

**Bias in the Background? The Role of Background Information in Asynchronous Video
Interviews**

Nicolas Roulin¹, Eden-Raye Lukacik^{1,2}, Joshua S. Bourdage², Lindsey Clow¹, Hayam Bakour¹,
& Pedro Diaz²

¹ *Saint Mary's University*, ² *University of Calgary*

Authors note: Correspondence should be sent to Nicolas Roulin, Department of Psychology, Saint Mary's University, 923 Robie Street, Halifax, NS, Canada, B3H 3C3, E-mail: nicolas.roulin@smu.ca. This project was supported by an Insight Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada (#435-2015-0566).

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Abstract

Asynchronous video interviews (AVIs) have become popular tools for applicant selection. Although AVIs are standardized, extant research remains silent on whether this novel interview format could introduce new forms of bias. Because many applicants complete AVIs from their homes, their video background could provide evaluators with information about stigmatizing features that (a) are usually “invisible” in traditional selection contexts but become observable in AVIs, (b) are not always legally protected, and (c) can impact evaluators’ judgments. Across three experimental studies, we examined how cues indicating parental status (Study 1), sexual orientation (Study 2), and political affiliation (Study 3) can impact perceptions of applicant warmth and competence, and ratings of interview performance and potential work performance. The effect of background information varied by stigmatized feature. Applicants depicted as parents were perceived to be higher on warmth and received higher interview performance ratings, but were not evaluated more negatively on competence or potential work performance. There was no effect of sexual orientation on any outcome variables. However, applicants who supported the same political party as the evaluator were viewed as warmer, and received higher ratings of interview performance and potential work performance. Thus, organizations should encourage applicants to use neutral backgrounds.

Keywords: Asynchronous video interview; interviewer bias; parental status; sexual orientation; political affiliation

Bias in the Background? The Role of Background Information in Asynchronous Video Interviews

The extent to which interviewers' evaluations are biased by job-irrelevant applicant characteristics is a key concern in the employment interview literature (Huffcutt, 2011; Levashina et al., 2014). While using more structured interviews can help reduce bias for in-person interviews (McCarthy et al., 2010), less is known about bias in technology-mediated interviews (Woods et al., 2020). One increasingly popular virtual form of interviewing is asynchronous video interviews (AVIs). For example, one provider, HireVue, reported having hosted a total of 13,000 AVIs by 2012, but 24 million by 2021 (HireVue, 2021). AVIs have aided companies in abiding by health/distancing guidelines, and are faster, cheaper, and more flexible than other forms of interviewing (Brenner et al., 2016; Torres & Mejia, 2017). However, applicants can perceive them as "creepier" and more concerning regarding privacy (Langer et al., 2017). AVIs are associated with more negative reactions than video-conference interviews (Griswold et al., 2021), and can invite skepticism from interviewers (Basch & Melchers, 2021). In short, there seems to be increased adoption of AVIs, with both benefits and drawbacks.

AVIs represent a theoretically and practically important, but under-researched context for interview bias (Lukacik et al., 2022). AVIs do not involve interaction between applicants and interviewers, and all applicants are asked to video-record their responses to a pre-determined set of questions. They thus incorporate many components of structured interviews, possibly reducing various forms of bias. However, AVIs are generally recorded from applicants' homes (or other public spaces). The video background can provide information about applicant characteristics that would otherwise not be available in an in-person interview. This could trigger biases, including those based on characteristics not systematically legally protected, which are

especially important given the growing popularity of AVIs. In their review of the legal environment for selection, Myers et al. (2008, p. 230) emphasized that “three categories not protected by federal statute in the United States are protected in a majority of countries: political opinion, sexual orientation, and marital/family status”. Such legislative protection varies across regions¹, but can be effective in reducing discrimination (Barron & Hebl, 2013).

Although there is research on bias based on parental or family status (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2004; Grandey et al., 2020), sexual orientation (e.g., Hebl et al., 2002; Van Hove & Lievens, 2003), and political opinion or affiliation (e.g., Roth et al., 2017; Roth et al., 2020), these characteristics have received limited attention in the selection literature, as compared to legally-protected characteristics like race, sex, or age. Further, most of this research has been focused on initial screenings based on resumes or social media (e.g., Roth et al., 2020). We thus know little about how these characteristics can bias interview outcomes. Moreover, these three characteristics can be “invisible” stigmas (Summers et al., 2018) - they are usually not known to the interviewer. However, applicants’ backgrounds in AVIs (and video-conference interviews) can include elements (e.g., photos, posters, books) that signal these characteristics, making such traditionally invisible stigmas visible to interviewers or hiring managers (Lukacik et al., 2022).

The present paper thus explores how information from applicants’ backgrounds in AVIs could lead to biased judgments by hiring managers in three experimental studies. We build on

¹ Parental/family status and sexual orientation are protected grounds for employment discrimination in Canada (Canadian Human Rights Act) and many European countries (EU Charter of Fundamental Rights). Parental status is not protected federally in the U.S., but can exist at the state level (e.g., “family responsibilities discrimination” in California) or for employment in the federal government. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has also indirectly relied on sex-based discrimination to protect mothers. Similarly, there is no U.S. federal law protecting against employment discrimination based on sexual orientation, but some courts (e.g., U.S. Supreme Court), have relied on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to rule on cases, such as the June 2020 ruling that the Civil Rights Act protects gay, lesbian, and transgender employees from discrimination based on sex. Political beliefs/affiliation are not considered a protected ground or class at the federal level in many countries (including the U.S. or Canada), although are protected in the EU. However, U.S. Federal employees can be protected by the Hatch Act, and employees/applicants can be protected under state/city laws (e.g., District of Columbia Human Rights Act).

the dual-process framework for interviewer bias (Derous et al., 2016) to examine how making applicant characteristics visible could bias evaluators' judgments by triggering automatic Type-I processes, leading to more negative evaluations of stigmatized applicants (i.e., parents in Study 1, gays/lesbians in Study 2, political affiliation in Study 3). Drawing on the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2008), we consider the role of perceptions of warmth and competence, two outcomes regularly examined in employment discrimination research (Krings et al., 2011). We also explore interview performance and perceived job performance, two central elements of interviewee performance (Huffcutt et al., 2011). Overall, we examine the effect of AVI background on four theoretically and practically important interview outcomes.

This research contributes to the interview and selection bias literatures in several ways: We integrate and test central propositions from Derous et al.'s (2016) dual-process framework and Lukacik et al.'s (2022) AVI framework by examining bias in AVIs based on three applicant characteristics which (1) have been examined in applicant screening but received little attention in the interview literature; (2) represent stigmas that are generally invisible in traditional hiring settings but can become visible in AVIs, and (3) are practically relevant for an important portion of the population but do not systematically receive legal protection. Given the increasing popularity of AVIs, unless better understood, detected, and ultimately addressed, the presence of such biases could result in many individuals being evaluated negatively based on job-irrelevant factors. This could unjustly impact the employment prospects of particular groups (e.g., parents or member of the LGBTQIA2S+ community) who are already often victims of unfair treatment at work, but also could harm organizations' attempts to increase diversity. We also examine whether Derous et al.'s (2016) theoretical framework, which was designed for in-person interviews, applies to technology-mediated interviews, thus testing for potential boundary

conditions. Moreover, we update theoretical models of stigmas in organizations (e.g., Summers et al., 2018) to integrate technology. This research can have important practical implications for applicants (i.e., what to include vs. hide in their background when recording an AVI) and hiring managers or organizations (i.e., avoiding biased decisions).

Applying the Dual-Process and Stereotype Content Models to AVIs

The dual-process model of interviewer bias (Derous et al., 2016) describes how situational factors (i.e., applicant stigma) can affect interviewers' information processing and judgments. The model proposes that interviewers can rely on two types of cognitive processes: Type-I processes are fast, automatic, driven by heuristics, and result in more intuitive decisions; and Type-II processes are slower, conscious, require more complex information processing based on working memory, and result in more controlled judgments. When stigmatized features of applicants (e.g., skin tone, hair style, accent) are immediately visible to interviewers, they activate Type-I processes such as stereotypes. For instance, consistent with the stereotype content model (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2002), interviewers can make preliminary judgments of stigmatized applicants as being lower on perceived warmth (or communion – e.g., trustworthy, friendly, sincere) and competence (or agency – e.g., capable, intelligent, confident) than non-stigmatized applicants, leading to the formation of more negative initial impressions.

Another form of automatic Type-I processing involves biased initial impressions acting as anchors, and influencing post-interview hiring decisions (Derous et al., 2016). While some Type-II processes may be deliberate attempts to justify Type-I intuitive judgments, others are used to correct and override initially-biased responses. For instance, when applicants perform well (poorly) during the interview and demonstrate their (lack of) job-related qualifications, interviewers should adjust their evaluations positively (negatively). Yet, Derous et al. (2016)

argue that Type-II processes are only activated to adjust initial impressions of non-stigmatized applicants, while final evaluations of stigmatized applicants are not updated. Such mechanisms have been examined in interviews, for instance when assessing self-fulfilling prophecies or how interviewers' initial impressions influence final judgments (Dipboye, 1982; Swider et al., 2011).

AVIs may be a modality where initial impressions may be particularly influential from a bias perspective. For instance, evaluators watch recorded answers and can decide to dismiss submissions that they do not find promising based on Type-I initial impressions (Torres & Mejia, 2017). They can also decide to only watch parts of the video responses (but not all videos fully). In contrast, it would be seen as inappropriate for interviewers to interrupt applicants' responses or cut the interaction short in a face-to-face (or video-conference) interview. Psychological distance (e.g., the technological/asynchronous nature of AVIs) can facilitate the emergence of biases (e.g., Trope & Liberman, 2010). As such, AVIs may be prone to Type-I processes and could amplify biases (Lukacik et al., 2022). Unfortunately, empirical examinations of biases in AVIs remain limited but indicate potential impact. For instance, one study found that evaluators' judgments were heavily biased by physical appearance (Torres & Gregory, 2018). However, no research has examined how applicants' AVI backgrounds make stigmas visible, or whether they lead to biased evaluations. This is important, given that the more visible a stigmatized attribute is, the more likely it can lead to unfair and biased treatment by others (Stutterheim et al., 2011).

Making Stigmas Visible in AVIs

In most traditional selection situations, information about the applicant being a parent, member of the LGBTQIA2S+ community, or political affiliation remains hidden. Of course, applicants can decide to openly disclose these statuses verbally, through subtle artefacts (e.g., wearing a rainbow flag pin; wearing clothing with political slogans), or in written documents

(e.g., listing a relevant volunteer experience). Such information might also become visible if hiring managers' review applicants' social media profiles (i.e., engage in cyber-vetting), through elements like posted photos, participation in groups (e.g., "mommy groups"), or "liked" content related to politicians, political parties, or conservative vs. liberal media (Roth et al., 2017).

In an AVI, hiring managers may not need to dig for this information, as invisible stigmas may be visible in applicants' video backgrounds (Lukacik et al., 2022). Parental status, sexual orientation, and political affiliation could be inferred from items such as framed pictures (e.g., of children; same-sex partners; political leaders), decorations (e.g., "family wall sayings"; pride flags; political party posters), or objects (e.g., children's toys; coffee mugs with slogans "Gay and Proud", "Proud Democrat"). Such information could trigger Type-I processes and activate stereotypes negatively biasing evaluations for parents (Study 1), sexual minorities (Study 2), and applicants who have a different political affiliation from the hiring manager (Study 3).

Study 1: AVI Background Signaling Parental Status

Background and Hypotheses

Understanding how parents are perceived in the hiring process is practically important because many individuals on the labor market are parents. According to 2020 data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 71.2% of mothers and 92.3% of fathers were working or looking for work. Yet, parents are often perceived as unable to commit enough time and resources to fulfill work expectations while at the same time balancing their family responsibilities (Weisshaar, 2018). Conversely, parental status can also increase perceptions of warmth (Cuddy et al., 2004). In addition, parents *can* experience both work-to-family and family-to-work conflicts (Ford et al., 2007), which might be used by some hiring managers to justify not hiring them.

In terms of the dual-process framework of interviewer bias (Derous et al., 2016), being a parent can be considered a stigmatizing feature. Background information about this stigma could activate automatic Type-I processes and stereotypes (i.e., parents can be seen as less competent or committed than non-parents; Fuegen et al., 2004), leading to negative evaluations. While the AVI format limits opportunities to engage in some confirmatory information processing strategies (e.g., raters cannot ask more difficult questions to parents), it can also facilitate others (e.g., raters can only review parts of applicants' responses, without the risk of appearing biased). *Hypothesis 1.1.* Applicants who are parents are evaluated more negatively than non-parents on (a) interview performance, (b) potential work performance, and (c) perceived competence, but (d) are evaluated more positively on perceived warmth.

Research using the stereotype content model emphasizes that gender may also play an important role (Cuddy et al., 2008). Being a parent is a gendered social role traditionally associated with women (Eagly & Wood, 2012). In general, both male and (especially) female working professionals are seen as competent but less warm than non-professionals (Fiske et al., 2002). However, when working women become mothers, thus activating a more stereotypical or traditional role, they lose perceived competence and instead gain perceived warmth (Cuddy et al., 2004). In contrast, when males become fathers, they gain in perceived warmth without losing competence. As a result, working mothers often receive lower hiring recommendations than working fathers (Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). Similarly, female (but not male) applicants who disclose valuing work-life balance on their resume tend to be penalized (Proost & Verhaest, 2018). Parents are generally seen as less dependable and committed than non-parents, with mothers seen as particularly less competent and penalized when evaluated for a promotion (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008), and maternity still considered a taboo topic (Grandey et al., 2020).

Hypothesis 1.2. Mothers (vs. fathers) are evaluated lower on (a) interview performance, (b) potential work performance, and (c) perceived competence, but (d) higher on perceived warmth.

Finally, Derous et al. (2016) proposed that interviewer characteristics could play a role in how they engage in Type-I vs. Type-II processes when assessing stigmatized applicants. For instance, a decision makers' perspective-taking could help counter anchoring effects. While structured interviews are somewhat resistant to interviewer-applicant race or gender similarity effects (McCarthy et al., 2010), little is known about similarity effects for parental status. Perhaps informing this, employees who take a parental leave are rated as less compliant than those who do not take a leave, except when female evaluators assess female employees (Wayne & Cordeiro, 2003). Thus, hiring managers who are parents might put themselves in the shoes of the applicant and therefore form less biased impressions of applicants who are parents.

Hypothesis 1.3. Raters' own parental status acts as a moderator, such that evaluations of parents are particularly negative for raters who are not parents themselves.

Methods

Sample

We recruited 282 U.S. residents from Mechanical Turk, using a pre-established panel that was employed and had experience hiring employees (MacInnis et al., 2020). We eliminated 10 respondents who failed more than one of the ten attention checks embedded in the study measures (e.g., “please select Strongly Agree”), indicated not to use their data, or reported that they did not complete the survey honestly, leading to a final sample of 272. Participants were on average 40.52 ($SD = 11.09$) years of age, had 6.56 ($SD = 6.21$) years of experience conducting interviews, 57% had received formal interview training but only 18% had prior experience hiring specifically with AVIs. The sample was relatively gender-balanced (54% male and 46% female),

mostly White (79%, with 6% Black, 4% Latino, 7% Asian), 86% holding a university/college degree, and 82% currently in a managerial position. 51% of participants reported being a parent.

Procedure

Participants were asked to play the role of an HR manager in a local marketing firm in charge of hiring a new assistant brand manager. They were told that all applicants completed an AVI, and they were asked to evaluate the video-recorded responses of one applicant. They read a brief job description and the six interview questions used in the AVI (see online supplement for more detail). Participants were then randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions (see below). They watched the six video responses and sequentially scored the quality of each response. They then completed all outcome measures, a manipulation check item, measures of gender role beliefs, their own parental status, and other demographic questions. The study took on average 25.2 minutes to complete and participants were compensated with USD \$3.00.

Material and Design

We used a 2 (applicant gender: male vs. female) x 2 (applicant parental status: parent vs. non-parent) between-subjects design. We hired two individuals in their mid-twenties to play the role of the male and female applicants based on a pilot study (see online supplement). They video-recorded AVI-like responses to the six questions, with identical content across applicants: the videos were shot in the same office, responses followed the same script (which they read/rehearsed, and we also used a teleprompter), and were of similar length. Both applicants were dressed professionally (white shirt, dark blazer/jacket). Parental status was manipulated through three elements visible in the videos: a mug on the table next to them that read “#1 Mom” or “#1 Dad” (vs. “coffee o’clock” for the non-parent condition), a wall-plaque that read “Family - where life begins and love never ends” (vs. neutral artwork with shells on a sand beach), and a

framed picture in a bookshelf including the photo of a toddler with an opposite-sex partner of the same age and racial background (vs. no picture). To make the manipulation subtle and increase realism, we also included a number of other neutral background elements (identical across conditions), such as books, pens, or another framed picture of the applicant alone in nature.²

Measures

Interview performance. At the end of the interview, participants rated the overall performance of the applicant using a 4-item ($\alpha = .92$) measure adapted from previous research (Higgins & Judge, 2004). Items (e.g., “overall, based on the interview, I would evaluate this applicant positively”) were rated on a 5-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale.³

Potential work performance. We used a 3-item ($\alpha = .93$) measure of participants’ perceptions of the applicant’s potential work performance, adapted from Williams and Anderson (1991). An example item is “the applicant can be expected to adequately perform assigned duties”, and all items were rated on a 7-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale.

Perceived warmth and competence. We used the competence (5 items, $\alpha = .83$, e.g., “how competent do you believe this applicant is?”) and warmth (4 items, $\alpha = .87$, e.g., “how good-natured do you believe this applicant is?”) measures from the Stereotype Content Scale (Fiske et al., 2002). All items were rated on a 5-point (not at all-extremely) Likert scale.

Covariates. We used the 10-item ($\alpha = .90$) Gender Role Belief Scale (Brown & Gladstone, 2012), as a female vs. male parent could be evaluated differently depending on the raters’ gender role beliefs (i.e., traditional vs. egalitarian). Items were rated on a 7-point (strongly

² Illustrations of the experimental material for all three studies – including screenshots of the videos, job descriptions, and example response scripts – and simplified version of the datasets are available in our online supplement (https://osf.io/q2wds/?view_only=afe5a3533f7b4f7ebdbc53235912b0bc).

³ Participants also rated each response on a 5-point Likert scale (unsatisfactory to outstanding). As the two performance variables were strongly related ($r = .74$), we only report findings for the overall evaluation. We also provide results for question-level evaluations in our online supplement.

disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale. We also asked participants' own parental status, to test hypothesis 1.3.

Results

Manipulation Check

At the end of the study, participants were asked to rate the likelihood that the applicant was a parent on a 1 (unlikely - applicant is definitely not a parent) to 10 (extremely likely - applicant is definitely a parent). We considered that participants "passed" this manipulation check if they rated 6 or above in the parent condition and 5 or below in the non-parent condition. Overall, 67% of participants (181 out of 272) responded to this item in line with the condition they were assigned to. Notably, a number of participants assigned to the parent condition (i.e., 57 out of 135) did not respond "correctly", suggesting that they either did not notice the three prompts and/or chose to ignore them. Because we had rigorously screened the data using attention checks, and participants might not attend to these background cues yet still attend to the responses, we conducted our analyses and tested our hypotheses based on the full sample ($N = 272$). For the sake of transparency, we replicated our analyses with only participants who "passed" the check ($N = 181$) and include both versions of the results in our Online Supplement.

Hypothesis Testing

Descriptive statistics and correlations between variables (for all three studies) are presented in our Online Supplement. To examine our hypotheses, we conducted a MANCOVA, with the four interview outcomes (i.e., overall interview performance, perceived work performance, perceived competence and warmth) as the dependent variables, applicant gender and parental status as our independent variables, and participants' parental status and traditional gender role beliefs as covariates. Results showed a main effect of applicant gender ($F(4, 263) =$

5.39, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$) and a main effect of applicant parental status ($F(4, 263) = 3.25$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$), but no interaction ($F(4, 263) = 0.99$, $p = .61$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). In addition, there was a significant main effect of participants' traditional gender role beliefs ($F(4, 263) = 3.71$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$),⁴ but no effect for parental status ($F(4, 263) = 0.98$, $p = .36$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$).

Looking at the effects for each of our outcomes separately showed a main effect of applicant gender only for perceived competence, ($F(1, 266) = 6.05$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). The female applicant ($M = 4.04$, $SD = 0.62$) was perceived as more competent than the male applicant ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 0.70$). In addition, results showed only a significant main effect of applicant parental status for perceived warmth ($F(1, 266) = 4.12$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$). The effect of parental status on overall interview performance was also approaching significance ($F(1, 266) = 3.60$, $p = .06$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$). In both cases, applicants who were parents were evaluated more positively than non-parents (see Table 1). We found no significant interaction for any of our outcome variables. Results were largely similar using the 188 participants who passed the manipulation check, although the effect of parental status on perceived warmth was stronger, $F(1, 175) = 14.12$, $p < .001$, and the effect of parental status on the interview performance also became significant, $F(1, 175) = 6.08$, $p = .02$. Overall, these findings provide support for Hypothesis 1.1d, but no support for Hypotheses 1.1a-c or Hypothesis 1.2.

Finally, we conducted a series of multiple regressions to test whether participants' parental status moderated the effect of applicant parental status (and gender) on outcome variables. We entered participants' gender role beliefs (as a control variable), participants' parental status, and applicant parental status and gender in Step 1, relevant two-way interactions in Step 2, and the three-way interaction in Step 3. We found no significant two-way or three-way

⁴ For gender role beliefs, only the effect for work performance was significant ($F(1, 266) = 4.75$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$; i.e., participants with more traditional gender role beliefs provided lower ratings of work performance potential).

interactions for any of the outcome variables. However, the regression results (see Table 2) replicated the findings from the MANCOVAs: a main effect of applicant gender on perceived competence and the main effect of parental status on perceived warmth (and interview performance for the sub-sample). Overall, these findings provide no support for Hypothesis 1.3.

Discussion

Findings from Study 1 suggest that background information signaling applicants' parental status might not result in lower interviewer ratings in AVIs. Applicants depicted as parents were seen as warmer, consistent with past research (Cuddy et al., 2004). However, contrary to our hypothesis, they received slightly higher interview performance ratings than non-parents, despite having the exact same interview responses. They were also not seen as likely to perform less well on the job, nor evaluated as less competent, as compared to non-parents. These findings are generally contrary to prior studies examining biases against parents, and especially mothers (Cuddy et al., 2004; Weisshaar, 2018). Further, we found no moderating effect of raters' own parental status, which is contrary to propositions from the dual-process model of interviewer bias about the moderating role of individual differences (Derous et al., 2016).

Interestingly, a non-negligible portion of raters did not notice or correctly interpret the cues about the applicant parental status in the videos. While our findings did become somewhat stronger when excluding these individuals, they still largely favored parents. This suggests that either the prompts were too subtle or that raters ignored them when evaluating the applicant. These findings are potentially reassuring for parents applying for jobs, although the parents in our experiment could have been rewarded for having a particularly "clean" background. It is possible that more negative cues of parental status (e.g., a child interrupting the recording, a "messier" background with toys) would have activated more negative stereotypes about parents.

Study 2: AVI Background Signaling Sexual Orientation

Background and Hypotheses

AVIs may also convey stigmatizing information about sexual orientation - an invisible and uncontrollable type of stigma (Summers et al., 2018). According to the dual-process theory (Deros et al., 2016), background signals of applicants' sexual orientation should trigger automatic Type 1 processes in raters, who would form more negative initial impressions of gay or lesbian (vs. straight) applicants that serve as anchors to influence final interview ratings. Research examining employment discrimination against gay or lesbian applicants includes somewhat mixed results. Correspondence studies with Greek and Austrian employers found applicants described as gay or lesbian vs. non-gay/straight had lower chances to be invited for an interview (Drydakis, 2009; Weichselbaumer, 2003). Similarly, Horvath and Ryan (2003) found lower hirability ratings for gay men and (especially) lesbians in a study with U.S. college student raters. More recent work also found lower interview ratings for a gay (vs. non-gay) applicant (Nadler et al., 2014). Conversely, Van Hove and Lievens (2003) found no effect of sexual orientation on hirability ratings in a study with Belgian hiring professionals assessing written profiles of mock applicants. A U.S.-based audit study also found no discrimination (Bailey et al., 2013). Others (Hebl et al., 2002; Singletary & Hebl, 2009) found no formal discrimination (e.g., opportunity to submit an application, callbacks) against applicants entering stores wearing a "gay and proud" hat (vs. a "Texan and proud" hat), but found evidence of interpersonal discrimination (e.g., shorter interactions with a manager, more perceived negativity). Taken together, although evidence is mixed, LGBTQIA2S+ applicants seem to have lower chances to succeed in job applications.

Hypothesis 2.1. Gay and lesbian applicants are evaluated more negatively than straight applicants when it comes to indicators of (a) interview performance, (b) potential work performance, (c) perceived competence, and (d) perceived warmth.

In addition, society, and especially men, tends to accept female homosexuality slightly more than male homosexuality (Bettinsoli et al., 2020). This is because homosexuality is viewed as deviating from traditional or “appropriate” gender roles, and such a deviation is seen as more serious for men than women (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Men (but not women) see gay men as more immoral than lesbians, and are more likely to condemn and avoid contact with them (LaMar & Kite, 1998). Gay men are perceived as average on both warmth and competence, and thus somewhat less competent than straight men (Fiske et al., 2002). In contrast, lesbian and straight women are perceived similarly on both warmth and competence (Peplau & Fingerhut, 2004). As such, gay male applicants may activate Type-I processes, and be evaluated more negatively.

Hypothesis 2.2. Interview evaluations are particularly more negative for gay male applicants (as compared to lesbian applicants).

Finally, according to Derous et al. (2016), interviewers’ prejudice (i.e., attitudes towards gays and lesbians) may mitigate or exacerbate these effects. While societal attitudes towards gays and lesbians are getting more positive over time (e.g., Keleher & Smith, 2012), some still have negative attitudes due to many factors (e.g., religiosity, education, laws; van den Akker et al., 2012). Such attitudes can moderate likability ratings of gay/lesbian targets (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007), although both Horvath and Ryan (2003) and Nadler et al. (2014) found that raters’ attitudes towards gays and lesbians were unrelated to hirability ratings.

Hypothesis 2.3. Raters’ attitudes towards gays/lesbians act as a moderator, such that evaluations of gay/lesbian applicants are particularly negative for raters with more negative attitudes.

Methods

Sample

We recruited 240 U.S. residents with experience hiring employees from the Prolific online platform. We eliminated 11 respondents who failed at least one of the three attention checks embedded in the study measures (e.g., “I eat glass”) or sped through the study (over two *SDs* below the mean time to complete the whole study or read the instruction page), leading to a final sample of 229. Participants were on average 42.85 (*SD* = 12.42) years of age, had 7.46 (*SD* = 8.05) years of experience conducting interviews, but only 25% had received formal interview training and 3% had prior experience with AVIs. The sample was quite gender-balanced (55% male and 45% female), mostly White (81%, with 7% Black, 6% Latino, 2% Asian), 79% holding a university/college degree, 92% employed, 63% currently in a managerial position, and 11% of participants self-identified as members of the LGBTQIA2S+ community.

Procedure

The procedure was largely consistent with Study 1, with a few differences: Participants acted as the manager in a local electronic store in charge of hiring an entry-level customer service representative. We changed the job to increase generalizability. The AVI included five interview questions designed to assess requirements for that job. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four new experimental conditions using a different set of video responses (see *Materials and Design* section). They watched the five video responses from the applicant and scored the quality of each individual response. They completed similar measures as in Study 1, a manipulation check item (about the applicant’s sexual orientation), measures of gender role beliefs, attitudes towards gays/lesbians, their own sexual orientation, and demographic questions. The study took on average 25.5 minutes to complete, compensated with USD \$4.00.

Material and Design

We used a 2 (applicant gender: male vs. female) x 2 (applicant sexual orientation: straight vs. gay/lesbian) between-subjects design. The two applicants were the same as in Study 1, but they recorded a different set of responses. Applicant sexual orientation was manipulated through three elements visible in the videos: a mug that read “gay and proud” (vs. “coffee o’clock” for the straight condition), a small rainbow flag positioned on a bookshelf (vs. an American flag), and a framed picture on the wall including the applicant with a same-sex partner (vs. other-sex partner). Beyond the manipulated elements, we used the same precautions to keep the content identical across the conditions (i.e., location, clothing, additional neutral background elements).

Measures

Most measures were similar or identical to Study 1: At the end of the interview, participants rated the overall performance of the applicant using a 5-item ($\alpha = .94$), 7-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale (Higgins & Judge, 2004). We used same measure for potential work performance with a 3-item ($\alpha = .94$), 7-point Likert scale (Williams & Anderson, 1991). We also used the same measures for competence (5 items, $\alpha = .83$) and warmth (4 items, $\alpha = .90$) from Fiske et al. (2002) with 5-point Likert scales.

Covariates. We used the same 10-item ($\alpha = .87$) 7-point Likert scale Gender Role Belief Scale (Brown & Gladstone, 2012), and included the 20-item ($\alpha = .97$) Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988). This scale includes 10 items about negative attitudes towards gay men (“I think male homosexuals are disgusting”) and 10 towards lesbians (e.g., “Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions”). All items were rated on a 5-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale.

Results

Manipulation Check

Participants were asked whether the applicant was heterosexual/straight, gay/lesbian, bisexual, or “none of the above” (and, if so, were asked to comment). Overall, 70% of participants (161 out of 229) responded to this manipulation check item in line with the condition they were assigned to. Yet, a large number of participants assigned to the gay/lesbian condition (i.e., 53 out of 113) did not respond “correctly” to this item. Some of them selected the “none of the above” option and mentioned that they noted the LGBTQIA2S+ props but preferred not to assume the applicant’s sexual orientation (e.g., “none of my business”). Many participants also rated the gay/lesbian applicant as heterosexual, suggesting that they either did not notice the three prompts or chose to ignore them. We thus replicated all our analyses using only those ($N = 161$) participants who “passed” the manipulation check (see Online Supplement). All the findings were identical to those using the full ($N = 229$) sample.

Hypothesis Testing

We conducted a MANCOVA, with the core outcome variables (i.e., interview performance, potential work performance, perceived competence and warmth) as the dependent variables, applicant gender and sexual orientation as the independent variables, and attitudes towards lesbians and gays and traditional gender role beliefs as covariates. Results of the multivariate tests showed no overall main effect of applicant gender ($F(4, 220) = 1.08, p = .37, \eta_p^2 = .02$), no main effect of applicant sexual orientation ($F(4, 220) = 1.18, p = .32, \eta_p^2 = .02$), and no interaction ($F(4, 220) = 0.79, p = .53, \eta_p^2 = .01$). There was also no main effect of attitudes towards lesbians and gays ($F(4, 220) = 1.03, p = .39, \eta_p^2 = .02$) or traditional gender role beliefs ($F(4, 220) = 0.80, p = .53, \eta_p^2 = .01$). Looking at the effects for each of the four outcomes separately also showed no significant main effect of applicant gender or sexual

orientation and no interaction (see Table 1). Results were similar using only participants who passed the manipulation check. These findings provide no support for Hypotheses 2.1 or 2.2.⁵

We conducted a series of multiple regressions to directly test whether participants' attitudes towards lesbians and gays could moderate the effect of applicant sexual orientation (and gender) on interview outcomes. Gender role beliefs, attitudes towards lesbians and gays, and applicant sexual orientation and gender in Step 1, all two-way interactions in Step 2, and the three-way interaction in Step 3. We found no relevant significant two-way or three-way interactions (see Table 3). Overall, these findings provide no support for Hypothesis 2.3.

Discussion

The results suggested that background information signaling applicants' sexual orientation did not bias interviewer ratings in AVIs. Applicants depicted as gay or lesbian did not receive lower interview evaluations, were not seen as less likely to perform well on the job, and were not rated as less warm or competent. These findings are contrary to prior studies showing some evidence for discrimination (Drydakis, 2009; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Nadler et al., 2014; Weichselbaumer, 2003), but more consistent with other studies finding limited evidence for formal discrimination (Bailey et al., 2013; Hebl et al., 2002; Van Hove & Lievens, 2003). It might also be because AVIs are structured interviews, which have been shown to help reduce bias (McCarthy et al., 2010). Further, we found no moderating effect of raters' attitudes towards gays and lesbians, which is contrary to propositions from the dual-process model (Derous et al., 2016), but consistent with prior empirical findings (Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Nadler et al., 2014). That said, our sample appeared to have largely positive (i.e., low negative) attitudes towards

⁵ We replicated these analyses using participants' gender and sexual orientation as alternative covariates and found the same results. Because some studies have found an effect of rater gender (Everly et al., 2016), we also explored a 2x2x2 model with participant gender as the third factor, but again found no significant main effect or interaction.

gays/lesbians (i.e., $M = 1.69$ on a 1-5 scale), which might reflect a general trend toward more openness to homosexuality in the (U.S.) society (Keleher & Smith, 2012). Further, many raters did not notice or correctly interpret the cues about the applicant sexual orientation in the videos. While results did not change when excluding these individuals, just like in Study 1, this suggests that either the prompts were too subtle or that raters ignored them.

Study 3: AVI Background Signaling Political Affiliation

Background and Hypotheses

While political affiliation has increasingly been a source of debate and disagreement in society in the U.S. and around the world (e.g., Iyengar et al., 2012), it has received increasing attention in organizational research only recently (e.g., Carnahan & Greenwood, 2018). Roth et al. (2017) proposed the political affiliation model, which highlights how applicants' political preferences impacts employment decisions. This model suggests that hiring managers are more likely to evaluate positively, and ultimately hire, applicants who share their political affiliations.

Political affiliation is generally not discussed in the stigma literature. For instance, it is not listed in Summer et al.'s (2018) typology. In traditional selection processes (e.g., in-person interviews), information about applicants' political affiliation is generally not available to hiring managers, making it an invisible type of stigma. There is initial support for key elements of the political affiliation model. In two studies, Roth et al. (2020) found that when the applicant's political affiliation (visible on their Facebook profile) matched the rater's, the applicant was viewed as more likable and ultimately more likely to be a higher performer and a good organizational citizen. Similar results have been found when applicants share their views on political issues (e.g., gun control, cannabis legalization, universal healthcare) on social media (Wade et al., 2020). A correspondence study also found that resumes of applicants whose

political affiliation did *not* match the majority party in the employers' U.S. county received fewer callbacks than applicants with a majority party affiliation or with no party identification (Gift & Gift, 2015). However, the political affiliation model has not yet been tested in other selection contexts, including interviews. In terms of the dual-process theory (Derosus et al., 2016), political affiliation information should trigger automatic Type-I process, leading to more negative initial impressions of applicants who do not share the interviewers' political views.

Hypothesis 3.1. Applicants are evaluated more positively on (a) interview performance, (b) potential work performance, (c) perceived competence, and (d) perceived warmth when they support the same (vs. a different) political party as the rater (i.e., party in-congruence).

Roth et al. (2017) also proposed that political affiliation should impact selection outcomes above and beyond job-related individuating information. Importantly, their initial studies showed that the effects of political affiliation congruence remained visible when individuating information about applicant qualifications was added (Roth et al., 2020). However, in an interview context, Derosus et al. (2016) suggest that job-related information triggers Type-II adjustment processes only (or mostly) for non-stigmatized applicants, while this information is largely ignored for stigmatized applicants. As such, information about job-related qualifications (e.g., strong interview performance) should be considered in evaluations when the applicant shares the interviewer's political affiliation (i.e., non-stigmatized). However, this new information may be ignored when the applicant and the interviewer have a different political affiliation (i.e., stigmatized). We thus investigate how the impact of job-relevant information (i.e., applicant qualification) on judgments of the applicant depends on political (in)congruence.

Hypothesis 3.2. Qualified applicants are evaluated more positively than less-qualified applicants when they support the same political party (but not a different party) as the rater.

Finally, Roth et al. (2017) proposed that identification (or disidentification) with one's political party should play a moderating role, such that party congruence should have a stronger positive effect on employment outcomes when the hiring manager strongly identifies with their political party. Similarly, they predict that a lack of congruence will be more impactful when the rater strongly disidentifies with the other party. Although, Roth et al. (2020) did not find empirical support when examining social media screening, we propose that further testing of Roth et al. (2017) predicted moderation, in other selection contexts, is warranted.

Hypothesis 3.3. The strength of the evaluator's party identification acts as a moderator, such that evaluations of applicants from the same party as the interviewer are particularly positive when the rater is more strongly identified with their political party.

Sample

We recruited 270 currently employed U.S. residents with prior hiring experience from Mechanical Turk, using the Cloud Research platform (Litman et al., 2016). We eliminated one respondent who failed at least three of the fourteen attention checks embedded in the study measures (similar to those used in Study 1). Participants were on average 34.92 ($SD = 9.39$) years of age, and had 5.46 ($SD = 4.62$) years of experience conducting interviews. In addition, 60% had received formal interview training and 28% had prior experience hiring with AVIs. The sample was 69% male and 31% female, mostly White (69%, with 15% Black, 5% Latino, 5% Asian), 82% holding a university/college degree, and 72% currently in a managerial position, and 33% self-identified as Republicans, 51% as Democrats, and 16% as neither.

Procedure

The procedure was largely consistent with the one used in Study 1, with the same assistant brand manager job, but the AVI included five interview questions and participants were

randomly assigned to one of four new experimental conditions (see *Material and Design* section). Participants watched the five video responses and completed similar measures as in Studies 1 and 2, a manipulation check item (about the applicant's political party), measures of their identification with the Democrat and Republican parties, and demographic questions. The study took on average 22.9 minutes to complete and compensated participants USD \$3.00.

Material and Design

We used a 2 (applicant political affiliation: Democrat vs. Republican) x 2 (applicant qualifications: low vs. high) between-subjects design. The applicant was the same male actor used in Studies 1-2, but he recorded a different set of AVI responses to five questions. The applicant's political affiliation was manipulated through three elements visible in the videos: a mug with either the Republican elephant or Democrat donkey, a hat with either a "Proud Republican" or "Proud Democrat" printed slogan on a bookshelf, and a poster with either the text "Vote Republican 2020" or "Vote Democrat 2020" on the wall.⁶ The rest of the background was identical across the conditions. The scripted responses were designed to emphasize that the applicant was either (a) very qualified and knowledgeable, providing strong responses, or (b) less qualified and provided somewhat weaker, vague responses (but of similar length). These scripts were developed with consideration of different qualities of answers on existing BARS for this interview position and questions (see online supplement for detailed examples of responses).

Measures

Most measures were similar or identical to those used in Studies 1-2: At the end of the interview, participants rated the overall performance of the applicant using a shorter 2-item ($\alpha = .89$), 5-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scale (Higgins & Judge, 2004). We used a

⁶ The data collection for this study took place in the Spring of 2020, thus before the November 2020 U.S. elections.

longer measure for potential work performance with 7 items ($\alpha = .75$) on a 7-point Likert scale (Williams & Anderson, 1991). We also used the same measures as in Study 1 for competence (5 items, $\alpha = .84$) and warmth (4 items, $\alpha = .86$) from Fiske et al. (2002), with 5-point Likert scales.

Covariates. Two 5-item measures captured participants' identification with the Democrat and Republican parties ($\alpha = .89$ and $.90$, respectively), adapted from the organizational identification scale (Mael & Ashforth, 1992), using 5-point (strongly disagree-strongly agree) Likert scales.

Party congruence. Being a Democrat vs. Republican is not a stigma per se, but what matters is the congruence in political preferences between the applicant and the interviewer (Roth et al., 2017). We asked participants if they personally identified as a Republican, a Democrat, or neither. We then computed a party congruence indicator: "1" when the applicant and the participant were from the same party (e.g., both Republicans or both Democrats) and "0" if they were not (e.g., Republican applicant with Democrat or unaffiliated participant).

Manipulation Check

Participants were asked which political party was represented in the applicant's video background (i.e., Democrat, Republican, other). Overall, 83% of participants (224 out of 269) responded to this manipulation check item in line with the condition they were assigned to. The percentage of participants correctly identifying the political party of the applicant was similar across conditions (81% Democrat, 85% Republican). This suggests that our manipulation was not only effective, but also likely more salient than in Studies 1-2. Yet, as with the prior studies, we did replicate all our analyses using only those ($N = 224$) participants who "passed" the manipulation check, and report these results in our Online Supplement.

Hypothesis Testing

We conducted a MANCOVA, with the core outcome variables (i.e., interview performance, potential work performance, perceived competence and warmth) as the dependent variables, applicant qualifications and party congruence as our independent variables, and identification with Republicans and Democrats as covariates. Results of the multivariate tests showed a significant overall main effect of applicant qualifications ($F(4, 255) = 11.54, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .15$) and a main effect of applicant-interviewer party congruence approaching significance ($F(4, 255) = 2.34, p = .06, \eta_p^2 = .04$), but no interaction ($F(4, 255) = 0.95, p = .43, \eta_p^2 = .02$). There was also a main effect of both identification with Republicans ($F(4, 255) = 9.63, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .13$) and with Democrats ($F(4, 255) = 6.18, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$). Looking at the effects for each of our outcome variables separately showed a significant main effect of party congruence on interview performance ($F(1, 258) = 6.35, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .02$), potential work performance ($F(1, 258) = 6.40, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .02$), and perceived warmth ($F(1, 258) = 5.65, p = .02, \eta_p^2 = .02$), although the effect only approached significance for perceived competence ($F(1, 258) = 3.43, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .01$). The applicant systematically received higher evaluations when they were from the same party as the rater (see Table 1). This provides full support for Hypotheses H3.1a, b, and d, but only partial support for H3.1c. These effects were stronger and significant for all four outcomes when considering those participants who passed the manipulation check. Contrary to H3.2, there was no significant qualifications x party congruence interaction for any outcome.

We conducted multiple regressions to directly test whether participants' identification with the Republican or Democratic party moderated the effect of applicant qualifications and party congruence on interview outcomes. We entered the level of identification with one's party and applicant qualifications and party congruence in Step 1, all two-way interactions in Step 2, and the three-way interaction in Step 3. For party identification, we used the identification with

the Republican party for participants who reported being Republicans, identification with the Democratic party for those who reported being Democrats, and the average level of identification for the two parties for those who reported supporting neither party.⁷ Results are presented in Table 4. When examining interview performance as the outcome, we found significant two-way interactions (i.e., $B = .36, p = .03$ for party congruence x party identification; $B = -.34, p = .04$ for applicant qualifications x party identification), but no significant three-way interactions for other outcome variables. A visual inspection of the results (see Online Supplement) suggests that the low-qualifications applicant was evaluated more similarly to the high-qualifications applicant when the rater was strongly identified with their political party and the applicant and rater supported the same party. More surprisingly, the lowest interview performance was found for the low-qualifications applicant when the applicant and rater supported the same party but the rater was less identified with the party. Results were similar when using only those participants who passed the manipulation check. Overall, these findings provide no support for Hypothesis 3.3.

Discussion

Results of Study 3 suggest that background information in AVIs signaling applicants' political preferences can play a role in how they are evaluated. Applicants whose party affiliation was congruent with the rater's received higher interview evaluations, were viewed as more likely to perform well on the job, were rated as warmer, and (to a lesser extent) more competent. Our results also show that party congruence might help applicants who are objectively less qualified, although it does not seem to fully compensate for lower qualifications. The degree of rater's identification with their party only played a small moderating role, and mostly when examining

⁷ We also replicated our analyses after removing the 43 non-partisan participants (i.e., neither Republican or Democrat), but found similar results: the same significant qualification x identification interaction for interview performance ($B = -.38, p = .04$), and no significant three-way interactions for any of our interview outcomes.

interview performance evaluations. Overall, our results provide general support for the political affiliation model (Roth et al., 2017) in the context of AVIs, and are largely consistent with recent findings from studies examining the role of political affiliation in initial screening based on applicants' social media profiles (Roth et al., 2020; Wade et al., 2020). Interestingly, the proportion of participants who correctly noticed the political affiliation of the applicant in Study 3 was larger than in Studies 1 and 2, and also larger than in Roth et al. (2020). This suggests that AVIs have the potential to make information about political preference particularly salient.

General Discussion

Main Findings

The present paper investigated the impact of background cues signaling potentially stigmatizing features in AVIs. With technology-mediated interviews (including AVIs) becoming increasingly popular (Lukacik et al., 2022), understanding how the unique features of these types of interviews can introduce bias in ratings is critical. Across three experimental studies, we examined stigmatizing features that (1) are “invisible” types of stigmas (Summers et al., 2018) in other contexts but may be observable in AVIs, (2) vary in their legal protection (Myors et al., 2008), (3) have been demonstrated to impact how one is perceived and treated, and (4) received limited attention in the personnel selection (i.e., interview) literature. We investigated how cues indicating parental status (Study 1), sexual orientation (Study 2), and political affiliation (Study 3) impacted perceptions of applicant warmth and competence from the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002), interview performance, and potential work performance.

While raters *can* discriminate against applicants from a stigmatized group in AVIs, we found that some raters seem to ignore background information. Perceptions and evaluations of candidates also varied depending on the stigmatized group or features disclosed. At one end of

the spectrum, parents (both mothers and fathers) were perceived as warmer than non-parents. However, while research would indicate that parents (particularly mothers) should have been evaluated more negatively (Fuegen et al., 2004), they were given *higher* interview performance ratings in Study 1 by those who noticed the parental status cues. Conversely, in Study 2, we found that applicant sexual orientation (regardless of gender) did not impact perceptions or evaluations, irrespective of rater factors such as gender, gender role beliefs, and attitudes towards lesbians/gays. At the other end of the spectrum, consistent with past research on screening (Roth et al., 2020), Study 3 demonstrated robust support for the impact of applicants' party affiliation. When applicants' political affiliation was different from the raters', they were seen as less warm, competent (in some cases), and as performing more poorly in the interview and as less likely to perform well on the job. The absence of bias against parents or gay/lesbian applicants could be considered "good news" for organizations and applicants, and suggests that AVIs – like in-person structured interviews (Levashina et al., 2014; McCarthy et al., 2010) – might be less prone to some forms of bias. Yet, our findings also highlight that new forms of bias can arise in AVIs when background features are strong or salient, and activate negative stereotypes.

Theoretical Implications

While informative, these findings also raise a number of implications and questions. Theoretically, the dual-process model of interviewer bias (Deros et al., 2016) suggests that stigmatized features should lead to Type-I processes, activate automatic stereotypes, and to the forming of enduring negative impressions of stigmatized individuals. Such initial impressions should anchor final decisions, particularly for applicants from stigmatized groups, whereas they can be adjusted for non-stigmatized individuals. However, this was not consistently the case

across our studies, thus highlighting important boundary conditions technology may impose on the dual-process model, when set up in a particular way.

One possible explanation for our findings is that, while background information visible in AVIs can bias raters' judgments (i.e., Type-I processes), this interview modality still allows for adjustments and corrections of initially-biased responses (via Type-II processes). For instance, raters may initially react negatively to parents or gay/lesbian applicants, but then adjust their evaluations to consider the qualifications applicants demonstrated in their responses. Yet, in our supplementary analyses, in addition to the outcomes reported, we also examined question-by-question interview performance ratings as the interview progressed, and found that ratings were impacted early and then tended to remain fairly consistent across questions, which is inconsistent with the argument that raters corrected initial evaluations over the course of the interview.

Alternatively, individuals may be more comfortable overtly discriminating against certain groups than others, and more cognizant of some stereotypes than others, in the context of an AVI. In an era where there has been significant social movements and increased awareness of gender equity, LGBTQIA2S+ rights, and more, many individuals may be particularly cognizant of their perceptions of these groups. Participants' views of gender roles were generally quite progressive (i.e., low scores on the "traditional" gender role scale in Studies 1 and 2). Similarly, in Study 2, participants generally had very positive attitudes towards gays and lesbians, and several individuals had noted the stimuli (e.g., pride flag) but did not want to make assumptions about the candidate. As such, even when noticing these cues, raters seemed cautious about letting this impact formal evaluations. This is consistent with research indicating less evidence for *formal* discrimination (Hebl et al., 2002; Van Hove & Lievens, 2003), although this certainly does not indicate that more *informal* discrimination would not arise in a more high-fidelity

setting. In addition, these progressive attitudes may also be related to the high education level of our participants. Although Derous et al. (2016) did not specifically suggest that education could help reduce reliance on Type-I processes, they proposed that training related to diversity awareness could. Contrary to the first two studies, the results of Study 3 indicated that participants seemed much more comfortable with making negative evaluations about individuals with differing political orientations. Moreover, having the same political orientation as the evaluator could somewhat make up for having lower competence. This is consistent with Roth et al.'s (2017) political affiliation model, and a broad literature indicating increasing conflict and political polarization (van Baar & FeldmanHall, 2021), particularly in countries such as the U.S.

Conversely, Derous et al. (2016) also proposed that interviewer characteristics can impact Type-I vs. II processes. We found limited evidence that rater characteristics played a significant moderating role. In Study 1, our raters varied in parental status and (to some extent) gender role beliefs, making it theoretically possible to capture potential moderations. Yet, these factors did not impact the effect of applicant parental status on interview outcomes. In Study 2, raters' attitudes towards gays/lesbians were consistently positive, and they had quite progressive views on gender roles, possibly limiting potential moderating effects. The only significant interviewer characteristic was political party identification in Study 3: when interviewers were from the same party as the interviewee and were highly identified with the party, this helped compensate for the interviewee's lower qualifications. Future research could recruit raters with more variability, or those with negative attitudes towards certain groups, to understand potential bias in this context.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

These studies, while informative, do have limitations and present some intriguing areas for future research. First would be to expand investigation to other potentially biasing

background features beyond the three encompassed here, for instance related to religious beliefs, social causes (e.g., BLM), or specific political issues (e.g., gun control, abortion). Moreover, there are some idiosyncrasies in the groups and background cues we examined that warrant further investigation. For instance, while we found that parents were evaluated more positively, this was in the context of clean backgrounds with distraction-free recordings. It is possible that different contexts (e.g., toys in the background, interruptions from children) could activate worries about parental ability to perform. Similarly, while the same-sex couple picture was only one of three visible cues in Study 2, the two individuals in the picture could have been perceived as friends. Perhaps more salient cues (e.g., the two individuals kissing, a wedding photo) could have triggered more negative stereotypes against gays/lesbians and thus stronger reactions from raters. In contrast, the political orientation backgrounds were quite strong manipulations. While not necessarily infeasible, perhaps cues strength was taken as an indication of the strength of the applicant's political leanings, therefore making it particularly likely that the candidate would be perceived negatively by evaluators from the opposite political party. Future research with subtler or different cues to understand the boundary conditions of background cues would be helpful.

Second, one common theme across the studies was that participants often misidentified the status of the person they were rating. For example, the percent of participants who correctly identified the condition of the participant ranged from 67% (Study 1) to 83% (Study 3). There are a number of explanations for this. The first is that some participants were inattentive. Although this may be possible for some participants, we employed a number of attention check items throughout each study and eliminated those individuals. A second option is that our cues were not strong enough. Again, we believe this is unlikely, given that the cues were designed to be quite noticeable (e.g., #1 Mom mug, pride flag, Democrat 2020 poster) and there were

multiple cues per condition. Some more plausible options are that certain individuals did not want to be presumptuous, or were trying not to use the background information. Indeed, in Study 2 (sexual orientation), some participants mentioned qualitative comments about not wanting to make assumptions. Alternately, some types of statuses (i.e., non-parents) were potentially more difficult to judge. We did run our analyses using both the full sample and only those individuals who passed the attention check, and findings were generally similar but stronger when considering only those who correctly passed the check. Future research could better examine such phenomena using alternate methods such as eye tracking (e.g., Roulin & Bhatnagar, 2021). In addition, the studies were conducted in early 2020, thus prior to (or at the onset of) the COVID-19 pandemic, and the increased popularity of videoconference interviews and AVIs. Future research could examine if our results replicate now that most people have become more familiar with such technologies.

Finally, future research could explore alternate study designs to simulate other elements of the selection process involving AVIs. For example, due to length and logistical limitations, we utilized a between-subjects design. However, in a typical selection setting, interviewers may be choosing between multiple applicants. As such, future studies could present several candidates with different background cues and determine how this impacts ratings and selection decisions. While an individual with a stigmatizing background may not be evaluated more negatively *per se*, they could still be evaluated more negatively when directly compared to other applicants. While creating video-based stimuli that are comparable on all other features but differ only in background cues would be logistically challenging, it may be worth doing. In addition, one unique feature of AVIs that both distinguishes them from other technology-mediated interviews and has the potential to exacerbate biases is that interviewers can simply quit watching the

interview if/when they decide an applicant is unsuitable (Lukacik et al., 2022). Brenner et al. (2016) argues that hiring judgements can be made on the basis of ‘thin slices’ in AVIs. This ability to skip an AVI could potentially escalate biased interview evaluations through mainly relying on unfiltered first impressions and biased Type-I processes (Derous et al., 2016).

Although dual-process theory (Derous et al., 2016) indicates that providing more information is unlikely to change initial impressions for stigmatized individuals (because of anchoring mechanisms), this could be further investigated. This could involve examining variables such as “time to decision” or other subtler indicators to reveal certain forms of bias, similarly to prior work using interaction duration as a form of informal discrimination (e.g., Hebl et al., 2002).

Practical Implications

There are a number of implications of those findings for both individuals and organizations. With AVIs becoming increasingly common (Lukacik et al., 2022), researchers have sought to understand the factors that impact applicant behaviors, attitudes, and interview performance in this and other mediums (Basch et al., 2021; Langer et al., 2020). Because AVIs are often filmed from locations of the applicant’s choosing, they certainly have the potential to give cues about the individual. The present study indicates that many (but not all) interviewers do notice cues in the backgrounds of AVIs, such as what is on one’s beverage container or pictures on the wall. In this controlled setting, even when candidates gave the same answers to the questions, these background cues had the potential to impact not just perceptions of a candidate, but also evaluations of their interview performance. It indicates that applicants should be very cognizant of the cues provided in their backgrounds. In some cases, such as for parents, conveying family status could be beneficial, albeit with an organized, interruption-free background. Conversely, displaying information about one’s political affiliation could be quite

damaging to one's employment prospects. Altogether, we would advise applicants to be cognizant of their backgrounds, and to keep them clean and neutral.

From an organizational perspective, our findings are mixed. It was encouraging that candidates were not evaluated negatively on the basis of being a parent or a sexual minority. Because AVIs incorporate many of the Chapman and Zweig (2005) components of structured interviews (i.e., question consistency, limited rapport building) they may have some resistance to certain forms of biases. Indeed, more structured interviews are less prone to certain subgroup differences (Huffcutt et al., 2001) or applicant-interviewer similarity effects (McCarthy et al., 2010). That being said, bias is possible in an AVI context and so organizations should be cognizant of this. For example, the efficacy of training programs to increase awareness of these issues, of utilizing only the audio, or enabling software with a background blurring feature could be investigated. In addition, our findings are only representative of settings where interviewers are required to watch the entire interview, and may not hold when interviewers are making snap judgments to move quickly through applicants. Finally, even though human evaluators may exhibit certain biases, and this could encourage organizations to turn to automated evaluation, automated approaches to evaluation can also be subject to a number of their own problematic biases (Zou & Schiebinger, 2018) and lead to negative applicant reactions (Acikgoz et al., 2020).

Conclusion

The present study provides a preliminary investigation of the role of background cues in affecting interview evaluations. Importantly, by focusing on background cues representing three potentially stigmatized groups (i.e., parental status, sexual orientation, political orientation) we were able to show some preliminary evidence that AVI backgrounds can provide evaluators with information about personal characteristics, which can impact candidate assessment.

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Table 1. Effect of Participants' Parental Status, Applicant Gender and Parental Status on Interview Outcomes

Applicant condition	<i>N</i>	Interview performance	Pot. work performance	Perceived competence	Perceived warmth
Study 1 - Parental Status					
<i>Means (SD)</i>					
Male – non-parent	71	3.94 (0.92)	5.89 (0.83)	3.78 (0.73)	3.64 (0.79)
Male – parent	66	4.21 (0.81)	5.99 (1.05)	3.90 (0.67)	3.90 (0.71)
Female – non-parent	66	3.99 (0.98)	6.11 (0.94)	4.11 (0.57)	3.56 (0.81)
Female – parent	69	4.12 (0.79)	5.98 (0.98)	3.98 (0.66)	3.70 (0.77)
<i>ANOVAs</i>					
Gender – <i>F</i>		0.04	0.60	6.05*	2.58
Gender – η_p^2		.00	.00	.02	.01
Parent – <i>F</i>		3.60†	0.01	0.03	4.12*
Parent – η_p^2		.01	.00	.00	.02
Interaction – <i>F</i>		0.93	0.78	2.21	0.34
Interaction – η_p^2		.00	.00	.01	.00
Study 2 – Sexual Orientation					
<i>Means (SD)</i>					
Male – straight	57	6.25 (0.90)	6.42 (0.69)	4.00 (0.63)	4.04 (0.87)
Male – gay	55	6.37 (0.53)	6.41 (0.46)	3.89 (0.56)	4.01 (0.76)
Female – straight	59	6.28 (0.91)	6.45 (0.69)	4.07 (0.56)	3.89 (0.85)
Female – lesbian	58	6.45 (0.53)	4.46 (0.79)	4.17 (0.60)	4.33 (0.62)
<i>ANOVAs</i>					
Gender – <i>F</i> -value		0.04	0.14	2.15	0.14
Gender – partial η^2		.00	.00	.01	.00
Sex. orientation – <i>F</i>		0.31	0.79	0.19	1.77
Sex. orientation – η_p^2		.00	.01	.00	.01
Interaction – <i>F</i>		0.39	0.65	1.97	3.43†
Interaction – η_p^2		.00	.00	.01	.02
Study 3 – Political Party Affiliation					
<i>Means (SD)</i>					
Low qualif – incongruent	74	2.92 (1.28)	4.18 (1.07)	3.21 (0.77)	3.07 (0.83)
Low qualif – congruent	56	3.34 (1.25)	4.41 (0.96)	3.51 (0.77)	3.43 (0.86)
High qualif – incongruent	83	3.80 (1.07)	4.81 (0.92)	3.74 (0.61)	3.50 (0.85)
High qualif – congruent	51	4.27 (0.67)	5.08 (0.93)	3.92 (0.70)	3.76 (0.64)
<i>ANOVAs</i>					
Qualifications – <i>F</i>		37.69**	32.44**	23.59**	10.99**
Qualifications – η_p^2		.13	.11	.08	.04
Party congruence – <i>F</i>		6.35*	6.40*	3.43†	5.65*
Party congruence – η_p^2		.02	.02	.01	.02
Interaction – <i>F</i>		0.05	0.21	1.65	0.89
Interaction – η_p^2		.00	.00	.01	.00

Table 2. Effect of Participants’ Parental Status, Applicant Gender and Parental Status on Interview Outcomes (Study 1)

	Interview performance			Potential work performance			Perceived competence			Perceived warmth		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender role beliefs	-.03	-.03	.03	-.14*	-.14*	-.14*	.04	.04	.05	.04	.04	.04
Participant parental status	.02	.06	.14	.05	-.09	-.07	.07	.09	.12	.09	.19 [†]	.19
Applicant gender	-.01	.03	.12	.05	-.01	.02	.15*	.22*	.26*	-.10	-.02	-.02
Applicant parental status	.12 [†]	.19 [†]	.27*	.01	.04	.06	-.01	.11	.15	.12*	.20 [†]	.20 [†]
Applicant Gender x Applicant parent		-.06	-.21		-.10	-.14		-.15	.22		-.06	-.05
Participant parent x Applicant Gender		.02	-.16		.20 [†]	.15		.03	.04		-.09	-.08
Participant parent x Applicant parent		.07	-.21		.05	.01		-.06	-.12		-.09	-.08
Participant parent x Applicant parent x Applicant Gender			.22			.07			.10			-.01
<i>F</i>	.95	0.66	0.79	1.61	1.53	1.36	2.17 [†]	1.61	1.45	2.39 [†]	1.60	1.39
<i>R</i> ²	.01	.02	.02	.02	.04	.04	.03	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

Note: *N* = 181. Values are standardized coefficients (Betas). Applicant gender: 0 = male, 1 = female. [†] *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01

Table 3. Effect of Participants’ Attitudes, Applicant Gender, and Sexual Orientation on Interview Outcomes (Study 2)

	Interview performance			Potential work performance			Perceived competence			Perceived warmth		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender role beliefs	.12	.13	.13	.09	.09	.10	.13	.13	.13	.17 [†]	.19 [†]	.19 [†]
NATLG	-.14	-.12	-.17	-.08	-.13	-.31 [†]	-.10	-.04	-.01	-.19 [†]	-.08	-.05
Applicant gender	-.02	.11	.04	.03	-.01	-.21	.08	.12	.15	-.03	.16	.20
Applicant sexual orientation	.03	.12	.04	-.04	-.03	-.28	.01	.03	.06	.09	.02	.07
Gender x Orientation		-.12	-.01		-.07	.31		.04	-.01		.05	-.02
NATLG x Gender		-.07	.01		.07	.36		-.08	-.12		-.27	-.33
NATLG x Orientation		-.02	.07		.05	.37		-.06	-.10		.03	-.03
NATLG x Gender x Orientation			-.13			-.42 [†]			.06			.08
<i>F</i>	0.59	0.51	0.48	0.39	0.30	0.63	0.75	0.48	0.16	1.46	1.31	1.15
<i>R</i> ²	.01	.01	.02	.01	.01	.02	.01	.02	.02	.03	.04	.04

Note: *N* = 229. Values are standardized coefficients (Betas). Applicant gender: 0 = male, 1 = female. Sexual orientation: 0 = straight, 1

= gay/lesbian. NATLG = Negative attitudes towards lesbians & gays. [†] *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01

Table 4. Effect of Participants’ Identification, Applicant Qualifications, and Party Congruence on Interview Outcomes (Study 3)

	Interview performance			Potential work performance			Perceived competence			Perceived warmth		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
	Applicant qualifications	.36**	.64**	.55**	.30**	.54**	.62**	.30**	.49**	.62**	.22**	.49**
Party congruence	.15*	-.16	-.27	.16**	-.09	.01	.11 [†]	-.11	.06	.15*	-.02	-.17
Rater party identification	.20**	.22*	.19	-.13*	-.10	-.07	.28**	.25**	.30**	.22**	.26**	.21 [†]
Qualifications x Congruence		.14	.21		.03	-.16		-.10	-.40		-.05	.23
Identification x Congruence		.36*	.50*		.29	.16		.34 [†]	.13		.24	.43 [†]
Qualifications x Identification		-.34*	-.23		-.31 [†]	-.41 [†]		-.16	.33		-.30 [†]	-.15
Qualifications x Congruence x Identification			-.24			.22			.36			-.33
<i>F</i>	22.37**	13.00**	12.91**	11.46**	6.77**	5.87**	20.99**	11.70**	10.28**	13.04**	7.53**	6.64**
<i>R</i> ²	.20	.23	.23	.12	.14	.14	.19	.21	.22	.13	.15	.15

Note: *N* = 266. Values are standardized coefficients (Betas). [†] *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01.

**Can Background Information about Parental Status, Sexual Orientation, or Political
Affiliation Bias Evaluations in Asynchronous Video Interviews?**

ONLINE SUPPLEMENT

Description of Pilot Study to Select the Two “Applicants”:

The two individuals playing the role of the male and female applicants were pre-selected from a group of ten individuals (five male/five female), all White and from the same age group. We conducted a pilot study with 50 undergraduate psychology students, each asked to provide first impression ratings of one of the ten individuals based on their headshot picture (so that each individual was rated by five students). We used 16 items with 7-point semantic differential scales adapted from Sutherland et al. (2013), to measure the three core dimensions of warmth (e.g., cold/warm, unlikable/likable), competence (unintelligent/intelligent, unconfident/confident), and attractiveness (e.g., unattractive/attractive, very pale/very tanned). We examined all possible male/female pairs using ANOVAs and post-hoc comparisons, and identified the two individuals with the most similar scores (and whose scores did not significantly differ for all items except, understandably, feminine/masculine, $p < .01$).

Reference:

Sutherland, C. A., Oldmeadow, J. A., Santos, I. M., Towler, J., Burt, D. M., & Young, A. W. (2013). Social inferences from faces: Ambient images generate a three-dimensional model. *Cognition*, *127*(1), 105-118. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2012.12.001>

Job Description – Studies 1 and 3:

Assistant Brand Manager Position Available

We are looking for bright and passionate leaders to join the marketing team as Assistant Brand Managers.

As an Assistant Brand Manager, you will act as a business leader to drive growth on your brand through strategies & executions that have national impact. Just like any entrepreneur or general manager, you will be responsible for multiple key drivers of business performance:

- Shape and execute strategic business plans for your brand, garnering consensus through senior management
- Uncovering analytical insights about the category, competitor & retail customers that drive business recommendations
- Make marketing investment recommendations to drive profitable growth
- Collaborate with internal partners, including sales, regulatory, finance, supply, demand planning & global marketing teams to effectively execute against local business plans
- Successfully delivering monthly and annual consumption performance analysis
- Conduct consumer research to uncover insights that shape in-market activations
- Craft marketing communications (e.g., TV, digital, print, sampling, professional, etc.) and claims with external agency partners
- Within the role, you will be provided the opportunity for strong learning & development, growing your skills through both formal and on-the-job training, with the intention of driving conversion to a full-time role for those who achieve a successful internship term.

Qualifications:

- We are looking for individuals who are excited to tackle a challenge, seek ways to improve and learn, and solve problems creatively.
- The role is dynamic and fast paced, so time management, prioritization, and thriving through ambiguity are key abilities you possess.
- Strategy and data are at the core of everything we do, so strong critical thinking and analytical skills are required.
- Excellent written and oral communication skills, with an ability to bring out the best in others.
- Demonstrate an ethics-based approach to decision-making, and take active ownership and accountability for understanding the consumer to uncover growth opportunities.

Job Description – Study 2:

Client Service Representative Position Available

We are seeking dedicated, hardworking and independent individuals for our entry level customer service position. We promote our employees from within, so if you are looking for a career, this is a great opportunity for you. This is a full-time position, no previous experience required.

Your responsibilities will include the following:

- Ability to respond to customer issues/complaints
- Provide assistance to new customers
- Up-sell to existing eligible customers
- Respond to customer requests in a timely fashion
- Track customer calls for reporting purposes
- Memorizing training script and maintain client product knowledge
- Be open to receptive feedback and must be willing to change and improve behavior
- Provide an exceptional customer service experience
- Adhere to compliance regulations

Job Requirements:

- Willingness to learn and to take on new challenges.
- Excellent communication skills.
- Must demonstrate excellent oral and written communication skills.
- Must be a very positive individual.
- Excellent teamwork skills- must be willing to work in a team environment.
- Ability to stay calm in stressful situations

Interview Questions – Studies 1 and 3:

1. Describe a situation where you delegated effectively. (What was the situation, how did you proceed and supported employees or teammates?)?
2. What is your greatest weakness?
3. Can you tell me a time you needed to convince a teammate to change the way they were working, and how you went about that?
4. Between videos, ebooks, blog articles, photos, podcasts, webinars, SlideShare, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, and Pinterest, there is a lot of potential content our team should produce for inbound marketing. How do we do it all?
5. In your past work, have you ever received negative feedback from a client? What did you do with that feedback?

Interview Questions – Study 2:

1. Have you ever dealt with an unreasonable customer? How did you handle it, and how would you handle it today?
2. A man enters the store and you notice he is holding a broken flip phone in his hand. He tells you that he wants to buy the exact same one, but you realize the company doesn't make that model anymore. How would you attempt to convince him to upgrade to a new, more expensive smartphone?
3. Can you tell me a time you needed to convince a teammate to change the way they were working, and how you went about that?
4. Imagine it is the last week of August and the store is full of students returning to school looking for the season's newest electronics. Your co-workers are busy, and you are on the phone with a customer who is very angry that the laptop they ordered arrived damaged. The call is taking your full attention and customers are beginning to get frustrated and leave because there is no one available to assist them. How would you handle this situation?
5. In your past work, have you ever received negative feedback from a customer? What did you do with that feedback?

Example Interview Script – Study 1:

Question: Can you tell me a time you needed to convince a teammate to change the way they were working, and how you went about that?

Response: “In my previous employment, a teammate I worked alongside with was never very friendly with others and struggled interacting with clients. He did great work but when he had to speak with clients, particularly one with a complaint, his attitude overshadowed his actual work. Therefore, I realized how important helping him develop those interaction skills would be to our team’s efficiency and cohesiveness. After a particular encounter with a client, where I had to step in, I took him aside. I was pleasant and straightforward with him. I didn’t criticize what he was already doing I simply discussed with him an easier and more efficient way to deal with clients. It was known around the office that he also wasn’t the most receptive to criticism, so I worded it in a way that it appeared to benefit him and could shorten his interaction with client. One suggestion I made was instead of asking clients “what’s the problem” (which instantly insinuates that there is a problem, and essentially creates one) I told him he should try saying “how can we best adapt this situation to meet your needs?” This way, by addressing the client in a friendly and helpful manner, they usually reciprocate that attitude. Although the colleague was quite hesitant at first, I could see that he started to use my suggestion when interacting with clients. I believe he became more effective after some changes in his attitude and interaction skills.”

Example Interview Script – Study 2:

Question: Have you ever dealt with an unreasonable customer? How did you handle it, and how would you handle it today?

Response: “I used to work at a grocery store so, I have definitely dealt with my fair share of unreasonable customers. At the particular grocery store where I was employed, we had a lot of regulars who were consistently arguing prices, changing tags on items and complaining about products to get refunds. In general, I would try to appease the customers’ demands, but every situation is unique, and my response would usually depend on what the particular customer complaint was as well as their demeanor. There was this one customer who was an especially difficult regular. She was notorious for trying to get discounts, she would purposely go around the store looking for items that were priced wrong so that she could get them for free, and she would always go to the newest cashiers so that they wouldn’t recognize her. One time, she came in complaining that she made a stew with meat she purchased at our store and that it went bad, so she wanted all her money back for everything she put in the stew. I calmly offered her money back for the meat but politely declined her request for the vegetables. I think I did the best of my ability to diffuse the situation and to handle it today, I would just remember to stay calm and polite, listen and apologize and gently let them down with the truth. Unfortunately, she still was not happy with my offer, and when the customer is demanding more than I can provide, I would direct them towards my superior, which I did in this situation.”

Example Interview Script – Study 3 (including high vs. low qualification responses):

Question: Describe a situation where you delegated effectively. (What was the situation, how did you proceed and supported employees or teammates?)

High Competence Response: “I was assigned as the team lead for an important account’s marketing campaign within a previous company I worked with. The pressure was high for this project and there was little room for error. So, I chose to develop my team based on individual skills associated with the specific tasks within this project. My team’s composition made the process of delegating much easier. Because the assignments were distributed according to skill, our individual responsibilities were completed without as much oversight on my part as the team lead. I knew who I can trust to do what tasks and so the work flowed much more smoothly. To me, this is the idea behind delegating: find out what your team is good at and play to their skills when assigning tasks.”

Low Competence Response: “I have not had the greatest amount of experience leading a group. However, once I was assigned as the team lead for an important account’s marketing campaign within a previous company I worked with. The pressure was high for this project and there was little room for error. So, I chose to develop my team based on random selection from the pool of potential candidates. Because the assignments were distributed randomly across the selected team our individual responsibilities were completed appropriately with my strong oversight as team lead. To me, this is the idea behind delegating: distribute tasks equally across all members of the team.”

Illustrations of AVI background for the three studies

Study 1 – Non-parent male



Study 1 – Parent male



Study 1 – Non-parent female



Study 1 – Parent female



Study 2 – Straight male



Study 2 – Gay



Study 2 – Straight female



Study 2 – Lesbian



Study 3 – Democrat



Study 3 – Republican



Supplementary Table 1.1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Main Variables (Study 1)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>M</i>			-	-	4.06	5.99	3.94	3.70	2.88	-
<i>SD</i>			-	-	0.88	0.95	0.67	0.78	1.26	-
1 Applicant gender	-	-		.03	-.01	.05	.15*	-.09	-.00	.08
2 Applicant parental status	-	-	-.00		.11	-.01	-.00	.12*	.09	-.01
3 Interview performance	6.00	0.90	.01	.17*		.73**	.71**	.64**	-.02	.01
4 Potential work performance	4.99	1.35	.05	.04	.70**		.64**	.48**	-.14*	.03
5 Perceived competence	3.90	0.67	.19*	.04	.70**	.62**		.54**	.05	.09
6 Perceived warmth	3.65	0.79	-.04	.27**	.63**	.44**	.50**		.06	.09
7 Traditional gender roles beliefs	2.86	1.30	-.07	.16*	-.03	-.17*	.00	.08		.16*
8 Participant parental status	-	-	.10	-.03	.06	.11	.19**	.11	.12	

Note: Values in the top-right of the table are for the full sample ($N = 272$) and those in the bottom-left of the table are for those who passed the manipulation check ($N = 181$). Gender coded as 0=male, 1=female; parental status coded as 0=non-parent, 1=parent. Although the four dependent variables are strongly correlated, Confirmatory Factor Analyses showed that a 4-factor model (e.g., CFI = .93, TLI = .92, 90% RMSEA = [.07-.10]) clearly outperformed a 1-factor model (e.g., CFI = .79, TLI = .75, 90% RMSEA = [.14-.16]). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Supplementary Table 1.2. Effect of Applicant Gender and Parental Status on Interview Outcomes for Participants Passing vs. Not the Manipulation Checks (Study 1)

	Male applicant				Female applicant				ANOVAs					
	Non-parent		Parent		Non-parent		Parent		Gender		Parent		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Interview performance	3.94	0.92	4.21	0.81	3.99	0.98	4.12	0.79	0.04	.00	3.60 [†]	.01	0.39	.00
Potential work performance	5.89	0.83	5.99	1.05	6.11	0.94	5.98	0.98	0.60	.00	0.01	.00	0.78	.00
Perceived competence	3.78	0.73	3.90	0.67	4.11	0.57	3.98	0.66	6.05*	.02	0.03	.00	2.21	.01
Perceived warmth	3.64	0.79	3.90	0.71	3.56	0.81	3.70	0.77	2.58	.001	4.12*	.02	0.34	.00
<i>N</i>	71		66		66		69							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Interview performance	3.82	0.93	4.22	0.80	3.91	1.00	4.14	0.79	0.01	.00	6.08*	.03	0.27	.00
Potential work performance	5.85	0.77	6.10	0.85	6.08	0.97	6.00	1.02	0.03	.00	1.12	.01	1.06	.01
Perceived competence	3.66	0.71	3.92	0.70	4.08	0.56	3.94	0.66	4.33*	.02	0.42	.00	3.16	.02
Perceived warmth	3.47	0.77	3.98	0.75	3.47	0.80	3.83	0.72	0.61	.00	14.12**	.08	0.25	.00
<i>N</i>	50		38		53		40							

Note: *N* = 272 (full sample)/181 (passed manipulation check). [†] *p* < .10. **p* < .05; ***p* < .01,

Supplementary Table 1.3. Effect of Applicant Gender and Parental Status on Interview Question Scores (Study 1)

	Male applicant				Female applicant				Gender	ANOVAs				
	Non-parent		Parent		Non-parent		Parent			partial η^2	Parent		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Question 1	5.25	0.94	5.61	0.91	5.21	0.92	5.41	0.85	1.43	.01	5.73*	.02	0.45	.00
Question 2	5.17	0.96	5.20	1.03	5.18	1.11	5.13	1.14	0.08	.00	0.03	.00	0.07	.00
Question 3	5.70	0.93	5.91	0.91	5.71	1.09	5.71	0.91	0.67	.00	0.82	.00	0.75	.00
Question 4	5.72	1.02	5.76	0.88	5.59	0.98	5.43	1.09	3.67 [†]	.01	0.14	.00	0.51	.00
Question 5	5.24	1.11	5.44	0.99	5.23	1.24	5.36	0.92	0.15	.00	1.60	.01	0.04	.00
Question 6	4.94	0.83	5.17	1.16	4.94	0.99	5.07	1.12	0.19	.00	1.84	.01	0.12	.00
<i>N</i>	71		66		66		69							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Question 1	5.14	0.99	5.71	0.77	5.21	0.91	5.43	0.75	0.69	.00	7.76**	.04	1.16	.01
Question 2	5.10	0.97	5.24	1.13	5.13	1.14	5.33	0.89	0.13	.00	0.89	.00	0.08	.00
Question 3	5.62	0.95	5.89	0.83	5.66	1.06	5.80	0.88	0.06	.00	2.50	.01	0.25	.00
Question 4	5.78	1.06	5.84	1.00	5.58	0.99	5.43	1.20	4.00*	.02	0.02	.00	0.45	.00
Question 5	5.08	1.16	5.50	1.01	5.25	1.18	5.55	0.93	0.32	.00	4.70*	.03	0.04	.00
Question 6	4.92	0.72	5.29	1.21	4.92	0.83	5.15	1.12	0.30	.00	3.70 [†]	.02	0.08	.00
<i>N</i>	50		38		53		40							

Note: *N* = 272 (full sample) / 181 (passed manipulation check). [†] *p* < .10. **p* < .05; ***p* < .01,

Supplementary Table 2.1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Main Variables (Study 2)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>M</i>			-	-	6.29	6.42	4.03	4.03	2.26	1.69
<i>SD</i>			-	-	0.84	0.72	0.60	0.80	0.73	0.90
1 Applicant gender	-	-		.00	-.03	.02	.07	-.04	-.11	-.04
2 Applicant sexual orientation	-	-	-.09		.02	-.05	.00	.07	-.04	.05
3 Interview performance	6.37	0.73	-.05	.03		.77**	.56**	.61**	.02	-.05
4 Potential work performance	6.49	0.61	-.05	-.08	.72**		.55**	.50**	.04	-.01
5 Perceived competence	4.05	0.57	.08	-.06	.49**	.48**		.57**	.05	-.01
6 Perceived warmth	4.06	0.80	-.04	.08	.62**	.46**	.60**		.04	-.06
7 Traditional gender roles beliefs	2.26	0.73	-.06	-.06	-.04	.00	.00	-.05		.71**
8 Negative attitudes towards lesbians/gays	1.67	0.90	.04	.02	-.13	-.04	-.09	-.16*	.71**	

Note: Values in the top-right of the table are for the full sample ($N = 229$) and those in the bottom-left of the table are for those who passed the manipulation check ($N = 181$). Gender coded as 0=male, 1=female; parental status coded as 0=non-parent, 1=parent. Although the four dependent variables are strongly correlated, Confirmatory Factor Analyses showed that a 4-factor model (e.g., CFI = .94, TLI = .93, 90% RMSEA = [.07-.09]) clearly outperformed a 1-factor model (e.g., CFI = .73, TLI = .70, 90% RMSEA = [.17-.19]). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Supplementary Table 2.2. Effect of Applicant Gender and Sexual orientation on Interview Outcomes for Participants Passing vs. Not the Manipulation Checks (Study 2)

	Male applicant				Female applicant				ANOVAs					
	Straight		Gay		Straight		Lesbian		Gender		Sexual orient.		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Interview performance	6.25	0.90	6.37	0.62	6.29	0.90	6.24	0.90	.08	.00	0.27	.00	1.09	.01
Potential work performance	6.42	0.69	6.39	0.59	6.49	0.67	6.37	0.90	0.14	.00	0.21	.00	0.37	.00
Perceived competence	4.00	0.63	3.96	0.55	4.05	0.56	4.09	0.65	1.51	.01	0.01	.00	0.12	.00
Perceived warmth	4.04	0.87	4.09	0.77	3.90	0.83	4.09	0.80	0.24	.00	1.85	.01	0.13	.00
<i>N</i>	57		55		59		58							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Interview performance	6.43	0.73	6.37	0.53	6.28	0.91	6.45	0.53	0.04	.00	0.31	.00	0.39	.00
Potential work performance	6.60	0.50	6.41	0.46	6.47	0.69	6.46	0.79	0.14	.00	0.79	.01	0.65	.00
Perceived competence	4.10	0.56	3.89	0.56	4.07	0.56	4.17	0.60	2.15	.01	0.19	.00	1.97	.01
Perceived warmth	4.14	0.81	4.01	0.76	3.89	0.85	4.33	0.62	0.14	.00	1.77	.01	3.43 [†]	.02
<i>N</i>	48		34		53		26							

Note: *N* = 229 (full sample) / 161 (passed manipulation check). [†] *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01,

Supplementary Table 2.3. Effect of Applicant Gender and Sexual orientation on Interview Question Scores (Study 2)

	Male applicant				Female applicant				ANOVAs					
	Straight		Gay		Straight		Gay		Gender		Sexual orient.		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Question 1	3.91	0.85	3.73	0.76	3.53	0.84	3.67	0.78	2.57*	.02	0.00	.00	1.68	.01
Question 2	4.11	0.88	4.07	0.92	4.12	0.87	4.41	0.85	0.09	.00	0.00	.00	0.02	.00
Question 3	4.12	0.91	4.13	0.84	3.92	0.92	4.05	0.76	1.43	.01	0.49	.00	0.22	.00
Question 4	3.82	1.00	3.58	1.03	3.54	0.99	3.91	0.98	0.08	.00	0.43	.00	4.27*	.02
Question 5	4.11	0.86	4.09	0.93	4.08	0.97	3.76	1.03	1.92	.01	1.36	.01	2.31	.01
<i>N</i>	57		55		59		58							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Question 1	4.00	0.83	3.65	0.77	3.47	0.82	3.73	0.83	2.55	.02	0.08	.00	4.24*	.03
Question 2	4.19	0.82	4.00	0.95	4.11	0.85	4.23	0.71	0.27	.00	0.08	.00	0.84	.01
Question 3	4.25	0.89	4.09	0.83	3.87	0.92	4.12	0.82	1.44	.01	0.11	.00	1.51	.01
Question 4	3.94	0.95	3.59	0.92	3.55	0.97	4.27	0.78	1.07	.01	1.75	.01	10.22**	.06
Question 5	4.21	0.87	4.15	0.82	4.06	0.97	3.96	0.87	1.31	.01	0.26	.00	0.12	.00
<i>N</i>	48		34		53		26							

Note: *N* = 229 (full sample) / 161 (passed manipulation check). † *p* < .10. * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01,

Supplementary Table 3.1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Main Variables (Study 3)

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>M</i>			-	-	3.56	4.61	3.59	3.43	2.37	2.71
<i>SD</i>			-	-	1.21	1.04	0.75	0.84	1.20	1.17
1 Same political party	-	-		-.05	.17**	.12*	.15*	.19**	.08	.20**
2 Applicant qualifications	-	-	-.05		.35**	.29**	.30**	.22**	.10	.02
3 Interview performance	3.48	1.24	.22**	.42**		.52**	.77**	.71**	.27**	.23**
4 Potential work performance	4.68	1.06	.09	.37**	.58**		.45**	.34**	-.08	-.10
5 Perceived competence	3.54	0.78	.21**	.34**	.77**	.50**		.69**	.31**	.29**
6 Perceived warmth	3.38	0.86	.25**	.27**	.69**	.39**	.68**		.26**	.24**
7 Identification with Republicans	2.22	1.15	.19**	.11	.28**	-.04	.33**	.27**		.33**
8 Identification with Democrats	2.62	1.17	.29**	.01	.18**	-.09	.24**	.16*	.32**	

Note: Values in the top-right of the table are for the full sample ($N = 269$) and those in the bottom-left of the table are for those who passed the manipulation check ($N = 224$). Same political part coded as 0=no, 1=yes; Applicant qualifications coded as 0=low, 1=high. Although the four dependent variables are strongly correlated, Confirmatory Factor Analyses showed that a 4-factor model (e.g., CFI = .85, TLI = .82, 90% RMSEA = [.11-.13]) – albeit showing relatedly poor fit, still outperformed a 1-factor model (e.g., CFI = .71, TLI = .67, 90% RMSEA = [.15-.17]). * $p < .05$;

** $p < .01$

Supplementary Table 3.2. Effect of Applicant-Interviewer Party Congruence and Applicant Qualifications on Interview Outcomes for Participants Passing vs. Not the Manipulation Checks (Study 3)

	Low Qualifications				High Qualifications				ANOVAs					
	Different Party		Same Party		Different Party		Same Party		Applicant Qualifications		Party Congruence		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Interview performance	2.92	1.28	3.34	1.25	3.80	1.07	4.27	0.67	37.69**	.13	6.35*	.02	0.05	.00
Potential work performance	4.18	1.07	4.41	0.96	4.81	0.92	5.08	0.93	32.44**	.11	6.40*	.02	0.21	.00
Perceived competence	3.21	0.77	3.51	0.77	3.74	0.61	3.92	0.70	23.59**	.08	3.43 [†]	.01	1.65	.01
Perceived warmth	3.07	0.83	3.43	0.86	3.50	0.85	3.76	0.64	10.99**	.04	5.65*	.02	0.89	.00
<i>N</i>	74		56		83		51							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Interview performance	2.65	1.22	3.27	1.25	3.78	1.11	4.28	0.66	46.46**	.18	7.80**	.04	0.55	.00
Potential work performance	4.14	1.17	4.38	0.96	5.01	0.85	5.16	0.86	43.10**	.17	4.74*	.02	0.02	.00
Perceived competence	3.06	0.76	3.48	0.78	3.70	0.64	3.93	0.67	27.14**	.11	4.38*	.01	2.04	.01
Perceived warmth	2.88	0.79	3.41	0.88	3.47	0.84	3.78	0.65	16.03**	.07	9.26**	.02	1.69	.01
<i>N</i>	58		53		62		47							

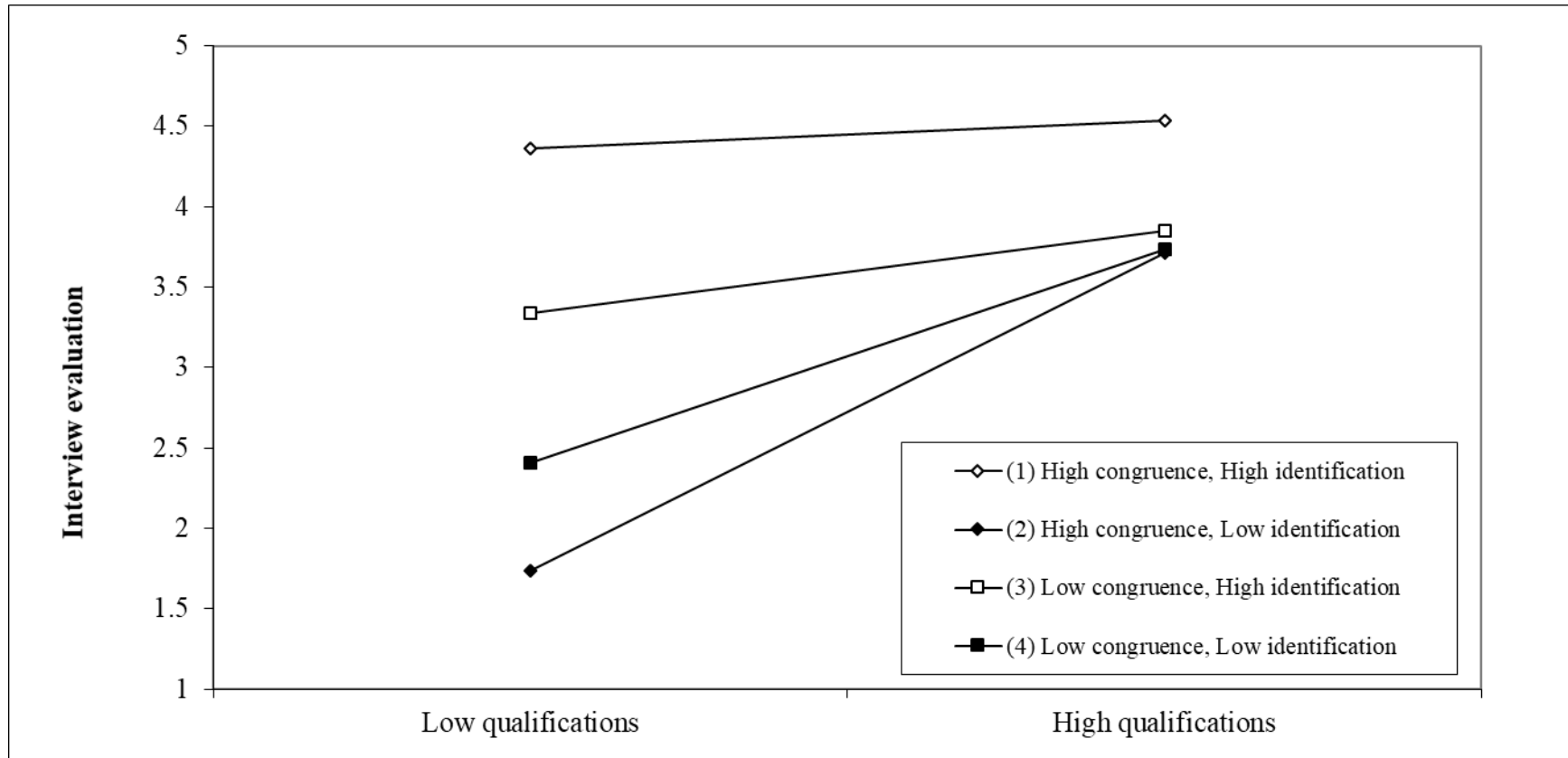
Note: *N* = 264 (full sample)/220 (passed manipulation check). [†] *p* < .10; * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01,

Supplementary Table 3.3. Effect of Applicant-Interviewer Party Congruence and Applicant Qualifications on Interview Question Scores (Study 3)

	Low Qualifications				High Qualifications				ANOVAs					
	Different Party		Same Party		Different Party		Same Party		Applicant Qualifications		Party Congruence		Interaction	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2	<i>F</i>	partial η^2
<i>Full sample</i>														
Question 1	2.77	0.99	3.07	1.01	3.30	0.89	3.59	0.75	16.27**	.06	3.17 [†]	.02	0.46	.00
Question 2	3.12	0.98	3.34	1.01	3.29	1.03	3.59	0.83	1.70	.01	2.08	.01	0.00	.00
Question 3	3.04	1.09	3.70	0.97	3.59	0.99	3.80	0.69	5.66*	.02	9.73**	.04	4.46*	.02
Question 4	2.28	0.96	2.71	1.34	3.47	0.97	3.82	0.82	74.23**	.22	5.23*	.02	0.46	.00
Question 5	2.46	1.04	2.86	1.02	3.45	1.02	3.53	0.88	39.06**	.13	1.50	.01	3.19 [†]	.01
<i>N</i>	74		56		83		51							
<i>Passed manipulation check</i>														
Question 1	2.50	0.86	3.09	1.02	3.18	0.88	3.55	0.75	18.43**	.08	9.12**	.04	1.57	.01
Question 2	3.10	1.00	3.30	1.03	3.15	1.01	3.57	0.85	0.61	.00	1.96	.01	0.37	.00
Question 3	2.90	1.07	3.64	0.96	3.52	1.00	3.81	0.71	7.52**	.03	12.65**	.06	3.49 [†]	.02
Question 4	2.10	0.89	2.66	1.34	3.44	0.99	3.81	0.82	74.12**	.26	5.67*	.03	0.78	.00
Question 5	2.29	0.96	2.85	1.03	3.32	0.97	3.49	0.88	35.53**	.14	3.39 [†]	.02	3.47 [†]	.02
<i>N</i>	58		53		62		47							

Note: *N* = 264 (full sample) / 220 (passed manipulation check). [†] *p* < .10. * *p* < .05; ** *p* < .01,

Supplementary Figure 1. Effect of Participants’ Identification, Applicant Qualifications, and Party Congruence on Interview Evaluation (Study 3)



Additional Analyses Testing for the Effect of Participant Education.

It is theoretically possible that education played a role in our results, for example, because more educated individuals could be more biased towards applicants who are female, parents, or gay/lesbian. For instance, Wright et al. (1999) reported a correlation of -.26 between the level of education a person achieved and scores on a homophobia scale. Kassing et al. (2005) found a similar correlation ($r = -.18$) between education and negative attitudes toward gay men. Bettinsoli et al. (2020) also found education to be a significant predictor of attitudes towards gays and lesbians. And, Lambert et al. (2006) showed that upper-level students had more positive views about gays and lesbians in society as compared to freshmen and sophomores.

We thus conducted a series of additional to test to examine this possibility in our data. However, our results suggest that education was not strongly related to any relevant outcome (or variables) across our studies.

Study 1 (parental status): There was indeed a significant difference between college-educated ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.24$) vs. non-college-educated ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.30$) participants for traditional gender role beliefs, $F(1,271)=4.227$, $p = .04$. However, there was no difference for our outcome variables: interview performance, $F(1, 271)=1.567$, $p = .21$; perceived job performance, $F(1, 271)=1.208$, $p = .27$; perceived warmth, $F(1, 271)=0.163$, $p = .69$; or perceived competence, $F(1, 271)=0.367$, $p = .55$. In addition, we conducted our MANCOVA again, including participants' college education as an additional covariate. Adding this covariate did not influence the results presented in the manuscript.

Study 2 (sexual orientation): There was no difference between college-educated vs. non-college-educated participants for any of the study variables: attitudes towards gay/lesbian, $F(1,227)=0.128$, $p = .72$; gender role beliefs, $F(1,227)=0.245$, $p = .62$; interview performance, $F(1,227)=0.001$, $p = .97$; perceived job performance, $F(1,227)=0.583$, $p = .45$; perceived warmth, $F(1,227)=0.353$, $p = .55$; or perceived competence, $F(1,227)=1.08$, $p = .29$. We also conducted our MANCOVA again, including college education as an additional covariate. Like in Study 1, adding this covariate did not influence any of our results.

Study 3 (political orientation): There was a significant difference between college-educated ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.16$) vs. non-college-educated ($M = 2.39$, $SD = 1.17$) participants for identification with the Democratic party, $F(1,262)=4.65$, $p = .03$. However, there was no difference for any of the other study variables: identification with the Republican party, $F(1,262)=0.016$, $p = .90$; interview performance, $F(1, 262)=0.209$, $p = .65$; perceived job performance, $F(1, 262)=2.638$, $p = .11$; perceived warmth, $F(1, 262)=0.483$, $p = .49$; or perceived competence, $F(1, 262)=0.00$, $p = .99$. We also conducted our MANCOVA again, including college education as an additional covariate. Like in Studies 1-2, adding this covariate did not influence any of our results.

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