



Is hAIring right for your company?

Examining the relation between agentic and communal traits and hiring decisions during the recruitment process within the context of newly introduced AI selection software.

Amy Schrijvers (6105149)

Reviewer: Wieby Altink – van den Berg

Second Reviewer: Ruth van Veelen

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Master Social, Health and Organisational Psychology

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Abstract

Utilising AI in the recruitment process has been a new trend within the field of HR. AI software can reportedly reduce bias when hiring for a job opening, but new research suggests that this is not the case. Biases for agentic or communal traits are shown to have an effect on the outcome of hireability, which may influence hiring decisions. The current study aims to incorporate AI software output into organisational psychological research. This is achieved by emulating AI resumes as shown to recruiters. It was expected that overall, there would be a preference for agentic over communal applicants. In addition, other variables would be included as the gender of the candidate was likely to moderate this relationship, whereas perceived person-job fit by the recruiter was likely to partially mediate this relationship. In total, the scores of a group of 123 participants was analysed. In addition, the scores for a select group of 46 were also analysed separately, due to differences in the scores on the manipulation check. Results showed no effect of agentic or communal traits on hireability. Results also showed no interaction effect of the gender of the candidate on the relation between traits and hireability. A partial mediation effect of person-job fit on perceived traits and hireability was found. In terms of practical application, it is important for hiring managers to be aware of the possible bias that may persist, even when using 'bias reducing' AI software.

Introduction

Recognising and dealing with hiring biases have been increasingly included in recruitment strategies in recent years as diversity initiatives have become an important topic in HR-related fields of study (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). New ways to help recruiters achieve their perfect hire have also been introduced, such as the implementation of Artificial Intelligence in the hiring process, which is being used on both a small and large scale, to help with selecting the best candidates based on their traits (Heaslip, 2022). AI output, however, reduces the amount of information the recruiter receives by condensing it into flashy graphs. Companies claim this helps to reduce bias, but might limited information not force people to rely more on their frame of reference? Recruiters want to find the best person for their vacancy. Unfortunately, selecting the perfect applicant is hard. Therefore, the main research question of this study is to find out whether certain traits are of influence when looking at these recruitment decisions through AI output. While attempting to answer this question, this research paper makes use of several different studies and several different theoretical frameworks. The aim is not to combine them in an effortlessly flowing model, but to combine several different views on hireability. Therefore, the present study aims to find out whether the outcome of hireability changes when a new factor is introduced and apply this to this AI context. A general theoretical framework will be outlined, after which the theoretical background for the hypotheses will follow. First, the relationship between agentic and communal traits, and hireability will be measured as a direct relation. Second, gender will be added as a variable to see whether this strengthens or weakens the relationship between traits and hireability, to analyse gender differences. And third, perceived fit will be included as a variable to see whether this mediates the relationship between the traits and hireability, to add more nuance to the yes or no question that is hiring someone. This study will add to existing body of literature concerning the relationship between traits and hireability. The present research will expand this knowledge by combining this relationship with both gender and fit while viewing this relationship through the new lens of AI recruitment software output.

But first, in order to find the perfect applicant for a manager's position, a recruiter needs to assess the candidate. This assessment includes a personal impression, an assessment of skills, and whether they think the applicant is a good match with the company (Patterson & Lane, 2007). At the root of interpersonal interaction, it is important to recognise that whether people like each other largely depends on the perceptions an individual has of the other person (Bacev-Giles & Haji, 2017). Studies into interpersonal behaviour suggest that people usually value others based on the two broad concepts of agentic traits and communal traits (Roche et al.,

2013). Agentic traits refer to traits such as competency or assertiveness, whereas communal traits refer to traits like warmth and friendliness. This theory, also known as the stereotype content model (SCM) has been studied across many different cultures as well as different time periods, making this a very well-known theory (Fiske, 2018). Moreover, these traits tend to be inherently linked to gendered roles (Sczesny et al., 2018). Communal traits are often linked to femininity as these traits tend to be more expressive, caring, or emotional, which is in line with behaviour that is usually expected of women. On the contrary, agentic traits are often linked to masculinity as these traits tend to be more about action and decisiveness, which are in turn traits that men are usually expected to show (Abele, 2003). This is also known as the social role theory (Eagly & Wood, 2012), in which this theory posits that these gendered structures are an integral part of our society.

For general interpersonal first impressions, Wojciszke and Abele (2008) found that in distant others, like strangers, communal traits are preferred over agentic traits. This is because, according to social cognition theories, prehistoric peoples had to quickly decide whether another person was friendly or had harmful intentions (Fiske et al., 2007). Therefore, according to this theory, whether a stranger is friendly or not is a more important observation to make rather than how competent they are in carrying out their good or bad intentions (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008, p. 1140). Because of this need for quick decision-making for another's character, this may lead to biases and stereotypes. This theory is related to the theory of dual process thinking which explains that there are two systems that are used in order to reason. System one is automatic, quick, and relies on associative thinking. This system is believed to be linked to biases. On the contrary, system two is conscious and slower but can think in hypotheticals and construct arguments (Evans, 2003).

Though often used interchangeably, there is a fundamental difference between the concepts of 'biases' and 'stereotypes' (*Introduction to Sociology*, n.d.). Biases refer to the usually unconscious tendency to have a preference or aversion for something particular like a characteristic or demographic ("Bias, n., adj., and adv.," 2022), whereas stereotypes include an oversimplified idea of a person based on their characteristics ("Stereotype, n. and adj.," 2022). Simply put, bias is: 'I do not prefer this demographic.' Stereotypes ascribe a concrete behaviour to that demographic that is used as a 'reason' for their preference: 'they are always aggressive.' In the context of this study, the focus is specifically on unconscious preferences. While stereotypes are used in the theoretical framework as examples, the focus of the survey is on biases, as it does not matter what stereotype someone holds about a trait, the preference is what

is being measured when measuring hireability. In other words, while the vignettes use male and female candidates as examples, the goal is to look at which trait is preferred.

As for interpersonal first impressions in the context of recruitment, recruiters often also have biases based on their experience (Schmid Mast et al., 2011). In recent years, the strive to eliminate biases in the hiring process and reduce discrimination has become a hot topic in HR-related fields of study (Isaac et al., 2009). Techniques used include educating recruiters, accepting only anonymous applications, standardising interviews, and setting diversity goals (Knight, 2017). A new tool recruiters can use to supposedly reduce biases and hire diverse teams is the use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in the hiring process (Heaslip, 2022; Lewis, 2019). While this tool is very recent, the idea is not. The idea that computers are better at predicting outcomes based on statistics, rather than humans based on clinical knowledge has been around since the 1950s (Dawes et al., 1993). Nowadays, companies that provide AI software promise to reduce bias and help recruiters to select only the best people they have in mind for this job. The way this software can help ranges from sourcing to screening, and even interviewing. In practice, AI can help with selecting certain keywords out of resumes, searching for the most fitting candidates, as well as analysing faces and voices, to derive information from and assess their skills (Heaslip, 2022). Before this technology was widely used by companies, experts already warned that AI can still be limited in its performance. For example, if an AI learns from a biased recruiter or biased data, the AI will reinforce that bias as it has inadvertently been instructed to do (Lewis, 2019). In the present study, the focus is on the software that is used by recruiters while screening candidates before inviting them for an interview.

Now that this technology is actively being used by a substantial number of companies, a study from Eleanor Drage and Kerry Mackereth (2022) came out this year that debunked claims that companies made saying AI will ‘eliminate biases’ when recruiting for candidates. In an interview with the BBC about this study, Mackereth says that the characteristics recruiters are looking for in candidates are inherently linked to stereotypes and stereotypical behaviour (Vallance, 2022). AI cannot be trained to just look at the job characteristics and leave out other identifying information as AI will take into account all the information that it has been fed, including existing biases to make a ‘decision.’ Moreover, their study presents the idea that focusing on removing identifying attributes, such as gender and race, is often counterproductive as these attributes may also exist because of the candidate’s marginalised background. The software may therefore, unintentionally, still work based on biases that are invisibly encoded into existing power structures (Drage & Mackereth, 2022). But this does not

mean that the technology does not have potential. The level of success of an AI in recruitment is dependent on how well the AI is fairly trained, as well as the knowledge the recruiter has of the inner workings of the system (Lewis, 2019). Despite the known faults and warnings, demands for this software have not halted. Some estimates say that demand for AI will grow by 7% until 2025 (Heaslip, 2022; IndustryArc, 2020).

In sum, 'fair' AI promises to reduce bias because of the way it filters out 'irrelevant' information. So, when the assumption is made that the AI is indeed fair, the question then becomes whether recruiters that face hiring decisions are indeed less subject to bias because of the results that they see. Taking this together, this present study aims to examine the relation between a bias for certain characteristics (agentic and communal), and their interaction with gender and fit variables, and hiring intentions. It will also incorporate the recent developments of AI in the recruitment field by presenting the resume shown in the questionnaire as if it were output from recruitment software.

Taken together, the research question of this paper is:

To what extent do communal and agentic traits influence hiring decisions when looked through the lens of AI output?

Agentic and communal traits, and hiring intentions

As mentioned in the first paragraph of the introduction, this study will first investigate the relationship between hireability and agentic/ communal traits. When looking at the relation between hiring candidates and their traits, a study from Rudman and Glick (1999) shows that applicants showing communal traits received a less positive hiring rating compared to applicants that showed agentic traits, regardless of their gender. This effect is also shown in a study about age discrimination. In this study, the authors discuss that older people tend to be perceived as warmer, but less competent than younger people. Results showed that older applicants were denied positions even if that position required more communal skills, in favour of a younger person (Krings et al., 2011). Meaning, the results might suggest a preference for agentic traits over communal traits when considering a hire. In addition, a paper by Madera and colleagues also found that communal characteristics have a negative relationship with hiring decisions in academia, based on letters of recommendation (2009). The first hypothesis is as follows:

H1: Agentic traits are preferred over communal traits when considering hiring a person.

Traits, gender, and hiring intentions

So, when only considering traits and hireability, the conclusion seems quite equivocal for formulating the direction of the previous hypothesis. However, it is important to factor in gender differences, as gender has been of great influence on the perception of these traits (Sczesny et al., 2018). In terms of competence and warmth between genders, Phelan and colleagues (2008) found that agentic women applying for managerial positions are harsher critiqued for their lack of social skills, compared to agentic men. In other words, if a woman was very agentic, but not communal, she would be found to be less hireable than a man with the same traits. Specifically for women in managerial roles, this may result in negative effects such as being viewed less favourably compared to men, as well as having actions carried out in their role as leaders evaluated less than those of men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Halper and colleagues (2019) found that overall, men with caregiving jobs are rated lower on communal traits than women or people with a redacted gender, while their competence was rated the same, suggesting a penalty for men who express their interest in a job that is associated with communal traits. However, a meta-analysis by Koch and colleagues (2015) found that recruiters showed no strong preference for women over men when hiring for typically ‘female’ jobs. So, while men might be perceived as less communal, this sentiment may not carry over when considering hiring men for jobs related to communal traits. In this study, however, an ambiguous job description is used. This specific phenomenon will therefore likely not affect the results. Derived from this, it is hypothesised that there is a difference between men and women when they exhibit a certain characteristic more:

H2: Agentic women will be perceived as less hireable than men with the same traits.

While it is important to distinguish gender when considering traits and their relation to hireability, it may also be valuable to look within gender. As most research done about the difference between genders and traits is done between genders, not a lot of attention is on the difference within, especially within women. Fetscherin and colleagues (2020) found that for men, competence is more important than warmth when it comes to hireability. This finding is in line with interpersonal research. According to the role incongruity theory, when there is a mismatch between the ascribed role and the role a person themselves wants to fulfil, it is met with negative attitudes from others (Eagly, 2004; Hoyt, 2012). Since agentic traits are more linked with masculinity, valuing agentic traits over communal traits is in line with the social expectations for men (Abele, 2003). Although in this example masculinity and competence are linked as a stereotypical trait, it might lead to a more general preference for men in agentic

roles. Furthermore, research has shown that the role incongruity theory plays a part in why agentic women are seen as less hireable than agentic men even though they possess the same traits; because those women violate norms that are related to their gender (Carli & Eagly, 2001). When looking specifically at trait preferences in male hires, it is expected to be in line with the first hypothesis, in which agentic traits are preferred over communal traits. But, what about the relationship between traits and hireability among women? When shown traits that are not in line with their social role, will women be considered less hireable than women who do act in line with social expectations? A study from Rudman & Glick (1999) had this data but did not touch upon this finding directly, as it was not a focus point in the article. The result showed that for both masculine and feminised jobs, agentic women scored slightly higher on hireability than communal women (Rudman & Glick, 1999, p. 1007). Whether these differences were statistically significant or not (meaning, $p < .05$) was not mentioned by the authors. Moreover, their study's vignettes will not match the vignettes of the current study; Rudman and Glick (1999) used a masculine job description as a condition, as well as a feminised version of the masculine job description. Meaning, the vacancy either asked for mainly agentic traits, or both agentic and communal traits together. As the current study's job description is relatively vague, it is hypothesised that participants will rely more heavily on the role incongruity theory to make a hiring decision. Moreover, this hypothesis is partially inspired and supported by a study from Kulik and Olekalns (2012; Perry et al., 2022), which found that when negotiating for employment terms, women are perceived more positively when conforming to the expectation and negotiate in a communal way. This led to the question of whether this effect can also be applied to the difference between agentic and communal women in the hiring process. Concretely, it is hypothesised the traits a female candidate exhibits are of influence on hireability:

H3: Agentic women will be perceived as less hireable than communal women

Traits, perceived fit, and hiring intentions

So, while the decision to hire someone is essentially a yes or no question, literature suggests that perceived fit also contributes to the hiring decisions. Perceived fit, or in this study's case specifically person-job fit, is defined as a match between the skills of an employee and the demands the job makes (Sekiguchi, 2004). While similar, fit and hireability are not the same; an applicant may meet the requirements for the job, but whether the recruiter wants to hire them is another decision. This distinction is clearer in the example of person-organisation fit. A person may meet all the requirements for the job, but if the recruiter thinks they do not

fit in with other colleagues, they may not get hired regardless of their skills (Tomlinson & Anderson, 2021). In the case of person-job fit as an illustration, a recruiter may give a preference over a candidate who is less familiar with for example a software, but due to their expertise in similar projects, gets hired over other candidates who do have the requirements for using that software, just no experience. Achieving a good fit is important as it leads to higher job satisfaction and fewer turnover intentions for person-job fit (Boon et al., 2011; Lievens, 2020). As for the relationship between communal and agentic traits and person-job fit, Hmieleski and Sheppard (2019) found that in the context of entrepreneurs, women who showed more agentic traits and men who showed more communal traits than peers scored better than those who are more gender congruent on the self-assessed outcome variable wellbeing. This relationship was partially mediated by perceptions of person-job fit, meaning that when these entrepreneurs were more incongruent with gender roles, the more they saw themselves as fit for their positions. While Hmieleski and Sheppard showed an interesting relationship between the participants' perceived gender incongruity and person-job fit from a self-assessment perspective, the present study will include fit as seen from the recruiter for a more nuanced look into the straightforward question that is 'will you hire this person.' It is hypothesised that:

H4: Perceived person-job fit by the recruiter partially mediates the relationship between perceived agentic & communal traits, and hireability.

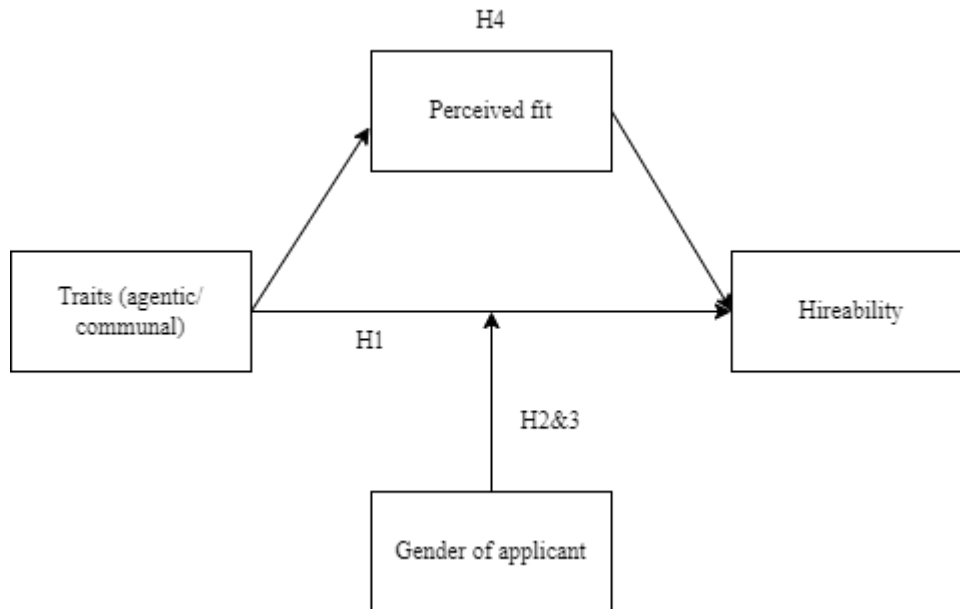
Method

Design

An online questionnaire was utilised to ask participants about their opinions on the hireability of fictitious candidates, similar to how recruiters would review a resume output from an AI program. The design was a 2x2 between-subjects design. The manipulations used were the gender of the candidate (men and women) and their agentic/communal traits shown. The independent variables are the traits of the applicant in the vignette, and the dependent variable is the decision to hire. In addition, the model also features the mediator variable person-job fit, and the moderator variable is the gender of the 'applicant' (see Figure 1). For the power analysis, G*Power version 3.1 (Faul et al., 2007) indicated that for an F-test: ANCOVA: Fixed effects, main effects and interactions, with a medium effect size, ($f^2 = .25$), $\alpha = .05$ and power = .80, 4 predictors and 1 covariate, a total of at least 179 participants would be needed to achieve the power asked for. The reason for picking this analysis is that the first hypothesis in combination with the second and fourth hypotheses sort of resembles an ANCOVA because of the similar nature of the mediator and moderator, and a covariate. They are not other

independent variables that have an effect, but rather a secondary effect that is added to the relation between traits and hireability.

Figure 1. *Model of study.*



Procedure

Participants were sent an invitation to take part in this online study on Qualtrics. As part of informed consent, participants were briefed shortly before filling in the questionnaires. Anonymity and confidentiality were highlighted, as well as the fact participants were allowed to stop at any given time, and contact information is given to allow for asking questions. After stating that they have read the informed consent and wanted to continue, participants were asked for demographics. Duration and instructions (Appendix A) are given on the next slide within the questionnaire. Then, participants were randomly divided into four different conditions: female communal, female agentic, male communal, and male agentic. They were asked to read their application carefully, as well as study the graphs shown, as they would not be able to return to it later. Participants were shown a very short text that simply stated that they were hiring for a project manager for a non-specific consultancy company. Self-designed vignettes were used, which included the description of the job itself, job candidate, their gender, and stated their traits. As for the job title, this study used a vignette that contains the job ‘project manager.’ This title was chosen to make the description as neutral as possible, while also following earlier research that was conducted with leadership-style jobs as their focus, to build the arguments for the hypotheses.

Each person is going to be answering questions about 1 vignette, which means there were 4 conditions.

1. Women communal
2. Women agentic
3. Men communal
4. Men agentic

Descriptions of these vignettes are listed in Appendix A. The graphs were based on Vervoe's AI recruitment tool (*Vervoe AI Basics*, 2020). Efforts were made to contact various companies that advertised AI recruitment software in order to make these graphs as realistic as possible. However, no company responded to these requests. Therefore, the graphs were based on the limited information that was available on Vervoe's website (*Vervoe AI Basics*, 2020).

Participants

Anyone above 18 was included in the target group, with no specific demographic preferences. Participants were recruited through a convenience sample using the snowball method, by posting the link to the survey on the social media of the author and friends, as well as other personal connections of the author. Besides that, participants were also recruited from participant websites like surveyswap and surveycircle. Depending on how they were recruited, the survey was shown in either Dutch or English. The sample initially collected consisted of 189 participants. 66 participants were excluded due to not having finished the questionnaire, or whose condition could not be determined. Three participants had forgotten to answer one question, but these were not excluded as there was no reason to believe that their answers were not genuine. For the participant who missed question 21 ('All types of work are appropriate for both men and women'), a 3 was filled in, as this was essentially a reverse of question 18 ('Some types of work are just not appropriate for women'), which they answered with 3. As for the two other participants who each missed one question, the mode was used to fill in that answer. As only 123 participants were included in the data analysis, this meant that the prerequisite of having at least 179 participants to achieve .80 power, was not met. 90 participants identified as women, 32 identified as men, and 1 identified as non-binary. Participants with ages 18-24 were the most common, with 49 participants, (40.8%). 34 participants were 25-34 years old (27.6%), and 3 participants were in the eldest age group of 75-84 (2.4%). The sample also included two recruiters and seven people who worked in HR. Levels of education varied more, with HBO bachelor consisting of 32 participants (26%), MBO 26 (21.1%), and WO 23 (18.7%).

Measures

Hireability, Agentic, & Communal traits

To measure the hiring decision concerning the applicants, participants were asked three items pertaining to the hiring decision on a 6-point Likert Scale: ‘‘ I would hire this person’’, ‘‘I think they would be good at their job’’, ‘‘I would not offer this person a job’’ [R]. These questions are not part of any established questionnaire, so there is no record of an alpha score. An acceptable score would be $\alpha > .70$ (Allen et al., 2014). A 7-point Likert Scale was used for all other scales because of its commonality, as well as its ability to be used as an interval variable, varying from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The reason 6-point is used for hireability and not 7, has to do with the fact that 7 includes the answer option ‘neither disagree nor agree.’ In this study, as well as in real life, the choice of hiring someone is either yes or no and not in between, which is why this answer option has been removed to force the participant to choose. When measuring reliability, this scale has an α of .87. Whether or not the participant perceived the candidate to be agentic or communal is measured on a 7-point Likert scale with: ‘‘I think they are competent/ warm’’, and ‘‘I think they have the necessary knowledge for this job/ I think they would be good at making people feel welcome’’, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. These questions serve as a manipulation check, as these questions confirm whether the reader has interpreted the graphs correctly (Appendix B). Agentic traits had an α of .80 for reliability, whereas communal traits had an α of .96.

Though, these manipulation checks could also have had an influence on the results as a sort of primer. Maybe the participants who recognised the trait categories of agentic and communal, adjusted their scoring to properly match the vignettes, contrary to participants who are not familiar with these attributes. This might have affected the results of this study, as the purpose is to measure implicit biases. In other words, the participants should react to the applicants unconsciously and naturally, but whether that was the case remains unclear.¹

Perceived Fit

Whether the participant thinks the candidate is right for the job is measured with perceived fit surveys by Cable and DeRue (2002). Person-job fit was divided into needs-supply fit and demand-ability fit. The reliability measurements of this scale had an α of .84 (Cable & DeRue, 2002). For the purpose of this study, the questions have been altered to reflect the research question as these questions are asked as a self-assessment survey, instead of rating

¹ This second meaning developed over time while analysing the results of this study

someone else. Items include: “There is a good fit between what the job offers and what the candidate is looking for in a job”, “The attributes of this job are not fulfilled well by this candidate [R]”, “The match is very good between the demands of this job and the candidate’s personal skills”, “The abilities and skills of the candidate are a good fit with the requirements of this job”, and “Their personal abilities and education do not provide a good match with the demands this job places on them.” An excerpt of the original items is included in Appendix C. A 7-point Likert scale will be used here, to keep consistency with the other questions. As for reliability, this scale had an α of .85.

Gender bias

For further analyses, the belief in gendered roles of the participant is also measured. This was done using the social roles questionnaire by Baber and Tucker, (2006), shown in Appendix D. While personal bias is not a part of the main body of this research, it might, however, be valuable to ask for personal biases to account for a potentially skewed sample in terms of overall sexism, which could be an influence on the results. This questionnaire originally consists of two subscales: the Gender Transcendent factor, and the General subscale. The Gender Transcendent factor asks the participant to contemplate gender in a non-dichotomous way. The decision was made to not include this subscale in the present research. This is because these questions were more general statements, instead of more practical/work-related items which is more in line with the focus of this study. The General subscale was included in the questionnaire and is about whether the participant believes that certain characteristics are linked to a particular gender, with an α of .77 (Baber & Tucker, 2006). In this study, the reliability was measured with an α of .84. An example item is: “Some types of work are just not appropriate for women.” This questionnaire was originally measured with a scale ranging from 0 to 100%. However, because the other questionnaires used in this study were also on a 7-point Likert scale, this was the scale that was used to keep consistency.

Statistical analyses

Version 29 of IBM SPSS Statistics was used for all analyses, along with PROCESS 4.2 (Hayes, 2017). Two ANOVAs, one moderation analysis, and two mediation analyses were performed to test the hypotheses. For the first ANOVA for hypothesis 1, the trait condition was the independent variable (0 = agentic traits, 1 = communal traits), and hireability was the dependent variable. PROCESS model 1 for moderation analysis was used. The trait conditions were again used as the independent variable (0 = agentic traits, 1 = communal traits), hireability

was again the dependent variable, and the gender of the fictitious candidate was the moderator (0 = man, 1 = woman). For the ANOVA for hypothesis 3, the female candidate conditions were used as the independent variable (0 = agentic women, 1 = communal women), and hireability was again the dependent variable. For the two mediation analyses (PROCESS model 4), the mean scores of the questions that were also used as the manipulation checks are used as the predictor variables. This resulted in two predictor variables: the mean score of perceived agentic traits, and the mean score of perceived communal traits. This in turn was predicted to have an effect on the outcome variable hireability, partially through the mean score on the questions of perceived fit.

Results

Before testing for the hypotheses, the assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance were checked. The Shapiro-Wilk statistic indicated that in conditions 1, 3, and 4, the assumption of normality was violated (with $p < .05$). As for Levene's statistic for homogeneity of variance, this was non-significant ($F(3, 119) = .335$, with $p = .816$). This assumption was therefore met. But, as outliers could not be observed due to the small score variance given in the questionnaire, and therefore could not be removed in an attempt to restore normality, the decision was made to conduct ANOVAs using a 5000-sample bootstrap. Correlations between all variables were calculated by using bivariate Pearson correlations. The trait condition and the variables communal and agentic traits showed a significant relationship ($r = .493$, $p < .001$, and $r = -.197$, $p = .029$ respectively). Furthermore, hireability showed a significant correlation with communal traits, agentic traits, and perceived fit ($r = .366$, $p < .001$, $r = .635$, $p < .001$, and $.788$, with $p < .001$, respectively). Communal and agentic traits in turn showed a correlation with perceived fit ($r = .233$, $p = .010$, and $r = .595$, $p < .001$, respectively). And lastly, agentic traits had a significant relation with the gender biases of participants ($r = -.248$, $p = .006$).

Table 1 includes the descriptive statistics of the dependent and independent variables and their correlations.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables: Mean (M), Standard Deviations (in parentheses, SD), and Pearson correlations

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Trait Condition (0 = agentic, 1 = communal)	.52 (.50)	.01	.11	.49**	-.20*	.07	.07
2. Gender of candidate (0 = man, 1 = woman)		.51 (.50)	-.04	.06	-.03	-.09	.002
3. Hireability			3.99 (1.41)	.37**	.64**	.79**	-.07
4. Communal				4.59 (1.51)	.15	.23**	-.17
5. Agentic					4.57 (1.19)	.60**	-.25**
6. Perceived fit						4.17 (1.19)	-.01
7. Gender bias of participant							3.40 (1.37)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Manipulation check

Whether a participant has interpreted the resume of the fictitious candidate correctly in the context of this research, questions were asked about the perceived agentic and communal traits of the job applicant. In the agentic condition, participants were expected to score high on e.g., perceived competency and low on perceived warmth. In the communal condition, participants were expected to score high on e.g., perceived warmth and low on perceived competence. As such, the score for a participant in the agentic condition should be > 4 on overall agentic traits, and < 4 on communal traits, as strongly agree is coded as 7, neutral is coded as 4, and strongly disagree is coded as 1. In the communal condition, the score should be the other way around, e.g., > 4 on warmth and < 4 on competence. However, only 46 out of 123 participants matched these requirements. Of these 46, only 15 of them were in the communal condition, while the other 31 were in the agentic condition. This meant that a large number of participants should be excluded from the analysis. The decision was therefore made to include all participants in the analysis to not let the data go to waste. But some results of the

group of 46 will be outlined in the discussion section. When performing reliability analyses for the scales with only the 46 participants included, all scores showed an α higher than .80, meaning they were still reliable scales to use. The assumption of normality was now only violated in conditions two and four, but Levene's test was now significant (4.085, with $p = .013$), meaning that there were still some problems with statistical assumptions. Therefore, bootstrapping with a 5000-sample bootstrap was also used in these analyses.

Agentic versus communal

To assess the first hypothesis, agentic traits are preferred over communal ones when hiring, a one-way ANOVA was used. But first, the participants that were in the agentic condition were taken together into one condition, as well as participants in the communal condition. The conditions of traits were then used as the independent variable. The ANOVA was not statistically significant, indicating that there was no statistical difference in hiring intentions between the communal condition ($M = 4.141, SD = 1.442$), and the agentic condition ($M = 3.836, SD = 1.365$), with $F(1, 121) = 1.440, p = .233, \eta^2 = .012$. This means that the hypothesis was not confirmed.

Agentic women versus agentic men

To test the second hypothesis, agentic women will be perceived as less hireable than agentic men, a moderation analysis was used, using PROCESS 4.2 (Hayes, 2017). Bootstrapped samples of 5000 were used, together with confidence intervals of 95%. The model summary results show a non-significant model with $R^2 = .042, F(3, 119) = 1.756, p = .159$. When factoring in the interaction, the model shows R^2 -change = .030, $F(1, 119) = 3.649, p = .060$. The moderation effect is therefore non-significant, meaning that gender did not particularly influence participants' views on whether to hire them as employees or not.

Communal women versus agentic women

To evaluate the third hypothesis, agentic women will be perceived as less hireable than communal women, another ANOVA was conducted. This time, only the groups that had a woman as their vignette were selected. Meaning, participants who were only placed in either the 'communal woman' condition or the 'agentic woman' condition were included in the analysis. Results showed a very small and non-significant difference between these groups on hireability, with group 1 (communal woman) scoring $M = 3.869, SD = 1.323$ on hireability, and group 2 (agentic woman) scoring $M = 4.033, SD = 1.385$. The results of this ANOVA were

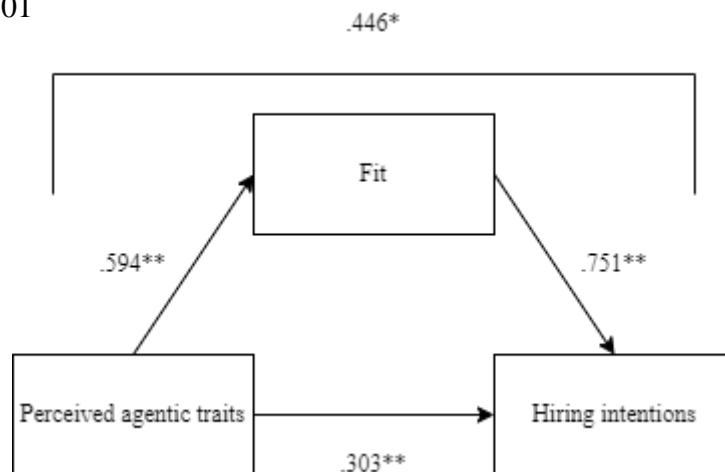
$F(1,61) = .233, p = .631, \eta^2 = .004$. The hypothesis was therefore not supported; the difference was not enough to be statistically significant. Interestingly, and while this was not originally hypothesised, a significant effect was found when comparing communal men to agentic men. Results showed that there was a preference for communal men ($M = 4.430, SD = 1.528$) over agentic men ($M = 3.632, SD = 1.337$), with $F(1,58) = 4.606, p = .036, \eta^2 = .074$, which is not in line with existing literature and was, therefore, a surprising find.

Perceived fit mediating hireability

To test the fourth hypothesis, the relationship between traits and hireability is partially mediated by fit, two mediation analyses were conducted. The direct relationship between the participant's score on perceived agentic traits and hireability was significant, with $b = .303, t = 3.90$, and $p < .001$. Meaning that the perceived score on traits predicts hireability. Moreover, the indirect effect was significant as well, with $b = .446, LLCI = .296$, and $ULCI = .626$. This means that perceived fit partially mediates the relationship between perceived agentic traits and hireability, which supports this hypothesis. All the effects of perceived agentic traits and their significance can be found in figure 2.

Figure 2. *Agentic traits mediation*

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

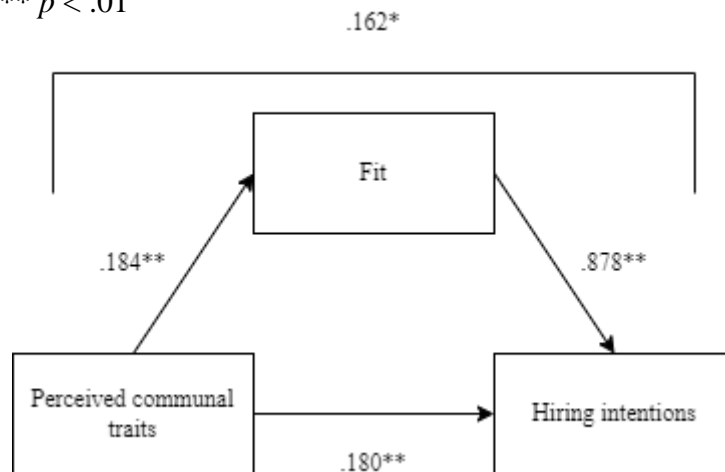


The direct relationship between the participant's score on perceived communal traits and hireability was significant, with $b = .180, t = 3.51$, and $p < .001$. Meaning, perceived communal traits also predict hireability according to these results. Moreover, the indirect effect was also significant, with $b = .162, LLCI = .035$, and $ULCI = .284$. This also means that perceived fit partially mediates the relationship between communal traits and hireability, which

also supports this hypothesis. Therefore, this hypothesis was confirmed. All the effects of perceived communal traits and their significance can be found in figure 3.

Figure 3. Communal traits mediation

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$



Gender bias as an influence

To assess whether any of these results were influenced by stronger biases being accidentally present in one of the conditions, an ANOVA was conducted. Because of issues with the assumptions of the ANOVA that were mentioned earlier, this ANOVA was also conducted with a 5000-sample bootstrap. The results of the ANOVA showed no significant score on gender biases between all conditions, with $F(3, 119) = .496, p = .686, \eta^2 = .012$. However, the Pearson bivariate correlations (Table 1) found a negative correlation between the scores on agentic traits and the scores on hireability ($r = -.25, p < .01$). Concretely, the more biased a participant was, the lesser they scored their candidate on perceived agentic traits. When testing the scores on perceived agentic traits between all groups, no significant difference was found, with $F(3, 119) = 1.860, p = .140, \eta^2 = .045$. So, while there seems to be a negative relationship between agentic traits and scores on hireability, there was no statistical difference in the amount of gender biases that were already present in the groups.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the relationship between traits and hireability, specifically within the context of the application of AI within the recruitment process. Other research showed that overall, there is a preference for job candidates who exhibit agentic traits (Krings et al., 2011; Madera et al., 2009), which may lead to hiring biases as these traits are perceived as highly gendered (Sczesny et al., 2018). Research also showed that the relationship

between traits and hiring intentions may not be as straightforward when accounting for other variables such as the gender of the candidate and perceived fit (Sczesny et al., 2018; Eagly, 2004; Hoyt, 2012; Hmieleski & Sheppard, 2019). In this study, the first hypothesis was not supported. Participants did not show a preference for candidates in either condition. The second hypothesis, which argued for a moderation effect of gender between traits and hireability, was not supported. There was also no evidence found to support the third hypothesis, which stated that agentic women would be perceived as less hireable than communal women. In the case of the fourth hypothesis, two significant effects, a small and a medium one, were found. Both mediation analysis showed support for the partial mediation of fit between perceived agentic or communal traits and hireability.

There were also some significant results found in the group of participants that passed the manipulation check. These results will be briefly discussed below. After discussing each hypothesis, possible alternate explanations will first be outlined per hypothesis. After that, strengths, limitations, and general recommendations for future studies will be given.

Agentic over communal, but not in women

There was no significant effect found in the initial group of 123 participants for hypothesis 1 (no difference between scores on hireability between the communal and agentic candidates). These results are in contrast with other studies that suggest a preference for agentic candidates (Krings et al., 2011; Madera et al., 2009; Rudman & Glick, 1999). However, there was a significant effect found in the group with 46 participants. The findings of this second ANOVA conducted with the fewer participants indicated a preference for agentic traits within a candidate over communal traits. Results showed a small difference in scoring on hiring intentions ($M = 3.774$, $SD = 1.266$ in the agentic condition, and $M = 3.000$, $SD = .943$ in the communal condition ($F(1, 44) = 4.404$, $p = .042$, $\eta^2 = .091$)). This is in line with literature suggesting that while in general situations communal traits are favoured, preference is given to agentic traits in the work-related context (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

The third hypothesis, however, was not confirmed. There was no significant difference found in the intention for hiring a communal woman rather than an agentic one. This conclusion did not change when investigating hypothesis 3 for the group of 46. Therefore, results from both the 123 group as well as the 46 group are either in line with, or different from the study of Rudman & Glick (1999). Though the results technically show that there was a preference for agentic women over communal women in their study, they did not mention whether this effect was significant. This is especially the case for the condition in which they use a female

candidate in the feminised job condition as the scores on hireability between the agentic and communal women is very small. An explanation for the current finding could be that the role incongruity theory (Eagly, 2004; Hoyt, 2012; Abele, 2003), suggesting a preference for a communal woman, and the overall preference for agentic traits for hiring, cancel each other out due to the design of this study. This would mean that a communal woman would be considered hireable due to the congruity between her gender and social role, and an agentic woman would be considered hireable due to exhibiting more agentic traits, resulting in roughly the same score on hireability. Therefore, it could be argued that the effects balance each other out. In contrast with previous research, and completely unanticipated as this was not in line with literature suggestions, a significant effect was found that showed a preference for communal men over agentic men. Though this effect did change when looking at the group of 46, which, while showing no significant effect, did suggest a preference for agentic men ($M = 3.711$, $SD = 1.374$ in the agentic condition, and $M = 2.905$, $SD = 1.243$ in the communal condition). Overall, an alternative explanation for this finding is hard, as literature suggested a strong preference for agentic men (Abele, 2003; Fetscherin et al., 2020; Rudman & Glick, 1999). It could be a possibility that, specifically in the case of the 123 group, they relied more on the theory that suggests that communal traits are more important when evaluating a stranger (Wojciszke and Abele, 2008), and perhaps did not interpret the questionnaire as a hiring situation.

Moderator effect

Contrary to what was posed in hypothesis 2, there was no interaction effect found with gender on the relationship between traits and hiring intentions. Meaning there was no preference found for agentic men over agentic women. This was also the case for the group of 46 participants. This differs from literature suggesting a backlash effect for agentic women when applying for jobs (Carli & Eagly, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Phelan et al., 2008). A possible explanation for this effect could be due to the skewed sample. Within the sample's population, 73% of the participants in the present study identified as a woman, which may have negated a strong preference for an agentic man when looking for a job candidate. This may be supported by literature as interpersonal theories posit that individuals belonging to in-groups are usually favoured over individuals belonging to out-groups (Bernstein, 2015). A quick one-way ANOVA, however, reveals that there was no statistical difference that would suggest that male or female participants would score the job candidates differently. The cause of this result, therefore, remains not fully understood.

Mediator effect

Hypothesis 4 posited that fit would partially mediate the relation between perceived traits and hireability, based on previous research (Hmieleski & Sheppard, 2019). The results of the analyses indicated support for this hypothesis, for both communal and agentic traits. Surprisingly, when performing the mediation analyses with the group of 46, the results changed from partial mediation to full mediation. Consequently, while the direct relationships between perceived traits, so either agentic traits or communal ones, and hireability was now non-significant, the indirect effect was still significant. As for agentic traits within the sample of 46 participants, the total indirect relationship between traits and hireability through fit was significant, with $b = .553$, and $LLCI = .350$, and $ULCI = .811$ (figure 4). Moreover, this same effect is found when looking at communal traits, with $b = -.270$, $LLCI = -.554$ and $ULCI = -.042$ (figure 5).

Figure 4. Agentic traits mediation (group of 46)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

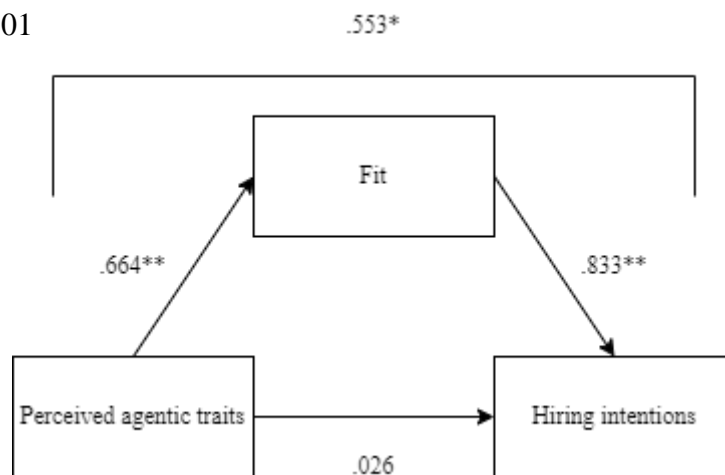
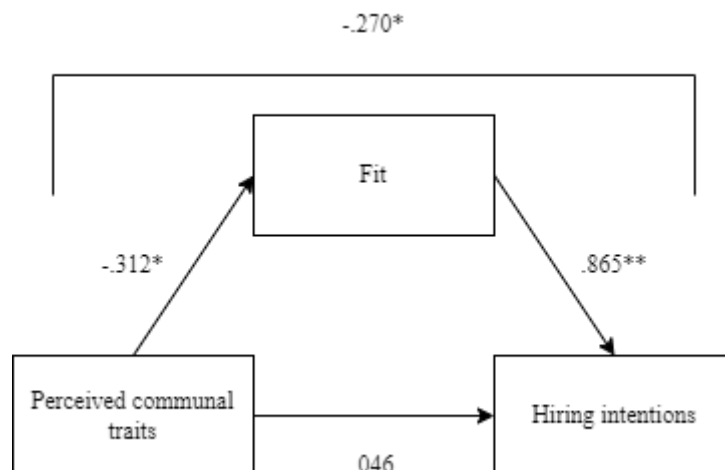


Figure 5. Communal traits mediation (group of 46)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$



The difference between the group of 123 and 46 might indicate that perceived fit has a larger role than initially thought, as the mediation effect changed from partial to full. The correlation between fit and hireability was also slightly higher in the group of 46 ($r = .82^{**}$) compared to the group of 123 ($.79^{**}$), meaning in both cases that the more the participant thought someone was right for the job, the more willing they were to hire the candidate. It should be noted that the indirect effect of fit on perceived communal traits and hireability was negative in the group with 46 participants. This might be suggestive of a suppression effect within the data, so cautiousness is warranted when making conclusions based on this result (MacKinnon et al., 2000). A possible explanation for the difference between the groups could be that because the group of 46 was smaller in number of participants, there was slightly less noise within the data as this was the group that did 'pass' the manipulation check.

123 versus 46

As mentioned before, only about 40% of the sample population correctly identified that the vignettes depicted either a solely agentic candidate or a solely communal candidate. This finding was interesting and warranted further inspection. The answer as to why only a small number of participants were able to recognise the presented traits, is unclear. It is probable that in the overall sample, the characteristics of agentic and communal traits were not sufficiently recognised, except for within a small group of people. But it is not known whether the people in the smaller group consciously recognised the presented traits or not. It is also important to note that of the group of 46, there are now only two people that work in HR, none of which are recruiters, instead of a total of 9. This also means that the two recruiters that were present in the original sample, did not correctly differentiate the presented traits. When looking at the data, one recruiter did not finish the questionnaire, while the other recruiter's results showed that they were in the agentic male condition and scored a 4 on overall competence, and a 3.5 on overall warmth. Looking more closely reveals that they did correctly generalise other agentic characteristics to the candidate but did not think they had the necessary competencies for the job. Percentages concerning gender and age of the participants remained about the same. Overall, these results might suggest that when participants recognise that a candidate is agentic, there seems to be a more conscious preference compared to the group participants that did not recognise this trait. Moreover, it is important to note that of these 46 people, only 15 of them belonged to communal conditions. That means that 31 of the participants belonged to the agentic conditions. Whether there is a reason for this difference, either that maybe agentic traits are easier to notice or that communal people are considered to be more agentic in general rather

than vice versa, is unclear. Results of an ANOVA showed that pre-existing gender biases were not significantly different between the 15 and 31 groups.

In sum, it could be argued that these 46 participants seemed to pay extra attention to the traits that were presented, compared to the other 77 participants, whether this was consciously or not. They seem to recognise the characteristics that were shown to them, and they use that to voice their bias and decision on fit.

Limitations and recommendations for future research

The current study's most important limitation was the self-designed vignettes. As mentioned before, access to the inner workings of recruiting software was not granted by companies, and therefore some improvisation was required. Whether the vignettes that were used were very different from the actual output of these companies is hard to tell, as there is little information on how this is formatted, besides the information that was already used. Moreover, the AI output that was available needed to be altered to ensure less noise within the data. This improvisation, however, might be reflected in the results of the manipulation check. If the manipulation check was used as a condition that participants would have needed to pass in order for their results to be included, almost 60% of the participant's data would have been excluded as their scores on the perceived traits did not match the requirements of the manipulation check. However, it was not completely certain whether the manipulation check was accurate in terms of validity, as the questions that were measuring these constructs were self-designed. This resulted in the decision to include both groups in this study, but with separate analyses.

For future studies, it is therefore suggested that more resources should go into designing the resumes participants see as vignettes. It would be ideal to work together with one of the companies that supply the AI software to recruiters and use the company's software and accurate recruiter data to make fake profiles for job candidates. Another limitation is the design of the present research. While a 2x2 between-subjects design was the right design for the resources available to this study, future research could benefit from having a within-subjects design. The reason for choosing against a within design was because the questionnaire would then be significantly longer in duration. This might have resulted in fewer participants completing the questionnaire, also resulting in less data. Furthermore, while several hypotheses were not confirmed, that does not mean that these insights are not of importance. For example, it would be valuable to know whether the preferences for a trait happen unconsciously or not, as this became an important question within this study. It could be argued that the group of 46

utilised more type two thinking which, as mentioned in the introduction, includes more logical ways of thinking, rather than intuitive ones (Evans, 2003). Future research might therefore benefit from including type thinking as a condition within studies to explore this relationship.

Strengths and practical implications

This study's goal was to explore the relationship between certain characteristics and hireability, within a context that has only existed for a few years. This study is therefore a steppingstone for future research that is going to be conducted in AI recruitment. With being a steppingstone, however, also comes the realisation of errors. Though these errors do not diminish the value of the study, they are important to take into consideration and to learn from. This research tried to combine insights from different perspectives within both the social and organisational psychology, as well as the practical implications this has on the recruitment process.

It is important to consider that the application of AI and recruitment is still new. As Drage and Mackereth recommend in their recent study on the relationship between AI and biases in recruitment (2022), that while AI might supposedly help identify the ideal candidate, the means with which it does still lay within a biased reality. In other words, the information that the AI learns from might be hard to 'unbias', because of the way biases and stereotypes are embedded in society, impacting the chance of a marginalised person being hired (Drage and Mackereth, 2022, p. 18). Besides, the current technology cannot replace the nuanced thinking that is required to work toward ending discrimination in the workplace (Drage & Mackereth, 2022, p. 18-19). In addition to the overall conclusion of their study, which suggested that AI used in recruitment is still far from being fair, the current study's results should prompt recruiting managers to think about the implications of using AI in their hiring processes, as this subject is relatively new in its application. This study outlines the potential biases that may occur, namely the preference for agentic traits rather than communal ones, and the influence of fit on hiring intentions. For active hiring managers, this may be valuable knowledge as these biases may have an effect on who they pick as an employee. For these managers, it is therefore important to know where these biases come from, how they affect the recruitment process, and how to combat them. For example, recruiters should critically reflect on biases that might have been shown in the job description, as well as the requirements. Subsequently, interpreting the AI output should be done with the knowledge that biases may have still persisted. Only then may an informed hiring decision be made.

Results of the manipulation check showed that the agentic and communal traits were not easily recognisable to the overall sample. This might also be due to the lack of recruiters present in the sample, who might have been able to recognise these traits more effectively. In practice, however, there are also a lot of employees within small businesses involved in recruitment that do not have a background in HR. Therefore, the results shown by the 123 participants sample are still valuable. As a suggestion for future research, it could be interesting to focus on a sample of recruiters only, or recruiters and HR employees combined with or without an educational background in HR, to explore potential differences in the ability to recognise agentic and communal traits when shown in a resume.

Conclusion

When a recruiter needs to hire a new employee, many factors need to be considered. And as the HR field continues to evolve, so will the implementation of technology that aids recruiters that need to make a hiring decision. This study showed that there are theories that need to be considered when recruiting with the use of AI. Moreover, the results of this study showed that some biases persist even when modelling the software that claims to reduce said bias. Unfortunately, selecting the perfect applicant is, still, hard. But a little insight into how biases and other variables influence the recruitment process (through AI) may be beneficial for finding that perfect applicant for a job opening.

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Appendix A

DESCRIPTION

You are a hiring manager for YouSUS, which is a consultancy company. You are looking for a person to fulfill the position of Project Manager. They are looking for someone that is a good fit for the job. They will be responsible for guiding teams in the right direction, making sure problems are avoided, and deadlines are met.

U bent een recruiter voor YouConsulting, een consultancy bedrijf. Je bent opzoek naar iemand om de vacature 'projectmanager' op te vullen. Het bedrijf is op zoek naar iemand die een goede match is met de baan. De werknemer zal verantwoordelijk zijn voor het begeleiden van teams in de goede richting, ervoor zorgen dat problemen opgelost worden en dat deadlines gehaald worden.

WOMEN AGENTIC

- + Previous tasks included managing teams
- + Independent
- Helpfulness
- + Decisiveness
- Listening to others

Overall, she is known as a strong and competent leader.

As a motivation for working here, she has listed great career opportunities as a reason, and has stated she wants to keep growing.

- + Inbegrepen in eerdere taken was het begeleiden van teams
- + Zelfstandig
- Behulpzaamheid
- + Besluitvaardigheid
- Luisteren naar anderen

Over het algemeen staat ze bekend als een sterke en competente leider.

Als motivatie om hier te werken noemt de ze goede carrièremogelijkheden en zegt dat ze wil blijven groeien.

MAN AGENTIC

- + Previous tasks included managing teams
- + Independent
- Helpfulness
- + Decisiveness
- Listening to others

Overall, he is known as a strong and competent leader.

As a motivation for working here, he has listed great career opportunities as a reason, and he has stated that he wants to keep growing.

- + Inbegrepen in eerdere taken was het begeleiden van teams
- + Zelfstandig
- Behulpzaamheid
- + Besluitvaardigheid
- Luisteren naar anderen

Over het algemeen staat hij bekend als een sterke en competente leider.

Als motivatie om hier te werken noemt de hij goede carrière mogelijkheden en zegt dat hij wil blijven groeien.

WOMEN COMMUNAL

- + Previous tasks included managing teams
- + Collaborative
- Decisiveness
- + Helpfulness
- Outspoken

Overall, she is known as a kind and likeable leader.

As a motivation for working here, she has listed aligned values with the company, and she has stated she want to be of support to the organization.

- + Inbegrepen in eerdere taken was het begeleiden van teams
- + Samenwerkend
- Besluitvaardigheid
- + Behulpzaamheid
- Uitgesproken

Over het algemeen staat ze bekend als een aardige en sympathieke leider.

Als motivatie om hier te werken noemt de ze dat ze zich kan vinden in de waardes van het bedrijf en zegt dat ze de organisatie wil ondersteunen.

MAN COMMUNAL

+ Previous tasks included managing teams

+ Collaborative

-- Decisiveness

+ Helpfulness

-- Outspoken

Overall, he is known as a kind and likeable leader.

As a motivation for working here, he has listed aligned values with the company, and he has stated he want to be of support to the organization.

+ Inbegrepen in eerdere taken was het begeleiden van teams

+ Samenwerkend

-- Besluitvaardigheid






+ Behulpzaamheid

-- Uitgesproken

Over het algemeen staat hij bekend als een aardige en sympathieke leider.

Als motivatie om hier te werken noemt de hij dat hij zich kan vinden in de waardes van het bedrijf en zegt dat hij de organisatie wil ondersteunen.

Example resume shown in questionnaire for communal man

Candidate Steven	
	Previous tasks included managing teams
	Collaborative
	Decisiveness
	Helpfulness
	Outspoken
<p>Overall, he is known as a kind and likeable leader</p> <p>As a motivation for working here, he has listed aligned values with the company, and he has stated he want to be of support to the organization.</p>	

Appendix B

Strongly disagree, disagree, somewhat disagree, neutral, somewhat agree, agree, strongly agree.

Hireability

1. I would hire this person/ Ik zou deze person aannemen
2. I think they would be good at their job/ Ik denk dat deze persoon goed is voor deze baan
3. I would not offer this person a job [R]/ Ik zou deze persoon geen baan aanbieden

Competent

1. I think they are competent/ Ik denk dat deze persoon competent is
2. I think they have the necessary skills for this job/ Ik denk dat deze persoon de benodigde vaardigheden heeft voor deze baan

Warm

3. I think they are friendly/ Ik denk dat deze persoon hartelijk is
4. I think they would be good at making people feel welcome/ Ik denk dat deze persoon goed is in mensen welkom laten voelen

Generalizations to agentic and communal

1. I would think they would be assertive/ Ik denk dat deze persoon assertief is
2. I would think they would be friendly/ Ik denk dat deze persoon vriendelijk is
3. I would think they would be independent/ Ik denk dat deze persoon zelfstandig is
4. I would think they would be cooperative/ Ik denk dat deze persoon meewerkend is

Appendix C

Perceived fit (adapted from Cable and DeRue, 2002). (Note: original version taken from article below).

1. There is a good fit between what the job offers and what the candidate is looking for in a job/ Er is een goede fit tussen wat de baan inhoudt en wat de kandidaat zoekt in een baan
2. The attributes of this job are not fulfilled well by this candidate [R]/ De eigenschappen van deze baan worden niet goed vervuld door deze kandidaat
3. The abilities and skills fit with the requirements of this job/ De vaardigheden en skills van deze kandidaat passen goed bij de vereisten van deze baan
4. Their personal abilities provide a good match with the demands this job places on them/ De persoonlijke vaardigheden van de kandidaat zijn een goede match met de eisen van deze baan

Our items included “There is a good fit between what my job offers me and what I am looking for in a job,” “The attributes that I look for in a job are fulfilled very well by my present job,” and “The job that I currently hold gives me just about everything that I want from a job.”

The items included “The match is very good between the demands of my job and my personal skills,” “My abilities and training are a good fit with the requirements of my job,” and “My personal abilities and education provide a good match with the demands that my job places on me.” (Cable & DeReu, 2002, p. 879).

Appendix D

Social Roles Questionnaire, Baber & Tucker, 2006.

1. A father's major responsibility is to provide financially for his children/ Het is de grootste verantwoordelijkheid van de vader om zijn kinderen financieel goed te voorzien
2. Some types of work are just not appropriate for women/ Sommig werk is niet gepast voor vrouwen
3. Mothers should make most decisions about how children are brought up/ Moeders moeten de meeste keuzes maken als het aankomt op de opvoeding van kinderen
4. Mothers should work only if necessary/ Moeders moeten alleen werken als dit nodig is
5. Only some type of work are appropriate for both men and women
-> which became: All types of work are appropriate for both men and women [R]/ Al het werk is gepast om uit te voeren voor zowel mannen als vrouwen
6. For many important jobs, it is better to choose men instead of women/ Voor sommige banen is het beter om mannen te kiezen dan vrouwen

Not included are:

1. Men are more sexual than women
2. Girls should be protected and watched over more than boys