The effect of gender nonconformity of the applicant on CV ratings, mediated by

perceived warmth, competence and morality

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Abstract

Appearances are often found to be subject to discrimination in the hiring process. The present study investigates the effect of gender nonconform appearances on CV ratings. A job ad for a junior lawyer and four different CVs were created. Only the photo of the four CVs differed, depicting a female gender conform person, a female gender nonconform person, a male gender conform person and a male gender nonconform person. Participants were asked to imagine that they were a recruiter and had to judge the suitability of the applicant for the job ad. Participants ($n = 174$) rated the CV on a scale for perceived hireability, perceived qualification and salary conferral. To investigate mediating processes, additional scales for warmth, competence and morality were filled out ($n = 169$). Gender nonconformity of the male applicant as opposed to gender conformity negatively affected his assigned salary, but not his perceived hireability and perceived qualification. Gender nonconformity of the female applicant as opposed to gender conformity positively affected her rated hireability, but not her assigned salary and rated qualification. No mediation effects were found. Although not for all variables effects are found, this study does show that gender nonconform people might face some discrimination according to the salary differences obtained for men and the hireability differences obtaind for women. These are important findings, because discrimination could be one of the causes for the poorer psychological wellbeing of gender nonconform people and their lower average income. Further research is needed to investigate if the missing of expected effects is due to limitations of this study.

Keywords: Discrimination, gender nonconformity, CV ratings, hireability, qualification, salary, warmth, morality, competence

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In the hiring process, people's appearances are often found to lead to discrimination. Fuller (2011) found for example, that the attractiveness of applicant faces predicted perceived applicant favorability. Derous, Buijsdrogge and Hiemstra (2018) additionally found that applicants with a visible tattoo were less likely to be invited for a job interview when compared with applicants without a visible tattoo. Along these lines, the appearance of people who do not conform to a gender norm might also lead to discrimination. Violation of norms is found to cause anger (Ohbuchi, Tamura, Quigley, Tedeschi, Madi, Bond & Mummendey, 2004). A norm that is frequently active, is the gender norm (Barbéra, 2003). Discrimination of gender nonconform people possibly has serious consequences, since gender nonconform people report poorer psychological wellbeing than gender conform people (Rieger & Savin-Williams, 2012). Next to this, transgenders have a lower mean income (Kuyper, 2017), which could be caused by discrimination in the hiring process. In the current research the effects of gender nonconformity of applicants on CV ratings will be examined. To explore underlying processes, the link with the most important factors in impression formation will be looked into. These are perceived warmth, morality and competence.

Gender nonconformity refers to having a gender expression that does not match with the typically masculine or feminine appearance that society expects according to the assigned sex at birth (Rieger, Linsenmeier, Gygax & Bailey, 2008). Gender nonconformity thus refers to men who are relatively feminine compared to other men and to women who are relatively masculine compared to other women

(Rieger, Linsenmeier, Gygax & Bailey, 2008). Gender nonconformity could be derived from preferences for certain subjects, close relationships, feelings about one's own masculinity or femininity, and appearance (Zucker, Mitchell, Bradley, Tkachuk, Cantor & Allin, 2006). In this research we focus on gender nonconform appearances. Facial features are an important part of the appearance. A gender nonconform face for men could for example mean fuller and narrower lips, a less prominent jawline and a smaller jaw, chin, nose and forehead. For women this could mean less full and narrow lips, a more prominent jawline and a broader jaw, chin, nose and forehead (Marečková, Weinbrand, Chakravarty, Lawrence, Aleong, Leonard, & Pausova, 2011). Other factors that could determine the level of gender conformity are for example make-up, hair and eyebrow styling.

Gender nonconform people are found to be less liked than gender conform people (Simon, 1998). Lick and Johnson (2014) found that gender nonconform women were perceived as unattractive. Youth who were considered gender nonconform in childhood reported more victimization, which could consist of verbal, physical or sexual attacks (D'augelli, Grossman & Starks, 2006). Horn (2007) found that gender-atypical adolescents in terms of behaviour and appearance were rated as less socially acceptable. Baams, Beek, Hille, Zevenbergen and Bos (2013) found that they also experienced more rejection.

These negative attitudes have many possible reasons. Homophobia and transphobia are found to be related to feelings of discomfort (Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell & Nagoshi, 2016). Discomfort with the violation of the gender norms could thus probably be a important explanation for negative evaluations of gender nonconformity as well. Another explanation could be the difficulties with categorizing someone. These aforementioned studies mostly measured gender

nonconformity in terms of behaviour or decoration, but physical characteristics probably play a role as well. When people see a face, an unconscious process immediately explores the identity of this face. To explore this, the appearance of the face is compared to norms. The perceived sex determines which norms are used to code this face (Rhodes, Jaquet, Jeffery, Evangelista, Keane & Calder, 2011). The average or prototype of the male or female category is retrieved and faces are coded according to these norms. The activation of these female or male prototypes could possibly make it harder to code a face that is low on prototypicality, like a gender nonconform face. Since gender is such a prominent aspect in life, coding problems with regard to gender could lead to negative feelings.

These negative evaluations of gender nonconformity might be an explanation for discrimination of LGBT individuals, since gender nonconformity has been associated with homosexuality. Bailey and Zucker (1995) revealed that in a large body of studies for both men and women gender nonconform behaviour in childhood was predictive of adult homosexual orientation. Next to behaviour, Lick and Johnson (2014) also found that participants expected women with a gender nonconform appearance to be lesbians. Homosexuality is actually a form of gender nonconformity, since homosexuals are deviant from the prominent sexual orientation norm for both genders but it is not necessarily associated to the other forms of gender nonconformity.

The negative evaluations of gender nonconform people could probably also influence their chances in selection procedures for jobs. In this research the effect of gender nonconformity of the applicant on their succes in applying for jobs will be examined. A lot of research already shows that a LGBT identity can have negative effects in the workplace. For example, women with information indicating LGBT

identity on their resume received 30 percent less callbacks than women without the

LGBT signal on their resume (Mishel, 2016). Bardales (2013) also found a lower

frequency of callbacks for transgender individuals than for cisgender individuals

(people with a gender identity aligned with their assigned sex at birth) after sending

resumes. Grant et al. (2011) found that 47% of the transgenders reported that they had

experienced an adverse job outcome like, being fired, not being hired or being denied

promotion. Van Borm and Baert (2018) found that the negative effects were espcially

influenced by the assumptions people make about what other people will think. In this

research, participants thought their co-workers would have a preference to work with

cisgender individuals instead of transgender individuals. Even though they thought

their co-workers would have this preference, in this study the participants did not

indicate such a preference themselves. In these previous studies the effect of a LGBT

identity was investigated but, to our knowledge, no research about gender

nonconformity of applicants has yet been carried out.

In other research in the applicant setting, perceived morality (Cunningham,

Sartore & McCullough, 2010), and perceived warmth and competence are explored as

influencing factors (Agerström, Björklund, Carlsson & Rooth, 2012). These three

dimensions are found to be important when forming impressions. This idea that some

personality traits are more relevant than others in impression formation was originally

formulated by Peeters (1983, 1992). Two dimensions are related to the perceived

intentions someone has and the other dimension is related to the perceived ability

someone has to act on these intentions. Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2006) propose the

warmth and competence dimensions. The warmth dimension, related to intent,

includes for example friendliness and helpfulness. The competence dimension, related

to ability, includes characteristics as intelligent and ingenious (Fiske, Cuddy & Glick,

2006). Wojciszke (1994) proposes another dimension for the perceived intent. He calls this dimension morality which includes traits as fair and sincere. Since these dimensions are found to be universal in impression formation, in this research the influence of evaluations for these dimensions will be explored in the decision to hire an applicant as well.

Ethoff, Stock, Haley, Vickery and House (2011) found that women were rated as warmer when they wore make-up. Wearing make up could be seen as a normative behaviour for women, in this way presenting more gender conformity. According to this, at least for women, gender nonconformity will be expected to have a negative effect on warmth and lower evaluations of warmth will lead to less positive CV ratings.

Morality was found to be the most important dimension for ingroup evaluations (Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007). In this research of Leach, Ellemers and Barreto (2007) warmth, morality and competence were experimentally manipulated. Only morality of the ingroup was found to be a predictor of positive evaluations. Since hiring someone will make him or her become a member of your ingroup, evaluations of morality will likely influence a hiring decision. Next to this, gender nonconform people violate societal norms covering gender identity and gender roles (Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell & Nagoshi, 2016) and violating norms could lead to evaluating someone as less moral (Fiske, Cuddy & Glick, 2001). Cunningham, Sartore and McCullough (2010) also found that morality was positively associated with hiring decisions. For these reasons, gender nonconformity will be expected to have a negative effect on morality and this will lead to less positive CV ratings.

Relating to competence, Van Borm and Baert (2018) found that transgender applicants were rated as more autonomous and assertive than cisgender applicants. Assertive and autonomous behaviour can lead to power and respect of others and can show confidence, three factors that are part of the competence dimension (Fiske, Cuddy & Glick, 2008). Assertiveness is also a quality that helps you achieve your objectives (Peneva & Mavrodiev, 2013), which relates to the capability to carry out intentions. According to this, gender nonconformity will be expected to have a positive effect on perceived competence of the applicant and this will reduce the negative effect of gender nonconformity on CV ratings.

Leach and Ellemers (2007) found morality to be more important in judgements of people than warmth and competence. Since warmth and morality are both expected to have negative effects on CV ratings and morality is found to be the most important dimension, the negative effects of warmth and morality are expected to override the positive effect of competence. Gender nonconformity is thus expected to be a negative predictor of CV ratings.

Present research

In the present research the effect of gender nonconformity of the applicant on CV ratings will be examined. To research this, the effect of gender nonconformity will be examined for rated hireability, qualification and salary offers. Warmth, morality and competence will be explored as mediators. It will be expected that gender nonconform people as opposed to gender conform people are rated more negatively in terms of hireability, qualification and salary conferral (Hypothesis 1). Perceived warmth and morality will be expected to be significant negative mediators of the relationship between gender nonconformity and rated hireability, qualification and salary conferral (Hypothesis 2). Perceived competence is expected to be a

significant positive mediator of the relationship between gender nonconformity and rated hireability, qualification and salary offers (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participants

With the use of G*Power, a power analysis was conducted to determine the minimum number of participants needed for an acceptable power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner & Lang, 2009). To determine the sample size needed, the total model was specified, with the inlcusion of covariates. A MANCOVA analysis was used, but because in G*Power no option for this kind of analysis is given, the ANCOVA analysis was used and a Bonferroni correction was applied to make the calculation applicable for a MANOVA. The number of used groups was four. There were three covariates. We used a power of .8 and a α value of .017 (adjusted criterion alpha after bonferroni correction). To predict the effect size we looked at similar previous research. Although no research has been carried out to measure the effect of gender nonconformity on CV ratings, research about CV ratings of transgender applicants could be seen as similar. The results of these studies were inconsistent, some found an effect of gender nonconformity on hiring chance (Mishel, 2016; Bardales, 2013) but others did not find an effect (Van Borm & Baert, 2018). Effects that were found were all a little above what are considered small effect sizes. Because of these incongruent results we decided to use a small to moderate effect size ($f = .13$) to conduct the power analysis. We found that, to have an acceptable power for the most complex analysis to be conducted, the research sample should consist of 620 participants. The needed sample size was also calcultated for Hypothesis 1. For testing Hypothesis 1 a MANOVA analysis will be used, with three outcome variables. Again a power of .8

and effect size of $f = .13$ were used. We found that, to have an acceptable power, the subsample for Hypothesis 1 has to consist of $n = 220$ participants.

Data was collected in May 2019, during the period of one month. A total of $N = 420$ people responded to the survey, but participants that completed enough questions to be included in the analyses were much less. The research sample for testing Hypothesis 1 was larger than for testing Hypothesis 2, due to missing values on later scales. The subsample for testing Hypothesis 1 consisted of $n = 174$ participants, the subsample for testing Hypothesis 2 and 3 consisted of $n = 169$ participants. These were 116 women with a mean age of $M = 35.78$ ($SD = 15.194$) and 56 men with a mean age of $M = 41.36$ ($SD = 16.036$). Ages ranged from 20 to 77 ($M = 37.59$, $SD = 15.647$). It was not possible to test if the samples for testing Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 and 3 differed on age and sex, since all participants that had missing values on the scales needed for testing Hypothesis 2 and 3, had missing values for age and sex as well. Three participants indicated identifying as trans male, three as genderfluid and two preferred to self-describe. All the other participants identified as cisgender. Most participants indicated being heterosexual ($n = 184$), but some were bisexual ($n = 16$), lesbian ($n = 6$), queer ($n = 3$), gay ($n = 2$), pansexual ($n = 1$) or asexual ($n = 1$). The majority of the participants went to university ($n = 112$), or a university of applied sciences ($n = 37$).

Design

This study used a 2 (sex: male vs. female) x 2 (gender conformity: conform vs. nonconform) between subjects design. The measures were cross-sectional.

Procedure

First permission by the ethical comittee of the faculty of the Utrecht University was obtained. Participants were recruited through social media, student e-

mail and personal connections. An online link was shared which gave acces to the questionnaire. Information about the subject of the study, the procedure, the number of questions and the rights of the participants was provided, then the informed consent was obtained. The participants were asked to imagine that they were a recruiter. They were randomly assigned to one of the four CV conditions. They were first presented with a vacancy and then were shown one of the CVs. After this, participants were asked to complete several questionnaires in relation to the shown applicant. Completion of the questionnaire took about twenty minutes.

To produce the vacancy, an example was obtained from indeed.nl, one of the largest job search engines in the Netherlands. A vacancy for a junior lawyer was used and translated to English. In the original vacancy they asked for fluency in Dutch, this was changed to English. The job of lawyer was chosen because this is a profession with an equal number of men and women in the Netherlands (CBS, 2018), so this way the job will hopefully be perceived as equally masculine and feminine. A question about the perceived masculinity and femininity of the job was added to check this. A repeated measures ANOVA showed that the job was perceived as slightly more masculine than feminine.

Four different CVs were used: one CV with a gender conform male, one CV with a gender nonconform male, one CV with a gender conform female and one CV with a gender nonconform female. Gender nonconformity was manipulated with different photos on the CVs. The CVs were identical except for the photos. The photos were derived from the research of Jones et al. (2018). They developed the photos by creating a male and female prototype with specialist software and transforming these to two versions, a masculine and a feminine version. Two questions were added about the perceived masculinity and feminity of the applicant,

to check the manipulation. Two one-way MANOVAs showed that the manipulation was succesful. We searched for and selected neutral names, to make sure that the names of the applicants will not influence their evaluations. An generally unkown adress was chosen, to prevent for influence of the familiarity of the adress.

Measures

To measure the chance of getting hired, three scales were used derivered from earlier CV research of Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham and Handelsman (2012). These were perceived hireability, perceived qualification and salary conferral. Answers were measured on a 7-point Likert scale, in which 1 represented "not at all" and 7 represented "very much". Both hireability and qualification were measured with three questions, salary conferral was measured with one question. To measure qualification the questions were: *"Did the applicant strike you as competent?", "How likely is it that the applicant has the necessary skills for the job?"* and *"How qualified do you think the applicant is?"*. The Cronbach's alpha of this scale was α =. 924. To measure hireability the questions were: *"How likely would you be to invite the applicant to interview for the job?", "How likely would you be to hire the applicant for the job?"* and *"How likely do you think it is that the applicant was actually hired for the job he/she applied for?"*. The Cronbach's for this scale was α =. 901. To measure salary conferral the participant had to choose a starting salary for the applicant from these options: €1700, €2000, €2300, €2600, €2900, €3200, €3500 and €3800.

To measure warmth, morality and competence three scales were constructed based on ratings of traits reported by Abele and Wojciszke (2007). This questionnaire consisted of 21 items, in which participants rated their agreement with the statements. Answers were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, in which 1 represented "strongly

disagree" and 7 represented "strongly agree". An example item for the warmth scale is: *"I would rate this applicant as friendly"*, an example for the morality scale: *"I would rate this applicant as trustworthy"* and an example for the competence scale: *"I would rate this applicant as intelligent"*. The Cronbach's alpha was calculated for every scale. This was $\alpha = .909$ for competence, $\alpha = .932$ for morality and $\alpha = .930$ for warmth. These Cronbach's alphas are seen as acceptable (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011).

Questions about the perceived attractiveness of the applicant were added to check for the possible influence of attractiveness. Some demographic background questions were added as well. Questions were asked about gender, age, sexual orientation, gender identity and education. These questions were asked at the end, to make sure that activation of concepts such as sexual orientation and gender identity did not influence the way participants rated the CVs.

Results

Statistical Analysis

The data is analysed using Statistical Program for Social Sciences 25 (SPSS). First, descriptive statistics were requested about the number of participants (men and women), average age, education, sexual orientation and gender identity. Next means were requested for the hireability, qualification, salary, warmth, morality and competence skills, divided by CV condition.

Because of expected other ways of thinking of LGBT individuals, LGBT participants were removed from the analysis. According to the social identity theory, LGBT participants might evaluate gender nonconform people more positively than non LGBT participants. This theory states that people discriminate to maintain a positive social identity with their group (Balliet, Wu & De Dreu, 2014). All analyses were also conducted with the LGBT participants included, to check the difference.

To test Hypotheses 1, a two-way MANOVA was carried out. Differences for gender nonconformity and CV sex in salary conferral, qualification and hireability were tested for. To test Hypothesis 2 and 3 a mediation analysis was carried out. For this, model 4 of the Hayes PROCESS tool was used, which represents a parallel multiple mediator model (Hayes, 2013). Warmth, morality and competence were added as mediator variables and salary, qualification and hireability were added as outcome variables. Last, one explorative analysis was carried out. A mediation model with masculinity and femininity as mediators was conducted.

Manipulation checks

Three manipulation checks were carried out. First of all, to check if the job of junior lawyer was perceived as gender neutral, a repeated measures ANOVA was carried out. A significant difference in perceived masuclinity and femininity of the job was found, $F(1, 210) = 5.391$, $p = .021$, Pillai's Trace $V = .025$, partial $\eta^2 = .025$. Participants perceived the job as more masculine ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 2.059$) than feminine ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.955$). This can be seen as a small effect size (Cohen, 1992). The manipulation of a gender neutral job was thus not completely succesful.

Next, two seperate one-way MANOVAs were carried out to test if the manipulation for gender nonconformity was succesful. The female gender conform and gender nonconform applicant had significant different scores on masculinity and feminity, $F(2,108) = 10.059$, $p = .000$, Pillai's Trace $V = .157$, partial $\eta^2 = .157$. The gender nonconform female was perceived as significantly less feminine ($M = 17.37$, $SD = 1.654$) than the female gender conform applicant ($M = 18.31$, $SD = 1.025$). The gender nonconform female was also perceived as significantly more masculine ($M = 16.75$, $SD = 1.806$) than the gender conform female ($M = 15.65$, $SD = 1.973$). The gender conform male and gender nonconform male applicant had significantly

different scores on masculinity and feminity, $F(2,101) = 16.968$, $p = .000$, Pillai's Trace V = .251, partial $\eta^2 = .251$. The gender nonconform male was perceived as significantly less masculine ($M = 17.17$, $SD = 1.539$) than the gender conform male ($M = 18.34$, $SD = 1.136$). The gender nonconform male was also perceived as significantly more feminine ($M = 16.11$, $SD = 1.910$) than the gender conform male ($M = 14.10$, $SD = 1.972$). These results shows that the manipulation of gender nonconformity with the gender nonconform photos was succesful.

To check for a possible other factor that might influence participants ratings, the difference in rated attractiveness was examined. Significant differences in perceived attractiveness were found, $F(3, 206) = 6.748$, $p = .000$. The male gender nonconform applicant ($M = 15.71$, $SD = 2.023$) was rated as significantly less attractive than the male gender conform applicant ($M = 16.88$, $SD = 1.859$). For the two female applicants, no significant difference in attractiveness was found ($p = .096$). According to the findings for the men, attractiveness could be an influencing factor in this model as well, so it was checked for by adding it as a covariate in the analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

In Table 1 the descriptive statistics of the outcome variables and the mediator variables are shown.

Gender Nonconformity and Hireability, Qualification and Salary

Before interepretating the results, the assumptions of a MANOVA were tested. Three outliers were detected with the use of the mahalanobis distance and deleted. The Shapiro-Wilk statistic was significant for salary ($p = .000$), qualification ($p = .000$) and hireability ($p = .000$), so the assumption of multivariate normality was

Table 1. *Means and standard deviations of the dependent variables as a function of CV condition.*

	Gender conform female		Gender nonconform female		Gender conform male		Gender nonconform male	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Qualification	5.164	1.167	5.257	1.165	5.283	.978	5.202	1.076
Hireability	4.825	1.185	5.019	1.256	5.271	1.053	4.974	1.158
Salary	2.825	1.225	2.882	1.344	3.034	1.129	2.560	1.040
Warmth	4.556	.9343	4.489	.858	4.634	.840	4.507	.932
Competence	4.891	.967	4.847	1.012	4.972	.841	4.839	.879
Morality	4.705	.967	4.688	.939	4.782	.840	4.640	.903

Note. All variables were measured on a 7-point Liker scale.

not met. A log transformation was carried out, to try to make the data normally distributed. The data still appeared not normal, so the original data was used. Levene's test was not significant for qualification, $F(3,172) = 1.107$, $p = .348$, for hireability, $F(3,172) = 1.424$, $p = .238$, and for salary, $F(3,172) = 1.795$, $p = .150$. Thus, the assumption of equality of error variances was met. The Box's test of equality of covariances was not significant, $p = .059$, which indicates that the assumption of covariance matrices was met. Since the assumption of normality was not met, the results should be interpreted with some caution and the Pillai's Trace was used instead of the Wilks Lambda.

A two-way MANCOVA showed no significant main effect of gender noncoformity on salary conferral, qualification and hireability, Pillai's Trace V = .008, $F(3, 167) = .465$, $p = .707$. For CV sex, no significant main effect was found either, Pillai's Trace V = .029, $F(3, 167) = 1.688$, $p = .172$. For the interaction of gender

Figure 1. *Interaction figure for CV gender nonconformity and CV sex for salary.*
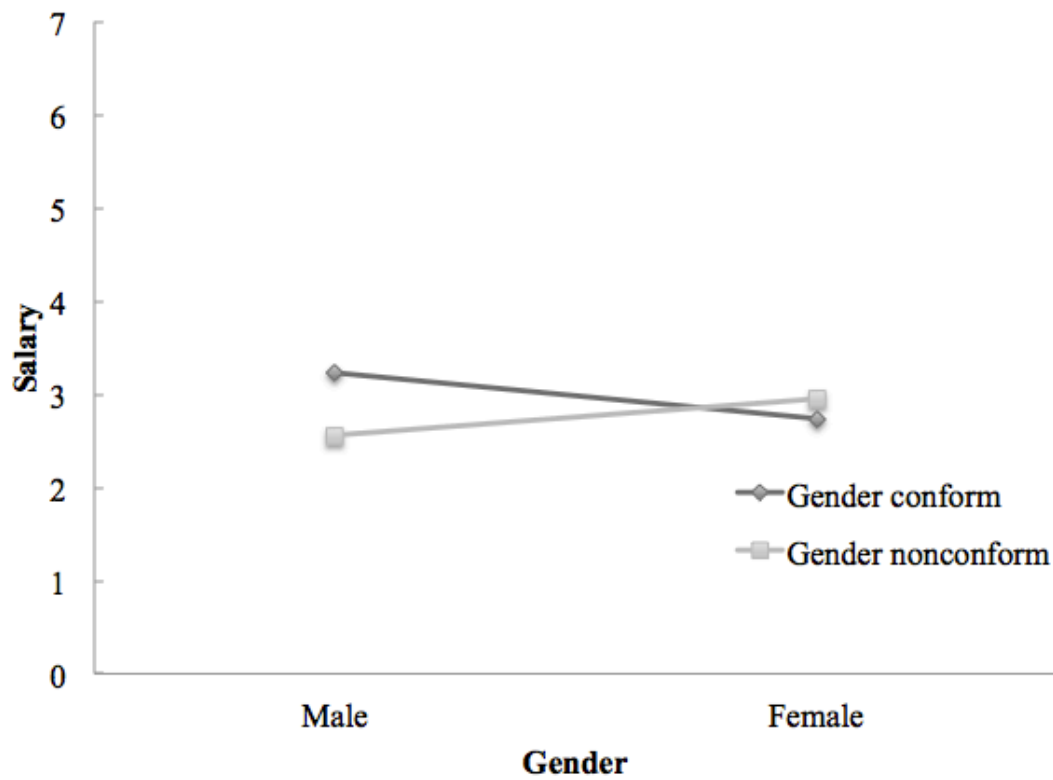
Figure 2. *Interaction figure for CV gender nonconformity and CV sex for hireability*
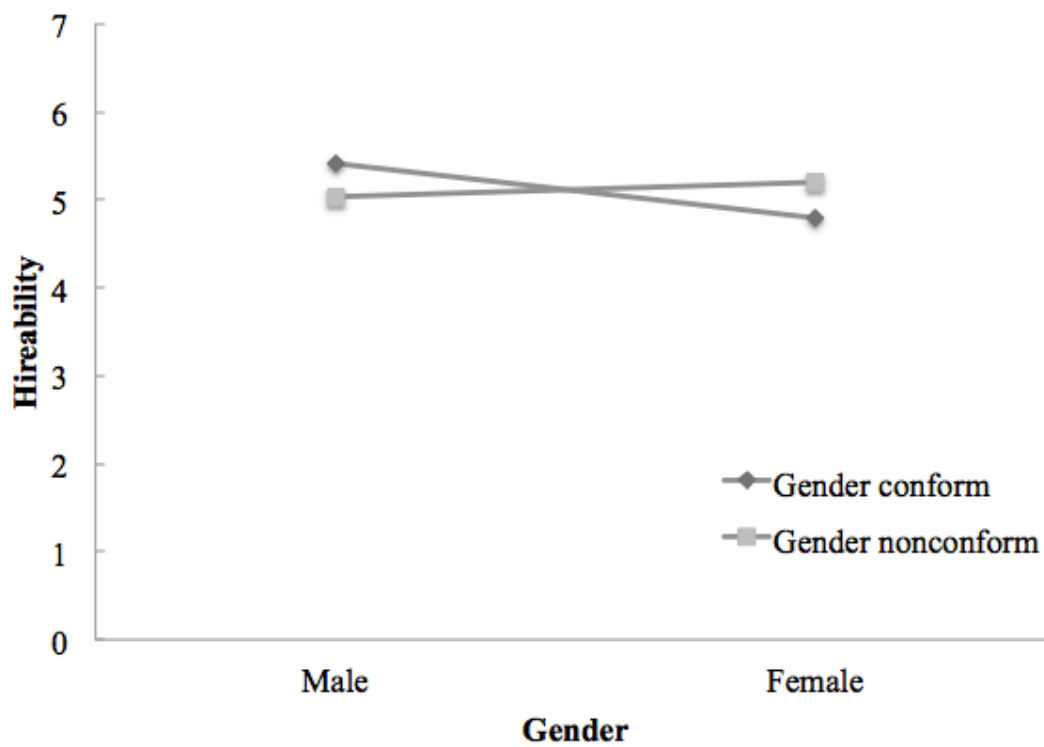
nonconformity and CV sex, a significant effect was found, Pillai's Trace $V = .065$,

$F(3, 167) = 3.897$, $p = .010$. In the test of between subjects effects, it showed that this

interaction was significant for salary, $F(1, 169) = 6.066$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .035$.

This interaction effect is shown in Figure 1. Participants assigned significantly lower

salaries to gender nonconform males ($M = 2.664$, $SD = .182$) than to gender conform

males ($M = 3.221$, $SD = .169$), F(1, 169) = 4.998, partial $\eta^2 = .029$, $p = .027$. 2,9% of

the variance in salary is explained by the interaction effect of gender nonconformity

and sex. This can be seen as a small effect size (Cohen, 1993). Participants also

assigned higher salaries to gender conform male applicants ($M = 3.221$, $SD = .169$)

than to gender conform female participants ($M = 2.661$, $SD = .170$), $F(1,169) = 5.478$,

partial $ = .031$, $p = .020$. Although the difference between the gender conform female

and gender nonconform female was not significant, it was interesting to see that this

difference was the other way around. Gender conform females were assigned lower

salaries ($M = 2.661$, $SD = .170$) than gender nonconform females ($M = 2.945$, $SD =$

.171).

The interaction was also significant for hireability, $F(1, 169) = 5.288$, $p =$

.023, partial $\eta^2 = .030$. This interaction effect is shown in Figure 2. 3% of variance is

explained by the interaction effect of gender nonconformity and sex. Participants

rated the female gender conform applicant lower in hireability ($M = 4.703$, $SD = .163$)

than the female gender nonconform applicant ($M = 5.200$, $SD = .165$), $F (1, 169) =$

4.619, $p = .033$, partial $\eta^2 = .027$. Participants also rated the male gender conform

applicants ($M = 5.396$, $SD = .163$) higher on hireability than the than the female

gender conform applicant ($M = 4.703$, $SD = .163$). The interaction of gender

nonconformity and CV sex did not have a significant effect on qualification ($p = .187$).

Hence, participants did not rate the gender nonconform and the gender conform applicant different on qualification. [1]

The Mediating Role of Warmth, Morality and Competence

Before interpretating the results of the mediation analysis, the assumptions of multiple regression were tested. Outliers were checked for with mahalanobis distance, cook's distance and leverage distance. Four participants were removed, because they were above the cut-off scores for at least two of the statistics. The correlation between warmth and morality was a little high r (173) = .857, but all the other correlations were smaller. According to this it is assumed that the assumption of no multicollineairity was met. Shapiro-Wilk statistics were all significant, so the assumption of normality was not met. According to the scatterplots, the assumption of homosedasticity was met for qualification and hireability, for salary it was not. The residuals were uncorrelated (Durbin-Watson = 1.942, Durbin-Watson = 2.002, Durbin-Watson = 1.768). The assumption of normality of residuals was met as well. Because of the problems with normality and homosedasticity, bootstrap confidence intervals were used instead of the normal theory tests.

Seperate mediation analyses were executed for the male nad the female CVs, with the Hayes PROCESS tool, for every outcome variable. The Hayes PROCESS tool does not allow for multiple outcome variables, but running these analyses seperately should give the same results as if all outcome variables were measured in one model. Attractiveness was added as covariate.[2] Effectsizes for all paths in the mediation models are shown in Figure 3 for the male applicants and in Figure 4 for the female applicant.

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[1] When the MANCOVA was carried out with LGBT participants included, no interaction effect was found for hireability, F(1, 205) = 2.757, p = .098, partial η^2 = .013.

Figure 3. *Path diagram for the male applicant showing direct effects and causal paths linking CV and CV ratings.*
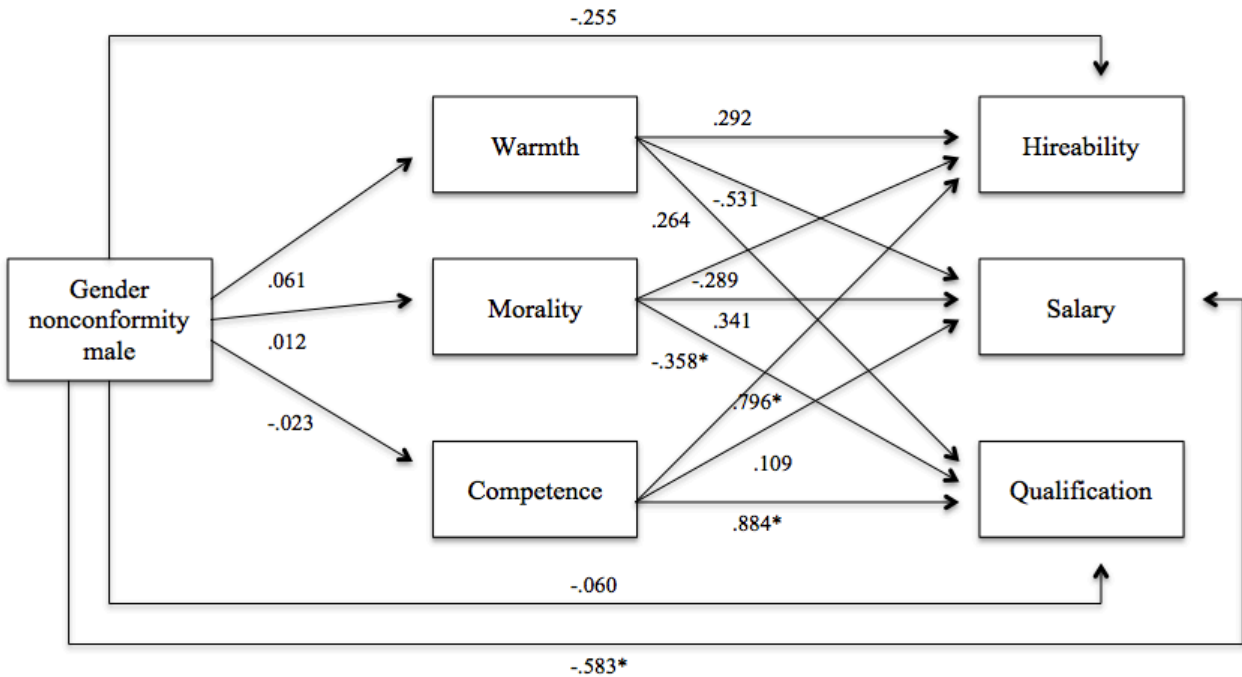
Note. Regression coefficients are shown, * indicates p < .05.

Mediation for salary. Gender nonconformity of a male applicant had a significant direct negative effect on salary, b = -.583, SE = .244, t = -2,391, 95% CI =-.1.068, -.098. Gender nonconform males were assigned lower salaries than gender conform males.Warmth was not a significant mediator, b = -.032, SE = .117, 95% CI = -.309, .189. Morality was not a significant mediator, b = .004, SE = .084, 95% CI = -.159, .205. Competence was not a significant mediator b = -.003, SE = .048, 95% CI = -.121, .095.

Gender nonconformity of a female applicant had no significant direct effect on salary, b = .204, SE = .251, t = .812, 95% CI = -.296, .705. Warmth was not a significant mediator, b = -.011, SE = .060, 95% CI = -.161, .095. Morality was not a significant mediator, b =.005, SE = .057, 95% CI = -.112, .140. Competence was not a significant mediator, b = .084, SE = .112, 95% CI = -.116, .321.

Figure 4. *Path diagram for the female applicant showing direct effects and causal paths linking CV and CV ratings*
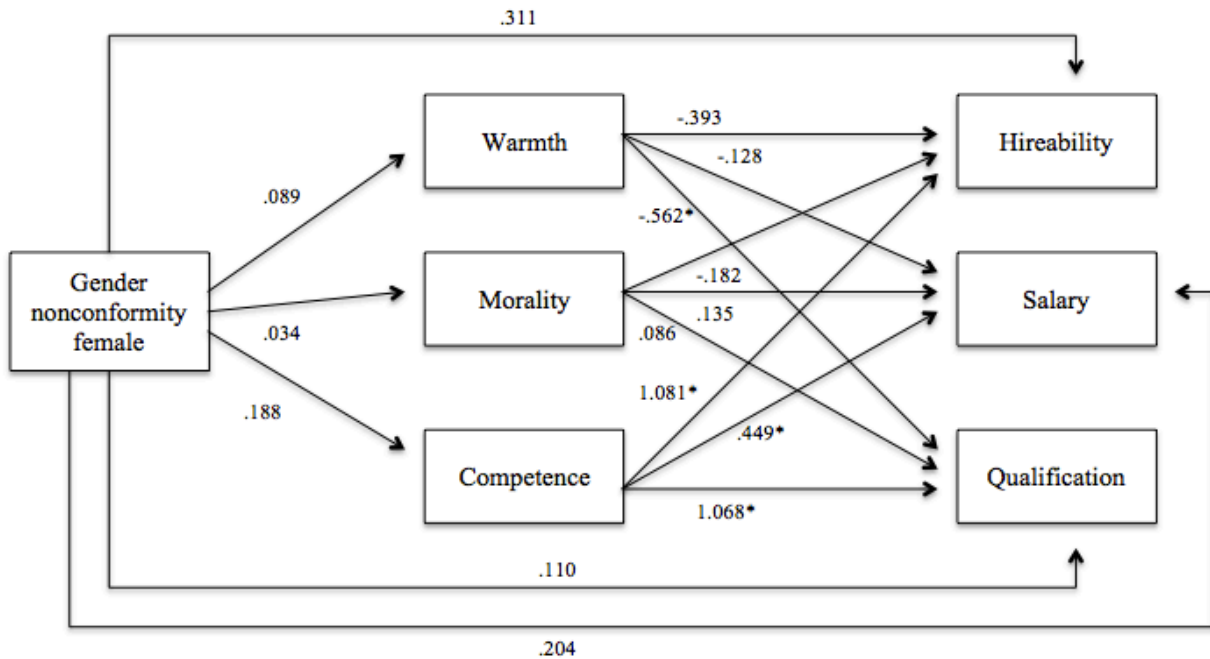
Note. Regression coefficients are shown, * indicates p < .05.

Mediation for qualification. Gender nonconformity of a male applicant had no significant direct effect on qualification, $b = -.002$, $SE = .118$, t = -.236, 95% CI = -.236, .232. Warmth was not a significant mediator, $b = .016$, $SE = .061$, 95% CI = -.090, .170. Morality was not a significant mediator, $b = -.004$, $SE = .079$, 95% CI = -.187, .150. Competence was not a significant mediator, $b = -.020$, $SE = .172$, 95% CI = -.378, .307.

Gender nonconformity of a female applicant had no significant direct effect on qualification, $b = .110$, t = .607, $SE = .182$, 95% CI = -.251, .472. Warmth was not a significant mediator, $b = -.050$, $SE = .114$, 95% CI = -.323, .140. Morality was not a significant mediator, $b = .003$, $SE = .048$, 95% CI = -.064, .134. Competence was not a significant mediator, $b = .201$, $SE = .255$, 95% CI = -.297, .703.

Mediation for hireability. Gender nonconformity of a male applicant had no significant direct effect on hireability, $b = -.245$, $SE = .163$, 95% CI = -.569, .080.

Warmth was not a significant mediator, b = .018, SE = .072, 95% CI = -.116, .196.

Morality was not a significant mediator, b = .004, SE = .081, 95% CI = -.174, .174.

Competence was not a significant mediator, b = -.018, SE = .154, 95% CI = -.337,

.273.

Gender nonconformity of a female applicant had no significant direct effect on

hireability, b = .311, SE = .204, 95% CI = -.095, .717. Warmth was not a significant

mediator, b = -.035, SE = .088, 95% CI = -.237, .138. Morality was not a significant

mediator, b = -.006, SE = .054, 95% CI = -.122, .113. Competence was not a

significant mediator, b = .204, SE = .259, 95% CI = -.284 .730.

Discussion

In the present research the effect of gender nonconformity on CV ratings was

investigated. By looking at perceived warmth, morality and competence insight was

gained about the underlying processes of this possible effect. This way it was

researched if gender nonconform applicants are discriminated in the hiring process.

Gender nonconformity and CV ratings

First, the effect of gender nonconformity and sex on rated hireability, rated

qualification and salary conferral was investigated. This showed that there were no

main effects of gender nonconformity and sex on rated hireability, rated qualification

and salary conferral. Gender conform and gender nonconform applicants did not

receive different ratings for hireability, qualification and salary conferral. Male and

female applicants did not receive different ratings for hireability, qualification and

salary conferral either. This is not in accordance with the expectations originating

from the research of Bardales (2013), which showed that transgenders were called

back less than cisgenders after sending their CVs. This could possibly be due to the

differences in manipulations. Bardales (2013) looked at the effect of being

transgender, and manipulated this with text on the CV, like working at a transgender support group and showing both the legal name and the preffered name of the applicant. This probably shows gender nonconformity more obviously than the differences in the photos used in this research.

When looked at the interaction effect of gender nonconformity and sex, effects were found for salary and hireability. As a result, Hypothesis 1 can partly be confirmed. Gender nonconform males were assigned lower salaries than gender conform males. This is in accordance with the expectations. For female applicants the difference was not significant, but it was still notable that gender nonconform females were assigned higher salaries than gender conform females, thus going against expectations. For hireability, the interaction effect was found to be caused by differences for gender nonconform females and gender conform females.

This could imply that masculinity leads to higher assigned salaries. Gender conform males did also receive significantly higher salaries than gender conform females, which supports this idea too. This could be due to the perceived masculinity of the job and the gender pay-gap. Participants perceived the job as more masculine, so gender conform or more masculine males should be a better fit with the job, even as gender nonconform or more masculine women. Noonan, Corcoran and Courant (2005) found that law school graduate males earned 11% more than women with the same characteristics in the same job setting. This could explain why gender conform males have the highest assigned salaries. As a result of these findings, an additional explorative analysis was to conducted to see if perceived masculinity and perceived femininity were mediators in the relation of gender nonconformity and CV ratings. No mediation effect was found for masculinity.

An explanation for only finding effects for salary for the male applicants, could be given by the precarious manhood theory (Vandello & Bosson, 2013). This theory states that manhood is hard won and easily lost, while womanhood is typically seen as more natural and permanent. According to this, the gender nonconform male could be seen as not manly, which leads to negative evaluations, while the gender nonconform female might still be seen as womanly. This way, the difference in assigned salary could be greater for the two male applicants.

An explanation for finding differences in hireability for female applicants, could be given by findings for the agency and communion traits. It is found for both men and women that presenting themselves as agentic leads to greater hiring chances for masculine jobs than presenting themselves as communal (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Agency is the core of stereotypic masculinity (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007) so gender nonconform or more masculine women could thus be rated as more agentic. This way, they could also been seen as more hireabile.

Warmth, Morality and Competence

First, the individual relations of all variables were researched. No relation between gender nonconformity and warmth, morality and competence was found. Gender nonconform applicants were not rated differently on warmth than gender conform applicants. This is not in accordance with the expectations originating from the research by Ethoff, Stock, Haley, Cikery and House (2011), who showed that women were rated as warmer if they wore make-up. This could maybe partly be due to the difference in targets used. Ethoff, Stock, Haley, Cikery and House (2011) only used female participants, while this research used both male and female applicants. Next to this, make-up is a form of decoration, which could have different results than the differences in facial structure used in this research.

Gender nonconform applicants were also not rated differently on morality than gender conform applicants. This is not in accordance with the expectations originating from the research by Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2001), who showed that people who violate norms could be seen as less moral. This could be due to the operationalisation of gender nonconformity, which might have been too subtle for people to see it as violating norms. Lastly, gender nonconform applicants were also not rated differently on competence. This was not in accordance with expectations originating from the research of Van Borm and Baert (2018). Who found effects for autonomy and assertiveness. Perhaps these qualities are slightly different than the competence dimension.

For competence a relationship was found with rated qualification and hireability. Applicants with higher competence ratings, also scored higher on qualification and hireability. For female applicants a relation of competence with salary was found as well. Female applicants with higher competence ratings, were assigned higher salaries. These found relations were conform expectations originating from the fact that warmth, morality and competence are seen as important dimensions in impression formation (Wojciszke, 1994; Fiske, Cuddy & Glick, 2006). For males a negative relation was also found between morality and qualification. Participants thus seemed to think that high competent, but low moral applicants were suitable for this job. This could be a consequences of the popular believe that lawyers are more interested in winning, than in seeing justice served (Hengstler, 1993).

For females a negative relation was found between warmth and qualification. Participants thus seemed to think that high competent, but low warm females were suitable for this job. It was expected that warmth and morality would be positively related to CV ratings, so this is not conform expectations. For warmth, this could be

explained by the backlash effect. Women who present themselves as competent, are found to be seen as less warm than men who present themselves as competent (Rudman & Glick, 1999). In this line, warmth could be seen as indicating less competence. For the rest of the paths, no relations were found. This could be due to the job type in this study. Lawyer is not a typical social job, so competence might be deemed more important. Next to this, the job was perceived as more masculine and females are seen as warmer.

Last the mediating role of warmth, morality and competence was checked for. As expected from the missing relations before, no mediation effects were found. As a result Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 have not been confirmed.

Strenghts and limitations present research

The present study had a few strenghts. First, it measured the effect of gender nonconformity in a setting in which it has not been explored before. Because of this it gives new insights about the effect gender nonconformity can have in job market discrimination. This research is not only scientifically relevant, it has social relevance as well. The negative influence of gender nonconformity on CV ratings, can have a lot of negative implications for gender nonconform people. By showing this effect, awareness could be created to try to reduce this discrimination.

In the development of the CV, a lot of possible biases were taken into account. A presumably gender neutral job was chosen, to prevent for influence of the job type. A gender neutral name was chosen, so that the male and female targets on the CVs could both have the same name. Next to this, an unkown address was chosen, to make sure familiarity of the address would not influence participants' impressions. Last, the CV was derived from an example CV on a university website for law students. This

way representing a pretty standard CV, so that no notable information would have an influence on the participants' impressions.

Next to strenghts, this research has some limitations as well. First of all, the job was not perceived as gender neutral. Participants rated the job as more masculine than feminine. This could have resulted in placing greater importance in masculine traits. Another limitation that could have had a lot of influence on the results is the used manipulation of gender nonconformity. Gender nonconformity was manipulated by the use of different photos. The difference between the male gender conform applicant and the male gender nonconform applicant was not very striking, even as the difference between the female gender conform applicant and the female gender nonconform applicant. It might have been too subtle to have an effect. In addition, the manipulation was mostly operationalised as differences in the face structure, while gender nonconformity in hair, make up or other styling aspects might have another effect. Some participants also commented that they had not payed a lot of attention to the photo, which could have lead to less effects from the differences in the photos.

Next to this, the power for testing Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3 was low. Beforehand an a priori power analysis was conducted, according to which 620 people should pariticipate to test Hypothesis 2 and Hypothesis 3. Eventually only 169 people participated and completed enough questions to be included in the analyses for all hypotheses. The difference between the a priori calculated sample size and the actual sample size shows that there is a great chance of a type II error.

The quite homogenoues participant group might have influenced the results as well. The participants were recruited in the researchers own environment, which might have led to a certain type of participants. This was confirmed in the demographics of the participants. The greatest part of the participants (85,99%) was

attending a university or a university of applied sciences or attended these in the past.

The male/female distribution was not very equal as well, 70,89 % of the participants

was female. This could have led to finding less differences between gender conform

and gender nonconform applicants, since higher levels of tolerance for LGBT

individuals are found for females and for students further along in their college career

(Holland, Matthews & Schott, 2013).

The last limitation is related to the statistical analysis. Some assumptions for

the used analyses were not met. Even though this was taken into account when

interpreting the results, this could be an explanatory factor in why some expected

results were not obtained. Not meeting all the assumptions, can result in less power,

thus more chance of a Type II error (Nimon, 2012).

Recommendations for Further Research

Since the present research relates to a new field of research, it is important that

further research will be carried out. More insight should be gained in the possible

influence of gender nonconformity in selection procedures. For further research there

are a few points of improvement concerning the limitations of the present research.

First of all, it is important that a larger and more diverse group of participants will be

used, to reduce the chance of a Type II error and to be able to generalize the results to

a greater population.

Relating to the research method, a gender neutral job should be chosen. This

should be checked for, before using it in the vacancy, so another job could be chosen

if it does not appear to be perceived as gender neutral. Another improvement could be

made in the manipulation of gender nonconformity. The research could be carried out

with more than one photo for each category, this way reducing the impact other

features of the photos might have. To make sure the manipulations are not too subtle,

differences in make-up or hair could be added. Gender nonconformity could also be emphasized more by adding information on the CV about jobs or hobbies that are gender nonconform, so that an effect can also been found if participants do not pay a lot of attention to the photo.

Conclusion

The present study shows that gender nonconformity of male applicants has a negative effect on their assigned salary but not on their rated hireability and rated qualification. For female applicants, it shows that gender nonconformity has a positive effect on their rated hireability, but not on their rated qualification and their assigned salary. This result is interesting because no difference between males and females was expected. Although not for all variables effects were found, it does show that gender nonconform males face some discrimination. This is an important finding because it could be one of the causes of poorer psychological wellbeing (Rieger & Savin-Williams, 2012) and the lower mean income (Kuyper, 2017) of gender nonconform people. For females, on the other hand, it could be interesting to emphasize gender nonconformity at least when applying for a relatively masculine job. We demonstrated the importance of looking at gender nonconformity as a factor for possible discrimination in hiring processes. However, further research is needed to better understand this process.

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Appendices

Appendice A

Cover story

In this questionnaire, you will be assuming the role of a job recruiter for the job of Junior JuristLawyer. Your task is to evaluate one of the applicants for the position. You will also be asked to fill out several questionnaires assessing your attitudes. First, please take a moment to carefully read the advertisement that your company put out to recruit applicants.

Job ad

Will you become our new junior lawyer?

The Harlem group is looking for new talent and is looking for you!

The position

When you are working at our ambitious office, you will work on preparatory and supportive tasks for our jurists and lawyers. In complex legal situations you will look for the best solution and present this to the lawyers. You will do these tasks within an established timeframe and at a high qualitative level! You will preserve this quality by continuing to develop yourself in terms of content knowledge and skills. We will help you in this by paying attention to your personal development and providing guidance. Our company is growing, and this is why we are looking for you!

What we ask

We ask that you have a flexible attitude, and ample availability. Next to an excellent command of the Dutch English language, you have excellent communication skills.

You have a wide interest in various areas of law. We ask for a completed university level education in law (Bachelor), with preference for employment law as the primary area of study.

What we offer

- With this position, you will have the opportunity to gain practical experience, during or after your Master education.

- A job for 32 hours a week.

- Competitive salary

Interested?

Did we make you enthusiastic? Send your CV and a motivation letter to

a.d.degroot@Harlemgroup.nl.

Below is the CV of one of the people who have applied for the job of Junior Jurist.

Take a moment to read the CV carefully, then answer the questions below it.

[Participants see one of the four CV's]

Appendice B

[Male gender conform applicant]

CV Robin Jansen

PERSONAL

Name: Robin Jansen
Born: 17-02-1995
Address: Cremerstraat 10, 3532 BW, Utrecht
Phone number: 06-22745384
E-mail: RobinJansen@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

2018 - today	**Master of Dutch Law, Faculty of Law** *Utrecht University, Utrecht*
2015 - 2018	**Bachelor of Law, Faculty of Law** *Utrecht University, Utrecht*
2009 - 2015	**VWO**, Vuurvogel, Arnhem Profile Economics & Society

WORK EXPERIENCE

2015 - today	Court clerk at the court of Gelderland, location Arnhem, Department Family and Youth law
2013 - 2015	Supermarket shelf filler, Albert Heijn, Arnhem

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

2015 - today	Secretary, Rechtswinkel Utrecht • Taking care of, among other things, setting the agenda, taking notes, and maintaining e-mail contact with employees and external parties. • Checking advice before it is sent to clients. • Holding consultation hours in which clients are provided with legal advice.

SKILLS

Languages	English (fluent), German (basic), French (basic)
Software	Microsoft Office

INTERESTS & ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Experience abroad	Volunteer work in Thailand (3 months in 2014)

[Male gender nonconform applicant]

CV Robin Jansen

PERSONAL

Name:	Robin Jansen
Born:	17-02-1995
Address:	Cremerstraat 10, 3532 BW, Utrecht
Phone number:	06-22745384
E-mail:	RobinJansen@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

2018 - today	**Master of Dutch Law, Faculty of Law**
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2015 - 2018	**Bachelor of Law, Faculty of Law**
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2009 - 2015	**VWO**, Vuurvogel, Arnhem
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WORK EXPERIENCE

2015 - today	Court clerk at the court of Gelderland, location Arnhem, Department Family and Youth law
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EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

2015 - today	Secretary, Rechtswinkel Utrecht
	• Taking care of, among other things, setting the agenda, taking notes, and maintaining e-mail contact with employees and external parties.
	• Checking advice before it is sent to clients.
	• Holding consultation hours in which clients are provided with legal advice.

SKILLS

Languages	English (fluent), German (basic), French (basic)
Software	Microsoft Office

INTERESTS & ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Experience abroad	Volunteer work in Thailand (3 months in 2014)

[Female gender conform applicant]

CV Robin Jansen

PERSONAL

Name: Robin Jansen
Born: 17-02-1995
Address: Cremerstraat 10, 3532 BW, Utrecht
Phone number: 06-22745384
E-mail: RobinJansen@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

2018 - today	**Master of Dutch Law, Faculty of Law**
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WORK EXPERIENCE

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2015 - today	Secretary, Rechtswinkel Utrecht
	• Taking care of, among other things, setting the agenda, taking notes, and maintaining e-mail contact with employees and external parties.
	• Checking advice before it is sent to clients.
	• Holding consultation hours in which clients are provided with legal advice.

SKILLS

| **Languages** | English (fluent), German (basic), French (basic) |
| **Software** | Microsoft Office |

INTERESTS & ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

| **Experience abroad** | Volunteer work in Thailand (3 months in 2014) |

[Female gender nonconform applicant]

CV Robin Jansen

PERSONAL

Name: Robin Jansen
Born: 17-02-1995
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EDUCATION

2018 - today	**Master of Dutch Law, Faculty of Law**	
	Utrecht University, Utrecht	
2015 - 2018	**Bachelor of Law, Faculty of Law**	
	Utrecht University, Utrecht	
2009 - 2015	**VWO**, Vuurvogel, Arnhem	
	Profile Economics & Society	

WORK EXPERIENCE

2015 - today	Court clerk at the court of Gelderland, location Arnhem, Department Family and Youth law
2013 - 2015	Supermarket shelf filler, Albert Heijn, Arnhem

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

2015 - today   Secretary, Rechtswinkel Utrecht
• Taking care of, among other things, setting the agenda, taking notes, and maintaining e-mail contact with employees and external parties.
• Checking advice before it is sent to clients.
• Holding consultation hours in which clients are provided with legal advice.

SKILLS

Languages	English (fluent), German (basic), French (basic)
Software	Microsoft Office

INTERESTS & ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Experience abroad   Volunteer work in Thailand (3 months in 2014)

Appendice C

Questionnaires

Hireability (adapted from Moss-Racusin et al., 2012)

Please rate your agreement with the statements on the following scale:
1 = not at all; 7= very much

Student qualification:
1. Did the applicant strike you as competent?
2. How likely is it that the applicant has the necessary skills for this job?
3. How qualified do you think the applicant is?

Student hireability:
1. How likely would you be to invite the applicant to interview for the job?
2. How likely would you be to hire the applicant for the job?
2. How likely do you think it is that the applicant was actually hired for the job they applied for?

Salary conferral:
If you had to choose one of the following starting salaries for the applicant, what would it be?

- €1700
- €2000
- €2300
- €2600
- €2900
- €3200
- €3500

[Based on: Moss-Racusin, C. A., Dovidio, J. F., Brescoll, V. L., Graham, M. J., & Handelsman, J. (2012). Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *109*(41), 16474-16479.]

Warmth, Morality and Competence (adapted from Abele & Wojciszke, 2007]

1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree

I would rate this applicant as…

1. warm
2. sincere
3. friendly
4. efficient
5. active
6. helpful
7. supportive

8. respectful
9. capable
10. energetic
11. moral
12. kind
13. sociable
14. competent
15. skilfull
16. honest
17. intelligent
18. likeable
19. fair
20. righteous
21. trustworthy

[Based on: Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*(5), 751-763.]

[MORALITY scale - averaged answers to: Sincere, Respectful, Moral, Honest, Fait, Righteous, Trustworthy
COMPETENCE scale - averaged answers to: Efficient, Active, Capable, Energetic, Competent, Skillful, Intelligent
SOCIABILITY (WARMTH) scale - averaged answers to: Warm, Friendly, Helpful Supportive, Kind, Sociable, Likeable]

Modern Sexism Scale (adapted from Swim et al., 1995)

1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree
* indicates reverse-scoring

Please rate your agreement with the following statements:

1. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the Netherlands. *
2. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.
3. It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television. *
4. On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally. *
5. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement. *
6. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in The Netherlands.
7. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.
8. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences. *

[Based on: Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S., & Hunter, B. A. (1995). Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *68*(2), 199-214.]

Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale (adapted from Oransky & Fisher, 2009)

1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree

Please rate your agreement with the following statements:

[Constant Effort]
1. A guy should always seem as manly as other guys that he knows.
2. A guy should never back down from a challenge in public.
3. Acting manly should be the most important goal for guys.
4. A guy must always appear confident even if he isn't.

[Emotional Restriction]
1. It is not important for guys to listen to each other's problems.
2. It is weird for a guy to talk about his feelings with other guys.
3. Guys should not talk about their worries with each other.
4. It is not a guy's job to comfort a friend who is upset.

[Heterosexism]
1. A guy who wears nail polish is hard to take seriously.
2. It is embarrassing to have a lot of gay friends.
3. Being thought of as gay makes a guy seem like less of a man.
4. It would be embarrassing for a guy to admit he is interested in being a hairdresser.
5. A good way to seem manly is to avoid acting gay.

[Social Teasing]
1. A guy should be able to take teasing from his friends.
2. There is nothing wrong with a guy who picks on his friends.
3. It is normal for guys to make fun of their friends.

[Based on: Oransky, M., & Fisher, C. (2009). The development and validation of the meanings of adolescent masculinity scale. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *10*(1), 57-72.]

Transphobia/Genderism scale (adapted from Hill & Willoughby, 2005)

1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree
* indicates reverse-scoring

Please rate your agreement with the following statements:

1. I have beat up men who act like sissies.
2. I have behaved violently toward a woman because she was too masculine.
3. If I found out that my best friend was changing their sex, I would freak out.
4. God made two sexes and two sexes only.

5. If a friend wanted to have his penis removed in order to become a woman, I would openly support him. *
6. I have teased a man because of his feminine appearance or behavior.
7. Men who cross-dress for sexual pleasure disgust me.
8. Children should be encouraged to explore their masculinity and femininity. *
9. If I saw a man on the street that I thought was really a woman I would ask him if he was a man or a woman.
10. Men who act like women should be ashamed of themselves.
11. Men who shave their legs are weird.
12. I cannot understand why a woman would act masculine.
13. I have teased a woman because of her masculine appearance or behavior.
14. Children should play with toys appropriate to their own sex.
15. Women who see themselves as men are abnormal.
16. I would avoid talking to a woman if I knew she had a surgically created penis and testicles.
17. A man who dresses as a woman is a pervert.
18. If I found out that my lover was the other sex, I would get violent.
19. Feminine boys should be cured of their problems.
20. I have behaved violently toward a man because he was too feminine.
21. Passive men are weak.
22. If a man wearing makeup and a dress, who also spoke in a high voice, approached my child, I would use physical force to stop him.
23. Individuals should be allowed to express their gender freely. *
24. Sex change operations are morally wrong.
25. Feminine men make me feel uncomfortable.
26. I would go to a bar that was frequented by females who used to be males. *
27. People are either men or women.
28. My friends and I have often joked about men who dress like women.
29. Masculine women make me feel uncomfortable.
30. It is morally wrong for a woman to present herself as a man in public.
31. It is alright to make fun of people who cross-dress.
32. If I encountered a male who wore high-heeled shoes, stockings, and makeup, I would consider beating him up.

[Based on: Hill, D. B., & Willoughby, B. L. B. (2005). The development and validation of the Genderism and Transphobia Scale. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, *53*(7–8), 531–544.]

Discomfort (adapted from Adams, Nagoshi, Filip-Crawford, Terrell, & Nagoshi, 2016)

1 = very comfortable disagree; 7 = very uncomfortable
* indicates reverse-scoring

Please indicate your discomfort for each of the following situations:

Discomfort with Violations of Gender Role Norms
You see a woman physically beat up a man.
You see a woman getting her head shaved at a barber shop.

You meet a man who is giggly and keeps touching you.
You meet a man wearing women's clothes.
You see a man getting a manicure at a beauty salon.
You meet a woman who is aggressive and keeps using foul language.
You meet a woman wearing men's clothes.
A masculine woman speaks in class.
A close woman friend hits you with her fist.
An effeminate man speaks in class.
A close man friend hugs you and starts crying.
You see a man crying as a woman yells at him.

Discomfort with Violations of Gender Identity Norms
In a public restroom you see someone who you first thought was the same sex as you
but you now suspect they are of the opposite sex.
You hear a man saying, "I am a woman."
A man you meet is taking female hormones to become more feminine.
You hear a woman saying, "I am a man."
You meet a woman who wants to be a man.
A woman you meet is taking male hormones to become more masculine.
You can't identify the sex of someone you meet.
You hear about a woman receiving surgery to become a man.
An open transsexual is coming to speak to your psychology class.
You see a couple kissing, but you can't identify the sex of either of the people.
In a public restroom you see someone whose sex you can't identify.
You meet a man who wants to be a woman.
You hear about a man receiving surgery to become a woman

[Based on: Adams, K. A., Nagoshi, C. T., Filip-Crawford, G., Terrell, H. K., &
Nagoshi, J. L. (2016). Components of gender-nonconformity prejudice. *International
Journal of Transgenderism*, *17*(3–4), 185–198.]

Participant demographics

1. What is your sex assigned at birth?
Male / Female / Intersex

1. What is your age? (In years)
………………………….

3. Which of the sexual orientations mentioned below applies to you the most?
  - Lesbian
  - Gay
  - Bisexual
  - Queer
  - Asexual
  - Pansexual
  - Heterosexual
  - Different identity, namely: ___

4. Which of the gender identities mentioned below applies to you the most? (Note: 'cis' refers to people who identify with the gender they were assigned at birth.)

- Cis male
- Trans male
- Cis female
- Trans female
- Non-binary (such as agender, genderqueer)
- Genderfluid (such as bigender)
- I prefer to self-describe:____

5. What is your highest completed education to date?

- VMBO
- HAVO
- VWO
- MBO
- HBO
- WO

Please rate this picture on a variety of dimensions: [insert the picture of the CV]

1 = not at all attractive; 7 = very attractive

1 = not at all feminine; 7 = very feminine

1 = not at all masculine; 7 = very masculine

To which extent do you think the job (junior lawyer) is:

1 = not at all masculine; 7 = very masculine
1 = not at all feminine; 7 = very feminine

If you have any further questions or remarks about the study, please write them down in the box below: