shown to be associated with enhanced career advancement prospects (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1993). Our study provides a more nuanced picture of these processes by showing that for women, the agentic qualities they are attributed with, i.e., self-confidence, do not translate straightforwardly into positive consequences at work, i.e., organizational influence. Kulich and colleagues (2007) focused on charisma and leadership instead of self-confidence, and concluded that additional factors had to be considered in order to better understand gender differences in these processes. We advance this body of literature by identifying prosocial orientation as another moderator, in addition to gender, of the positive consequences of agency attributions at work.

**Social perceptions literature.** Occupations historically dominated by men are especially difficult for women to break into, such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (Ely & Rhode, 2010). This is so because these domains have become strongly associated with masculine (i.e., agentic) stereotypes, resulting in a perceived link between male traits and success in these domains. By exploring the processes behind supervisor

perception of subordinate self-confidence and documenting a multiplicative effect of self-confidence appearance, gender, and prosocial orientation, we extend knowledge on social perceptions in organizations. Several experimental studies have tested gender effects in the reactions to agentic individuals in interpersonal interactions (e.g., Carli, 1990; Carli et al., 1995). Fewer studies have explored the consequences of agentic attributes in male-typed organizational settings. Notably, Casciaro and Lobo (2008) investigated the joint effect of the perception of an individual's competence and his/her likeability (which, as prosocial orientation, is related to warmth, Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007) on willingness to work with this individual. The authors found that competence (i.e., agency) cannot compensate for being disliked. Our study provides further insights by documenting gender effects in the interplay of characteristics related to agency and warmth. Our results showed that, consistent with the role incongruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), the penalty for being low on characteristics related to warmth is not proportionate for women.

Using a sample of undergraduate students, Heilman and colleagues (2004) provided related experimental evidence. They found that in male-typed professions, successful men and women do not differ in how effective they are perceived to be, but successful women are liked less than men. Our results corroborate these findings showing that job performance had a similar effect on self-confidence appearance for men and women. Yet, it was more difficult for high performing women than men to influence others in their organization, unless in addition to their high performance the women had others' interests at heart, as it is stereotypically expected from women (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). In this vein, Carli and her colleagues (Carli, 1990; Carli et al., 1995) also showed that (experimentally manipulated) dominance lowers women's – but not men's – ability to influence others in one-time interactions outside of organizational contexts. Our study contributes to this body of literature by showing that in male-dominated organizations,

where individuals engage in continued interactions (i.e., supervisor-subordinate), the reactions to self-confident women are contingent on whether the women are considerate of others' interests. Importantly, our results also imply that in stereotypically male professions, the "male advantage" when it comes to influence through self-confidence is not absolute. In particular, high performing prosocial women are as capable as equally high performing men to gain influence in their organizations. Finally, our results also suggest that although self-confident women low in prosocial orientation may be disadvantaged in male-typed professions, they are not "punished" for appearing self-confident. Rather, they may find it more difficult to capitalize on their self-confidence appearance in terms of gaining organizational influence.

**Leadership literature.** This research also broadens our understanding of the antecedents of career opportunities and leadership in organizations. Male-dominated environments can be in general hostile for women (Eagly & Carli, 2003), and provide them fewer – as compared to men – chances to be promoted (Maume, 1999). Our results point to different standards applied to self-confident men as compared to self-confident women: supervisors find high performing men invariably influential, whereas the positive consequences of high performance are not guaranteed for women.

Leadership literature has long noted the importance of appearing confident to influence others and emerge as a leader (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; Howell & Shamir, 2005). Our results show that self-confidence appearance indeed matters for gaining influence at work, to the extent that the relationship between job performance and organizational influence was fully mediated by self-confidence appearance. These findings emphasize the importance of understanding the cognitive mechanisms underlying the effects of job performance. It is not job performance by itself, but supervisor perceptions of high performing employees that determine individual outcomes at work.

In addition, influence has been suggested to be a function of status (Hass, 1981). Consequently, it appeared unlikely that women could overcome the disadvantage of their lower status (Ridgeway, 2001) only by attaining high performance levels (see also Meeker & Weitzel-O'Neill, 1985). Our results suggest the opposite, although not unconditionally. For *prosocial* high performing women in our sample, the influence boost they had due to their self-confidence appearance was similar to that of men.

Finally, our results offer insights on how to manage diversity in male-dominated organizations (Ryan, & Kossek, 2008; Shen, Chanda, Netto, & Monga, 2009). If one aims to create inclusive workplaces where all individuals feel accepted and valued (Robertson, 2006), the aspects beyond individual performance and goal accomplishment have to be carefully monitored. In particular, our results suggest that to ensure more equal career opportunities and fair, merit-based personnel decisions, organizations need to consider how prosocial behaviors of male and female employees affect – either explicitly or implicitly – personnel decisions.

### **Limitations**

As all studies, this study is subject to limitations that point toward directions for future research. First, the nature of our data did not permit us to disentangle possible dynamic relationship between prosocial orientation, self-confidence appearance, and their consequences over time. For example, it is possible that a self-confident image and influence have a positive effect on job performance, which then further strengthens self-confidence appearance and influence. Such circular processes may exacerbate gender differences over time. Additional longitudinal studies are needed to nail down the dynamic relationships between the variables linked to social perceptions in the workplace.

Second, our sample consisted of computer engineers – arguably, a male-typed profession. Future studies are needed to establish the generalizability of our results to more

gender-neutral professions. On a related note, only 23% of the engineers of our sample were women, and only 1 of 22 supervisors was female. Although it has been recognized that gender role stereotypes are universal such they shape the beliefs of both women and men, women have been shown to be less biased than men when evaluating other women (Heilman et al., 2004). Further studies should use samples with more equal gender distribution among managers in male-dominated organizations (although such samples are unfortunately still likely to be rare) to assess whether male and female managers differ in the extent to which gender stereotypes affect their perceptions.

Third, the size of gender effects in our data is relatively small, although similar to that reported in other studies addressing prejudicial gender effects at work (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Powell & Butterfield, 1994). While some scholars suggested that a small gender bias cannot explain the low number of women in high echelons of organizations (e.g., Arvey & Murphy, 1998; Latham, 1986), others concluded that even “small biases, when repeated over individuals and occasions, can produce large consequences” (Eagly & Karau, 2002; p. 589). Indeed, Martell, Lane, and Emrich (1996) showed that even with an equal number of men and women at entry-level positions, a 1% evaluation bias favoring men can lead to having less than a third of women at senior levels. Future studies can further clarify – preferably using longitudinal designs – the career consequences of gender biases in terms of, for instance, promotions and pay raises.

On a related note, our analyses offer a conservative test of our hypotheses and hence of the size of the effects. We controlled for several variables including the effects of self-confidence appearance and organizational influence at Time 1 on these variables measured one year later (Time 2). The results suggest that the effect of task performance on organizational influence, mediated by self-confidence appearance and moderated by gender and prosocial orientation, is durable. Over time, task performance increases organizational

influence of women only when they are prosocial. The effect sizes without controls are larger, but we believe that the model with control variables offers a cleaner test of the relationships between our focused variables.

Furthermore, research on performance evaluations has consistently shown that other ratings in organizations (collected through 360-degree feedback, performance appraisals, etc.) tend to be clustered at upper levels of response scales (e.g., Atwater, Waldman, & Brett, 2002). Consistent with Eagly and Karau's (2002) argument presented above, it means that small differences in supervisory evaluations (i.e., self-confidence appearance and influence) can lead to large differences in career-related outcomes such as promotability or pay raises. Moreover, the reduced variance can lead to underestimating the association between variables. In our data, most observations of the ratings of self-confidence appearance and influence at Time 2 (90% and 65%, respectively) were above the response scale midpoint (4). The fact that we found significant effects even under such conditions is reassuring.

Finally, broadening the criteria would be desirable to understand other consequences of self-confidence appearance in terms of personnel decisions. Organizational influence, the individual outcome we considered, may be indicative of the likelihood of being promoted. However, future research should consider such dependent variables as promotability, career opportunities, selection, and pay.

### **Practical implications**

Our results offer important practical implications for the HR management and, more broadly, for fostering career equality in traditionally male arenas. In our data, high performing female and male computer engineers were equally attributed agentic characteristics, which are often valued by organizations. Assessing potential gender differences in the image that high performing men and women have in the eyes of others –

supervisors and peers – can uncover consequential gaps that organizations can address once the gaps are revealed and understood. An eventual lack of gender differences in such processes can be used as a powerful organizational message that highlights similarities and at the same time embraces diversity, to ultimately result in a more cohesive and productive work environment where all employees are encouraged to tap into their potential.

It is not all rosy for women though. Since communal traits (e.g., caring, nurturing, warm, selfless) are prescriptive for women (Eagly & Karau, 2002), one (arguably simplistic) implication of our results is to offer different advice to women and men on how to progress in their careers. For men, the take-away would be: “Do not worry about being prosocial, if you perform you, will get ahead anyway.” In contrast, for women the message would be: “If you want to be influential and thus be able to progress in the organization, make sure you perform *and* also invest time in helping others and being a good citizen.” Performance reviews contain nearly twice as much language about being warm, empathetic, helpful, and dedicated to others for women than for men (Correll & Simard, 2016). This could mean that women may be getting this message in practice, either explicitly or not.

This interpretation of our results implies, however, that if being selfless and helpful to others is an implicit part of women’s work duties, they may feel “obliged” to be good citizens. Doing so takes time and effort. And if only women are expected to help others while at the same time meeting their individual goals, they are in a clear disadvantage in comparison to men who can focus exclusively on their individual objectives. On a related note, if women have to be warm and caring, they may struggle when it comes to making unpopular decisions or voicing a challenging opinion, which can further slow down women’s advancement in the organizations. In contrast, if men are not penalized for the lack of communal behaviors, they have access to a wider range of styles that can be tailored

to the requirements of the situation (Eagly & Carli, 2003). In terms of organizational consequences, if men are not “required” to be prosocial to advance in the organization, once they make it to the top, their attitudes may cascade down imprinting the organizational culture with non-cooperative values.

Another, arguably more fair, interpretation of the implications of our results is that organizations that truly care about gender equality and diversity should make sure the responsibility of dealing with “gender issues” is not put exclusively on women’s shoulders. Instead, such organizations should put in place procedures and checks to reduce or ideally eliminate the chances that high performing women are evaluated – either explicitly or not – differently than their male peers. Indeed, gender bias presents a problem not only for women but also for organizations (Hogue & Lord, 2007). Thus, HR and senior management should play a core role in setting the grounds for creating diversity-friendly and fair places to work. There are several actions organizations can take for this purpose.

**Making job requirements for success explicit.** It is crucial for organizations to make a conscious choice of whether “being prosocial” should be an explicit job requirement (in addition to task performance) for all employees. A comprehensive list of success criteria allows organizations to be better prepared to monitor the candidates for promotions, irrespective of gender. If the organization chooses not to include prosocial behaviors as a requirement for success, then only task performance (and related agentic qualities) should matter when determining men’s and women’s rewards and promotions. If, instead, the organization believes that having a critical mass of prosocial employees is conducive of positive organizational outcomes, it may explicitly include prosocial behaviors as a requirement for success – importantly, for both men and women. Doing so would increase the chances the organization makes fairer, more objective personnel decisions.

In particular, the HR department could systematically document the broad portfolio of skills (beyond technical expertise) required for success and to disseminate such list among all employees. Such skill portfolio can be used as a benchmark for development, hiring, and evaluation purposes. Doing so might be particularly relevant in fields traditionally dominated by men, such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). Women hold only about 25% of all STEM jobs and earn about 17% less than men do in such jobs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013), with computer science and engineering having the widest gender gap (Cheryan, Ziegler, Montoya, & Jiang, 2017). One reason behind the underrepresentation of women in these fields is that beyond technical ability, social perceptions determine who is or can be successful in these domains (Dasgupta, 2011). The male stereotype of success in STEM relies on the assumption that STEM employees have poor interpersonal skills (Castells, 1999; Cringely, 1996; Delbecq & Weiss, 2000; Goleman, 1998), presumably compensated by an exceptional technical ability. Our results suggest that for women in STEM, exceptional technical ability may not be sufficient to succeed. Broadening the narrow stereotype of success in these professions (Stout, Dasgupta, Hunsinger, & McManus, 2011) by including social skills might be particularly important for attracting and retaining women in STEM professions.

**Selection.** Regarding selection, our results imply that while self-confident men might pass the bar in selection interviews for positions in male-dominated professions, self-confident women may have fewer chances to be considered if they do not show in addition an adequate dose of communality (e.g., care about others' interests, collaborative attitude, smile). To ensure fair and effective selection decisions, HR can either explicitly add communal attributes to the selection criteria for both men and women and/or monitor selection decisions with the aim to avoid biases that might harm talented female candidates who do not seem to fit the gender role prescriptions.

**Authenticity and development initiatives.** To appear credible in male-dominated professions, women may attempt to match stereotypical expectations associated with male-typed jobs and thus downplay their authentic behaviors. Our results suggest that although agency can eventually help women gain influence in their organizations, suppressing typically female prosocial behaviors can trigger a social backlash. Furthermore, doing so may result in undesirable intra-personal consequences such as a sense of lack of fit between the self and one's professional role (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). Thus, organizations that want to benefit from diverse talent should convey the message that individual authenticity is welcomed, and that there are multiple paths to success. Moreover, training and development initiatives can bring attention to the importance of having a prosocial attitude, so that less cooperative employees – both men and women – get more motivated to engage in prosocial behaviors at work. Indeed, research indicates that attributional processes and their consequences can be changed through development initiatives (Green & Mitchell, 1979), and that such initiatives may be more successful than training new behaviors which run counter (unconscious) personal preferences.

**Promotions and career advancement.** Finally, in Western cultures there is a widely shared belief in meritocracy (Cech & Blair-Lory, 2010). The belief that rewards are based exclusively on merit regardless of gender may lead women to underestimate the importance of interpersonal skills for their career progression. However, our results suggest that without such skills, women may have a harder time to gain organizational influence. There is increasing evidence about the fallacy of meritocracy in today's STEM organizations (Angwin & Castaneda, 1998; Petersen, Saporta, & Seidel, 2000), which, at least in part, could be due to persistent biases in selection, development, and reward decisions. Paying attention to possible implicit gender differences in the requirements for success is an important first step for organizations – both in STEM and other fields – to

develop more inclusive cultures where individuals with different talents and abilities shine.

### **Conclusion**

Our research provides support to the idea that successful performance in male-dominated domains does not always ensure positive consequences for women. While men's successful job performance translates directly into an image of confidence and influence, for women high job performance is not invariably associated with gaining organizational influence. Prosocial orientation is a key to further understand these effects. While men benefit from their high performance independently of whether they are motivated to take others' interests at heart, women must be prosocial to reap the benefits of their job performance. Our results highlight the importance for organizations of monitoring how high performing men and women are perceived – by their peers and especially by their supervisors – and how they progress in their careers. Doing so is necessary to ensure equal employment opportunity and fair, merit-based reward and promotion decisions.

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**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	SD	Correlations									
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
1 Job Performance, T1	5.20	1.19	(.93)									
2 Gender	.23	.42	.05	-								
3 Prosocial Orientation, T1	5.97	.90	.01	.11**	(.87)							
4 Self-Confidence Appearance, T2	5.57	.97	.27***	-.08*	-.10*	(.93)						
5 Organizational Influence, T2	4.44	1.18	.32***	.00	-.04	.50***	(.88)					
6 Age	42.11	8.18	-.06	-.04	.02	-.13**	.05	-				
7 Technical expertise	5.08	.78	.42***	.10*	.06*	.20**	.38***	.06*	-			
8 Self-Confidence Appearance, T1	5.49	1.38	.38***	.02	-.06	.42***	.28***	-.04	.34***	(.94)		
9 Organizational Influence, T1	4.43	1.17	.33***	-.00	-.05	.29***	.48***	.12**	.28***	.49***	(.90)	

Note: N = 236 participants. 810 raters (various stakeholders) in T1, and 22 raters (supervisors) in T2. Reliabilities appear in parentheses on the diagonal.  
 \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

**Table 2.** SEM models

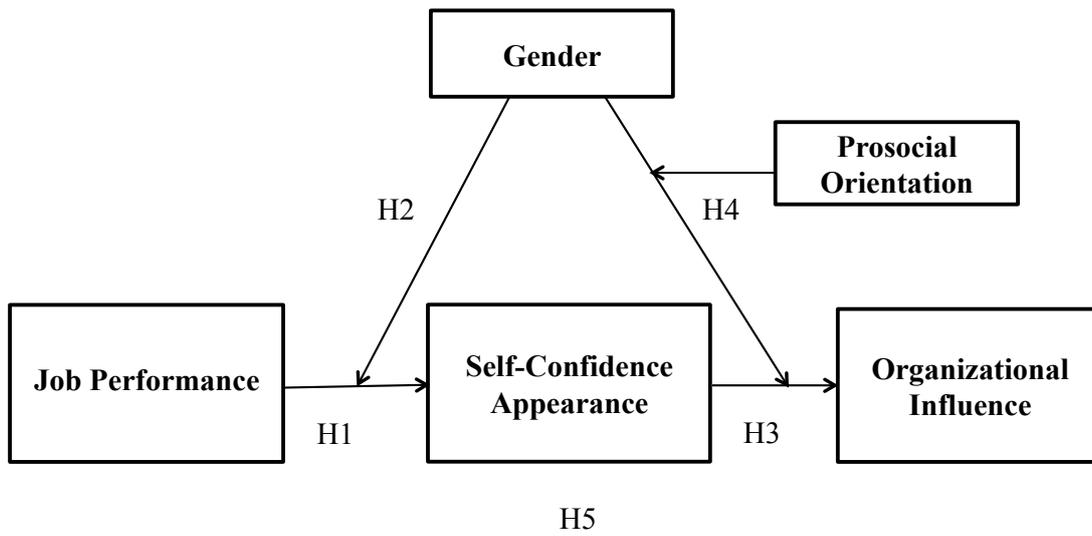
SEM Models	DV : Self-Confidence Appearance			DV : Organizational Influence			Fit indices		Model tested
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald Tests</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Wald Tests</i>	<i>CD</i>	<i>SRMR</i>	
<b>Model 1</b>							.78	.024	
Job Performance	.09**	.03		.05*	.02				
Self-Confidence Appearance				.56***	.06				
	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.41		.66					
<b>Model 2</b>							.78	.029	
Job Performance	.11**	.03		.05	.03				
Gender	-.06	.18		-.03	.15				
Job Performance x Gender	-.07	.04	2.69	.00	.10	.00			
Self-Confidence Appearance				.46***	.06				
	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.42		.66					
<b>Model 3</b>							.79	.034	
Job Performance	.11**	.03		.05	.03				
Gender	-.06	.18		-.00	.16				
Job Performance x Gender	-.07	.04		.00	.11				
Self-Confidence Appearance				.55***	.08				
Prosocial Orientation				-.02	.05				
Self-Confidence Appearance x Prosocial Orientation				-.09	.06	2.24			
Self-Confidence Appearance x Gender				.05	.14	.15			
Prosocial Orientation x Gender				.11	.11	1.02			
Self-Confidence Appearance x Prosocial Orientation x Gender				.38*	.16	5.27*			
	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.42		.67					

*Note:* Results of SEM analyses using STATA. The entries are unstandardized coefficients. The models include the effect of control variables as well as the effect of supervisor dummy variables on self-confidence appearance and organizational influence. Errors are clustered due to multiple observers for 236 participants pertaining to 22 teams. As for the global fit indices, we report the squared root mean of residuals (SRMR) and the coefficient of determination (CD) as these are the only fit indices available for models with clustered errors in STATA. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

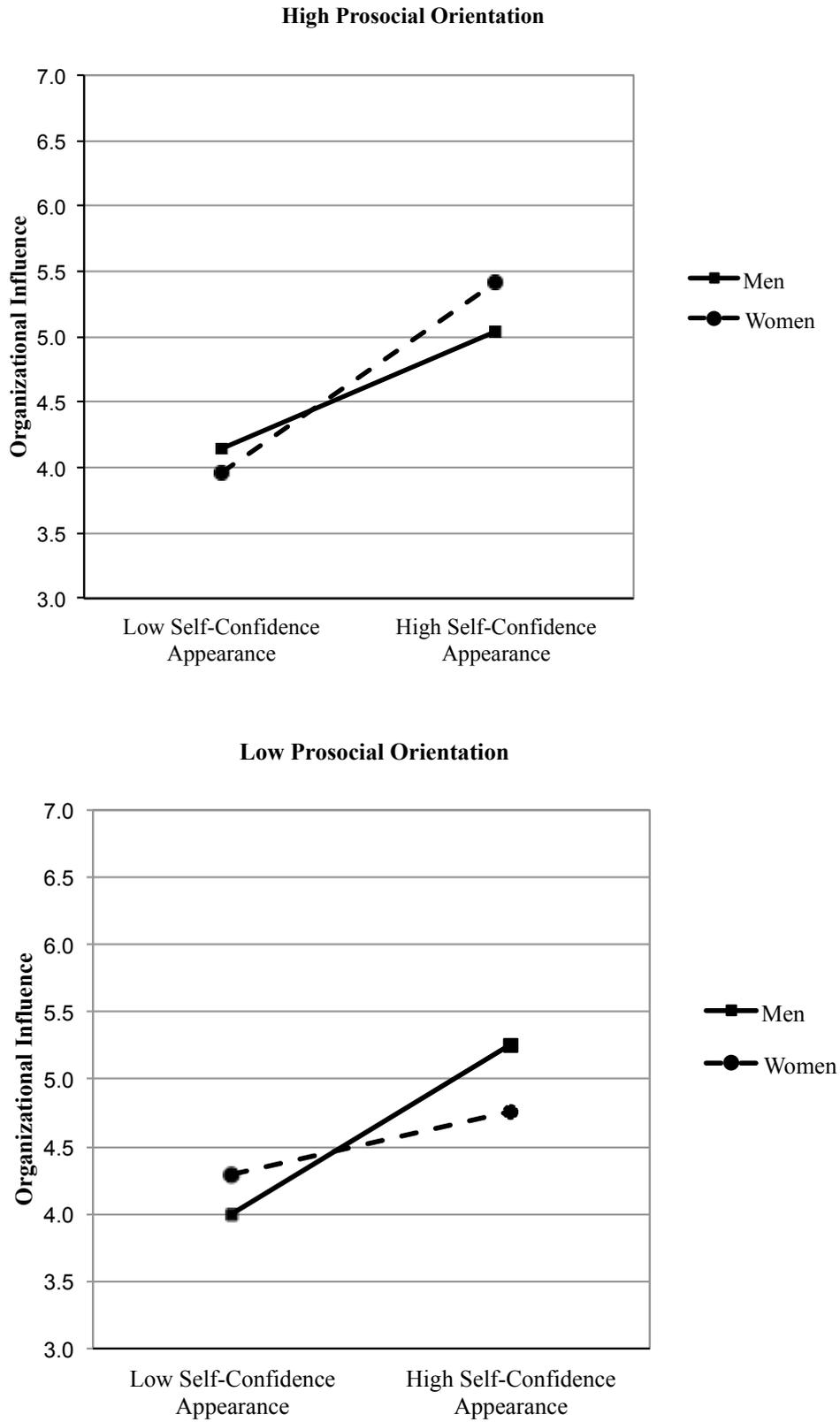
**Table 3.** Simple slopes for the effect of self-confidence appearance on influence and the indirect effects of job performance on influence

	Simple Slopes			Indirect Effects					
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	Gender difference	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	Gender difference	Bootstrapped coefficient	<i>SE</i>	95% Conf. Interval
<u>High Prosocial Orientation</u>									
Men	.47***	.09		.05**	.01		.04**	.02	[.01, .07]
Women	.75***	.19	.29	.08*	.04	.03	.04**	.01	[.01, .07]
<u>Low Prosocial Orientation</u>									
Men	.63***	.02		.07**	.02		.06**	.02	[.02, .09]
Women	.25	.16	.39**	.03	.02	.04**	-.02	.02	[-.05, .01]

Note: N = 236. \*\*\*  $p < .001$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*  $p < .05$ .

**Figure 1.** Hypothesized model

**Figure 2.** The effect of self-confidence appearance on organizational influence moderated by gender and prosocial orientation



**Appendix: Measures****Job performance**

1. Exceeds standards for job performance
2. Performs at high level compared with others of the same rank
3. Contributes to the department effectiveness more than most members of it

**Prosocial orientation**

1. I care about benefiting others through my work
2. I want to help others through my work
3. I want to have positive impact on others
4. It is important to me to do good for others through my work

**Self-confidence appearance**

1. Is confident about his/her ability to do his/her job
2. Is self-assured about his/her capabilities to perform his/her work activities
3. Thinks s/he masters the skills necessary for his/her job

**Organizational influence**

1. Has a big degree of influence in his/her department
2. Participates in decisions regarding his/her job
3. Has a big degree of influence in decisions affecting him/her
4. Can participate in setting new policies or procedures that affect his/her department
5. His/her view has a real influence in his/her team and organization

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