An Investigation of Evaluations of Gay and Lesbian Applicants for Gender-Typed Jobs

**Abstract**

Research on gender-inconsistent employment calls attention to discrimination experienced by individuals engaged in such work as they are assumed to lack the characteristics needed to be successful in their jobs. Other research has demonstrated that gender stereotypes of gay men and lesbians tend to be in the opposite direction of those about heterosexual individuals. This inversion of gender stereotypes, largely unaccounted for in studies on gender-typed employment, suggests that sexual orientation should have a significant effect on perceptions of individuals engaged in gender-typed work. This paper reports the results of an experiment examining perceptions of gay men, lesbians, and heterosexual men and women applying for gender-typed jobs that failed to find any differences in ratings of perceived lack of fit, competence, respect, ineffectuality, or likability across applicants. However, female applicants were rated a better fit for the female-typed job and male applicants were rated a better fit for the male-typed job. Further, female participants rated the gay male applicant higher on respect and likability across job gender-types. The implications of our findings are discussed.

**Keywords:**  gender-typed work; gender stereotypes; sexual orientation; role congruity; implicit inversion

An Investigation of Evaluations of Gay and Lesbian Applicants for Gender-Typed Jobs

It is becoming increasingly common for women and men to enter occupations that have been traditionally viewed as appropriate for the opposite gender (Watts, 2009; Whittock, 2002). Although some organizations and industries are actively seeking to attract gender-atypical employees, whether due to labor market demands or to increase diversity, research on gender-inconsistent employment calls attention to backlash experienced by individuals engaged in such work (e.g., Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Specifically, studies have demonstrated that women engaged in male-typed jobs are assumed to be less competent than their male counterparts (Heilman et al., 2004). Further, when women prove to be successful in a male-typed job, they are viewed as interpersonally hostile and unlikable (Heilman et al., 2004; Heilman and Okimoto, 2007). Men do not escape such backlash and are seen as weak and less deserving of respect when employed in female-typed occupations (Heilman & Wallen, 2010).

Notwithstanding that gay men and lesbians may have a greater preference for gender-inconsistent jobs than heterosexuals (Antecol, Jong, & Steinberger, 2008; Ellis, Ratnasingam, &Wheeler, 2012; Watts, 2009), research on gender-typed work has largely been biased by the heteronormative assumption, failing to account for sexual orientation. According to implicit inversion theory, gender stereotypes of gay men and lesbians tend to be in the opposite direction of those about heterosexuals; that is gay men are perceived to be highly feminine and lesbians are perceived to be highly masculine (Kite and Deaux, 1987; Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). This inversion of gender stereotypes likely has an effect on perceptions of individuals engaged in gender-typed work. Specifically, although heterosexual women will be viewed as better suited for female-typed work, lesbians may be considered better suited for jobs traditionally performed by men. Similarly, according to this theory, while heterosexual men are a perceived as a good fit for male-typed work, gay men may be perceived as a better fit for female-typed jobs.

This paper extends extant research on gender-typed work and contributes to the literature on the experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals in the workplace. We examine through an experimental study how gender stereotypes impact evaluations of gay men and lesbians applying for gender-typed jobs, and compare those evaluations to those of heterosexuals applying for the same jobs, with a view to furthering our understanding of discrimination against LGBTQ+ workers.

We begin with a discussion of gender stereotypes and implicit inversion theory before turning to gender-typed work and role congruity theory to develop to our hypotheses. Next we delineate our method and results. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the findings and their implications.

**Gender Stereotypes and Implicit Inversion Theory**

Gender stereotypes are sets of attributes that we assign to individuals on the basis of their gender, including personality traits, physical characteristics, and behaviors (Eagly, 1987; Heilman, 1983). Women are stereotyped as possessing communal traits, such as being warm, nurturing, and compassionate, while men are assumed to possess agentic traits like strength, assertiveness, and confidence. Because gender stereotypes are both descriptive and prescriptive, they not only describe how we believe men and women are but also how we expect men and women to be (Heilman, 2001).

Prescriptive stereotypes are viewed as social norms, violation of which results in punishment by others (Cialdini & Trost, 1998). For example, women who are viewed as agentic (i.e. masculine) are assumed to violate the communality prescription or 'feminine-niceness' norm and are viewed as less likable (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). This is frequently referred to as the 'backlash effect' (Rudman, 1998) and has been suggested to manifest in the form of employment discrimination (Rudman and Glick, 1999). Research suggests that men's gender-inconsistent behavior results in them being viewed as wimpy and undeserving of respect rather than disliked (Heilman & Wallen, 2010; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Although the social punishment may manifest in different forms, it is clear that both men and women are viewed negatively when they are perceived as possessing gender-incongruent characteristics and lacking prescribed gender-congruent characteristics.

The gender stereotypes described above apply only to heterosexuals (Clarke & Arnold, in press). According to implicit inversion theory, and empirical investigations, gay men and lesbians are viewed as more similar to cross-sex heterosexuals than to same-sex heterosexuals (e.g. Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). As is the case with gender stereotypes of heterosexuals, gender stereotypes of gay men and lesbians appear to be ubiquitous and strongly held and can be expected to influence evaluations of gay and lesbian employees. For instance, the stereotype that lesbians are masculine is so common that attractive, feminine-looking lesbians, have been termed 'lipstick lesbians' (Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006), indicating that their femininity is viewed as an aberration. If the gender stereotypes of lesbians and gay men are opposite those of their heterosexual counterparts, we can expect that lesbians and gay men will be evaluated differently then heterosexuals when engaged in or applying for gender-typed jobs.

**Gender-typed Work and Role Congruity Theory**

Not all work is gender-typed, but jobs that have traditionally been held exclusively or almost exclusively by one gender come to be viewed as better suited for that gender. The assumption is that to be successful in that job, one must possess the traits attributed to its gender-type (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983). Occupations like teacher, secretary, or nurse are considered to be female as they are believed to require warm and communal feminine traits. Agentic or 'male' characteristics have traditionally been associated with male-typed work, such as manager, construction worker, and engineer.

One theory developed to explain the bias or prejudice experienced by individuals working in gender-inconsistent occupations is the lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983). The lack of fit model explains how gender stereotypes interact with beliefs about the gender-type of work to produce judgments or evaluations about performance (Heilman, 1983). Expectations about how successful or unsuccessful a person will be in a job are determined by the perceived fit of that person’s attributes and the traits and abilities believed to be necessary to perform the job. These expectations in turn influence how performance is evaluated and rewarded (Heilman, 1983). Similarly, role congruity theory predicts that prejudice can arise when the stereotypic traits of a particular group are incongruent with the attributes believed to be necessary to be successful in a particular role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Eagly and Karau (2002) applied this theory to female leaders, as leadership is a male-typed role, explaining why women are assumed to be less suitable or qualified as leaders.

Studies on evaluations of individuals in gender-inconsistent jobs provide support for the theory. For example, Heilman and colleagues’ (2004) experimental study compared perceptions of the competence of an identically described male and female job incumbent in a male-typed job (assistant vice president for sales in an aircraft company). Heilman et al. (2004) found that, when performance success was ambiguous, the female stimulus person was rated less competent than the male, despite being identically described.

In a similar study, Heilman and Wallen (2010) investigated how men are perceived when employed in a gender-inconsistent job by examining perceptions of men in a male-typed job (financial advisor) and a female-typed job (employee relations counselor). They found that men engaged in the female-typed job were viewed as more ineffectual and less respected than men in the male-typed job. Thus Heilman and Wallen's (2010) laboratory findings suggest that the stereotype that men are agentic is prescriptive and that men suffer negative consequences when they violate gender norms. Men in female-typed jobs are assumed to possess feminine communal traits and therefore lack prescribed masculine agentic traits – because individuals tend to adopt a bipolar perspective of gender when making judgments about others (e.g., Biernat, 1991).

Despite the inextricably bound nature of sexual orientation and gender stereotypes, the influence of sexual orientation in this evaluation process has largely been unaccounted for in studies of evaluations of individuals in gender-typed occupations. A notable exception examined how likely gay men and lesbians were to be invited for job interviews when applying for jobs in both male- and female-dominated occupations. Drydakis’ (2015) field experiment carried out in the United Kingdom indicated that gay men received fewer invitations for interviews for positions in male-dominated occupations than did heterosexual men. Similarly, lesbians received fewer invitations for interviews than heterosexual women for positions in female-dominated occupations. Drydakis (2015) provides preliminary of evidence of the impact that gender stereotypes will have on evaluations of gay men and lesbians in gender-typed jobs.

As explained above, the lack of fit model and role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002), suggest that when an individual is applying for a gender-inconsistent role, descriptive gender stereotypes will operate such that the individual will be assumed to be is less suitable for, or competent in, that role than their gender-consistent counterparts. We therefore predict that when applying for a male-typed job, heterosexual men and lesbians we be perceived better fit for that job than gay men and heterosexual women. Similarly when applying for a female-typed job, gay men and heterosexual women will be assumed to be better suited than lesbians or heterosexual men.

Further, within the context of male-typed jobs, heterosexual men and lesbians will be assumed to be more competent than gay men and heterosexual women as male-typed jobs are believed to require agentic traits, which by definition includes competence. On the other hand, female-typed jobs are presumed to require warm nurturing traits rather than competence. There should therefore be no difference in perceptions of competence across applicants when applying for a female-typed job.

*Hypothesis 1: There will be a three-way interaction of applicant gender, applicant sexual orientation, and job gender-type such that the gay male and heterosexual female applicants will be perceived as a better fit for the female-typed job than the male-typed job and the lesbian and heterosexual male applicant will be perceived as the best fit for the male-typed job than the female-typed job.*

*Hypothesis 2: There will be a three-way interaction of applicant gender, applicant sexual orientation, and job gender-type such that, when applying for the male-typed job but not the female-typed job, the heterosexual male and lesbian applicants will be perceived as more competent than the gay male and heterosexual female applicants.*

Because heterosexual men are presumed to be agentic and by definition competent, they will not be seen as less competent when applying for a female-typed job but they will be viewed with less respect than men applying for a male-typed job (Heilman & Wallen, 2010). Prior research has also demonstrated that men engaged in female-typed jobs are viewed as ‘wimpy’ in comparison to their peers employed in male-typed work (Heilman & Wallen, 2010). We believe that prescriptive gender stereotypes will operate such that, regardless of sexual orientation, male applicants applying for female-typed jobs will be viewed as less respect-worthy and more ineffectual (i.e. wimpy and weak) than men applying for male-typed jobs.

*Hypothesis 3: There will be a two-way interaction of applicant gender and job gender-type such that the male applicants but not the female applicants will be perceived as less deserving of respect when applying for the female-typed job than when applying for the male-typed job.*

*Hypothesis 4: There will be a two-way interaction of applicant gender and job gender-type such that the male applicants but not the female applicants will be perceived as less effectual when applying for the female-typed job than when applying for the male-typed job.*

**Rater Gender**

Research has demonstrated that women are less prejudiced against gay men and lesbians than are men (Herek, 2000; 2002). This would suggest that females evaluating job applicants should evaluate gay men and lesbians more positively than will male raters. However, according to social identity theory (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979; 1986), people demonstrate a preference for individuals that they see as belonging to their in-group; that is, individuals they perceive as being similar to themselves. It is likely that heterosexual females view gay men as being more similar to them than lesbians or heterosexual men, given the stereotype of gay men as being high in feminine, communal traits and lesbians being high in masculinity. This would suggest that heterosexual women should demonstrate a preference for gay male applicants over lesbian and heterosexual male applicants. It also follows that heterosexual men will perceive only other heterosexual men to be in their in-group, as they will likely perceive dissimilarity between themselves and both women and gay men.

There is also some evidence that heterosexual women prefer interpersonal relationships with gay men. Within the context of friendships, at least one study has demonstrated that heterosexual women prefer to form close relationships with gay men over women or heterosexual men because they get the benefits of friendship without the threat of sexual interest or competition (Russell, DelPriore, Butterfield, & Hill, 2013).

In the same manner, when heterosexual women evaluate job applicants, per social identity theory they will likely demonstrate a preference for gay males because of the perceived similarity in personality traits, interests, and behaviors (i.e. similarity in femininity) without the threat of competition that other females will pose. Heterosexual males should display no such preference for gay males.

*Hypothesis 5: There will be a three-way interaction of participant gender, applicant gender and applicant sexual orientation, such that**female participants will rate the gay male applicant higher than will male participants on (a) perceived fit, (b) competence, (c) respect, (d) effectuality, and (e) likability.*

**Method**

To avoid demand and carryover effects, we employed a between-subject 2 (male participant or female participant) x 2 (male-typed job or female-typed job) x 2 (male applicant or female applicant) x 2 (gay/lesbian applicant or heterosexual applicant) factorial design. The female-typed job was a beautician and the male-typed job was an auto mechanic. Our experimental design allowed us to avoid demand effects and test causal hypotheses with a more conservative test than a within-person design (Charness, Gneezy, & Kuhness, 2012).

**Participants**

We recruited employed adults in the United States with experience in hiring (recruitment and selection) through MTurk (n = 228). Approximately equal numbers of male and female participants were randomly assigned to one of the 8 conditions. After removal of incomplete responses and failed manipulations, the final number of participants was 182 (female = 96, male = 86). The ages of the participants ranged from 21 years to 70 years with a mean of 35.7 years. Participant sexual orientation was 88.5% heterosexual, 7.7% gay or lesbian, and 3.8% identified as ‘other’. The highest level of education attained was as follows: less than a high school diploma = .5%, high school diploma = 9.3%, some post-secondary = 31.3%, undergraduate degree = 44.5%, and graduate degree = 14.3%.

**Procedure**

Participants were instructed to imagine they were the manager at either a spa or garage and were reviewing applicants to fill a full-time beautician or auto mechanic position. To reinforce the gender-type of the position a list of names of six applicants was supplied. In the beautician condition, the other five names were female names while in the mechanic condition, they were male names. The participants were instructed that they were currently examining the application of one of these six applicants.

Each participant read a job description for a male-typed job (auto mechanic) or female-typed job (beautician) along with the background summary for an applicant (gay male, lesbian, heterosexual male, or heterosexual female) and then rated the applicant on a number of measures. All background summaries were identical across conditions, with only the applicant’s gender and sexual orientation varying. We manipulated gender with the applicant’s name, Victoria or Philip, and sexual orientation by referring to the applicant’s wife or husband. Job descriptions and background summaries are reproduced in Appendix A.

**Measures**

Participants rated the experimental applicant on several measures and completed some demographic questions, detailed below.

**Perceived lack of fit.**  To assess perceived lack of fit, we asked participants to indicate on a 5-point scale how surprised they were that the applicant applied for that job (1 = Not at all surprised, 5 = completely surprised).

**Competence.**To capture the participants’ perception of the applicant’s competence, we employed the same measure used by Heilman *et al*. (2004). Three items rated on 9-point bipolar scale. For example, the competent item was rated on a scale from completely incompetent (1) to completely competent (9). The other two items were productive and effective. Alpha = .90.

**Ineffectuality.** Ineffectuality was measured with five items rated on 9-point bipolar scales (Heilman & Wallen, 2010): wimpy, wishy-washy, insecure, spineless, and weak (α = .92).

**Respect.** How respect-worthy the participants perceived the stimulus person to be was assessed with two items. The first was: “Victoria/Philip is someone who commands respect”, adapted from Heilman & Wallen (2010). We created a second item: “Victoria/Philip is deserving of respect.” Both items were rated on a 9-point scale from completely not respected (1) to completely respected (9). Alpha reliability for this scale was .71.

**Likability.** Likability was assessed with two items. The first item was ‘How much do you think you would like Victoria/Philip’? (1 = completely dislike, 9 = completely like). The second asked participants to rate how likable they perceived the applicant to be (1 = completely unlikable, 9 = completely likable). Cronbach’s alpha was .87.

**Demographics and controls.** We asked participants to report their gender (male, female, or other), sexual orientation (gay/lesbian, heterosexual, or other), age, and highest level of education attained. As a potential control variable, we included Morrison and Morrison’s (2008) modern prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women scale. It consists of 12 items measured on a 5-point scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A sample item is: “Many gay men/lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain privileges.” Higher scores represent more negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. For this scale, α = .91.

We also included social desirability as a control. It was captured with the Marlowe-Crowne short version (Crowne and Marlowe, 1960; Strahan and Gerbasi, 1972). Rather than respond true or false, participants indicated on a 5-point scale the extent to which they agreed with each of the ten items (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). An example item is: “I’m always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.” Higher scores represent higher degrees of socially desirable responding. Alpha = .83.

**Manipulation checks.** We included checks of our manipulations of job-gender type, gender, and sexual orientation. Participants reported whether the job (esthetician or auto mechanic) was a job most commonly held by only male (1), mostly males (2), both males and females (3), mostly females (4), or only females (5). The higher the score, the more female-typed the job. The lower the score the more male-typed the job. Participants also reported whether the applicant was heterosexual (1), gay or lesbian (2), or the participant didn’t know (3), as well as whether the applicant was male (1) or female (2).

**Results**

**Manipulation Checks**

To confirm our manipulation of job gender-type we conducted an independent samples t-test comparing ratings on the job gender-type item across the two job conditions, which was significant (*t*(180) = 18.863, *p* < .001). Examination of the means confirms that participants perceived the job of beautician to be female-typed (mean = 3.75) and the job of mechanic to be male-typed (mean = 2.05).

To verify our gender and sexual orientation manipulations, we examined the distribution of responses to the respective manipulation check questions removed the data of any participants who failed the gender or sexual orientation manipulation checks.

**Tests of Hypotheses**

Means on the dependent variables by condition are reported in Table 1. Correlations, overall means, and standard deviations for study variables appear in Table 2.

< Insert Table 1 around here >

< Insert Table 2 around here >

All of the hypotheses were tested with a 2 (male participant or female participant) x 2 (male-typed job or female-typed job) x 2 (male applicant or female applicant) x 2 (gay/lesbian applicant or heterosexual applicant) ANOVA for each dependent variable.

Hypotheses 1 predicted a 3-way interaction among applicant gender, applicant sexual orientation, and job gender-type in the prediction of perceived lack of fit. The 3-way interaction is not significant (p > .05), therefore hypothesis 1 was not supported. There was however a significant 2-way interaction of applicant gender and job gender-type on perceived lack of fit, *F*(1, 166) = 16.103, *p* < .001, partial eta2 = .088. This interaction is displayed in Figure 1. Examination of the figure reveals that the female applicants were rated higher on lack of fit in the male-typed job condition and the male applicants were rated higher on lack of fit in the female-typed job condition.

<Insert Figure 1 about here>

This interpretation of the figure is confirmed by our post hoc tests. To probe this interaction we performed two simple t-tests, with a Bonferonni corrected alpha of *p* = .025, comparing lack of fit ratings across jobs first for the female applicants and then for the male applicants. For the female applicant condition the result is significant, *t*(91) = -2.294, *p* = .024, eta2 = .055. Examination of the means reveals that the female applicants were rated higher on perceived lack of fit when applying for the male-typed job (mean = 4.14, SD = 2.63) than when applying for the female-typed job (mean = 2.98, SD = 2.26). The simple t-test for the male applicants was also significant, *t*(87) = 3.332, *p* = .001,

eta2 = .113. The means indicate that the male applicants were rated higher on perceived lack of fit in the female-typed job condition (mean = 3.55, SD = 2.57) than the male-typed job condition (mean = 2.03, SD = 1.39).

Our second hypothesis predicted the same 3-way interaction on competence ratings. The interaction is not significant (*p* > .05), failing to support hypothesis 2. To test hypothesis 3, we examined the 2-way interaction of applicant gender and job gender-type. The interaction was not significant. There was, however, a significant main effect of job gender-type on respect ratings, *F*(1, 166) = 3.826, *p* = .052, partial eta2 = .023, such that the female-typed job (Beautician: Mean = 6.78, SD = 1.50) was rated lower on respect than the male-typed job (Mechanic: Mean = 7.20, SD = 1.34). The 2-way applicant gender x job gender-type interaction on ineffectuality ratings was also nonsignificant. Thus both our third and fourth hypotheses were not supported.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that female participants would rate gay males higher than would male participants on all dependent variables.[[1]](#footnote-1) The 3-way interaction of participant gender, target gender, and target sexual orientation was significant for respect ratings, *F*(1, 166) = 4.314, *p* = .039, partial eta2 = .025. To probe this interaction further we performed two 2-way ANOVAs (participant gender x target gender) with a Bonferonni corrected alpha of .025, first for only gay/lesbian applicants, and then for heterosexual applicants. For gay/lesbian applicants the 2-way interaction was significant, *F*(1, 86) = 6.636, *p* = .012, partial eta2 = .072. This 2-way interaction is visualized in Figure 2.

<Insert Figure 2 about here>

To further examine this 2-way interaction we performed two simple t-tests comparing respect ratings across participant gender first for the gay male applicant and then for the lesbian applicant, again with the appropriate Bonferonni corrected alpha of .0125. The t-test for the gay male condition is significant, *t*(41) = -2.868, *p* = .003, eta2 = .167. Examination of the means reveals that male participants gave the gay male applicant a mean respect rating of 6.76 (SD = 1.49) while female participants gave a mean rating of 7.85 (SD = .99). The simple t-test for the lesbian applicant was not significant (*p* > .0125). Similarly the simple 2-way ANOVA (participant gender x target gender) for heterosexual applicants was not significant (*p* > .025). Thus hypothesis 5c was supported.

The 3-way interaction of participant gender, target gender, and target sexual orientation was also significant for likability ratings, *F*(1, 166) = 8.513, *p* = .032, partial eta2 = .028. We performed two 2-way ANOVAs (participant gender x target gender) with a Bonferonni corrected alpha of .025, first for only gay/lesbian applicants, and then for heterosexual applicants. For gay/lesbian applicants the 2-way interaction was significant, *F*(1,86) = 13.552, *p* < .001, partial eta2 = .136. This 2-way interaction is visualized in Figure 2.

<Insert Figure 3 about here>

To probe this 2-way interaction we performed two simple t-tests comparing likability ratings across participant gender first for the gay male applicant and then for the lesbian applicant, again with the appropriate Bonferonni corrected alpha of .0125. The t-test for the gay male applicant is significant, *t*(41) = -3.307, *p* = .001, eta2 = .211. Examination of the means reveals that male participants gave the gay male applicant a mean likability rating of 6.71 (SD = 1.67) while female participants gave a mean rating of 8.15 (SD = 1.17). The simple t-test for the lesbian applicant was not significant (*p* > .0125). Similarly the simple 2-way ANOVA (participant gender x target gender) for heterosexual applicants was not significant (*p* > .025). Thus hypothesis 5e was supported.

None of the 3-way interactions were significant in the prediction perceived lack of fit, competence, or effectuality. Therefore hypotheses 5a, 5b, and 5d were not supported.[[2]](#footnote-2)

**Discussion**

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Table 1

*Means and Standard Deviations by Condition*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | **Applicant** | | | |
| **Variable** | **Participant Gender** | **Job** | **Lesbian** | **Heterosexual Female** | **Gay Male** | **Heterosexual Male** |
| Perceived Lack of Fit | Male | Beautician | 2.05 (1.98) | 3.08 (2.73) | 4.00 (2.11) | 4.20 (2.90) |
| Mechanic | 3.90 (2.73) | 4.58 (2.28) | 1.80 (1.10) | 2.45 (1.81) |
| Female | Beautician | 3.27 (2.55) | 3.42 (2.43) | 1.86 (1.35) | 4.38 (3.12) |
| Mechanic | 3.40 (2.59) | 4.60 (3.13) | 1.80 (1.32 | 1.92 (.90) |
| Competence | Male | Beautician | 7.67 (.84) | 7.36 (1.45) | 7.02 (1.31) | 6.87 (1.70) |
| Mechanic | 8.10 (1.05) | 7.64 (1.33) | 7.20 (.93) | 7.58 (1.57) |
| Female | Beautician | 7.33 (1.08) | 7.11 (.88) | 8.02 (1.06) | 7.67 (1.13) |
| Mechanic | 7.70 (.74) | 7.60 (1.51) | 8.37 (.66) | 7.47 (1.04) |
| Respect | Male | Beautician | 7.21 (1.63) | 6.46 (1.51) | 6.82 (1.45) | 6.90 (1.65) |
| Mechanic | 7.40 (1.41) | 7.21 (1.12) | 6.60 (1.78) | 6.73 (1.72) |
| Female | Beautician | 6.60 (1.34) | 6.13 (1.26) | 7.68 (.99) | 6.35 (1.90) |
| Mechanic | 7.50 (.85) | 7.45 (1.52) | 8.10 (.99) | 6.50 (.98) |
| Ineffectuality | Male | Beautician | 2.45 (1.81) | 3.48 (1.93) | 3.41 (1.68) | 3.64 (1.68) |
| Mechanic | 2.74 (1.56) | 3.05 (1.49) | 3.20 (1.30) | 2.44 (1.29) |
| Female | Beautician | 3.04 (1.52) | 3.48 (1.64) | 2.17 (1.24) | 2.91 (1.61) |
| Mechanic | 2.74 (1.17) | 2.62 (1.54) | 2.00 (1.27) | 2.92 (1.23) |
| Likable | Male | Beautician | 7.54 (1.21) | 7.04 (1.50) | 6.68 (1.69) | 6.70 (1.46) |
| Mechanic | 7.70 (1.34) | 7.33 (1.03) | 6.80 (1.79) | 7.18 (1.55) |
| Female | Beautician | 6.67 (1.37) | 6.83 (1.19) | 8.21 (1.20) | 7.38 (1.34) |
| Mechanic | 7.35 (1.23) | 7.35 (1.43) | 8.05 (1.19) | 6.75 (1.03) |

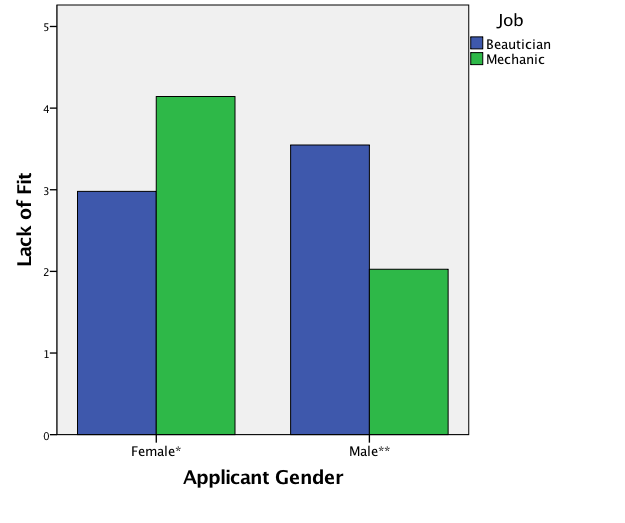
Table 2

*Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-Order Correlations*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M | SD | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 1. Applicant gender | - | - | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. Applicant sexual orientation | - | - | .02 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. Job gender-type | - | - | -.03 | .10 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. Perceived lack of fit | 3.21 | 2.39 | -.12 | -.15\* | -.02 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. Competence | 7.54 | 1.20 | .00 | -.11 | .14 | -.19\*\* | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6. Respect | 6.96 | 1.44 | .01 | -.19\*\* | .15\* | -.09 | .70\*\* | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7. Ineffectuality | 2.89 | 1.54 | -.05 | .12 | -.12 | -.15\* | -.67\*\* | -.66\*\* | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8. Likability | 7.23 | 1.38 | .02 | -.11 | .07 | -.22\*\* | .82\*\* | .71\*\* | -.67\*\* | 1 |  |  |  |  |
| 9. Participant gender | - | - | .05 | -.03 | -.00 | -.07 | .09 | .02 | .10 | .06 | 1 |  |  |  |
| 10. Participant age | 35.7 | 9.71 | -.18\* | -.13 | .06 | -.15 | .12 | .07 | -.06 | .14 | .11 | 1 |  |  |
| 11. Prejudice | 2.25 | 1.11 | .03 | .09 | .06 | .13 | -.22\*\* | -.29\*\* | .21\*\* | -.32\*\* | -.24\*\* | .02 | 1 |  |
| 12. Social desirability | 3.05 | .77 | -.16\* | .03 | .06 | .00 | .20\*\* | .20\*\* | -.22\*\* | .26\*\* | .09 | .15\* | -.08 | 1 |

\*Correlation is significant at *p* <.05 (2-tailed).

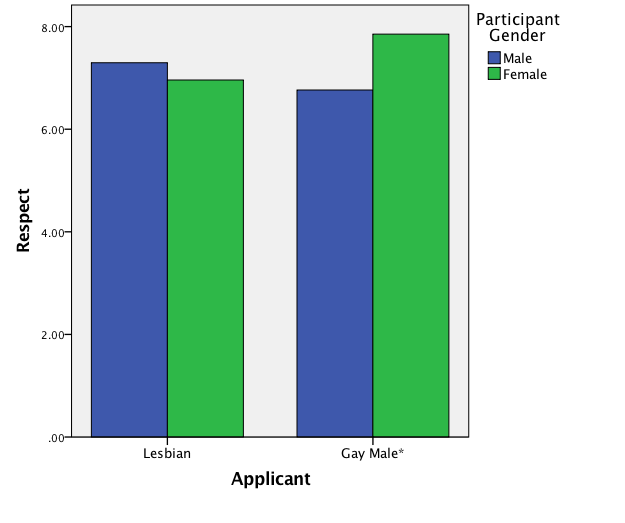
\*\* Correlation is significant at *p* <.01 (2-tailed).



\*Significant difference at *p* = .024.

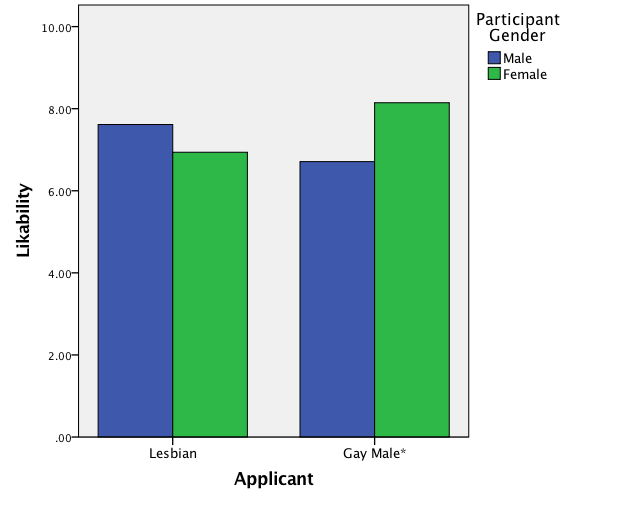
\*\*Significant difference at *p* = .001.

*Figure 1.* The 2-way interaction of applicant gender and job gender-type on lack of fit ratings



\*Significant difference at *p* = .003.

*Figure 2.* The 2-way interaction of participant gender and applicant gender on respect ratings



\*Significant difference at *p* = .001.

*Figure 3.* The 2-way interaction of participant gender and applicant gender on likability ratings

**Appendix A**

INSTRUCTIONS:

Imagine that you are the manager of ABC Spa and Salon.  Currently the spa is seeking to fill a full-time beautician position.  Six individuals have applied for the position.  Their first names are listed below:

List of Applicants:

1. Juanita

2. Megan

3. Victoria

4. Emily

5. Philip

6. Donna

You are currently examining Victoria’s (Philip's) application.  To make your evaluation, you will read the job description for the beautician position and Victoria’s (Philip's) background summary.  You will then be asked to rate Victoria (Philip) on a feedback form.

**ABC SPA AND SALON JOB DESCRIPTION**

**POSITION: FULL-TIME BEAUTICIAN**

**General Description**

This position is for a full-time beautician.

**Primary job responsibilities:**

1.  Provide a full range of esthetic services to clients including facials, nail art and design, aromatherapy, pedicures, make-up application, hair removal, and body wraps and treatments.

2.  Stay up to date on the latest makeup trends and esthetic techniques.

3. Recommend and promote the spa's product line, including make-up and skin care products.

INSTRUCTIONS:

Imagine that you are the manager of ABC Auto Garage.  Currently the garage is seeking to fill a full-time auto mechanic position.  Six individuals have applied for the position.  Their first names are listed below:

List of Applicants:

1. Juan

2. Michael

3. Victoria

4. Steve

5. Philip

6. David

You are currently examining Victoria’s (Philip's) application.  To make your evaluation, you will read the job description for the auto mechanic position and Victoria’s (Philip's) background summary.  You will then be asked to rate Victoria (Philip) on a feedback form.

**ABC AUTO GARAGE JOB DESCRIPTION**

**POSITION: FULL-TIME AUTO MECHANIC**

**General Description**

This position is for a full-time automotive mechanic.

**Primary job responsibilities:**

1.  Provide a full range of maintenance and repair services including work on engine systems, drive lines, electrical, steering, braking systems, and body components.

2.  Stay up to date on the latest automotive technology and advances.

3. Recommend and promote the garage's full range of services, including maintenance and repair.

**CANDIDATE'S BACKGROUND SUMMARY (Esthetician Condition)**

**Victoria:**

Victoria was born in a town about an hour away from ABC Spa and Salon.  She graduated from the Beautician Program at ABC Community College about ten years ago.  She then returned to her hometown with her wife (husband), Sarah (Gary), to work as a beautician.  Five years ago Victoria and Sarah (Gary) relocated to this area and Victoria took a job at a local spa.  Since then she has been working part-time as a beautician and is now seeking a full-time position.  Victoria enjoys being a beautician and stays current on the latest beauty trends.

**Philip:**

Philip was born in a town about an hour away from ABC Spa and Salon.  He graduated from the Beautician Program at ABC Community College about ten years ago.  He then returned to his hometown with his wife (husband), Sarah (Gary), to work as a beautician.  Five years ago Philip and Sarah (Gary) relocated to this area and Philip took a job at a local spa.  Since then he has been working part-time as a beautician and is now seeking a full-time position.  Philip enjoys being a beautician and stays current on the latest beauty trends.

**CANDIDATE'S BACKGROUND SUMMARY (Mechanic Condition)**

**Victoria:**

Victoria was born in a town about an hour away from ABC Auto Garage.  She graduated from the Automotive Service Technician Program at ABC Community College about ten years ago.  She then returned to her hometown with her wife (husband), Sarah (Gary), to work as an auto mechanic.  Five years ago Victoria and Sarah (Gary) relocated to this area and Victoria took a job at a local garage.  Since then she has been working part-time as a mechanic and is now seeking a full-time position.  Victoria enjoys being a mechanic and regularly attends training to stay current in her field.

**Philip:**

Philip was born in a town about an hour away from ABC Auto Garage.  He graduated from the Automotive Service Technician Program at ABC Community College about ten years ago.  He then returned to his hometown with his wife (husband), Sarah (Gary), to work as an auto mechanic.  Five years ago Philip and Sarah (Gary) relocated to this area and Philip took a job at a local garage.  Since then he has been working part-time as a mechanic and is now seeking a full-time position.  Philip enjoys being a mechanic and regularly attends training to stay current in his field.

1. We performed these analyses with all participants, as 88.5% of them were heterosexual. However, when we reran the analyses excluding participants were reported their sexual orientation to be ‘gay or lesbian’ or ‘other’, it did not change the findings. These analyses are available upon request. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Because we believe the effects of age, prejudice, or social desirability would not be controlled for in real life evaluations of job applicants we did not include them in our primary analyses. However, when entered as covariates, these variables did not substantially alter the results. These additional analyses are available upon request. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)