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ABSTRACT

Homosexuality's Signalling Function in Job Candidate Screening: Why Gay Is (Mostly) OK*

To explain the mixed findings on hiring discrimination against homosexual applicants, we explore the perceptual drivers behind employers' evaluations of gay men and lesbian women. Therefore, we conduct an extensive vignette experiment among 404 genuine recruiters, for which we test systematically-selected perceptions theoretically associated with homosexual job candidates in earlier studies. We find causal evidence for distinct effects of sexual identities on candidate perceptions and interview probabilities. In particular, interview probabilities are positively (negatively) associated with the perception of lesbian women (gay men) as being more (less) pleasant to work with compared to heterosexual candidates. In addition, interview chances are negatively associated with the perception of gay men and lesbian women as being more outspoken. Furthermore, our data align well with the idea of a concentrated discrimination account, whereby a minority of employers who privately hold negative attitudes towards homosexual individuals are responsible for most instances of hiring discrimination.

JEL Classification: C91, J15, J71

Keywords: homosexuality, signalling, statistical discrimination, taste-based discrimination, hiring experiment

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1. Introduction

Since the first empirical investigation of sexual orientation-based discrimination in economics (Badgett, 1995), the socioeconomic outcomes of homosexuals have, in general, improved globally (Badgett, Carpenter, & Sansone, 2021; Drydakis, 2022; OECD, 2020). The scientific investigation of the labour market success of LGBTQ individuals has branched into both a supply-side (Burn & Martell, 2020) and a demand-side research tradition (Burn, 2018; Burn, 2020). Given that differences in labour market outcomes between heterosexual and homosexual individuals appear nowadays to be mainly driven by the demand side of labour (Fric, 2017), it is necessary to further investigate labour market discrimination.

As evidenced in earlier research, homosexuals are susceptible to hiring discrimination, already in the earliest stages of the recruitment process. Indeed, both field (e.g. Drydakis, 2009; Drydakis, 2015; Hammarstedt, Ahmed, & Andersson, 2015; Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Jepsen & Jepsen, 2015; Laurent & Mihoubi, 2017) and laboratory studies (Everly, Unzueta, & Shih, 2016; Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Singletary & Hebl, 2009) have found evidence of discriminatory treatment in the application process. However, a substantial number of studies, again in both field (Martell, 2014; Powdthavee & Wooden, 2014) and lab settings (Baert, 2018a; Nadler & Kufahl, 2014; Niedlich & Steffens, 2015), have found no such evidence. A recent meta-analysis of this mixed evidence by Lippens and colleagues (2021) indicates that across all field experiments between 2005 and 2020, gay or lesbian job candidates received on average 35 per cent fewer positive reactions than heterosexual candidates.

From a theoretical perspective, the two seminal (economic) theories of taste-based (Becker, 1957) and levels-based statistical discrimination (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) can explain hiring discrimination against homosexuals. First, according to the theory of taste-based discrimination, employers may be prejudiced against homosexuals and might, therefore, expect disutility in collaboration with homosexuals themselves or from colleagues and clientele. Consequently, the prejudiced employers are, to some degree, willing to pay a price to avoid collaboration with homosexual employees. Specifically, they would rather hire a less competent heterosexual candidate than a skilled homosexual candidate. Second, the theory of levels-based statistical discrimination provides a more rational explanation for discrimination against homosexual job applicants. The starting point of this theory is that employment decisions are made under uncertainty. After all, employers do not possess perfect information on individual candidates. To aid decision-making under uncertainty, employers apply their general productivity beliefs of homosexuals as a group to the individual (homosexual) candidate. Negative productivity beliefs (Spence, 1978) concerning homosexual candidates

then create advantages for heterosexual candidates and this therefore results in different hiring probabilities for individual candidates from both groups.

Both the theories of taste-based and levels-based statistical discrimination, to some extent, rely on explaining hiring discrimination through employers' beliefs about (typical) homosexual candidates, or in other words, through the signals they derive from a candidate's sexual orientation. However, to the best of our knowledge, researchers have yet to establish exactly which employer perceptions of homosexual candidates drive potential differences in hiring probabilities between heterosexual and homosexual candidates. Furthermore, as Fric (2017) concluded in his review, policy-makers require such knowledge to develop effective measures which target negative attitudes and prejudice against homosexuals in the labour market.

The empirical investigation of these driving perceptions is challenging and necessitates an in-depth analysis for three reasons. First, as we show in Appendix Table 1, our own review of the multidisciplinary peer-reviewed literature yielded no less than 70 characteristics associated with homosexuality. The sheer number of such characteristics is astonishing and raises questions regarding (1) the attributed relevance of each characteristic in contemporary hiring processes and (2) the complex detailed image (some) employers might have of homosexuals. Second, thus far we have discussed homosexuals as one homogenous group. However, researchers have found heterogeneity in both the hiring chances and attributes associated with gay men and lesbian women. Different patterns of perceptions could be in play when explaining differences in the hiring probabilities of gay men and lesbian women and, consequently, a 'one size fits all format' of policy-making might be undesirable when supporting gay men and lesbian women. Third, in addition to the large number of perceptions and the potential differences between gay men and lesbian women, the perception puzzle is further complicated by the mixed valence of perceptions. In fact, both positive and negative traits have been associated with homosexuality. The latter may suggest that homosexuals' hiring probabilities might be the result of an interplay between both positive and negative candidate perceptions associated with sexual orientations.

Given the current state of the literature, instead of simply providing yet another data point on the instances of hiring discrimination against homosexuals, research calls for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon – and its mixed findings (Neumark, 2018; Rivera, 2020). Through a vignette experiment among real-life recruiters, equally distributed between the United Kingdom and the United States, we contribute to the development of such an understanding in two ways. First and foremost, we conduct an empirical and causal evaluation of homosexuality's signalling function for gay men as well as lesbian women within one framework. Moreover, as a prerequisite to accomplishing this, we additionally contribute to the literature by reviewing and structuring the literature on potential signals. As a second broader

contribution, we go beyond a traditional investigation of sexual orientation discrimination's moderators on the candidate, job and recruiter sides by testing the idea of a concentrated discrimination account, whereby a minority of employers, who privately hold negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbian women, are responsible for most instances of hiring discrimination.

2. Data

To make these contributions, we conducted two vignette studies, one of which functioned as a pre-study. Vignette studies are controlled experiments in a laboratory setting that integrate experimental manipulations in a survey set-up. They are commonly employed to analyse human decision-making in the context of hiring decisions (Kübler, Schmid, & Stüber, 2018; Sterkens, Baert, Rooman, & Derous, 2021; Van Belle, Di Stasio, Caers, De Couck, & Baert, 2018; Van Borm, Burn, & Baert, 2021). In such experiments, participants evaluate fictitious candidate profiles (vignettes) that vary across several characteristics (vignette dimensions, for instance 'job-relevant experience') on a predetermined number of levels (vignette levels, for instance, 'yes, no').

Vignette experiments are favoured over administrative data when studying hiring discrimination because they, in principle, enable a causal interpretation of candidate manipulations – whereas administrative worker data could vary by confounding characteristics. Moreover, compared to correspondence experiments – the golden standard for measuring hiring discrimination (Neumark, 2018) – vignettes facilitate the survey of participants' thought processes behind hiring decisions. Hence, vignettes are more suitable for testing explanations for hiring discrimination, which is the aim of our study.

In contrast to prior experiments in a lab context on hiring discrimination against homosexuals, which primarily featured student populations (Baert, 2018a; Binder & Ward, 2016; Pichler, Varma, & Bruce, 2010), our study features a much smaller body of experiments in a lab setting among genuine HR professionals. Compared to the two vignette experiments featuring HR professionals (Barron, 2009; Van Hoye & Lievens, 2003), our experiment is methodologically innovative as we manipulated the candidates' sexual orientation within subjects so that each participant had to evaluate four candidates with a different sexual orientation (see Subsection 2.2). Our vignette experiment is also substantively innovative in comparison to studies by Barron (2009) and Van Hoye and Lievens (2003) because we not only measure hirability but also, and very specifically, the candidate perceptions related to gay men and lesbian women which could explain their hirability. Although the experimental control

installed by a lab environment allows researchers to isolate variables and elaborately survey its participants, laboratory settings are also particularly susceptible to social desirability bias ('the knowledge of being observed motivates participants to behave in ways that are socially approved of, regardless of their private beliefs'). Throughout Section 2, we discuss the measures taken to limit such bias such as multiple manipulations (Subsection 2.2) and the administration of a social desirability scale (Subsection 2.4). Finally, we return to a discussion of social desirability in Section 4.

2.1. Pre-study

To investigate the signalling function of homosexuality and the explanatory potential of signals for hiring probabilities, we systematically reviewed the literature for potential signals emitted by homosexual job candidates. We identified a total of 70 characteristics (see Appendix Table 1). However, presenting each of these candidate perceptions as items to recruiters would have put unreasonable cognitive demands on participants, especially given our within-subjects design whereby each recruiter evaluated and shared their perceptions of multiple job candidates (Subsection 2.2). After all, as Bethlehem and Biffignandi (2012) explain, research requiring excessive cognitive effort jeopardises both the response rate and data quality due to respondents' satisficing tendencies (i.e. the 'less attentive answering of items').

Consequently, we conducted a pre-study in which we applied item reduction techniques to filter out the signals that fit three criteria: applicability, relevance to the work context and limited overlap. First, when reviewing the literature we traced back studies as early as 1976 but limited ourselves to the investigation of those signals applicable to homosexuality as commonly perceived by contemporary recruiters. Second, although the identified signals span a broad range of characteristics, not all of these characteristics are necessarily relevant to the work context. For example, participating recruiters indicated that non-conformism and the need for security are fairly irrelevant. Third, we retained those signal items that showed a limited overlap with one another because research on social cognition has evidenced that there are dimensions underlying stereotypes of homosexuality (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Therefore, we excluded passiveness as a signal as we already took the opposite signal, namely assertiveness, into account.

2.1.1. Data collection

We conducted our pre-study in the form of an online survey and followed an approach comparable to the development of the Sexual Prejudice Scale (Chonody, 2013). Employing the services of the online panel service Prolific (Palan & Schitter, 2018; Peer, Brandimarte, Samat, & Acquisti, 2017), 50 British and 50 American individuals experienced in making

recruitment decisions (hereafter referred to as recruiters) completed our pre-study's four sets of questions. In the first three batteries, recruiters indicated the degree to which they agreed with 70 statements concerning the characteristics of (1) the average gay man, (2) the average lesbian woman and (3) the relevance of each characteristic to a hiring decision. For example, approachability, eccentricity, group orientation, honesty, intelligence and social competence were assessed – the full list is presented in Appendix Table 1 – employing a 6-point response scale, ranging from strongly disagree (score 1) to strongly agree (score 6).[1] The fourth battery was used to register the participant's socio-demographics: gender (male, female, non-binary or third gender, prefer not to say); age in years (numbers); nationality (British, American, other); level of education (no diploma, high school, bachelor, masters, PhD); and sexual orientation (lesbian woman, gay man, bisexual, heterosexual, other, prefer not to say).

2.1.2. Signal elimination procedure

The item reduction process consisted of four subsequent phases – the results of which are presented in Appendix Table 1. In the first phase, we strictly filtered out perception items based on descriptives. More concretely, items that were, on average, perceived by recruiters as irrelevant to a hiring decision or inapplicable to gay men or lesbian women (i.e. an average of below 3) were dropped. Hence, we eliminated 23 items. In this step, we dropped a further four items because they were close approximations of overall hireability and, therefore, of the hiring decision to be made in the experiment (for example 'effective performance of job-related tasks').

Next, the second phase of the elimination procedure involved a re-examination of the item pool following factor analyses on the evaluations of signals for gay men and lesbian women separately. Here, we dropped two items (Appendix Table 1, column (4)) because they deviated from the factor structures emerging for either gay men or lesbian women (i.e. 'nonconformist' had a factor loading lower than .35) or were empirical opposites of other signals (i.e. 'passive' was dropped in exchange for 'assertive').

In the third phase of the eliminations, we discussed emerging themes within the signal factors from the previous step ('factor interpretation') and based the selection on item interpretations and their underlying correlations. As is evident from Appendix Table 1, 17 original items were summarised in five newly generated items ('empathy', 'creativity', 'loving and soft', 'self-awareness' and 'emotionality') that fit the factor structures. Furthermore, after a

[1] Our 6-point response scale did not contain a neutral option, thus forcing respondents to express (dis)agreement with statements. This is common practice when measuring socially-sensitive attitudes (Chonody, 2013).

re-examination of the correlation matrixes, we dropped another four items because they showed a substantial overlap with other signals and had limited relevance to the hiring decision (average below 3.250).

In the fourth and final phase, the face validity of each individual item was scrutinised. Consequently, we excluded five more items because, from experiences in the field, these candidate characteristics were less likely to be gauged from the earlier phases of resume screening (e.g. how individualistic a candidate is).

The remaining 20 items were subjected to the evaluation of a set of labour market experts. Based on their suggestion of a health stigma surrounding homosexuality, we agreed on a reduction of the 70 initial items to the following 21 potential signals of being a gay or lesbian job candidate: social skills, assertiveness, outspokenness, dominance, independence, competitiveness, leadership abilities, team orientation, empathy, loving- and softness of personality, emotional sensitivity, neatness, intelligence, open-mindedness, creativity, talkativeness, honesty, professionalism, self-awareness, career orientation and current health.

2.2. Vignette design

In our main experiment, recruiters indicated their judgements and perceptions of four fictitious job candidates ('vignettes') who varied, among other characteristics, in their sexual orientation. In total, our profiles consisted of seven dimensions, summarised in Table 1 below. This multidimensionality serves a three-fold purpose. First, we more concretely mimic the complexity of real-life hiring decisions, enabling a causal analysis of candidate-side moderators of hiring probabilities and, even more crucially, counteracting social desirability bias. That is, through multiple manipulations in addition to sexual orientation, recruiters were forced to make trade-offs between dimensions. This, in turn, makes it harder for participants to select candidates in a socially desirable manner (Auspurg & Hinz, 2014), thus addressing a recurring point of critique on prior discrimination experiments conducted in the lab (Section 1).

Our candidates' sexual orientation was signalled to recruiters through the first two dimensions of the vignettes, namely gender (man, woman) and marital status (married to [male name], married to [female name], married).[2] Compared to earlier experimental manipulations of sexual orientation such as 'involvement in LGBT organisation' (Ahmed, Andersson, & Hammarstedt, 2013; Barron & Hebl, 2013; Binder & Ward, 2016) or 'reference to LGBT scholarship programme' (Barron, 2009; Cunningham, Sartore, & McCullough, 2010), our

[2] The (fe)male names used to indicate their marital partner were (Sarah Adams, Ellen Jones) James Bell and Oliver Smith. We randomly added gender names to avoid combinations of vignettes where multiple candidates were married to equally named partners.

operationalisation has the advantage of providing a more unambiguous signal of sexual orientation. Disclosing an affiliation with an LGBT organisation could bias the results as a meta-analysis of 12 correspondence experiments concerning sexual orientation suggests that unequal treatment is mainly driven by the signalling of an affiliation rather than homosexuality in itself (Lippens, Vermeiren, & Baert, 2021). We discuss this point further in Subsection 3.2.2.

The third dimension revealed the candidate's age in years (33, 38, 43, 48). To support the ecological validity of the experiment by avoiding overly similar profiles, we randomly adjusted each of the four age levels by adding or subtracting two years (Sterkens et al. 2021). Apart from age being a logical element in a job application, previous research findings have been mixed regarding the moderating effect of age on sexual orientation-based discrimination (Baert, 2014; Drydakis, 2009; Laurent & Mihoubi, 2017).

Next, our fourth dimension was relevant job experience in the past five years (0 years, 2 years, 5 years). As a positive and significant predictor of candidates' job-related competence (Dokko, Wilk, & Rothbard, 2009), experience was another logical addition to ecologically valid candidate profiles. We limited the profiles' experience record to the past five years to avoid any unreasonable comparisons of candidates applying to the same vacancy.

As a fifth dimension, we manipulated candidates' language knowledge besides English (None, French, Spanish). Again, mentioning the candidates' language mastery was an ecologically valid addition to the vignettes (Oreopoulos, 2011; Sterkens et al., 2021). Furthermore, language mastery may further amplify gay mens' and lesbian womens' expected signalling functions of, for instance, social skills and outspokenness (Appendix Table 1). The decision to include French and Spanish as levels was based on Looney and Lusin (2019), who found that these languages were popular among Americans.

Similar to the language dimension, our sixth dimension, namely professional achievements at the previous employer (none, diversity ambassador within the organisation, employee of the month award) further underlined our aim to construct ecologically valid candidate profiles. However, in addition to contributing to the construction of solid candidate profiles, the diversity ambassador level enabled methodologically-interesting moderation analyses. More specifically, earlier vignette experiments have used involvement in LGBT-related professional activity as a manipulation of candidates' sexual orientation (Tilcsik, 2011). Consequently, our experimental data created opportunities to test whether discrimination and signalling in more ambiguous manipulations of sexual orientation (via involvement in diversity-related actions) are comparable to the effects of more straightforward manipulations (via reference to the partner's gender).

The seventh and final dimension of our candidate profiles was extra-curricular activities (wrestling, gymnastics, tennis, volunteering to distribute food for the local community, volunteering at an LGBTQ rights organisation, none) and was developed analogous to earlier

vignette experiments (Di Stasio, 2014; Van Belle et al., 2018). We chose the different levels containing sports based on their typical gender assignment (Katsarova, 2019; Smith, Thurston, Green, & Lamb, 2007; Sobal & Milgrim, 2017) such that they signal the gender (in)congruent behaviours of candidates and may consequently affect recruiters' evaluations and perceptions (Fric, 2017). Alternatively, practising sports could serve as a positive signal indicating a healthy candidate (Schulte-Hostede, Eys, Emond, & Buzdon, 2012) and, thus, counteract the potential health stigma surrounding homosexuality. Lastly, the level 'volunteering at an LGBTQ rights organisation' is yet another technique that has been used in prior experiments to manipulate candidates' sexual orientation (Berger & Kelly, 1981; Everly et al., 2016). As discussed above, this creates opportunities to compare whether and how the different manipulations of sexual orientation in the literature might affect hiring outcomes and candidate perceptions.

Combined, these manipulations made for a 2 (gender) × 3 (marital status) × 4 (age) × 3 (relevant experience) × 3 (languages) × 3 (professional achievements) × 6 (extra-curricular activities) vignette design. Because it would be unfeasible for recruiters to adequately judge all 3888 vignettes (vignette universe), we provided each participant with one systematically selected subsample of vignettes (decks). Of the 30 decks we constructed, each one consisted out of four different job candidates and was selected using a D-efficiency algorithm (Auspurg & Hinz, 2014). This algorithm ensured that the entirety of decks could be analysed with a precision similar to that of the vignette universe and established low-to-zero correlations between the experimental manipulations. Our application of the D-efficiency algorithm resulted in a D-efficiency of 98.494 out of 100 and was, hence, considered successful (Auspurg & Hinz, 2014).

[Table 1]

2.3. Vacancy design

The experimental assignment required recruiters to evaluate one deck of carefully crafted candidates for one out of twelve fictitious vacancies. We developed these vacancies based on the literature regarding occupational moderators in hiring discrimination against gay men and lesbian women. Our vacancy descriptions varied by three such potential moderators, namely gender-type of the occupation (male-dominated, female-dominated, gender-neutral), degree of customer contact (high, low) and diversity statement (present, absent).

According to, among others, Pellegrini and colleagues (2020) and Mishel (2020), homosexual and heterosexual job candidates are evaluated differently in gender-typed work contexts. To examine whether these propositions hold, we considered a job to be (fe)male-dominated if, according to The United States Department of Labor (2021), at least 80.0% of its incumbents were (fe)male. Likewise, we considered jobs gender-neutral when 45.0 to 55.0%

of the incumbents were (fe)male.

Next, applying the theory of taste-based discrimination (Section 1), some employers discriminate against gay men and lesbian women because of their own prejudices or those of the organisation's clientele. In line with this argument, Baert (2014) and Mishel (2020) found that employers are more prone to discriminate against homosexuals in contexts of high customer contact. To identify jobs with high (low) levels of customer contact, we consulted O*NET Online's occupational database and filtered out jobs with the 30.0% highest (lowest) scores for the 'Customer & Personal Service' factor.

Whereas six of the fictitious vacancies contained a diversity statement in their descriptions, the other six did not. Our manipulation, namely the addition of *'As Peterson Inc. maintains an equal opportunities and diversity policy, everyone is encouraged to apply for this position.*', was a direct adaptation of a phrase employed in actual university vacancies. Based on the findings of Umphress and colleagues (2008) that a directive from an authority could suppress discriminatory tendencies in a selection context, a vacancy containing a diversity-friendly statement might provide recruiters with a comparable stimulus to suppress any discriminatory decision-making regarding homosexual candidates' applications ('justification-suppression model'; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003).

Applying our selection criteria to the occupational data from O*NET and The United States Department of Labor (2021), we selected the following job titles: (1) nurse; (2) legal secretary and administrative assistant; (3) telecommunication line installer and repairer; (4) cabinetmaker and bench carpenter; (5) property, real estate and community association manager; and (6) molecular and cellular biologist. Finally, we adapted vacancy texts from each occupation's respective O*NET description. The complete vacancy texts can be consulted in the online appendix.

2.4. Data collection

Our experimental set-up was integrated into an online 'Qualtrics' survey which was distributed in May 2021 among recruiters using the professional panel services from Prolific (Palan & Schitter, 2018; Peer et al. 2017). To avoid sensitising recruiters to the topic of our study and discourage socially desirable responses, the invitation to partake in the experiment contained no reference to homosexuality nor to discrimination. Using the same selection criteria as our pre-study (Subsection 2.1.1), we collected responses from 206 American and 202 British recruiters. Of the 408 participants, four individuals were excluded during the analyses because

they failed the attention check by not indicating ‘strongly agree’ as requested in a survey item.

2.5. Procedure

In the following paragraphs, we discuss the implementation of our experimental materials in the flow of our survey. On average, recruiters took 14 minutes to complete all four phases of the study, namely the (1) introduction, (2) experimental instructions and vacancy, (3) candidate evaluations and (4) post-experimental questionnaire.

2.5.1 Introduction to the experiment

An introductory screen informed participants about the expected length of the survey (17 minutes) and their rights regarding data protection. As a result of Prolific’s policies, we could also assure the participants that their identity remained hidden from the researchers – and further discourage social desirable responding. After providing their consent to study participation, recruiters proceeded to the second phase of the study.

2.5.2 Experimental instructions and vacancy

On a second screen we outlined the experimental scenario we set up for the current experiment. Recruiters were asked to imagine themselves in the following situation:

> ‘*You are working as a recruiter for ‘Peterson Inc.’. Your organisation is currently running a project on innovative recruitment practices. More specifically, HR is trialling an artificially intelligent web and resume scraper. When someone applies for one of the organisation’s vacancies, the software package supports the recruiter by automatically scanning (‘scraping’) the applicants’ resume and social media accounts – when given permission – and then compiling a brief tabulated candidate summary*.’

We carefully considered this scenario to provide recruiters with an ecologically valid explanation for having clear knowledge of candidates’ sexual orientation. Indeed, public social media accounts on, for example, Facebook, often disclose their owners’ sexual orientation and are frequently consulted by potential employers (Acquisti & Fong, 2021; Baert, 2018b). Of course, in doing so our study’s findings primarily pertain to homosexual candidates with a partner in marriage.

After being immersed in the experimental context, participants were randomly assigned to one of the fictitious vacancy descriptions discussed in Subsection 2.3. Subsequently, they received the instruction to select candidates for a first job interview. To avoid any confusion over candidates’ a-priori suitability, the recruiters were told that the software package correctly compiled the candidate profiles and had already filtered out those candidates who were

unsuitable based on objective job requirements – such as required educational background and professional experiences.

2.5.3. Candidate evaluations and perceptions

Following the details of their fictitious hiring assignment, the recruiters evaluated four different candidate profiles. As such, they were randomly assigned to one out of the thirty vignette decks discussed in Subsection 2.2. The evaluation of the candidates was organised as follows: each candidate and its associated question battery was displayed on a separate screen; recruiters were then free to move between the four screens.

The question battery the recruiters completed per candidate consisted of three sets of statements: (1) hiring probabilities, (2) perceived attitude towards collaboration and (3) candidate perceptions. Their agreement with each statement was rated on 10-point scales, ranging from strongly disagree (score 1) to strongly agree (score 10). We include an overview of our question battery in Appendix Table 2. First, following Baert (2018a) and Di Stasio (2014), we gauged hiring probabilities through two statements, one measuring the likelihood they would invite the candidate for a first job interview ('interview probability') and the other the likelihood they would eventually hire the said candidate ('hiring probability').

Second, we employed three statements ($\alpha = 0.981$) to measure perceived attitudes towards collaboration as the theory of taste-based discrimination cites three sources of prejudice in collaboration with gay men and lesbian women: the employer, colleagues and clients (Sterkens et al. 2021). Given the high correlations between the attitude items, they were bundled in a single attitude-towards-collaboration scale. Nonetheless, analyses with separate attitude items were also conducted.

Third, and central to our design, were the 21 statements measuring candidate perceptions. In this phase of the experiments, we implemented our systematically-selected list of items from the pre-study (Section 2.1) to collect causal evidence for the signalling function of candidates' sexual orientation during the hiring process. Based on the theory of levels-based statistical discrimination, each of these potential signals might be (part of) the explanation for hiring discrimination against gay men and lesbian women. Within this set of statements, we wordily aligned all items to exclude noise due to varying item formulations. Furthermore, we avoided order effects by randomising the order in which items were presented to recruiters.

2.5.4. Post-experimental questionnaire

In a final step, the recruiters filled out a post-experimental questionnaire. We used the data collected via these items to explore recruiter-side moderators of hiring discrimination and the execution of robustness checks.

Socio-demographic variables surveyed were gender (male, female, non-binary / third gender, prefer not to say); age in year, educational degree (primary, lower secondary, higher secondary, bachelors, masters, PhD) and sexual orientation (heterosexual, lesbian woman, gay man, bisexual, other, prefer not to say). Subsequently, we surveyed recruiters' professional experiences, namely hiring tenure (less than 1 year, 1 to 5 years, more than 5 years) and frequency (none, between 1 and 5 times per year, more than 5 times per year).

Next, we incorporated two measures of the recruiters' experiences with gay men and lesbian women. As such, we administered the West and Hewstone (2012) scale for contact with gay people. This scale contained four items scored on a 7-point Likert scale from no contact at all to very frequent contact (under non-COVID circumstances). Each of these items referred to different contexts (at school/work, daily superficial social contact, intimate social situations, all sorts of social situations) in which participants had contact with gay men and lesbian women. Subsequently, we averaged participants' scores into a single scale score, ranging from one to seven.

However, we not only measured the frequency of contact with homosexuals but also the recruiters' private attitudes, employing the Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS), developed by Morrison and colleagues (1999). As a validated measure of individuals' attitudes towards homosexuals, it measured the covert negative attitudes of participants towards homosexuality, for example 'Homosexuals seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals and ignore the ways in which they are the same.' As such, we asked participants to which degree they agreed with each of the scale's 12 items on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree (score 1) to strongly agree (score 5). We once again merged the individual item responses into an average scale score, whereby a higher score indicated a stronger endorsement of modern homonegative attitudes (McCutcheon & Morrison, 2015). Among these 12 items, we implemented an additional attention check, asking the participants to indicate the option 'strongly agree' (Subsection 2.4).

Another crucial addition to our post-experimental questionnaire was Reynolds' (1982) shortened Marlowe–Crowne Social Desirability Scale, which we used to measure the participant's socially desirable response tendencies. For each of the 13 items expressing behaviour that is either culturally approved or sanctioned (e.g. 'I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive'), we asked participants to indicate whether the statements were applicable to them (true, false). This scale is a regularly implemented and validated instrument across different contexts (Beretvas, Meyers, & Leite, 2002; Van Borm & Baert, 2018). The total score on this scale is calculated as the sum of all statements indicated as true. Subsequently, we standardised this number.

The final scale we administered to the recruiters measured their level of risk aversion. We implemented Baert's (2018a) adaptation of the Domain-Specific Risk-Taking Scale (Blais

& Weber, 2006) when investigating hiring discrimination against gay men. This adaptation contained six different items, each describing a professional risk (e.g. 'starting a new career in your mid-thirties'). Each item was rated by participants for the likelihood they would engage in this type of behaviour (1, extremely unlikely; 7, extremely likely). The weighted average of all item scores resulted in a global risk-taking score.

2.6. Data description

Before presenting the results of our main analyses, we briefly discuss the experimental data we collected. Because of the random allocation of our vignette decks and fictitious vacancies, we expected low correlations between the fictitious candidates' sexual orientation, job and recruiter variables. The statistically insignificant t-tests and chi-squared tests presented in Table 2 below confirm the success of our experimental setup. Moreover, the D-efficiency algorithm's success is also demonstrated by the low correlation between candidate dimensions (maximum 0.093).

[Table 2]

The recruiter characteristics panel from Table 2 further describes the sample's composition. On average, recruiters were 44.156 years old. They identified themselves as male (50.0%), female (49.0%) or other gender identities (1.0%). The vast majority of the recruiters considered themselves heterosexual (88.9%). Of the different levels of education, bachelor's degrees (47.0%) were the most common. Participants possessed considerable tenure in making hiring decisions. In this study, 48.3% of the sample reported having more than five years of experience. Notably, 49.5% of the recruiters did not evaluate any candidates in the last year – this substantial share might be explained by hiring freezes initiated because of the COVID-pandemic (Campello, Kankanhalli, & Muthukrishnan, 2020). Furthermore, our descriptive statistics suggest that the average participant had – at least – occasional contact with gay men and lesbian women (average 3.680, maximum 7) and harboured non-negative attitudes towards homosexual individuals (MHS average 2.204, maximum 5).

3. Results

3.1. Homosexuality's effect: bivariate analyses

We commence our analyses with bivariate analyses of the effect of candidates' homosexual orientation on recruiter evaluations and perceptions. A discussion of evaluation and perception

averages per combination of sexual orientation and gender (hereafter referred to as 'sexual identity') is statistically sensible because the randomisation of the other study variables was successful (Subsection 2.6). In Figure 1 below, we present 26 histograms – one for each of the evaluation and perceptions items. Per item, the Kruskal–Wallis equality-of-populations rank test determines whether there are statistically significant differences between two or more sexual identities. First, the chi-squared test values for interview ($\chi 2$ (3) = 5.867, p = 0.118) and hiring ($\chi 2$ (3) = 5.171, p = 0.160) probabilities suggest that, on average, homosexual candidates are not disadvantaged in our experiment compared to their heterosexual counterparts, though this is not the focus of the present study.

In contrast, the test results for the three items measuring attitudes towards collaboration (each p-value is lower than 0.001) reveal differences between both groups of homosexual candidates, which further aligns with the idea of a heterogeneous hiring disadvantage of LGBTQ-individuals over heterosexuals. We find that collaborations between lesbian job candidates and employers (*M = 6.507)*, other employees (*M = 6.548*) and clients (*M = 6.567*) are rated the most favourably, whereas collaborations between gay men and employers (*M = 5.216*), other employees (*M = 5.280*) and clients (*M = 5.138*) attained the lowest average rating across all four sexual identities we investigated.

In general, an examination of the 95% confidence intervals calculated around the average perceptions scores (by means of a Kruskal–Wallis test) indicates particularly distinct and rather favourable images of gay men and lesbian women. Indeed, on average, both homosexual male and female candidates are perceived as more assertive, outspoken, open-minded, creative and honest than heterosexuals.

Next, another side-by-side comparison of the confidence intervals calculated around the average perceptions scores reveals that lesbian women are perceived as more dominant, independent and self-aware than gay men. Gay men, conversely, are perceived as showing more empathy in collaborations, having a soft and loving personality, and being more neat and talkative. Our finding that gay men possess more traits that are predominantly associated with female gender roles – the opposite applying to lesbian women – highly corroborates earlier research from Blashill & Powlishta (2009). In addition to the differences we find in average candidate perceptions, the Kruskal–Wallis tests report no significant differences between sexual identities in perceptions of : leadership skills, professionalism, career orientation and current health.

We study these differences in perception by sexual orientation more rigorously based on the multivariate analyses presented in the following subsection. Moreover, we describe to

what extent these perceptions are considered in the experimental recruitment decision.

[Figure 1]

3.2. Homosexuality's effect: multivariate analyses

In what follows, we first conduct multivariate analyses on (1) the signalling function of sexual identity and (2) signalling as an explanation for differences in hiring probabilities (Subsection 3.2.1). Subsequently, we explore heterogeneity in the effects of sexual identity on interview probabilities (Subsection 3.2.2). For all multivariate analyses we conducted, the standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the recruiter level.

From our bivariate analyses we cannot conclude any overall differences in interview and hiring probabilities across the four sexual identities. However, when we fit a multivariate linear regression model of interview probabilities on the candidate, vacancy and recruiter variables discussed in Section 2, we do find a statistically significant difference in interview probability between the two identities with the most divergent scores on the interview item presented in Figure 1. That is, lesbian job candidates have a 4.2 percentage point higher interview probability (β = 0.424 p = 0.012) than the regression's reference category of heterosexual males.[3] Interview probabilities of other groups are not (gay men: β = 0.251, p = 0.134) or marginally (heterosexual women: β = 0.224, p = 0.072) significantly different from those of heterosexual males. The model's estimates are presented in the first column of Table 4.

3.2.1. Multiple mediation analyses

Multiple mediation analyses enable us to reveal mediation effects that consider the associations between the signals and the interview probabilities. We explore such indirect effects by multiplying the effect estimates of sexual identity on the perception items with the associations between those perception items and interview probability.[4] Applied to the data,

[3] This interpretation is adequate because the evaluation and perception scales ranged from 0 to 10.

[4] 'Indirect effect' is common terminology in the mediation literature (Hayes, 2017). However, these multiplications should be interpreted as associations. More concretely, the data based on our experimental setup is limited to the causal interpretation of relationships between (1)

the multiple mediation framework consists of 23 linear regressions. Twenty-two of these regress candidate perceptions and the attitude scale on the candidate, vacancy and recruiter characteristics. The 23rd regression then regresses these scales and the candidate, vacancy and recruiter characteristics on interview probability.[5] Appendix Table 3 shows the full estimation results of this analytical procedure. The estimates of the mediation effects based on a bootstrapping procedure are presented in Table 3.

In our comparison of gay and heterosexual men, the first columns of Appendix Table 3 provide empirical and causal evidence for the majority of the perceptions identified in the literature (Subsection 2.1). Compared to heterosexual men, gay men are perceived as having more advanced social skills (β = 0.265, p = 0.020), being more outspoken (β = 0.430, p < 0.001), having more of a team orientation (β = 0.241, p = 0.043), showing more empathy in collaboration (β = 0.299, p = 0.009), having a loving and soft personality (β = 0.450, p < 0.001), and being more emotionally sensitive (β = 0.681, p < 0.001), neat (β = 0.433, p < 0.001), intelligent (β = 0.242, p = 0.028), open-minded (β = 0.764, p < 0.001), creative (β = 0.447, p < 0.001), talkative (β = 0.671, p < 0.001), honest (β = 0.276, p = 0.011) and self-aware (β = 0.396, p = 0.001). Conversely, we also find that, compared to heterosexual men, again, collaborations with gay men are regarded more negatively (β = −0.647, p < 0.001) and they are – marginally significantly – perceived to be less dominant (β = −0189, p = 0.098). Moreover, we find no empirical evidence that gay men and heterosexual men are generally perceived as differing in assertiveness, independence, competitiveness, leadership skills, professionalism, career orientation or current health.

The mirror image of these comparisons, where additional F-tests contrast the perceptions of lesbians against heterosexual women, yields equally interesting results. Compared to heterosexual women, lesbian job candidates are generally perceived by recruiters as being more pleasant to collaborate with (p < 0.001) and more assertive (p < 0.001), outspoken (p < 0.001), dominant (p = 0.010), independent (p = 0.005), open-minded (p < 0.001) and self-aware (p = 0.002). Notably, only the signal of having a loving and soft personality was less applicable than for heterosexual women (p = 0.041). In these comparisons, however, we find no empirical evidence for the remaining signal items: advanced social skills, competitiveness, possessing effective leadership skills, displaying a team orientation, showing empathy in collaborations, emotional sensitivity, being neat, intelligent,

sexual identity and perception items, and (2) sexual identity and the interview probability. We discuss this matter further in Section 4.

[5] Conclusions are comparable when employing the hiring probability as the dependent variable.

creative, talkative, honest, perceived professionalism, having a career orientation and current health.

Taken together, our results show that recruiters – in general – derive desirable candidate characteristics from homosexuality. It appears that homosexuality could be regarded as a subtle complement to most recruiters' gender-driven candidate perceptions. This seems particularly the case for lesbian women who are perceived as similar to heterosexual women in terms of many of the characteristics associated with female-gender role characteristics (e.g. displaying empathy in collaborations) but also score higher on certain perceptions associated with the male gender role (e.g. dominance).

[Table 3]

The final column of Appendix Table 3 shows, however, that only some of these candidate perceptions are significantly associated with interview probabilities. This results in only four mediation effects being statistically significant at the 5% significance level. The negative perception of collaboration with gay men is associated with lower interview probabilities (β = –0.163, p < 0.001) and the positive perception concerning lesbian women is associated with higher interview chances (β = 0.136, p < 0.001). Moreover, interview probabilities are negatively associated with the signal of homosexual candidates' perceived outspokenness (gay men: β = –0.041, p = 0.040; lesbian women: β = –0.054, p = 0.038). This finding may appear surprising, but it aligns with the recent meta-analysis of the field experimental evidence on hiring discrimination by Lippens and colleagues (2021). That is, these authors' weighted average, which indicates substantial hiring discrimination against gay men and lesbian women, is mainly driven by field experiments in which same-sex orientation is revealed by LGB+ organisation affiliation. This suggests that it is a signal of activism that is punished rather than a signal of sexual orientation. Finally, gay men's perceived better social skills are associated with higher interview probabilities, albeit at the 10% significance level only (β = 0.026, p = 0.090).

3.2.2. Moderation analyses

At first sight, the predominantly optimistic findings concerning the hiring probabilities and the underlying candidate evaluations concerning homosexual candidates might appear to be at odds with part of the literature. This, however, is not necessarily the case because moderators could be in play. To test the moderating potential of candidate, vacancy and recruiter characteristics, Table 4 presents the results of moderation analyses with interview probability as the outcome variable. Column (1), as discussed above, contains parameter estimates

without interaction terms; in the subsequent columns, interaction terms with (2) candidate, (3) vacancy and (4) recruiters are implemented separately. The fifth and final column contains the results from the most complex regression model, in which all interactions are introduced jointly. Our discussion below is based on this final model.

The analyses with candidate characteristics reveal that, compared to heterosexual men, gay men ($\beta = -1.533$, $p < 0.001$) and women ($\beta = -1.272$, $p = 0.012$) experience a lower premium of having five years of experience in an occupation. One hypothetical explanation could be that employers relate maturity-related perceptions, such as being more self-aware and independent, to them anyway given their openness concerning their sexual identity. Furthermore, we find evidence that certain professional achievements and extra-curricular activities are appreciated differently for gay men and lesbian women. For instance, at the 10% significance level, volunteering yields a lower hiring premium for gay men ($\beta = -1.149$, $p = 0.079$). Conversely, when lesbian women took on diversity ambassadorship in a prior workplace, they receive relatively lower interview probabilities ($\beta = -1.230$, $p = 0.067$). The latter finding might, again, be explained by a punishment for activism. Among gay men, no such trend arises ($\beta = -0.367$, $p = 0.452$).

We find no heterogeneity by the job vacancy dimension. Our studies herein contradict the findings from, for example, Baert (2014) and Mishel (2020), who reported more hiring discrimination in jobs where frequent customer contact is required from job incumbents.

When we examine the interaction terms between the candidate's sexual identity and the recruiter characteristics we find, in particular, that recruiters' homonegative attitudes are negatively associated with the interview probabilities of homosexual individuals. Although we find consistent evidence for this association among lesbian job candidates in the fourth model, including recruiter interaction terms ($\beta = -0.393$, $p = 0.033$), and the fifth model with all interaction terms ($\beta = -0.443$, $p = 0.016$), only the fourth model specifically does so for homosexual men ($\beta = -0.414$, $p = 0.034$). In contrast, no interaction effect is found between recruiters' contact with homosexual individuals and their interview probabilities, which might be explained by the fact that this contact experience possibly yields positive as well as negative perception adjustments. In addition, no significant effects are found between recruiters' nationality (British or American) and the interview probabilities of homosexual job candidates.

[Table 4]

Two trends in the data, namely (1) the overall non-negative effect of being a homosexual candidate on hiring outcomes and (2) the small subsample of recruiters who answered in the direction of harbouring homonegative attitudes (i.e. 13.6% of the sample scoring more than one standard deviation above the average), align with the notion of a

concentrated discrimination account. This concept, as raised in contemporary work from Campbell and Brauer (2021), suggests that the majority of discriminatory behaviours are committed by a minority of individuals who repeatedly discriminate against homosexuals – which calls for a very focused anti-discrimination policy.

From the perspective of such a concentrated discrimination account, we complement our analyses with an exploration of how recruiters more prone to discriminate – as derived from the interaction with homonegativity – perceive homosexual candidates similarly and differently from our general sample. We do so by employing moderation analyses with the 21 perception items, the 3 separate attitudes towards collaboration and the bundled attitude-towards-collaboration scale as outcome variables, and the candidate, vacancy and recruiter variables as independent variables. Interaction terms between, on the one hand, the candidates' sexual identities as gay men and lesbian women and, on the other hand, recruiter characteristics are added to our regression models.

Three notable trends regarding the interaction between homosexual candidates and recruiters' homonegative attitudes emerge from the data presented in Appendix Table 4. We find that, compared to the general sample, harbouring homonegative attitudes is associated with (i) additional ('novel') signalling functions of homosexuality and (ii) relatively less positive signalling but also (iii) agreement on homosexuality's signalling function for various perceptions – regardless of attitude.

First, recruiters with homonegative attitudes are significantly more likely (at the 5% significance level) to interpret the sexual identity of gay men and lesbian women as relatively negative signals for leadership skills (gay men: $\beta = -0.462$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.400$), professionalism (gay men: $\beta = -0.580$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.416$), career orientations (gay men: $\beta = -0.300$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.350$) and current health (gay men: $\beta = -0.474$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.371$), whereas, in the full sample, recruiters generally do not perceive homosexual identities as signalling for these characteristics at all (Subsection 3.2.1). The same trend applies to the competitiveness of gay men ($\beta = -0.367$) but not to lesbian women's competitiveness.

Second, whereas recruiters generally derive positive signals from candidates' homosexual identities, the recruiters expressing more homonegative attitudes derive relatively fewer positive signals from candidates' homosexual identities. More concretely, the latter think more negatively about the intelligence (gay men: $\beta = -0.410$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.483$), social skills (gay men: $\beta = -0.369$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.248$), honesty (gay men: $\beta = -0.458$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.312$) and team orientation (gay men: $\beta = -0.335$; lesbian women: $\beta = -0.324$) of both homosexual identities. This is also the case for the perceived dominance ($\beta = -0.333$), creativeness ($\beta = -0.276$) and self-awareness ($\beta = -0.424$) of homosexual men, and for the perceived independence ($\beta = -0.229$) and employer collaboration ($\beta = -0.410$) of

homosexual women.

Third, recruiters with negative attitudes towards homosexuals appear to have similar perceptions as other recruiters concerning both gay men's and lesbian women's collaboration with other employees and clients, soft personality, emotional sensitivity, neatness, talkativeness, open-mindedness and outspokenness. In conclusion, our data suggest that the association between homonegative attitudes and signalling is of a rather complex nature as we establish several points of convergence and divergence between the perceptions of recruiters which vary in terms of homonegative attitudes.

[Figure 2]

Lastly, in response to vignette experiments' known susceptibility to socially desirable responding, we follow Steenkamp and colleagues' (2010) guidelines in further analysing the data for potential social desirability bias. First and foremost, separate moderation analyses suggest that the interview and hiring probabilities of gay men and lesbian women are unrelated to the social desirability scores of recruiters.[6] Second, we calculate that social desirability has a limited association with recruiters' responses to the modern homonegativity scale ($r = 0.133$). This indicates that social desirability biases, most likely, did not contaminate our recruiters' reports of homonegative attitudes. From these findings, and in support of our main analyses, we conclude that there is no evidence for a social desirability bias in the experimental hiring data.

4. Conclusion

To investigate the interview probabilities of homosexual candidates through sexual identity's signalling function, we conducted a vignette experiment in which genuine recruiters evaluated fictitious job candidates who expressed their sexual identities. The recruiters evaluated four candidates for one out of twelve job vacancies and shared their candidate perceptions through 24 systematically-selected items distilled from the literature and pre-studied among actual recruiters. In addition to providing empirical and causal evidence for a reviewed selection of signals recruiters infer from gay men and lesbian women, we tested these signals' role in explaining interview probabilities. Moreover, we advanced our understanding of the literature's contradictory findings related to homosexual candidates' hiring probabilities by additionally

[6] The complete results of our social desirability analyses are available upon request.

analysing the different circumstances in which recruiters tend to discriminate more or less against gay men and lesbian women.

We find evidence that homosexual identities generally emit positive and distinct signals for men and women in a hiring context. Specifically, recruiters perceive homosexual compared to heterosexual men as being more outspoken, open-minded, self-aware, emotionally sensitive, neat, intelligent, creative, talkative and honest, showing more empathy in collaborations, and having more advanced social skills, more of a team orientation and a more loving and soft personality – but being less pleasant to collaborate with. In contrast, homosexual women are seen as being more pleasant to collaborate with and having a less loving and soft personality than their heterosexual counterparts. However, similar to homosexual men, recruiters also perceive them as being more outspoken, open-minded and self-aware than heterosexual women. In addition, homosexual women are viewed as being more assertive, independent and dominant compared to their heterosexual counterparts, whereas this is not the case for homosexual men.

Although homosexuality activates many different signals for men and women, only two of these signals are clearly associated with homosexual candidates' interview probabilities: outspokenness and collaborations with employers, other employees and customers. The perceptions towards collaborating with candidates hold the strongest associations with explained homosexual candidates' interview probabilities. These perceptions might strengthen homosexual women's interview probabilities as they are perceived as more pleasant to collaborate with, whereas the opposite could be true for homosexual men because recruiters have negative collaboration perceptions about them. In addition, the signal that homosexual men and women are more outspoken than their heterosexual counterparts is also strongly negatively associated with their interview probabilities.

Our moderation analyses with candidate, vacancy and recruiter characteristics provide additional insights regarding the circumstances under which hiring discrimination is more likely to occur. More specifically, we find tendencies that more experience yields a relatively lower hiring premium for gay candidates and that the effects of extracurricular activities (e.g. volunteering to distribute food) and professional achievements (diversity ambassadorship) are also dependent on a candidate's sexual identity. Perhaps more importantly, the generally positive reception towards homosexual candidates and a significant interaction effect with recruiters' homonegative attitudes suggest that our data align well with a concentrated discrimination account (Campbell & Brauer, 2021), whereby a minority of employers are responsible for most instances of hiring discrimination. Indeed, the generally positive perception patterns of homosexuals were frequently inversed among recruiters who privately held negative attitudes towards homosexual individuals.

As suggested in Fric's review (2017), policy-makers and organisations that combat

hiring discrimination against homosexuals could benefit from the deployment of destigmatisation programmes. The current study's findings compliment this by calling for an efficient and targeted approach to such programmes as hiring discrimination against homosexuals appears to be centred around the negative attitudes of a limited proportion of recruiters. In addition, the detailed perceptual patterns we evidenced for both groups of homosexual candidates could guide the development of such targeted interventions for specific homosexual identities.

From a candidate-perspective, homosexual males in particular could anticipate recruiters' negative attitudes by implementing stigma-countering strategies when applying for a job. For example, Singletary and Hebl (2009) found that candidates presenting themselves as homosexual experienced fewer negative interactions with potential employers if they altered their behaviour to display more positivity, for instance by emphasising how enthusiastic they are and by smiling more often. Indeed, applied to our concrete findings, gay men would want to anticipate and counter perceptions of outspokenness and unpleasant collaborations in the hiring process. An important caveat is that in anticipation of such discrimination, gay men in particular should carefully consider the timing of their identity's disclosure to effectively apply such stigma-countering strategies.

One limitation we have frequently revisited in this paper is the risk of socially desirable responses, which is elevated in a laboratory setting. In acknowledgment of this risk, we took measures to limit the impact of such bias. First, to limit the impact of socially desirable responding, we simultaneously varied several candidate characteristics. In doing so, our experiment mimicked the trade-offs made in actual hiring decisions. Second, we investigated the associations between recruiters' responses and our validated social desirability scale, which indicated that the chance of bias was relatively small (Steenkamp, De Jong, & Baumgartner, 2010).

Our operationalisation of the candidates' sexual orientation comes with a second limitation of this study. In the vignette experiment, sexual orientation was revealed through the candidate's marital status, namely being married to a same-sex spouse. Although this is an unambiguous signal of sexual orientation, it could also come with perceptions associated with being married, such as the attributed stability. Moreover, certain stereotypes about single gay men and lesbians may not apply to those who have a partner and vice versa. However, as mentioned earlier, alternative ways to reveal sexual identity come with similar, if not worse, threats to the internal validity. For example, revealing one's homosexuality by stating a candidate joined a LGBTQ+ organisation could be ambiguous and generate signals related to activism, which could distort the findings.

A third limitation relates to the perception measures employed in this study. From the literature, numerous perceptions appeared to be related to homosexuality, which made it

impossible to include all of them in the vignette experiment. To resolve this issue, a preliminary study was set up to reduce the items to a limited but validated set of perceptions. Although the delineation of these perceptions is based on empirical survey data, there always is a certain researcher-instilled subjectivity to item selection. Therefore, we encourage future researchers to further investigate the body of stigma associated with sexual orientation.

Subsequently, a final limitation of the study's design is its inability to draw unbiased and causal inferences from the conducted mediation analyses (see Gerber and Green (2012), chapter 10 for a thorough discussion of the challenges inherent in mediation analyses). That is, although we were able to make causal inferences about the effects of sexual identity on candidate evaluations and perceptions, the associations between perceptions and candidate evaluations could be confounded as these perceptions and evaluations were not experimentally manipulated. Although we carefully selected relevant signal items through a specifically designed pre-study (Subsection 2.1), we cannot exclude the possibility that additional, unobserved perceptions were in play – perhaps in particular among the minority of discriminating recruiters. To further our understanding of homosexuality's signalling function, future research could uncover complementary perceptions using alternative techniques, such as Yvon and Corbière's (2021) implementation of a free association technique.

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Figures

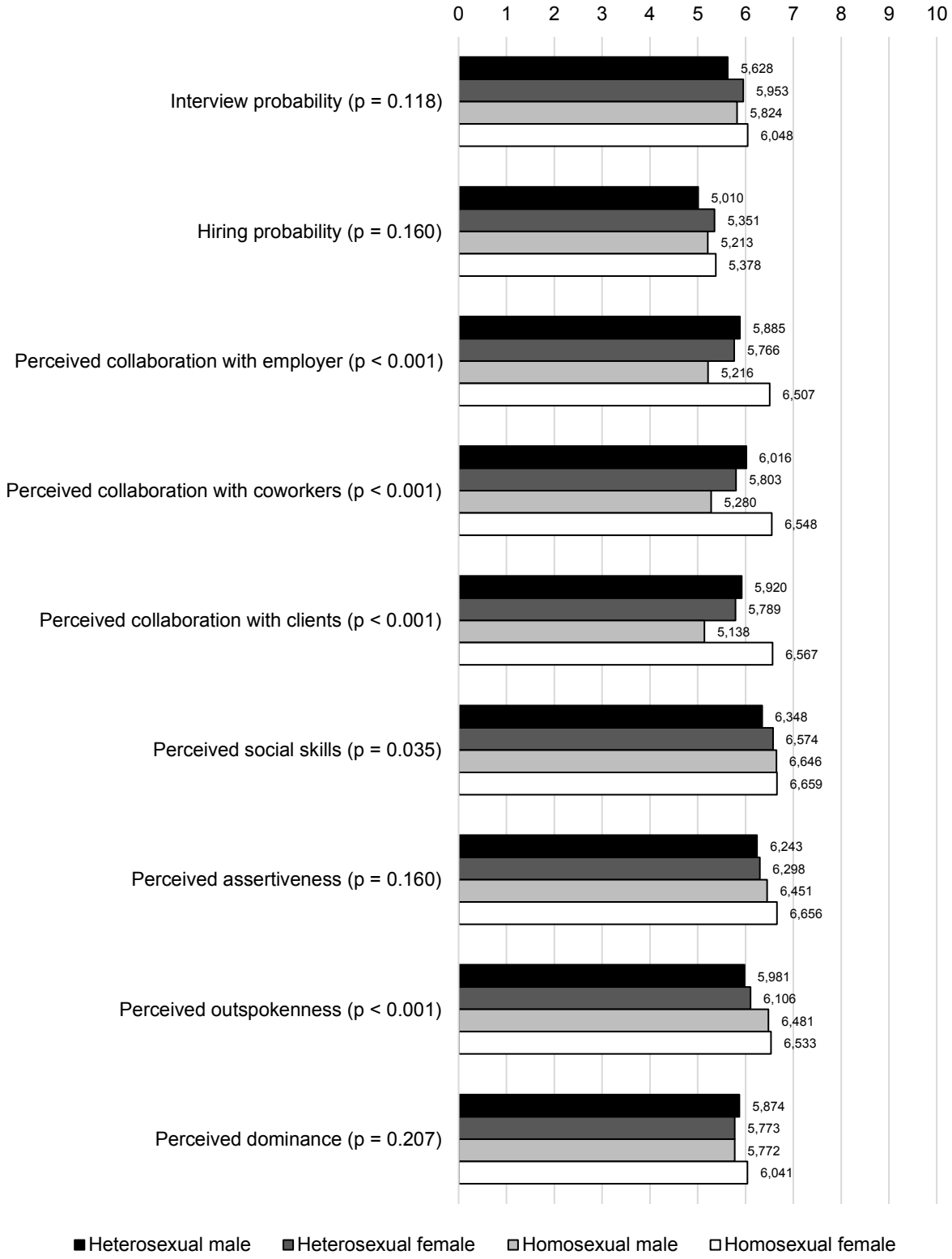

Figure 1. Histograms for each of the evaluation and perception items

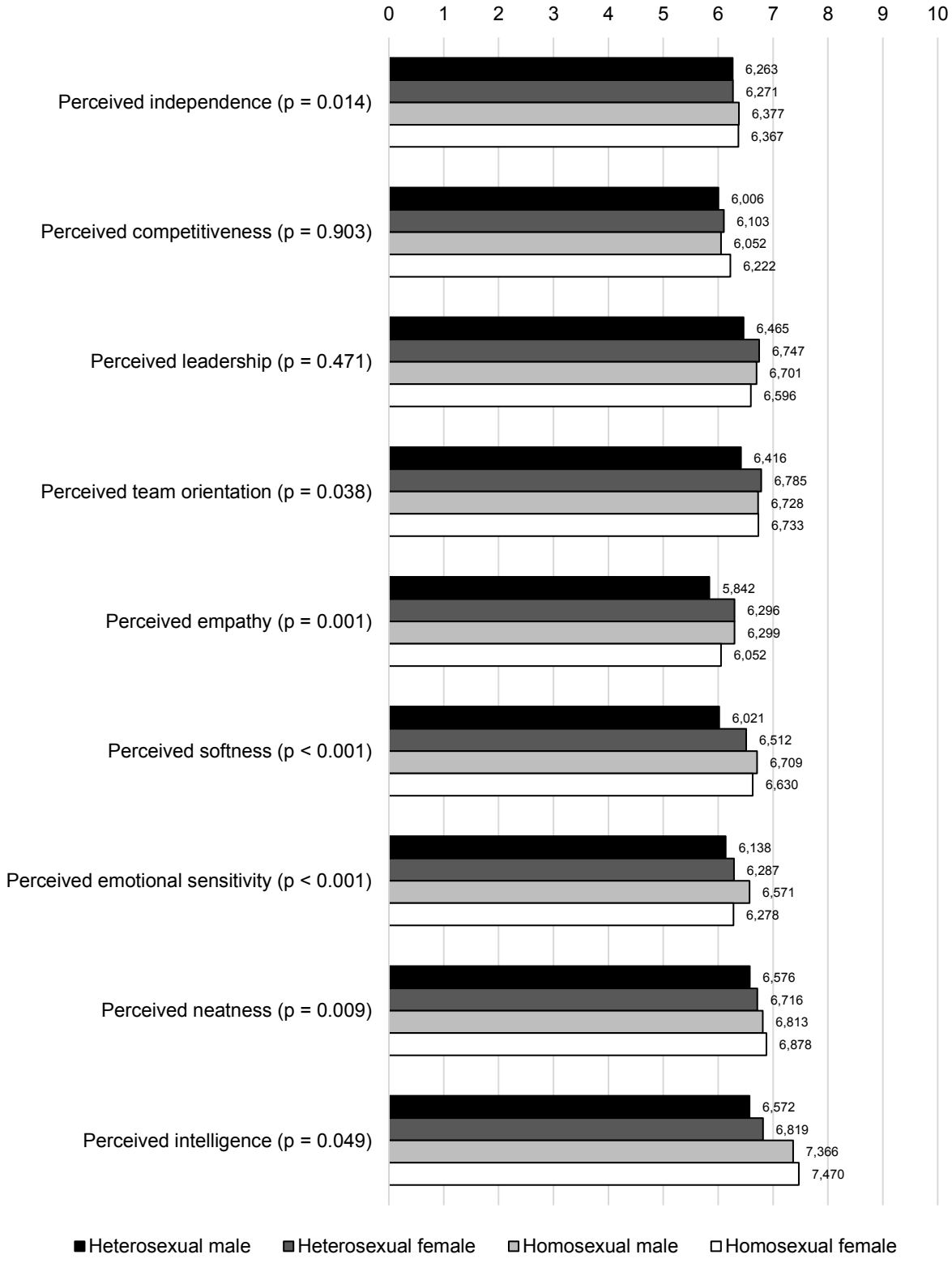

Figure 1. Histograms for each of the evaluation and perception items (continued)

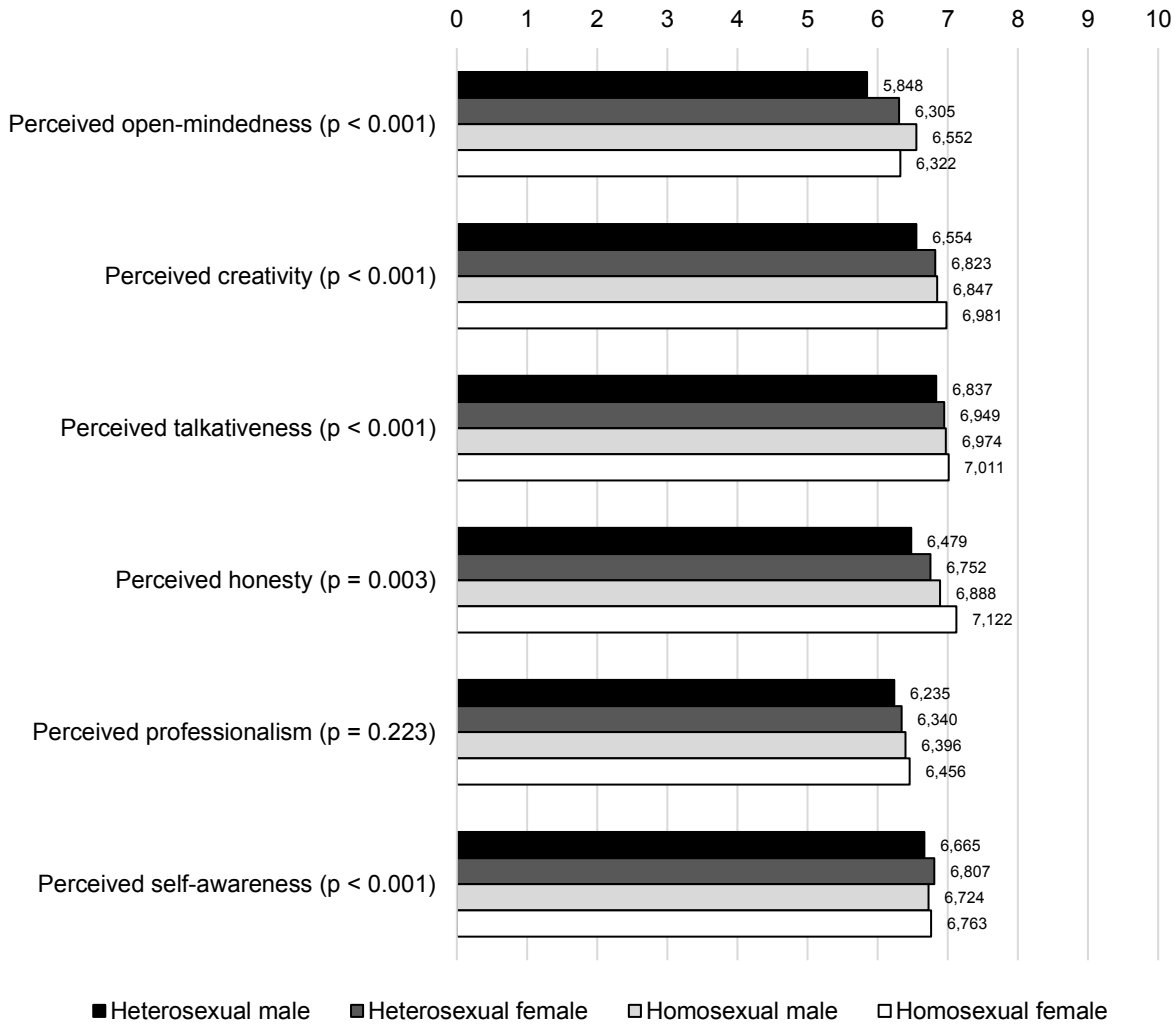

Figure 1. Histograms for each of the evaluation and perception items (continued)

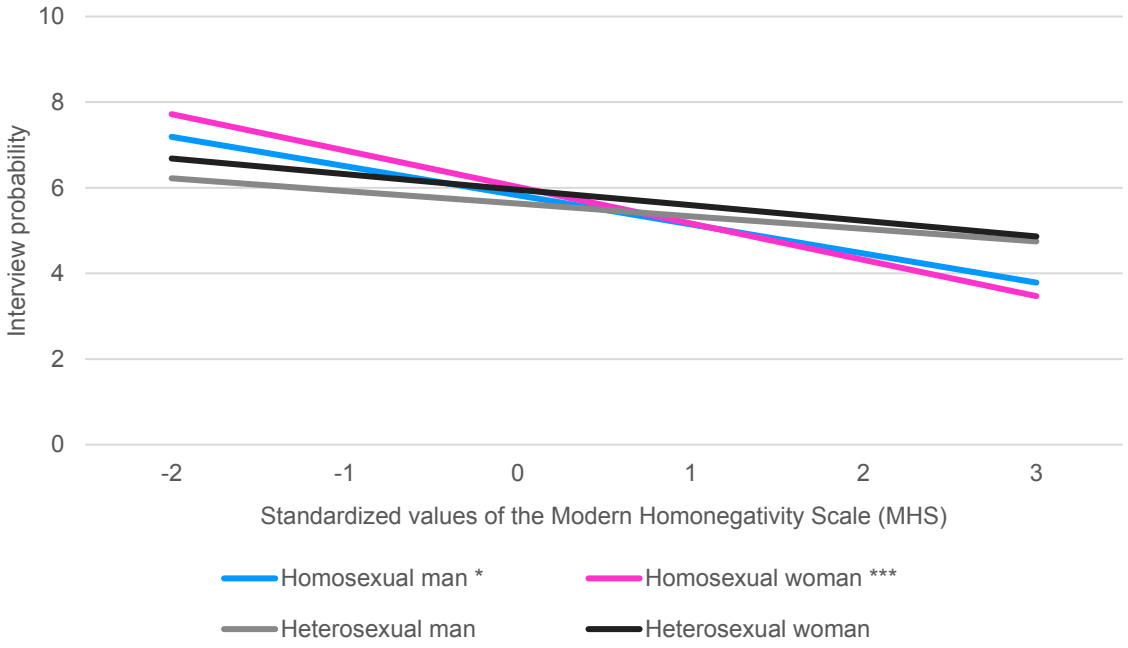

Figure 2. Interaction effects between sexual identity and the MHS on interview probability, where *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level

Tables

Table 1. Dimensions and levels

Dimensions	Levels
Gender	{man; woman}
Marital status	{married to (male name); married to (female name); married}
Age	{33 years old; 38 years old; 43 years old; 48 years old}
Job experience in the past five years	{0 years; 2 years; 5 years}
Foreign language knowledge	{none; French; Spanish}
Professional achievements at previous employer	{none; diversity ambassador; employee of the month}
Extra-curricular activities	{wrestling; gymnastics; tennis; volunteers to distribute food for the local community; volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation; none}

Table 2. Description of the experimental recruiters by experimental condition

	Proportion (indicator variables) or mean (continuous variables)					
	Full sample	Experimental condition				Independence test [p-value]
		Heterosexual male	Heterosexual female	Homosexual male	Homosexual female	
Female	49.0%	50.4%	47.2%	46.6%	52.6%	0.369
Not heterosexual	11.1%	11.3%	11.7%	10.8%	10.0%	0.982
Age	44.156	44.261	44.108	44.063	44.148	1.000
No tertiary education	25.5%	24.9%	23.9%	28.0%	27.4%	0.530
Bachelor's degree	47.0%	47.7%	47.5%	47.0%	44.8%	0.919
Master's degree	22.8%	23.4%	23.2%	20.5%	23.0%	0.920
British	49.5%	49.0%	50.5%	51.1%	46.7%	0.697
Hired people in the past year	50.5%	49.8%	50.0%	48.5%	48.9%	0.974
Hiring experience of more than five years	48.3%	48.1%	48.8%	48.5%	47.4%	0.985
Contact with homosexuals (standardised)	0.000	−0.050	0.001	0.079	0.015	0.449
Homonegativity (standardised)	0.000	0.011	0.004	0.004	−0.034	0.852
Social desirability (standardised)	0.000	0.022	0.019	−0.013	−0.070	0.786
Risk aversion (standardised)	0.000	0.006	−0.023	0.046	−0.009	0.647

Notes. To test the independence between the participant characteristic and the experimental condition, a Chi-Square (indicator variable) or Kruskal-Wallis (continuous variable) test is conducted.

Table 3. Mediation effects for both homosexual identities with interview probability as the outcome and heterosexual male as the reference category

Mediators	Homosexual male candidate		Homosexual female candidate	
	β	**p**	***β***	**p**
Perceived collaboration[a]	**−0.163**	0.000	**0.136**	0.000
Perceived social skills	0.026	0.090	0.028	0.109
Perceived assertiveness	0.003	0.763	0.008	0.684
Perceived outspokenness	**−0.041**	0.040	**−0.054**	0.038
Perceived dominance	0.001	0.958	0.001	0.965
Perceived independence	−0.006	0.671	−0.017	0.573
Perceived competitiveness	0.001	0.943	0.002	0.811
Perceived leadership	0.007	0.794	0.040	0.115
Perceived team orientation	0.031	0.116	0.012	0.495
Perceived empathy	−0.002	0.879	−0.003	0.876
Perceived softness of personality	0.013	0.592	0.005	0.698
Perceived emotional sensitivity	−0.009	0.798	−0.008	0.803
Perceived neatness	−0.028	0.194	−0.008	0.444
Perceived intelligence	0.005	0.755	0.005	0.761
Perceived open-mindedness	−0.035	0.369	−0.040	0.342
Perceived creativity	0.045	0.157	0.041	0.128
Perceived talkativeness	−0.029	0.259	−0.020	0.314
Perceived honesty	−0.019	0.263	−0.028	0.280
Perceived professionalism	0.014	0.372	0.014	0.383
Perceived self-awareness	−0.023	0.318	−0.037	0.260
Perceived career orientation	0.040	0.193	0.052	0.165
Perceived current health	0.001	0.992	0.001	0.881
Total effect of sexual identity	0.251	0.134	**0.424**	0.012

Notes. p-values are corrected for clustering of observations at the participant level. Coefficient estimates related to p-values below 5% are in bold. [a] indicates mediators with scales comprising multiple items.

Table 4. Moderation effects with interview probability as the outcome

	Interview probability				
	(1)	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**
A. CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS					
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual male)					
Heterosexual female	0.223* (0.125)	0.206 (0.125)	0.223 (0.125)	0.228* (0.125)	0.208* (0.126)
Homosexual male	0.250 (0.167)	1.662 (1.656)	0.437 (0.377)	1.203* (0.653)	3.008 (1.823)
Homosexual female	0.424** (0.168)	0.624 (2.400)	0.388 (0.350)	0.646 (0.638)	1.031 (2.475)
Age (c.)	−0.001 (0.008)	0.004 (0.010)	−0.001 (0.008)	−0.000 (0.008)	0.003 (0.011)
Experience (ref. = none)					
Two years	2.988*** (0.143)	3.074*** (0.186)	3.007*** (0.143)	2.973*** (0.145)	3.086*** (0.189)
Five years	4.059*** (0.164)	4.521*** (0.195)	4.066*** (0.164)	4.047*** (0.165)	4.525*** (0.197)
Foreign language knowledge (ref. = none)					
French	0.089 (0.125)	0.029 (0.145)	0.087 (0.126)	0.059 (0.124)	0.035 (0.147)
Spanish	0.164 (0.123)	−0.017 (0.155)	0.166 (0.123)	0.165 (0.124)	−0.020 (0.157)
Professional achievements (ref. = none)					
Diversity ambassador	0.837*** (0.121)	1.285*** (0.159)	0.832*** (0.121)	0.864*** (0.122)	1.286*** (0.159)
Employee of the month	0.760*** (0.116)	0.944*** (0.151)	0.762*** (0.115)	0.777*** (0.117)	0.949*** (0.151)
Hobbies (ref. = none mentioned)					
Wrestling	0.597*** (0.193)	0.700*** (0.227)	0.605*** (0.191)	0.582*** (0.189)	0.714*** (0.228)
Gymnastics	0.462** (0.201)	0.573** (0.255)	0.469** (0.199)	0.455** (0.202)	0.571** (0.256)
Tennis	0.365* (0.193)	0.656*** (0.238)	0.372* (0.192)	0.390** (0.193)	0.660*** (0.240)
Volunteers to distribute food for local community	0.716*** (0.176)	1.025*** (0.213)	0.731*** (0.175)	0.698*** (0.176)	1.024*** (0.215)
Volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	0.409** (0.189)	0.443* (0.229)	0.427** (0.187)	0.415** (0.192)	0.443* (0.231)
B. VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS					
Gender-type (ref. = neutral job)					
Male-dominated job	0.230 (0.192)	0.195 (0.190)	0.352* (0.208)	0.214 (0.192)	0.308 (0.208)
Female-dominated job	0.035 (0.193)	−0.000 (0.191)	0.038 (0.210)	0.045 (0.193)	0.038 (0.211)
Customer contact: high	0.168 (0.157)	0.169 (0.156)	0.203 (0.173)	0.202 (0.156)	0.236 (0.175)
Diversity statement: included	0.132 (0.154)	0.111 (0.153)	0.068 (0.168)	0.130 (0.153)	0.062 (0.169)

C. PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS					
Gender (ref. = male)					
Female	−0.048 (0.163)	−0.084 (0.160)	−0.044 (0.163)	−0.066 (0.174)	−0.066 (0.175)
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual)					
Not heterosexual	−0.549** (0.244)	−0.533** (0.239)	−0.565** (0.246)	−0.450* (0.254)	−0.440* (0.255)
Age (cont.)	0.000 (0.006)	−0.001 (0.007)	−0.000 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)	0.004 (0.007)
Educational degree (ref. = lower than tertiary)					
Tertiary education	−0.382** (0.182)	−0.396** (0.182)	−0.387** (0.182)	−0.293 (0.201)	−0.305 (0.204)
Nationality (ref. = USA)					
UK	−0.039 (0.157)	−0.031 (0.158)	−0.039 (0.157)	−0.088 (0.172)	−0.065 (0.173)
Hiring experience (ref. = less than five years)					
More than five years	0.081 (0.160)	0.083 (0.158)	0.081 (0.160)	0.027 (0.175)	0.014 (0.176)
Contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.187** (0.087)	0.185** (0.085)	0.180** (0.087)	0.174* (0.095)	0.181* (0.094)
Homonegativity (s.)	−0.454*** (0.093)	−0.442*** (0.092)	−0.455*** (0.093)	−0.314*** (0.093)	−0.313*** (0.093)
Risk aversion (s.)	0.168* (0.094)	0.149 (0.094)	0.174* (0.094)	0.144 (0.111)	0.135 (0.112)
D. INTERACTIONS WITH CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS					
Homosexual male × age		−0.009 (0.035)			−0.003 (0.036)
Homosexual male × two years		−0.048 (0.466)			−0.195 (0.487)
Homosexual male × five years		−1.379** (0.564)			−1.533*** (0.573)
Homosexual male × French		0.349 (0.488)			0.283 (0.501)
Homosexual male × Spanish		0.306 (0.459)			0.341 (0.449)
Homosexual male × diversity ambassador		−0.447 (0.485)			−0.367 (0.487)
Homosexual male × employee of the month		−0.060 (0.410)			−0.014 (0.414)
Homosexual male × wrestling		−1.004 (0.629)			−0.978 (0.631)
Homosexual male × gymnastics		0.050 (0.646)			0.143 (0.654)
Homosexual male × tennis		−1.044 (0.638)			−0.987 (0.652)
Homosexual male × volunteers to distribute food for local community		−1.063 (0.648)			−1.149* (0.652)
Homosexual male × volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation		−0.816 (0.733)			−0.688 (0.764)
Homosexual female × age		0.021 (0.050)			0.022 (0.049)
Homosexual female × two years		−0.257 (0.555)			−0.211 (0.554)
Homosexual female × five years		−1.251** (0.500)			−1.272** (0.506)
Homosexual female × French		−0.436 (0.512)			−0.607 (0.502)

Homosexual female × Spanish	0.149 (0.485)			0.144 (0.496)
Homosexual female × diversity ambassador	−1.172* (0.678)			−1.230 (0.670)
Homosexual female × employee of the month	−0.334 (0.481)			−0.252 (0.479)
Homosexual female × wrestling	0.205 (0.679)			0.124 (0.704)
Homosexual female × gymnastics	0.758 (0.905)			0.966 (0.919)
Homosexual female × tennis	−0.348 (0.655)			−0.252 (0.672)
Homosexual female × volunteers to distribute food for local community	−0.218 (0.601)			−0.166 (0.610)
Homosexual female × volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	−0.044 (0.923)			−0.009 (0.959)
E. INTERACTIONS WITH VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS				
Homosexual male × male-dominated job		−0.179 (0.392)		−0.294 (0.373)
Homosexual male × female-dominated job		−0.494 (0.351)		−0.518 (0.358)
Homosexual male × high customer contact		0.052 (0.299)		−0.088 (0.305)
Homosexual male × diversity statement included		0.020 (0.294)		−0.035 (0.292)
Homosexual female × male-dominated job		0.220 (0.375)		0.209 (0.380)
Homosexual female × female-dominated job		−0.210 (0.391)		−0.336 (0.375)
Homosexual female × high customer contact		−0.276 (0.307)		−0.130 (0.310)
Homosexual female × diversity statement included		0.370 (0.310)		0.314 (0.306)
F. INTERACTIONS WITH RECRUITER CHARACTERISTICS				
Homosexual male × female			0.350 (0.307)	0.270 (0.317)
Homosexual male × not heterosexual			−0.283 (0.458)	−0.406 (0.461)
Homosexual male × age (cont.)			−0.018 (0.015)	−0.025 (0.016)
Homosexual male × tertiary education			−0.520 (0.326)	−0.503 (0.340)
Homosexual male × UK			0.043 (0.315)	0.127 (0.316)
Homosexual male × more than five years of hiring experience			0.158 (0.313)	0.263 (0.316)
Homosexual male × contact with homosexuals (s.)			−0.154 (0.172)	−0.181 (0.183)
Homosexual male × homonegativity (s.)			−0.414** (0.194)	−0.322 (0.204)
Homosexual male × risk aversion (s.)			0.081 (0.177)	0.046 (0.179)
Homosexual female × female			−0.322 (0.319)	−0.408 (0.321)
Homosexual female × not heterosexual			−0.230 (0.480)	−0.212 (0.500)
Homosexual female × age (cont.)			−0.008 (0.013)	−0.010 (0.013)
Homosexual female × tertiary education			0.161 (0.349)	0.098 (0.367)

Homosexual female × UK	0.296 (0.326)	0.078 (0.336)
Homosexual female × more than five years of hiring experience	0.139 (0.310)	0.172 (0.316)
Homosexual female × contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.217 (0.183)	0.140 (0.184)
Homosexual female × homonegativity (s.)	−0.393** (0.184)	−0.443** (0.184)
Homosexual female × risk aversion (s.)	0.014 (0.179)	0.044 (0.181)
N	1,616	

Notes. Abbreviations used: s. (scale consisting of multiple items), ref. (reference category). The presented statistics are coefficient estimates and their standard errors in parentheses for the mediation model outlined in Subsection 3.2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level. *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level.

Appendix

Appendix Table 1. Items list literature review

Item	Source	Characteristic	Item Reduction Process
1	Madon (1997)	A lot of female friends	Step 1: Irrelevant
2	Stangor, Silluvan, & Ford (1991)	Abnormal	Step 1: Irrelevant
3	Levitt & Klassen (1976)	Afraid of the opposite sex	Step 1: Irrelevant
4	Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert (2006)	Angry	Step 1: Irrelevant
5	Geiger et al. (2006)	Athletic	Step 1: Irrelevant
6	Geiger et al. (2006)	Confused	Step 1: Irrelevant
7	Madon (1997)	Dainty	Step 1: Irrelevant
8	Geiger et al. (2006)	Defensive	Step 1: Irrelevant
9	Geiger et al. (2006)	Eccentric	Step 1: Irrelevant
10	Haddock, Zanna, & Esses (1993), Simmons (1965)	Effeminate	Step 1: Irrelevant
11	Ahmed et al. (2013)	Family-oriented	Step 1: Irrelevant
12	Madon (1997), Steffens, Niedlich, Beschorner, & Köhler (2019)	Fashionable	Step 1: Irrelevant
13	Stangor et al. (1991)	Fussy	Step 1: Irrelevant
14	Mishel (2020)	Gender nonconforming	Step 1: Irrelevant
15	Geiger et al. (2006)	Humourless	Step 1: Irrelevant
16	Geiger et al. (2006), Mishel (2020)	Immoral	Step 1: Irrelevant
17	Madon (1997)	Liberal	Step 1: Irrelevant
18	Blashill & Powlishta (2009), Geiger et al. (2006), Stern et al. (2013)	Masculine	Step 1: Irrelevant
19	Madon (1997)	Melodramatic	Step 1: Irrelevant
20	Geiger et al. (2006), Simmons (1965)	Mentally Ill	Step 1: Irrelevant
21	Madon (1997)	Sentimental	Step 1: Irrelevant
22	Gurwitz & Marcus (1978)	Theatrical	Step 1: Irrelevant
23	Madon (1997)	Touchy-feely	Step 1: Irrelevant
24	Everly et al. (2016), Mize & Manago (2018)	Competent	Step 1: Criterion
25	Steffens et al. (2019)	Effective performance of job-related tasks	Step 1: Criterion

26	Geiger et al. (2006)	Successful	Step 1: Criterion
27	Fric (2017)	Task-related competence	Step 1: Criterion
28	Gurwitz & Marcus (1978)	Passive	Step 2: Opposite of ‘assertive’
29	Geiger et al. (2006)	Nonconformist	Step 2: Deviant from factor structure
30	Page & Yee (1986)	Strong need for security	Step 3: Limited relevance
31	Madon (1997)	Gentle	Step 3: Limited relevance
32	Steffens et al. (2019)	Good taste	Step 3: Limited relevance
33	Everly et al. (2016), Madon (1997)	Open about their feelings	Step 3: Limited relevance
34	Jackson & Sullivan (1989), Madon (1997), Steffens et al. (2019)	Artistic	Step 3: Merged to Creativity
35	Geiger et al. (2006), Jackson & Sullivan (1989), Steffens et al. (2019)	Creative	Step 3: Merged to Creativity
36	Staats (1978)	Imaginative	Step 3: Merged to Creativity
37	Madon (1997)	Emotional	Step 3: Merged to Emotionally sensitive
38	Madon (1997), Staats (1978)	Sensitive	Step 3: Merged to Emotionally sensitive
39	Fric (2017)	Approachable	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
40	Jackson & Sullivan (1989), Madon (1997)	Compassionate	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
41	Everly et al. (2016), Madon (1997), Steffens et al. (2019)	Good listener	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
42	Jackson & Sullivan (1989)	Sensitive to the needs of others	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
43	Everly et al. (2016)	Tactful	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
44	Madon (1997)	Understanding	Step 3: Merged to Empathy
45	Madon (1997)	Affectionate	Step 3: Merged to Loving & soft
46	Stangor et al. (1991)	Loving	Step 3: Merged to Loving & soft
47	Madon (1997)	Soft-hearted	Step 3: Merged to Loving & soft
48	Madon (1997), Everly et al. (2016)	Warm-hearted	Step 3: Merged to Loving & soft
49	Madon (1997)	In touch with themselves	Step 3: Merged to Self-aware
50	Geiger et al. (2006)	Strong sense of self	Step 3: Merged to Self-aware
51	Steffens (2019)	Emotional intelligence	Step 4: Face validity
52	Madon (1997), Staats (1978)	Individualistic	Step 4: Face validity
53	Geiger et al. (2006)	Powerful	Step 4: Face validity
54	Geiger et al. (2006)	Proud	Step 4: Face validity
55	Everly et al. (2016)	Self-confident	Step 4: Face validity
56	Everly et al. (2016), Geiger et al. (2006)	Assertive	Final
57	Everly et al. (2016), Geiger et al. (2006)	Career-oriented	Final

58	Everly et al. (2016)	Competitive	Final
59	Geiger et al. (2006)	Dominating	Final
60	Pellegrini et al. (2020)	Effective leader	Final
61	Staats (1978)	Honest	Final
62	Everly et al. (2016)	Independent	Final
63	Staats (1978)	Intelligent	Final
64	Staats (1978)	Neat	Final
65	Geiger et al. (2006), Madon (1997)	Open-minded	Final
66	Geiger et al. (2006)	Outspoken	Final
67	Geiger et al. (2006)	Professional	Final
68	Fric (2017)	Social skills	Final
69	Madon (1997)	Talkative	Final
70	Steffens et al. (2019)	Team-oriented	Final
71	Input from labour market expert	Current health	Final

Notes. This should be read as: <Item> was based on the previous research of <Source> which indicated that homosexuals are perceived as <Characteristic>. The fourth column indicates whether the item was dropped, merged or added to the final list. Table 1 provides a summary of all retained items used for the main study.

Appendix Table 2. Statements employed for candidate profile evaluations

Evaluative dimension	Statement
A. HIRING INTENTION	
Interview probability	I will invite this candidate for a job interview.
Hiring probability	There is a high chance that I will eventually hire this candidate for this position.
B. CANDIDATE PERCEPTIONS OF COLLABORATION	
Attitude towards collaboration with employer	I think I, myself would enjoy collaborating with this applicant.
Attitude towards collaboration with other employees	I think other employees would enjoy collaborating with this applicant.
Attitude towards collaboration with clients	I think clients or third parties would enjoy collaborating with this applicant.
C. CANDIDATE PERCEPTIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS	
Perceived Social skills	I believe this applicant to possess advanced social skills.
Perceived Assertiveness	I believe this applicant to be assertive.
Perceived Outspokenness	I believe this applicant to be outspoken.
Perceived Dominance	I believe this applicant to be dominant at the workplace.
Perceived Independence	I believe this applicant to be independent.
Perceived Competitiveness	I believe this applicant to be competitive.
Perceived Leadership abilities	I believe this applicant to be an effective leader.
Perceived Team orientation	I believe this applicant to be team-oriented.
Perceived Empathy	I believe this applicant to show empathy in collaboration.
Perceived Softness of personality	I believe this applicant to have a loving & soft personality.
Perceived Emotional sensitivity	I believe this applicant to be emotionally sensitive.
Perceived Neatness	I believe this applicant to be neat.
Perceived Intelligence	I believe this applicant to be intelligent.
Perceived Open-mindedness	I believe this applicant to be open-minded.
Perceived Creativity	I believe this applicant to be creative.
Perceived Talkativeness	I believe this applicant to be talkative.
Perceived Honesty	I believe this applicant to be honest.
Perceived Professionalism	I believe that this applicant behaves in a professional manner.
Perceived Self-awareness	I believe this applicant to be self-aware.
Perceived Career orientation	I believe this applicant to be career-oriented.
Perceived Current health	I believe this applicant to be healthy.

Notes. Each item was rated on an 11-point response scale, ranging from 0 (Strongly disagree) to 10 (Strongly agree).

Appendix Table 3. Mediation analysis with interview probability as the outcome

	Mediators					
	Collaboration	**Social skills**	**Assertiveness**	**Outspokenness**	**Dominance**	**Independency**
A. CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS						
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual male)						
Heterosexual female	−0.143 (0.102)	0.195** (0.091)	0.001 (0.095)	0.082 (0.096)	−0.159* (0.096)	0.067 (0.090)
Homosexual male	−0.647*** (0.180)	0.265** (0.114)	0.136 (0.118)	0.430*** (0.115)	−0.189* (0.114)	0.154 (0.113)
Homosexual female	0.541*** (0.126)	0.282** (0.123)	0.415*** (0.126)	0.564*** (0.127)	0.167 (0.121)	0.402*** (0.120)
Age (c.)	−0.017** (0.007)	0.005 (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)	−0.001 (0.006)	−0.001 (0.006)	0.003 (0.005)
Experience (ref. = none)						
Two years	0.697*** (0.132)	0.790*** (0.086)	0.589*** (0.087)	0.469*** (0.085)	0.540*** (0.091)	0.614*** (0.082)
Five years	1.053*** (0.138)	0.879*** (0.094)	0.917*** (0.090)	0.639*** (0.089)	0.882*** (0.089)	0.949*** (0.091)
Foreign language knowledge (ref. = none)						
French	0.514*** (0.136)	0.014 (0.085)	−0.007 (0.079)	−0.012 (0.084)	−0.026 (0.081)	0.013 (0.081)
Spanish	0.819*** (0.128)	0.262*** (0.082)	0.120 (0.083)	0.096 (0.081)	0.108 (0.084)	0.090 (0.083)
Professional achievements (ref. = none)						
Diversity ambassador	0.732*** (0.130)	0.787*** (0.085)	0.489*** (0.085)	0.615*** (0.085)	0.526*** (0.082)	0.360*** (0.077)
Employee of the month	0.874*** (0.096)	0.445*** (0.081)	0.309*** (0.084)	0.164* (0.089)	0.379*** (0.090)	0.323*** (0.079)
Hobbies (ref. = none mentioned)						
Wrestling	−0.321 (0.200)	0.111 (0.137)	0.878*** (0.128)	0.497*** (0.130)	0.922*** (0.130)	0.694*** (0.135)
Gymnastics	−0.208 (0.177)	0.325** (0.131)	0.229* (0.128)	0.224* (0.129)	0.384*** (0.138)	0.360*** (0.134)
Tennis	0.435*** (0.152)	0.088 (0.135)	0.058 (0.135)	0.004 (0.126)	0.099 (0.130)	0.128 (0.131)
Volunteers to distribute food for local community	0.693*** (0.138)	0.615*** (0.133)	0.170 (0.130)	0.142 (0.135)	0.107 (0.131)	0.487*** (0.127)
Volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	−0.127 (0.158)	0.583*** (0.132)	0.383*** (0.129)	0.753*** (0.143)	0.247* (0.130)	0.525*** (0.134)
B. VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender-type (ref. = neutral job)						
Male-dominated job	0.267 (0.179)	−0.091 (0.152)	0.011 (0.141)	0.107 (0.149)	−0.079 (0.138)	0.016 (0.157)
Female-dominated job	−0.118 (0.186)	−0.070 (0.149)	−0.030 (0.146)	0.006 (0.152)	−0.059 (0.138)	0.025 (0.159)
Customer contact: high	0.152 (0.148)	0.114 (0.124)	0.089 (0.120)	0.080 (0.123)	−0.013 (0.115)	0.091 (0.130)
Diversity statement: included	0.091 (0.148)	0.111 (0.123)	0.193 (0.120)	0.056 (0.123)	0.170 (0.114)	0.072 (0.131)

C. PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender (ref. = male)						
Female	−0.234 (0.151)	−0.268** (0.130)	−0.059 (0.127)	−0.084 (0.129)	−0.218* (0.119)	−0.090 (0.141)
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual)						
Not heterosexual	0.014 (0.238)	−0.317* (0.177)	−0.084 (0.188)	0.051 (0.202)	0.021 (0.184)	−0.232 (0.222)
Age (c.)	0.006 (0.006)	0.010* (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)	0.009 (0.006)
Educational degree (ref. = lower than tertiary)						
Tertiary education	−0.160 (0.179)	−0.568*** (0.151)	−0.459*** (0.148)	−0.507*** (0.151)	−0.427*** (0.137)	−0.469*** (0.158)
Nationality (ref. = USA)						
UK	0.063 (0.148)	−0.154 (0.130)	−0.081 (0.127)	−0.425*** (0.129)	0.006 (0.121)	−0.226 (0.136)
Hiring experience (ref. = less than five years)						
More than five years	−0.131 (0.166)	−0.059 (0.140)	−0.103 (0.134)	−0.115 (0.135)	−0.167 (0.127)	0.097 (0.142)
Contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.096 (0.088)	0.136* (0.073)	0.069 (0.076)	0.112 (0.076)	0.071 (0.070)	0.048 (0.077)
Homonegativity (s.)	−0.433*** (0.089)	−0.288*** (0.080)	−0.075 (0.077)	0.095 (0.075)	−0.009 (0.073)	−0.153* (0.083)
Risk aversion (s.)	0.038 (0.084)	0.017 (0.067)	0.035 (0.068)	0.060 (0.068)	−0.006 (0.064)	0.032 (0.069)
N	1,616					

Notes. Abbreviations used: s. (scale consisting of multiple items), ref. (reference category), req. (required) and tert. edu. (tertiary education). The presented statistics are coefficient estimates and their standard errors in parentheses for the mediation model outlined in Subsection 3.2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level. *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level.

Appendix Table 3. Mediation analysis with interview probability as the outcome (continued)

	Mediators					
	Competitiveness	**Leadership**	**Team orientation**	**Empathy**	**Softness of personality**	**Emotional sensitivity**
A. CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS						
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual male)						
Heterosexual female	−0.044 (0.103)	0.063 (0.098)	0.270*** (0.092)	0.330*** (0.094)	0.420*** (0.098)	0.465*** (0.107)
Homosexual male	0.017 (0.121)	0.031 (0.121)	0.241** (0.119)	0.299*** (0.114)	0.450*** (0.116)	0.681*** (0.128)
Homosexual female	0.080 (0.134)	0.197 (0.119)	0.095 (0.118)	0.281** (0.127)	0.176 (0.123)	0.589*** (0.133)
Age (c.)	−0.002 (0.006)	0.009 (0.006)	−0.002 (0.005)	−0.005 (0.006)	−0.008 (0.006)	−0.004 (0.006)
Experience (ref. = none)						
Two years	0.630*** (0.094)	0.797*** (0.089)	0.620*** (0.089)	0.610*** (0.094)	0.471*** (0.094)	0.479*** (0.094)
Five years	0.825*** (0.097)	1.157*** (0.093)	0.749*** (0.089)	0.600*** (0.091)	0.371*** (0.096)	0.454*** (0.099)
Foreign language knowledge (ref. = none)						
French	0.069 (0.091)	−0.069 (0.086)	−0.037 (0.086)	0.017 (0.077)	0.080 (0.086)	0.157* (0.093)
Spanish	0.188** (0.090)	0.091 (0.084)	0.186** (0.086)	0.215** (0.086)	0.199** (0.088)	0.239** (0.093)
Professional achievements (ref. = none)						
Diversity ambassador	0.341*** (0.087)	0.768*** (0.081)	0.555*** (0.088)	0.602*** (0.084)	0.252*** (0.083)	0.539*** (0.088)
Employee of the month	0.484*** (0.093)	0.485*** (0.086)	0.493*** (0.078)	0.254*** (0.081)	0.168** (0.079)	0.253***(0.084)
Hobbies (ref. = none mentioned)						
Wrestling	1.533*** (0.145)	0.489*** (0.133)	0.122 (0.130)	0.022 (0.134)	−0.040 (0.130)	−0.233 (0.149)
Gymnastics	0.895*** (0.146)	0.458*** (0.134)	0.364*** (0.126)	0.199 (0.125)	0.137 (0.126)	0.036 (0.127)
Tennis	0.712*** (0.136)	0.305** (0.132)	0.159 (0.131)	0.152 (0.128)	0.355*** (0.129)	0.115 (0.135)
Volunteers to distribute food for local community	0.052 (0.142)	0.457*** (0.132)	0.584*** (0.128)	0.914*** (0.131)	0.953*** (0.135)	0.736*** (0.141)
Volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	0.246* (0.133)	0.525*** (0.126)	0.424*** (0.127)	0.690*** (0.129)	0.690*** (0.123)	0.777*** (0.140)
B. VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender-type (ref. = neutral job)						
Male-dominated job	−0.001 (0.151)	0.047 (0.143)	0.071 (0.148)	−0.079 (0.144)	0.157 (0.150)	−0.037 (0.144)
Female-dominated job	−0.051 (0.160)	−0.007 (0.152)	−0.049 (0.146)	0.032 (0.155)	0.238 (0.153)	0.171 (0.148)
Customer contact: high	−0.011 (0.127)	0.079 (0.122)	0.059 (0.117)	0.161 (0.124)	0.088 (0.122)	0.056 (0.122)
Diversity statement: included	0.164 (0.126)	0.158 (0.121)	0.120 (0.118)	0.062 (0.122)	0.150 (0.122)	0.053 (0.120)

C. PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender (ref. = male)						
Female	−0.199 (0.133)	−0.148 (0.128)	−0.072 (0.122)	−0.238* (0.128)	−0.407*** (0.133)	−0.292** (0.130)
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual)						
Not heterosexual	−0.219 (0.178)	−0.209 (0.190)	−0.283 (0.194)	−0.366* (0.188)	−0.569*** (0.194)	−0.309 (0.191)
Age (c.)	0.014** (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	0.010* (0.006)	0.014** (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	0.011* (0.006)
Educational degree (ref. = lower than tertiary)						
Tertiary education	−0.519*** (0.153)	−0.591*** (0.145)	−0.519*** (0.142)	−0.387** (0.150)	−0.569*** (0.148)	−0.421*** (0.149)
Nationality (ref. = USA)						
UK	−0.146 (0.134)	−0.275** (0.127)	−0.362*** (0.124)	−0.206 (0.127)	−0.031 (0.127)	−0.084 (0.125)
Hiring experience (ref. = less than five years)						
More than five years	0.035 (0.139)	−0.022 (0.132)	0.063 (0.131)	0.031 (0.138)	−0.052 (0.133)	−0.015 (0.134)
Contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.062 (0.077)	0.036 (0.076)	0.044 (0.072)	0.115 (0.072)	0.131* (0.076)	0.131* (0.072)
Homonegativity (s.)	−0.129 (0.084)	−0.374*** (0.074)	−0.331*** (0.074)	−0.285*** (0.075)	−0.234*** (0.079)	−0.108 (0.075)
Risk aversion (s.)	−0.024 (0.070)	0.047 (0.073)	0.020 (0.064)	0.053 (0.066)	0.038 (0.067)	−0.004 (0.071)
N	1,616					

Notes. Abbreviations used: s. (scale consisting of multiple items), ref. (reference category), req. (required) and tert. edu. (tertiary education). The presented statistics are coefficient estimates and their standard errors in parentheses for the mediation model outlined in Subsection 3.2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level. *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level.

Appendix Table 3. Mediation analysis with interview probability as the outcome (continued)

	Mediators					
	Neatness	**Intelligence**	**Open-mindedness**	**Creativity**	**Talkativeness**	**Honesty**
A. CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS						
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual male)						
Heterosexual female	0.151* (0.083)	0.127 (0.084)	0.218** (0.095)	0.239*** (0.093)	0.424*** (0.109)	0.244*** (0.081)
Homosexual male	0.433*** (0.108)	0.242** (0.110)	0.764*** (0.126)	0.447*** (0.109)	0.671*** (0.121)	0.276** (0.108)
Homosexual female	0.118 (0.120)	0.270** (0.128)	0.883*** (0.124)	0.413*** (0.114)	0.470*** (0.124)	0.397*** (0.122)
Age (c.)	0.002 (0.005)	0.009* (0.005)	−0.010 (0.006)	−0.008 (0.006)	−0.011* (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)
Experience (ref. = none)						
Two years	0.540*** (0.083)	0.804*** (0.081)	0.574*** (0.094)	0.626*** (0.086)	0.253*** (0.095)	0.465*** (0.081)
Five years	0.496*** (0.085)	1.002*** (0.088)	0.709*** (0.092)	0.692*** (0.090)	0.539*** (0.088)	0.635*** (0.084)
Foreign language knowledge (ref. = none)						
French	0.117 (0.074)	0.096 (0.077)	0.102 (0.088)	0.130 (0.085)	0.041 (0.086)	0.128* (0.073)
Spanish	0.089 (0.074)	0.159** (0.080)	0.238*** (0.089)	0.180** (0.081)	0.068 (0.089)	0.249*** (0.073)
Professional achievements (ref. = none)						
Diversity ambassador	0.256*** (0.075)	0.487*** (0.079)	0.714*** (0.094)	0.529*** (0.081)	0.759*** (0.093)	0.295*** (0.081)
Employee of the month	0.316*** (0.075)	0.381*** (0.071)	0.311*** (0.084)	0.345*** (0.080)	0.525*** (0.091)	0.244*** (0.072)
Hobbies (ref. = none mentioned)						
Wrestling	−0.067 (0.120)	0.102 (0.127)	0.059 (0.127)	0.118 (0.130)	0.410*** (0.138)	0.078 (0.114)
Gymnastics	0.152 (0.116)	0.241* (0.126)	0.035 (0.133)	0.272** (0.124)	0.310** (0.127)	−0.092 (0.124)
Tennis	0.021 (0.112)	0.138 (0.127)	−0.057 (0.137)	0.025 (0.125)	0.288** (0.127)	−0.128 (0.122)
Volunteers to distribute food for local community	0.236** (0.114)	0.338*** (0.119)	0.375*** (0.139)	0.360*** (0.127)	0.316** (0.149)	0.435*** (0.117)
Volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	0.215* (0.113)	0.217* (0.122)	0.829*** (0.140)	0.398*** (0.131)	0.706*** (0.135)	0.166 (0.120)
B. VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender-type (ref. = neutral job)						
Male-dominated job	0.034 (0.147)	−0.085 (0.154)	0.034 (0.155)	0.272* (0.141)	0.136 (0.145)	−0.029 (0.155)
Female-dominated job	0.088 (0.157)	−0.206 (0.152)	0.135 (0.160)	0.144 (0.152)	0.226 (0.157)	−0.073 (0.162)
Customer contact: high	0.148 (0.124)	0.058 (0.126)	0.215* (0.129)	0.020 (0.121)	0.131 (0.124)	0.071 (0.134)
Diversity statement: included	0.173 (0.124)	0.095 (0.126)	−0.008 (0.127)	0.081 (0.119)	0.057 (0.122)	0.068 (0.134)

C. PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS						
Gender (ref. = male)						
Female	−0.304** (0.131)	−0.220 (0.135)	−0.022 (0.133)	−0.274** (0.126)	−0.243* (0.127)	−0.285** (0.141)
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual)						
Not heterosexual	−0.499*** (0.192)	−0.264 (0.186)	−0.310 (0.200)	−0.380** (0.180)	−0.253 (0.200)	−0.389* (0.211)
Age (c.)	0.006 (0.006)	0.016*** (0.006)	0.015** (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)	0.011 (0.007)
Educational degree (ref. = lower than tertiary)						
Tertiary education	−0.507*** (0.154)	−0.530*** (0.146)	−0.395** (0.157)	−0.501*** (0.150)	−0.353** (0.151)	−0.463*** (0.164)
Nationality (ref. = USA)						
UK	−0.531*** (0.128)	−0.417*** (0.131)	−0.247* (0.130)	−0.320** (0.125)	−0.189 (0.128)	−0.208 (0.136)
Hiring experience (ref. = less than five years)						
More than five years	0.067 (0.137)	0.061 (0.140)	0.010 (0.141)	0.071 (0.134)	0.003 (0.137)	0.113 (0.146)
Contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.090 (0.075)	0.094 (0.076)	0.069 (0.076)	0.058 (0.074)	0.042 (0.079)	0.050 (0.078)
Homonegativity (s.)	−0.126* (0.075)	−0.297*** (0.081)	−0.229*** (0.082)	−0.217*** (0.070)	−0.027 (0.073)	−0.300*** (0.082)
Risk aversion (s.)	0.014 (0.068)	−0.034 (0.065)	0.018 (0.063)	−0.031 (0.068)	0.018 (0.069)	0.011 (0.068)
N	1,616					

Notes. Abbreviations used: s. (scale consisting of multiple items), ref. (reference category), req. (required) and tert. edu. (tertiary education). The presented statistics are coefficient estimates and their standard errors in parentheses for the mediation model outlined in Subsection 3.2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level. *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level.

Appendix Table 3. Mediation analysis with interview probability as the outcome (continued)

	Mediators				Interview probability
	Professionalism	**Self-awareness**	**Career orientation**	**Current health**	
A. CANDIDATE CHARACTERISTICS					
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual male)					
Heterosexual female	0.107 (0.085)	0.251*** (0.087)	0.068 (0.101)	0.111 (0.085)	0.215** (0.106)
Homosexual male	0.154 (0.113)	0.396*** (0.120)	0.152 (0.116)	0.003 (0.111)	0.424*** (0.142)
Homosexual female	0.158 (0.125)	0.637*** (0.123)	0.197 (0.126)	0.058 (0.131)	0.292** (0.141)
Age (c.)	0.003 (0.006)	−0.000 (0.005)	0.000 (0.006)	−0.002 (0.006)	0.001 (0.007)
Experience (ref. = none)					
Two years	0.759*** (0.089)	0.621*** (0.081)	1.173 (0.094)	0.416 (0.078)	2.210*** (0.138)
Five years	1.010*** (0.093)	0.719*** (0.094)	1.661 (0.112)	0.454 (0.084)	2.983*** (0.162)
Foreign language knowledge (ref. = none)					
French	−0.124 (0.080)	0.092 (0.078)	0.031 (0.093)	0.035 (0.086)	−0.010 (0.105)
Spanish	0.033 (0.082)	0.078 (0.083)	0.206 (0.097)	0.096 (0.081)	−0.144 (0.106)
Professional achievements (ref. = none)					
Diversity ambassador	0.578*** (0.085)	0.418*** (0.081)	0.675 (0.087)	0.141 (0.079)	0.238** (0.111)
Employee of the month	0.557*** (0.082)	0.271*** (0.080)	0.820 (0.089)	0.205 (0.080)	0.122 (0.102)
Hobbies (ref. = none mentioned)					
Wrestling	−0.005 (0.133)	0.146 (0.128)	0.633 (0.150)	0.964 (0.134)	0.403** (0.163)
Gymnastics	0.280** (0.129)	0.161 (0.126)	0.508 (0.144)	0.926 (0.136)	0.169 (0.180)
Tennis	0.008 (0.134)	−0.078 (0.130)	0.377 (0.149)	0.537 (0.131)	0.027 (0.165)
Volunteers to distribute food for local community	0.305** (0.122)	0.337** (0.132)	0.396 (0.146)	0.356 (0.123)	0.246 (0.153)
Volunteers at LGBTQ rights organisation	0.292** (0.127)	0.421* (0.133)	0.426 (0.142)	0.224 (0.120)	0.230 (0.163)
B. VACANCY CHARACTERISTICS					
Gender-type (ref. = neutral job)					
Male-dominated job	−0.087 (0.164)	0.073 (0.149)	−0.043 (0.153)	0.180 (0.155)	0.161 (0.144)
Female-dominated job	−0.121 (0.163)	0.053 (0.156)	−0.100 (0.155)	0.096 (0.161)	0.124 (0.149)
Customer contact: high	0.103 (0.133)	0.142 (0.129)	0.140 (0.125)	0.007 (0.132)	0.094 (0.122)
Diversity statement: included	0.110 (0.133)	0.114 (0.127)	0.159 (0.124)	0.057 (0.132)	0.009 (0.120)

C. PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS					
Gender (ref. = male)					
Female	−0.061 (0.142)	−0.188 (0.136)	−0.201 (0.132)	−0.127 (0.141)	0.107 (0.122)
Sexual orientation (ref. = heterosexual)					
Not heterosexual	−0.361* (0.198)	−0.260 (0.209)	−0.197 (0.189)	−0.575 (0.207)	−0.392** (0.197)
Age (c.)	0.013* (0.006)	0.020*** (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)	0.015 (0.006)	−0.005 (0.005)
Educational degree (ref. = lower than tertiary)					
Tertiary education	−0.437*** (0.158)	−0.536*** (0.159)	−0.473 (0.150)	−0.474 (0.163)	−0.033 (0.143)
Nationality (ref. = USA)					
UK	−0.343** (0.137)	−0.382*** (0.132)	−0.388 (0.129)	−0.233 (0.135)	0.103 (0.121)
Hiring experience (ref. = less than five years)					
More than five years	0.131 (0.147)	0.101 (0.138)	0.097 (0.136)	0.012 (0.141)	0.085 (0.124)
Contact with homosexuals (s.)	0.037 (0.079)	0.029 (0.078)	0.118 (0.078)	0.074 (0.079)	0.117* (0.064)
Homonegativity (s.)	−0.356*** (0.085)	−0.249*** (0.077)	−0.245 (0.081)	−0.190 (0.083)	−0.114* (0.067)
Risk aversion (s.)	0.071 (0.071)	0.088 (0.067)	−0.029 (0.071)	0.072 (0.070)	0.163** (0.069)
D. MEDIATIORS					
Collaboration					0.252*** (0.034)
Social skills					0.100** (0.047)
Assertiveness					0.019 (0.049)
Outspokenness					−0.096** (0.039)
Dominance					0.003 (0.042)
Independency					−0.041 (0.062)
Competitiveness					0.023 (0.042)
Leadership					0.204*** (0.059)
Team orientation					0.128*** (0.048)
Empathy					−0.009 (0.053)
Soft personality					0.028 (0.043)
Emotional sensitivity					−0.013 (0.040)
Neatness					−0.065 (0.047)
Intelligence					0.020 (0.059)
Open-mindedness					−0.046 (0.045)
Creativity					0.100* (0.056)

Talkativeness		−0.043 (0.035)
Honesty		−0.070 (0.054)
Professionalism		0.091* (0.053)
Self-awareness		−0.057 (0.051)
Career orientation		0.263*** (0.047)
Current health		0.019 (0.045)
N	1,616	

Notes. Abbreviations used: s. (scale consisting of multiple items), ref. (reference category), req. (required), c. (continuous) and tert. edu. (tertiary education). The presented statistics are coefficient estimates and their standard errors in parentheses for the mediation model outlined in Subsection 3.2. Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level. *** (**) ((*)) indicates significance at the 1% (5%) ((10%)) significance level.

Appendix Table 4. Moderation analyses between candidates' homosexual identities and participants' homonegative attitudes, with perception items as outcomes

Dependent variable	Homosexual male × Homonegativity (s.)		Homosexual female × Homonegativity (s.)	
	B	**p**	***β***	**p**
Perceived collaboration[a]	−0.157	0.462	−0.289	0.078
Perceived collaboration towards employers	−0.135	0.532	**−0.410**	**0.024**
Perceived collaboration towards coworkers	−0.160	0.460	−0.221	0.171
Perceived collaboration towards clients	−0.175	0.418	−0.235	0.166
Perceived social skills	**−0.368**	**0.005**	**−0.248**	**0.049**
Perceived assertiveness	**−0.274**	**0.049**	−0.264	0.077
Perceived outspokenness	−0.056	0.675	0.103	0.449
Perceived dominance	**−0.333**	**0.010**	−0.185	0.201
Perceived independence	−0.179	0.165	**−0.299**	**0.028**
Perceived competitiveness	**−0.367**	**0.002**	−0.273	0.066
Perceived leadership	**−0.462**	**0.001**	**−0.400**	**0.002**
Perceived team orientation	**−0.335**	**0.010**	**−0.324**	**0.011**
Perceived empathy	−0.167	0.162	−0.265	0.069
Perceived softness of personality	−0.042	0.747	−0.142	0.253
Perceived emotional sensitivity	0.077	0.624	−0.005	0.977
Perceived neatness	0.004	0.970	−0.177	0.196
Perceived intelligence	**−0.410**	**0.001**	**−0.483**	**0.001**
Perceived open-mindedness	0.050	0.730	0.108	0.448
Perceived creativity	**−0.276**	**0.043**	−0.020	0.863
Perceived talkativeness	−0.130	0.327	−0.026	0.833
Perceived honesty	**−0.458**	**0.001**	**−0.312**	**0.036**
Perceived professionalism	**−0.580**	**0.001**	**−0.416**	**0.005**
Perceived self-awareness	**−0.424**	**0.003**	−0.095	0.533
Perceived career orientation	**−0.300**	**0.016**	**−0.350**	**0.005**
Perceived current health	**−0.474**	**0.001**	**−0.371**	**0.010**

Notes. The abbreviation s. (scale consisting of multiple items) is used. Coefficient estimates of interaction terms related to p-values below 0.050 are in bold. [a] indicates outcome variables with scales comprising multiple items. The regression model's predictors are identical to those of Table 4's column (4). Standard errors are corrected for clustering of the observations at the participant level.