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Hiring Decisions: Impacts of Applicant Gender and Social Media Presence

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honors in Psychology

By:

Alicia Ostrowski

Under the mentorship of Dr. C. Thresa Yancey

ABSTRACT

Studies show that hiring decisions can be influenced by an applicant's social media profile (Broughton et al., 2013) as well as their gender (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). Women, compared to men, are more likely to face hiring discrimination (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009) and many hiring managers tend to look at an applicant's social media profiles for additional information during the hiring process (Broughton et al., 2013). There is a lack of substantial research on the combination of these two factors. This study examined the effects of gender and social media type on hiring decisions.

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Hiring Decisions: Impacts of Applicant Gender and Social Media Presence

Hiring decisions are affected by many aspects, including those of which the general public may be unaware. The interview process and one's professionalism during that process are obvious factors contributing to a company's decision to hire a new employee, but other factors are less obvious, including aspects of applicants' personal lives. Often, a company will base its hiring decisions on more than just a resume and interview. Research shows that many companies will look at candidates' social media profiles in search of extra information not included in the application material (Broughton et al., 2013). Gender may not be as conscious of a bias as social media, but many employers still have a bias against women who apply, especially in traditionally maledominated fields.

Social Media

Social media sites are defined as interactive forms of media allowing users to post pictures and status updates, as well as communicate with each other through chat features. As people use their social media, they are building their profiles consisting of pictures and information about themselves. Social media tends to be used by people of all ages, but it is especially popular among younger generations such as Millennials and Gen Z. Various social media sites such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter are among the more popular sites used. While initially intended as purely social, information from social media profiles often impacts individuals' work lives. High profile cases showing the potentially negative impacts of information posted on social media sites are often seen in national or international news (e.g., *Teen Vogue* editor, Alexi McCammond resigns due to past racist Tweets; Zenefits revokes job offer after potential employee posts online about their deliberation on which of two job offers to accept).

Social Media and Hiring

Social media is used as a recruitment tool as well as a screening tool for many companies (Broughton et al. 2013; Van Iddekinge et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2020). Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter are consistently reported as the most popular choices for screening purposes (Sameen & Cornelius, 2013). Researchers note that while this is convenient for companies and offers extra information about candidates, it also raises privacy concerns. Often, employers and hiring managers will use social media as a screening tool to gain extra information about job candidates with little time and effort on their end (Broughton et al., 2013). Prior surveys found evidence of 70% or more of hiring managers and recruiters using social media sites to screen job applicants (Kluemper, Mitra, & Wang, 2016). In a 2012 survey of 2,300 hiring managers, 37% reported searching for additional information through social networking sites and/or social media (Broughton et al., 2013). Of that 37%, one-third of the employers reported finding information that caused them not to hire a potential candidate (Broughton et al., 2013). The kind of information found on social media sites that tends to influence hiring decisions included demographic information (gender, age, etc.), level of education and training, and use of profanity (Zhang et al., 2020). In more extreme cases, applicants are asked to disclose their usernames and passwords and/or physically login to any social media sites so that employers can look through their social media sites as part of the job screening process (Davison et al., 2016).

Studies show that many companies conduct searches of potential candidates' social media to judge their potential fit for the company, but information on applicants' social media sites is often inaccurate and leads to poor hiring decisions (Davison et al.,

2016). There have been many cases of hiring managers rejecting potential applicants after only examining the applicant's profile picture because the managers think the picture is an accurate representation of the applicant's personality (Sameen & Cornelius, 2013). Previous research shows hiring managers are often influenced by factors such as age, gender, attractiveness, and race (Sameen & Cornelius, 2013). These decisions were often due to the hiring manager considering the photos "inappropriate" (Broughton et al., 2013).

Gender and Hiring

Men and women tend to be evaluated and judged differently in many settings. Job settings and interviews are no different. Biases due to gender are present in studies observing both entry-level positions (Kübler et al., 2018) and higher-level positions such as leadership roles (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011; Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). Many of these biases stem from cultural beliefs about gender roles. Within Western society, women are traditionally expected to be kind, sensitive, and docile (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). Men, on the other hand, are traditionally expected to be assertive and dominant – traits associated with leadership but often seen as negative for women (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). This bias is present in nearly all aspects of job performance evaluations. When men succeed at various tasks of their jobs, it is credited to their ability and skill, but when women succeed at the same tasks it is often attributed to luck or other external causes (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). The same is true for promotions, with women predicted as less likely to earn a promotion with the same qualifications as a male counterpart (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009).

The only exception to these biases was when the career field being studied was female-dominated (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009).

The detriment to women due to gender bias in the workforce is significant. One study examined the effect of gender on hiring decisions and found that "the penalty for being female is as large as having a grade point average that is worse by one grade" (Kübler et al., 2018, p. 216). The amount of discrimination appears to differ by industry (Riach & Rich, 2006). Women are judged more harshly in most job settings, especially male-dominated fields. Studies show women are significantly less likely than men to be invited for an interview when applying for a job in a male-dominated field (Kübler et al., 2018). This is often the result of stereotyping stemming from the prevalence of one gender within a field and causes an unconscious preference for the dominant gender (i.e., men; Kübler et al., 2018). However, there is little evidence to support the existence of discrimination against men in female-dominated fields (Kübler et al., 2018). One study found slight discrimination against men in secretarial roles, but substantial discrimination against women in engineering roles (Riach & Rich, 2006). There is also no evidence to support that the discrimination is caused by any observable difference in performance (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009).

Conservatism

Conservatism is yet another factor linked with discrimination and unethical decision-making (Son Hing et al., 2007). The concept of conservatism is linked to the want of order, predictability, and strict adherence to authority, commonly called right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). RWA attitudes may explain why women are treated differently in hiring practices and expected to perform at higher levels than men to

achieve promotions (Bordiga et al., 2005). Research shows that, to be perceived as competent when compared to male counterparts, women must explicitly emphasize prior successes and use self-promotional tactics (Bordiga et al., 2005). This is especially true when individuals with high RWA personalities are making promotional decisions due to their tendency to endorse traditional gender roles and disapprove of women who behave non-traditionally (Bordiga et al., 2005; Duckitt et al., 2010). This was explored regarding women in managerial roles (Son Hing et al., 2007). Previous research shows that people with authoritarian personalities are among the most prejudiced people in society (Altemeyer, 2004), which includes preferential treatment of the dominant gender (i.e., men) in hiring practices. Altemeyer (1998) suggests RWA is more common among those with other conservative beliefs and those who live in rural areas, including the rural southeast, where the current study is being conducted.

Further, RWA is linked to benevolent sexism (a way of treating women in patronizing, but not outwardly hostile, ways; Feather & McKee, 2012; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Treating women as fragile or unable to handle the stressors of challenging work environments is demeaning and may be a reason (conscious or unconscious) for someone with high RWA to choose a male applicant over a similarly qualified female applicant when hiring. The relationship between RWA and benevolent sexism is well established (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Feather & McKee, 2012), suggesting that hiring managers with high RWA are less likely to choose a female applicant when making hiring decisions.

Current Study

Social media and gender are two factors shown separately to cause discrimination in the hiring process (Broughton et al., 2013; Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). Research also shows a link between higher levels of conservatism and discrimination, especially based on gender (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Feather & McKee, 2012). The current study examined the effect of gender (male/female) and social media picture type (casual/professional) on hiring decisions. The study also examined the relationship between conservatism level (RWA) and hiring decisions based on the gender of the applicant.

Hypothesis

 Consistent with previous research suggesting that men are more likely to be hired compared to similarly qualified women (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011; Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009), it was expected that confidence levels in hiring male applicants would be higher than those of female applicants.

Study Aims

- While no known research was available regarding how hiring managers may be influenced in their decisions by social media profile picture type (casual vs. professional photograph), the current study explored the relationship between social media profile picture appearance and perceptions of hireability.
 - a. The current study further explored the relationship between social media profile type (i.e., casual or professional photograph) on hiring decisions by exploring whether gender of applicant (male/female) and their respective social media profile appearance were related to perceptions of hireability.

- 2. While much is known about right-wing authoritarianism, no research to date has examined the relationship of RWA and hiring decisions based on the gender (male vs. female) of the applicant. The current study explored potential relationships between level of RWA and gender of the applicant (male/female) in hiring decisions.
 - a. Another area with no known research is the relationship between RWA and social media profile type (i.e., casual vs. professional photograph).
 Therefore, the current study explored the relationship between level of RWA and social media presence (professional/casual).

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 172 primarily white (93; 54.1%) women (126; 73.3%), with good representation of other genders (men = 41; 23.8%, other genders = 5; 3%) and races/ethnicities (African American = 49; 28.5%, Multiracial = 12; 7%, Another race/ethnicity = 8; 4.6%, Hispanic = 6; 3.5%, and Asian = 2; 1.2%). A total of 230 students began the survey, but 58 were excluded from analyses due to non-completion (11), being unable to identify the gender of their applicant (17), or failing the manipulation check (30). The data from 172 participants were retained for analysis. Participants were undergraduate students at a southeastern university, all of whom were 18 years old or older. All participants were enrolled in a psychology course offered at their university. Participants were given course credit for their participation. There were no other restrictions or exclusionary criteria.

Procedure

All participants accessed the study through the online forum known as SONA Systems. This provided them with a link to the study housed on Qualtrics, an online survey system. Participants gave consent to participate and were made aware that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. Participants completed a questionnaire on personality (i.e., Right Wing Authoritarianism), read descriptions of jobs, reviewed a sample application, provided their hiring decision for the applicant, and provided demographic information. To reduce order effects, the order of materials was randomized (personality questionnaire; job description/application/hiring), followed by demographic information for all participants.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four job application conditions to review a hypothetical applicant for an entry-level business analyst position. Applicants varied by gender (female/male) and social media profile (casual/professional).

Participants read the job description and an applicant's resume and social media profile. All applicant information aside from gender and social media content was identical across all conditions. Participants saw one of four social media profiles (woman: casual, woman: professional, man: casual, or man: professional). After reviewing the job description and application materials, participants answered questions about how likely they were to hire the applicant based on the information presented. Next, participants completed a manipulation check to ensure they understood the applicant's materials. Participants also answered a self-report questionnaire to determine their adherence to RWA beliefs. At the end of the study, participants provided demographic information.

Measures and Materials

All measures and materials were created for the study or obtained with permission from the original authors.

Job Description. All participants read an advertisement for an entry level business analyst position. The job ad details basic job information (e.g., degree needed, past experience, job duties). See Appendix A for a full copy of the job ad.

Resume. Participants read a resume for an applicant to the position. All conditions were shown identical resumes. The name of the applicant, "Taylor Miller," was selected to be suitable for any gender and limit confounds based on likeability of a name. The resume includes all necessary requirements, showing the applicant is qualified for the position. See Appendix B for a full copy of the applicant resume.

Social Media Profile. The four conditions varied by social media profile.

Participants were shown one of the following four social media profiles: woman – professional, woman – causal, man – professional, or man – casual. The information on all four profiles was identical except for the picture. In the "casual" conditions, the profile picture displayed the applicant in shorts and a tee shirt in an outdoor setting. In the "professional" conditions, the applicant's profile picture displayed the applicant in front of a library bookcase and the applicant was wearing black pants and a polo style shirt (business casual clothing). See Appendix C for full copies of all four social media profiles.

Hiring Decision. After viewing the job description, resume, and social media profile of their applicant, participants answered questions about hiring. First, they gave a hiring decision on a 4-point Likert scale (0 = would not hire, 1 = maybe hire, 2 = likely/probably hire, 3 = definitely hire) and rated their confidence in their hiring decision on a scale from 0 to 100. Second, they rated the amount of influence different aspects of the application had on their hiring decision from 0 to 10. Specifically, participants rated how much the applicant's resume, experience, and social media profile impacted their hiring decision. See Appendix D for full measure.

Manipulation Check. To ensure participants were actively engaging in the survey materials, a manipulation check was included. The first question asked the participant to correctly identify the gender of their applicant. The second question asked the participant to correctly identify the name of their applicant. The third question asked the participant to correctly identify the university name of their applicant. The fourth question asked the participant to correctly identify the job type in the job ad. The final

question asked what was shown in the profile picture on the applicant's social media page (i.e., bookcase or lake). Participants had to correctly answer three of the five questions correctly, including the applicant's gender, for their data to be used in the study.

Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA; Altemeyer, 1998). The RWA Scale is a 30-item questionnaire designed to assess a person's personality constructs of authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, and conventionalism. Items are rated on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree), with 0 representing neutral. Higher scores on the RWA indicate higher acceptance of right-wing authoritarianism. Full scale scores will be used in the current study. The RWA has good internal consistency ($\alpha = .85 - .94$; Altemeyer, 1996) and discriminant validity ($\alpha = .78$; Altemeyer, 1988).

Demographics. To gain a well-rounded understanding of the sample population, participants provided demographic information. The average age of participants was 20.37 years. Of the 172 participants included in data analyses, 126 identified as women (73.3%), 41 identified as men (23.8%), and the remaining 5 participants either opted not to answer or identified as another gender (3%). Data were also collected from a wide range of racial/ethnic groups. The sample was 54.1% white, 28.5% African American, 7% multiracial, 3.5% Hispanic, 1.2% Asian, and 4.6% who did not provide information on their race/ethnicity.

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to hypothesis testing, preliminary analyses were conducted out of interest. A bivariate correlation was conducted to examine the relationship between rating of resume, rating of social media, and rating of experience. These analyses reveal a significant correlation between participant rating of how much resume and experience were related to hiring decisions (r (170) = .492, p < .001). Social media contribution to hiring decision was not significantly related to either resume or experience ratings. Social media information on hiring had the lowest score (M = 5.0) compared to resume (M = 7.3) and experience (M = 6.9).

Hypothesis 1

A MANOVA was used to examine the decision to hire and confidence in decision to hire based on applicant gender. Results were non-significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .999 \ F(2, 169) = .05$, p = .96. Hiring ratings were similar for both groups (female applicant M = 2.87, SD = .73; male applicant M = 2.84, SD = .65). Confidence in the decision to hire was also similar for both groups (female applicant M = 73.09, SD = 18.66; male applicant M = 72.75, SD = 20.48). See Table 1. A MANOVA analyzing the differences between casual and professional social media pictures of applicants in regards to the likelihood to hire and confidence in the decision to hire was not significant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .99$, F(2, 169) = 1.17, P = .31. Hiring ratings were similar for both groups (casual M = 2.79, SD = .74; professional M = 2.93, SD = .63). Results were also similar for both groups in regard to

confidence in hiring decision (casual M = 73.32, SD = 18.77; professional M = 72.49, SD = 20.34).

Study Aims

For study aim 1, a MANOVA examining the relationship between social media type and gender and their relationship to hiring decisions and confidence in hiring was nonsignificant, Wilks' $\Lambda = .93$, F(6, 334) = 1.95, p = .07. Similar ratings were reported for each group for likelihood to hire (woman casual: M = 2.88, SD = .78; woman professional: M = 2.86, SD = .68; man casual: M = 2.69, SD = .68; man professional: M = 3.00, SD = .60). While the overall analysis was non-significant, follow up LSDs did indicate a significantly higher Hire Rating for the Man Professional condition compared to the Man Casual condition (p < .05). Similar ratings were also reported for each group in regard to confidence in hiring decision (woman casual: M = 71.16, SD = 19.92; woman professional: M = 75.28, SD = 17.10; man casual: M = 75.83, SD = 17.23; man professional: M = 69.34, SD = 23.33). See Table 2.

Finally, for study aim 2, that RWA may relate to hiring decisions, correlations among scores on RWA, hiring decision, and hiring confidence were conducted. RWA was not significantly correlated to hiring decision or hiring confidence, but hiring decision and hiring confidence were significantly correlated (r(166) = .385, p < .001).

Table 1Mean Scores on Hire Ratings and Confidence in Decision to Hire Across Gender

	Variable				
	Hire Rating		Confidence in Decision to Hire		
	M	SD	М	SD	
Gender					
Male	2.84	.65	72.75	20.48	
Female	2.87	.73	73.09	18.66	

Table 2Mean Scores on Hire Ratings and Confidence in Decision to Hire Across Social Media Picture Type

	Variable				
	Hire Rating		Confidence in Decision to Hire		
Social Media Type	M	SD	M	SD	
Woman Professional	2.86 ^{a,b}	.68	75.28	17.10	
Woman Casual	$2.88^{a,b}$.78	71.16	19.92	
Man Professional	3.00^{a}	.60	69.34	23.33	
Man Casual	2.69^{b}	.68	75.83	17.23	

Note: Means with different superscripts are significantly different on post-hoc LSD analyses at the p < .05 level

DISCUSSION

There is previous research about the influence of applicant gender on hiring decisions (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009) and on the influence of social media on hiring decisions (Broughton et al., 2013), but there has been little to no research examining both of these two factors. The purpose of this study was to seek a further understanding of how gender and social media both relate to hiring decisions. It was hypothesized that men would be rated higher overall in terms of how likely participants would be to hire them. However, between men and women with both professional and casual social media profile pictures, there were no significant differences in the likelihood to hire. In addition, no relationship was discovered between personality characteristics (i.e., Right Wing Authoritarianism) and hiring decisions. These findings are not consistent with available research.

Limitations and Future Directions

The lack of significant results in the current study may be due to limitations within the study. First, participants were undergraduate psychology students.

Undergraduate students in college are unlikely to have any experience or practice in hiring decisions. Therefore, the participants may not have based decisions on hiring on any particular aspect of the application due to lack of experience in rating potential job applicants. Participants may not have answered in a way that reflects how real-world hiring managers make decisions (e.g., influenced by gender and social media presence of the applicant; Broughton et al., 2013; Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009). Future research may be more effective at examining the relationships between applicant gender and applicant social media presence if hiring managers comprise the sample. Because the

students were all taking part in at least an introductory level psychology course, it is also likely that they had been introduced to information about biases in decision-making.

Another limitation of the sample was that most identified as women. Women typically show less bias in their judgement of other women (Kübler et al., 2018). Most discrimination based on gender occurs in male-dominated fields (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009; Riach & Rich, 2006). In addition, participants only viewed a single applicant rather than viewing and comparing multiple candidates. In real hiring situations, applicants would be compared against other applicants in the pool. Future research may want to have participants review multiple applications to see if they choose applicants as best fit for the position who are men and who have more professional social media presences. When compared head-to-head with another applicant, biases against women or the influence of social media presence may be more apparent. Also, the social media profiles in the current study may not have been different enough to elicit different hiring decision. Specifically, the "casual" profile picture was very modest compared to social media picture that may influence hiring decisions (i.e., those that may later reflect poorly on the company if associated with an employee). In most cases involving hiring discrimination based on social media, the pictures or content were more controversial (e.g., Teen Vogue editor, Alexi McCammond resigns due to past racist Tweets; Zenefits revokes job offer after potential employee posts online about their deliberation on which of two job offers to accept).

In terms of considerations for future studies within this field of research, it would be beneficial to have participants compare social media profiles and rank them in order of which potential applicant they would be most likely to hire. This would require slightly more in depth participation, but would show more conclusive results as to whether or not there is a gender bias or social media profile bias in hiring decisions. Another consideration for future studies would be to collect data from a different population. It would likely be most beneficial to sample actual hiring managers from male-dominated fields, female-dominated fields, and gender neutral fields to obtain more robust and generalizable results.

Strengths

While the study had limitations that may have hindered the ability to find significant results, there were also a number of strengths. All of the participants were randomly assigned to their condition, therefore each condition received roughly the same amount of participants. This is beneficial because it prevents the data from being skewed in any one direction. Another strength for the study is that the people shown in the profile pictures of the social media pages are siblings. This ensures a certain degree of similarity between the profile pictures in terms of facial features and other physical attributes. Also, in addition to rating how likely they would be to hire their hypothetical applicant, participants also rated their confidence in their decision. The purpose of this was to ensure that participants were genuinely considering the materials and questions rather than simply filling in answers at random.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to investigate whether gender and/or social media profile picture type (casual vs. professional) were related to hiring decisions. While the results were not significant, ideas for future directions and possibly better means to investigate

these phenomena resulted from the study. Participants, undergraduate students, did not differentially rate likelihood or confidence to hire based on applicant gender or profile type. This was inconsistent with previous research.

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APPENDIX A

JOB DESCRIPTION

Entry-Level Business Analyst Position

Full Job Description

Role: Business Analyst

Location: Remote

Duration: Long-term

Responsibilities:

- Prepare weekly reports for internal and external teams
- Check reporting results and flag potential issues
- Monitor key metrics for significant changes
- Create dashboards, spreadsheet analyses, and presentations as requested by regional analysts
- Troubleshoot data issues by validating different data sources
- Analyze business performance trends to identify growth opportunities

Minimum qualifications:

- BA/BS degree (business, finance, statistics, economics)
- Experience in finance or accounting
- Fluency in MS Excel
- Strong written and oral communication skills
- Able to multitask

Job Type: Full-time, Contract

Salary: from \$30.00 per hour

Schedule: 8-hour shift

Work Location: Remote

APPENDIX B

APPLICANT RESUME

TAYLOR MILLER, B.S.

123 Main St. Anytown, US 555-555-5555

EXPERIENCE

2017 - 2020

ACADEMIC TUTOR, STATE UNIVERSITY

Assist college students in overcoming deficiencies and successfully mastering academic coursework.

SUMMER OF 2019

STUDENT INTERN, FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING DEVELOPMENT FIRM

Proficient in MS Office. Assisted staff members in problem solving and balancing accounts.

EDUCATION

MAY 2020

BS IN BUSINESS AND MARKETING, STATE UNIVERSITY

3.5 GPA, cum laude

SKILLS

- MS Office proficiency
- Project Management skills
- Experienced in Python

- Effective Oral and Written Communication
- Organizational Skills
- Strong multitasking skills

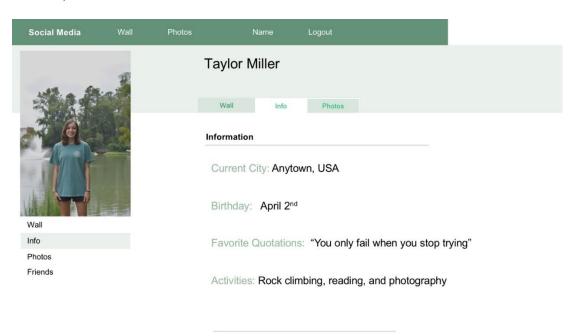
HONORS/LEADERSHIP

- Scholar, State University College of Business Scholar's Program
- Vice President, Alpha Kappa Psi (Professional Co-Ed Business Organization) 2019-2020
- Member, Alpha Kappa Psi (Professional Co-Ed Business Organization) 2017-2020
- Dean's List 2016-2020

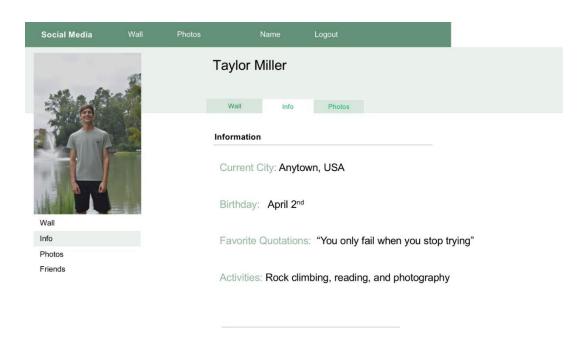
APPENDIX C

SOCIAL MEDIA PROFILES

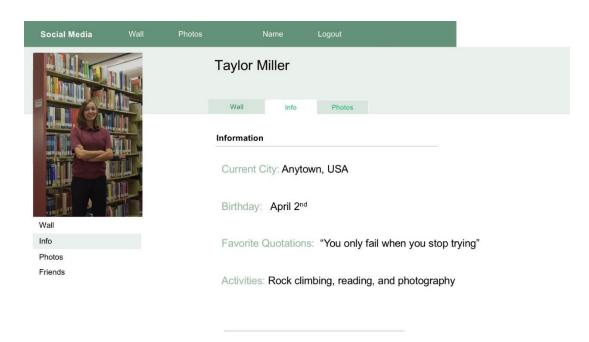
Woman, Casual



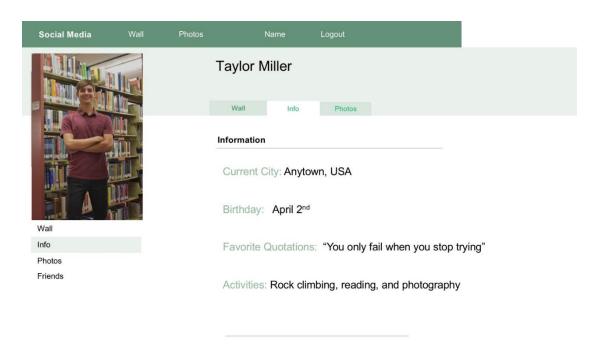
Man, Casual



Woman, Professional



Man, Professional



APPENDIX D

HIRING DECISIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1. How likely would you be to hire this applicant?
 - 0 =would not hire
 - 1 =maybe hire
 - 2 = likely/probably hire
 - 3 = definitely hire
- 2. How confident are you in your decision to hire/not hire this applicant?
 - 0-100 (sliding scale)
- 3. How much was your decision to hire/not hire based on the applicant's resume?
 - 0-10 (sliding scale)
- 4. How much was your decision to hire/not hire based on the applicant's social media profile?
 - 0-10 (sliding scale)
- 5. How much was your decision to hire/not hire based on the applicant's experience?
 - 0-10 (sliding scale)

APPENDIX E

DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Year of Birth:	Age:
Gender:	
Female	
Genderqueer, nei	ther exclusively male nor female
Male	
Transgender (Fe	nale to Male)
Transgender (Ma	ıle to Female)
A Better Descrip	tion Not Specified Above
I'd prefer not to a	inswer
Race:	
African America	n
Asian	
Bi/Multi Racial:	
Hispanic	
Native American	I
Pacific Islander	
White	
A Better Descrip	tion Not Specified Above
I'd prefer not to a	inswer