

Channeling others' biases to meet role demands[☆]Andrea C. Vial^{a,*}, John F. Dovidio^a, Victoria L. Brescoll^{a,b}^a Department of Psychology, Yale University, 2 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, CT 06520, United States of America^b School of Management, Yale University, 165 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06511, United States of America

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ABSTRACT

Five studies illuminate how the demands of the roles that people occupy can sometimes contribute to the maintenance of group inequality by promoting the accommodation of others' biases, even when those biases disadvantage an in-group or clash with personal views. When role demands to maximize candidate fit in hiring selections were strong, preference for job candidates of a given group tended to be lower when there were cues to third-party prejudice against that group (vs. no cues), irrespective of in-group favoritism effects (Studies 1–5) or participant attitudes (Studies 4 and 5). We found supporting evidence for the underlying processes in the context of hiring selections involving fictional groups (Study 1) as well as female job candidates (Studies 2–5). A concern with meeting the demands of the gatekeeper role was at the root of prejudice accommodation: When role-demands to prioritize candidate fit were strong, role-relevant considerations (interpersonal and task-focused) mediated the accommodation effect (Studies 1 and 4). The more gatekeepers in charge of hiring sought to meet role demands by considering the preferences of relevant third parties, the more they accommodated third-party prejudice (Study 2). Moreover, role-based concerns mediated the accommodation of prejudice—but not other potential considerations that were unrelated to role demands (Study 3). Finally, the accommodation effect was eliminated when the role definition did not prioritize candidate fit (Study 4) and when we experimentally reduced the strength of role-related concerns (Study 5). These findings illustrate the relevance of the role concept for understanding the social transmission of bias.

1. Introduction

The roles that people occupy in a given moment can have a powerful hold on their behavior (James, 1950; Stryker & Serpe, 1982), impact how they view themselves (Richeson & Ambady, 2001; Roberts & Donahue, 1994), the way they subjectively construe and interpret events (Baumeister & Newman, 1995; Baumeister, Stillwell, & Wotman, 1990), and how they think about and act toward others (Broderick, 1998; Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). Roles can also induce individuals to channel group-based biases as they strive to meet the goals associated with those roles. As a consequence, occupying particular roles can lead individuals to behave toward members of underrepresented groups in ways that perpetuate social disadvantage—often in ways that are inconsistent with individuals' personal attitudes and beliefs (Vial, Brescoll, & Dovidio, 2018). In the current investigation, we examined how the demands of the roles that people occupy sometimes contribute to the spread of prejudice and the maintenance of group inequality.

The concept of roles, generally, and role theory (Biddle, 1979,

1986), more specifically, may be particularly useful to understand how bias spreads in organizational contexts (Vial et al., 2018). According to role theory (Biddle, 1979, 1986; Staines, 1986), different roles and social positions require different kinds of responses (“role demands”), and when people adopt a particular role they behave in ways that are consistent with those role demands (Stryker, 2008). Well-defined roles with clear rather than ambiguous demands can shape responses particularly strongly (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003). Most role behaviors are contextually bound (Biddle, 1979), and the impact of occupying a role is often spontaneous: Roles influence cognition, directing attention toward role-relevant stimuli and speeding up processing of role-relevant cues (Collier & Callero, 2005; Morgan & Schwalbe, 1990). Whereas others' perceived attitudes can affect individuals' behavior through various forms of social influence, such as normative pressures to conform (e.g., Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994), role theory emphasizes the spontaneous motivations of people to meet the perceived demand of the structural position they currently occupy, rather than to adjust to the

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social opinions of others. In the present research, we offer insights into why people may exhibit or perpetuate bias due to the demands of the roles that they occupy. We extend recent research by Vial et al. (2018) indicating that role demands nudge individuals to engage in discriminatory behavior when they occupy a “gatekeeper role,” that is, when they control access to resources or membership in a group or organization. We examined various gatekeeper roles that entailed the responsibility of making a hiring decision or recommendation.

Vial et al. (2018) proposed that role demands can help explain why other peoples' biases sometimes influence individuals' hiring decisions involving female job candidates (the “third-party prejudice effect”). They found that individuals whose roles require them to hire other people tend to accommodate the perceived gender-based prejudices of existing organizational members when evaluating job candidates. In the present research, we focus on fit between a job candidate and the values of potential co-workers or supervisors (Cable & Judge, 1997; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Heilman (1983, 2001) defined perceived candidate fit as the extent to which an individual's skills and abilities match the job's requirements, and she demonstrated how fit perceptions can be influenced by the gender of the candidates and associated cultural stereotypes (for a review, see Heilman, Manzi, & Braun, 2015). Because candidate fit can be a good indicator of future job performance (Elfenbein & O'Reilly III, 2007; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005), gatekeepers might be reluctant to select a candidate when there are cues to suggest that this candidate would be a poor fit with relevant third parties (i.e., those with whom a new hire would be required to work closely) (Rivera, 2012; Tsai, Chi, Huang, & Hsu, 2011).

The perceived biases of organizational members who would work closely with a new hire (i.e., third-party prejudice) might serve as a cue to candidate fit and influence gatekeepers' hiring selections to align with those perceived biases. Vial et al. (2018) showed that the suspicion of prejudice in relevant third parties raised concerns related to candidate fit, including (a) an interpersonal concern for gatekeepers that those prejudiced third parties would not get along with a female hire, as well as (b) a task-focused concern about the potential performance of a female hire, because interpersonal friction can have a negative impact on task-completion (Edwards & Cable, 2009; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). Gender-based prejudice in a relevant third party may raise a concern in gatekeepers that a woman would not get along well with or be able to complete tasks successfully working alongside the biased third party.

2. Current research

In five studies, we tested the influence of candidate fit in the accommodation of third-party prejudice in hiring decisions by placing participants in charge of hiring in a situation in which they could potentially take into consideration the preferences of a relevant third party (i.e., someone who would work closely with the new hire). We examined participant responses in a variety of contexts where there were cues suggesting that the third party was prejudiced against a given group, and we compared them to control conditions in which those cues were absent. We tested two general hypotheses in multiple ways. One main hypothesis (Hypothesis 1 [H1]) was that, when there were strong role demands favoring the consideration of candidate fit, participants would prefer candidates from a given group less when there were cues to third-party prejudice against that group (vs. no cues). Our second main hypothesis (Hypothesis 2 [H2]) focused on the dynamics shaping this effect, positing that concerns with meeting the demands of the gatekeeper role (e.g., to prioritize candidate fit) would underlie the process of prejudice accommodation. We tested H1 and H2 with methods that potentially offer converging evidence while also extending the findings of Vial et al. (2018) in important ways.

Study 1 examined the third-party prejudice effect (H1) with novel groups to demonstrate the phenomenon in a context outside the realm of gender bias (Vial et al., 2018) uncontaminated by pre-existing

attitudes and stereotypes about the group. With respect to H2, we aimed to replicate the mediating effect of role-relevant concerns (task-focused and interpersonal) in a hiring context involving novel groups.

Study 2 employed a subtle cue to third-party prejudice to test whether people may be sensitive to even minor signals of third-party prejudice (related to H1), complementing the studies in Vial et al. (2018) that employed somewhat blatant prejudice cues. Related to H2, Study 2 investigated an untested assumption in Vial et al. (2018) that, the more strongly gatekeepers seek to meet role demands to maximize candidate fit in their decision-making process, the more they will accommodate third-party prejudice. In this study, we examined whether participants' self-reports of taking third-party preferences into account would moderate the third-party prejudice effect.

Study 3 tested the third-party prejudice effect in the domain of gender bias (see Vial et al., 2018) but considered a broader range of potential considerations relevant to the gatekeeper role (related to H2). In Study 3, we also compared role-based concerns to other potential considerations (i.e., a paternalistic concern with the well-being of a job candidate, or a concern about gender inequality) that might arise as a result of third-party prejudice but which do not necessarily align with role demands.

Studies 4 and 5 investigated the tendency to accommodate a prejudiced third party (H1) who has no formal authority over the gatekeeper, addressing a limitation in the Vial et al. (2018) research that examined the accommodation only for high-status third parties. Moreover, whereas Vial et al. (2018) showed primarily correlational mediation (related to H2), we tested the causal influences on the third-party prejudice effect by assigning participants to different roles in Study 4 and by directly manipulating a key proposed mediator, interpersonal concerns, in Study 5. Collectively, the five studies in the present research examine the robustness and generalizability of the hypothesized third-party prejudice effect across a range of new theoretically- and socially-relevant contexts.

Across the five studies, we also explored the relationship between several relevant individual differences and gatekeepers' hiring decisions. We hypothesized that both social category group memberships and personal ideologies would predict hiring preferences (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Hoyt, 2012). Novel to the current investigation, we extended Vial et al. (2018) by examining hiring preferences for in-group over out-group members based not only on gender, but also on randomly assigned groups (Study 1), allowing for a truly experimental test of the phenomenon. Moreover, we examined the relationship between participants' gender-based ideologies and hiring preferences in Studies 4 and 5. However, roles can override the influence of social category group and personal ideologies on an individual's behavior (LaFrance, Hecht, & Paluck, 2003; Pratto, Tatar, & Conway-Lanz, 1999). Thus, we did not expect these individual-level variables to moderate the third-party prejudice effect.

3. Study 1

The goal of this study was to test H1 that individuals in a gatekeeper role have a lower preference to hire a candidate from a given group when there are cues indicating that a relevant third party is prejudiced against that group compared to when such prejudice cues are absent. We tested this prediction by placing participants in the role of a gatekeeper in charge of selecting someone to intervene in a conflict between two groups (i.e., the third party). We employed a novel groups paradigm, which has a long tradition in social psychology as a valuable tool to study group processes (Dunham, Baron, & Carey, 2011; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), in order to test of the third-party prejudice effect in a context in which gatekeepers had no prior knowledge, stereotypes, or attitudes about the groups involved.

We also examined the prediction that a concern with meeting the demands of the gatekeeper role (e.g., to prioritize candidate fit) would underlie the process of prejudice accommodation (testing H2). In

addition to having appropriate qualifications, the gatekeeper role in this context would prioritize selecting a person whom the third party would respect and work well with to resolve the military conflict (Rivera, 2012; Tsai et al., 2011). Thus, we assessed participants' interpersonal concerns and task-focused concerns when faced with the prospect of hiring someone from the group that was the target of third-party prejudice. We expected both of these concerns to be higher when the third party was prejudiced (vs. not), and to significantly mediate the effect of third-party prejudice condition on participant hiring preferences.

In Study 1, we randomly assigned participants to a fictional novel group before they made a personnel decision and experimentally investigated the effects of in-group/out-group membership and information about a third party's bias. The random assignment to novel groups allowed us to examine the accommodation of prejudice against in-groups and out-groups systematically in a way that would not be possible in the context of existing demographic groups such as gender. In addition to a prejudice accommodation effect, we expected that participants would be more likely to select a fellow in-group member, in line with in-group favoritism (Tajfel et al., 1971). However, one important prediction derived from the role-based framework (Vial et al., 2018) is that gatekeepers would accommodate prejudice even when doing this could disadvantage a social in-group. To the extent that role demands are strong, they are expected to be salient for gatekeepers and influence their choices regardless of their social identity (LaFrance et al., 2003). Thus, even though gatekeepers might generally favor in-group candidates over out-group candidates in hiring decisions (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014), we expected participants to accommodate third-party prejudice against in-groups as well as out-groups.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

In all studies, results were never examined until data collection was complete, and we report all measures, manipulations, and exclusions. In Study 1, 458 individuals completed the study on Amazon Mechanical Turk (Mturk) and received \$0.55. The HIT was available to workers with completion rates of 85% or higher. We excluded 11 participants who indicated that some answers were jokes or random, and nine who failed the attention check described in the procedure ($n = 438$; mean age = 32.70, $SD = 10.19$; 62.6% female; 75.6% White). Eight participants did not indicate gender, race, or age. Sensitivity power analysis (G*Power 3.1; Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) showed that a 2×2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) model with $n = 438$ is sufficient to detect a small effect ($f = 0.13$; with power = 0.80 and $\alpha = 0.05$).

3.1.2. Procedure

We adapted a novel groups method in which participants were asked to make judgments about beings from an alien world (Burke, 2016). We informed participants that we were interested in how people form impressions of fictional worlds, and that we would ask them to read about a galaxy with three planets (Planets "One," "Two," and "Three"). We explained that each of the three planets was populated by three different kinds of intelligent beings (i.e., similar to the way in which countries on Earth are inhabited by both men and women).

We called the three alien groups "Eldans," "Millisarians," and "Taurgons," and we provided a short description of each of the groups (e.g., "Eldans" have big spots) including a matching picture (stimuli in SOM). We randomly assigned participants to belong to one of the novel fictional alien groups (either an "Eldan" or a "Millisarian"). To reinforce the group assignment, participants were asked to match pictures of the three types of beings with their corresponding group labels. We then asked participants to identify a single picture of an in-group member, and excluded any participants who did not correctly identify their group.

We adapted the remainder of the scenario from Vial et al. (2018), Study 3. We instructed participants to imagine that they were the President of Planet One, and that they had to appoint a chief negotiator to oversee truce talks between Planets Two and Three, which were engaged in military conflict. The leaders of Planets Two and Three constituted the third party in Study 1, as they would work together with the appointed chief negotiator to resolve the dispute. The group membership of the leaders of the two planets at war was not specified, and participants could reasonably assume that these leaders were a mix of beings from the three different alien groups.

In order to manipulate third-party prejudice cues experimentally, half of participants were randomly assigned to a condition in which the leaders of Planet Two and Planet Three were said to be prejudiced against "Eldans." The text was similar to that employed by Vial et al. (2018), but adapted to the novel group context, and is presented in full in the SOM. Participants in the control condition did not receive this information regarding the treatment of Eldans in Planets Two and Three. Then, participants read that only two candidates were available for the position, a "Taurgon" and an "Eldan," and were asked, "All other things being equal (e.g., personality traits, professional experience, etc.), who would you appoint as chief negotiator?" Participants indicated their hiring preference from 1 (*definitely select Taurgon*) to 9 (*definitely select Eldan*). The scale anchors were counterbalanced. Preliminary analyses showed no systematic effects for the different response orders; therefore, this factor was not considered in subsequent analyses.

In summary, the study employed a 2×2 design, in which participants belonged to one of two groups (Eldans or Millisarians) and had to express their preference to select an Eldan candidate over a Taurgon candidate either when the leaders of the two planets at war (i.e., the third party) were prejudiced against Eldans or in a control condition. After expressing their hiring preference, participants indicated how much they agreed or disagreed (1–5) with six statements in random order tapping potential role-relevant motivations behind their hiring preference. All items are reported in SOM. Three items measured interpersonal concerns about an Eldan negotiator not getting along with the third-party (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.84$). The other three items measured task-focused concerns about the likelihood that an Eldan negotiator would perform successfully ($\alpha = 0.85$). Seven participants did not respond to the six items.

In all studies, prior to debriefing, we asked participants (with assurance that they would still be compensated) to indicate whether any of their answers were random or meant as jokes ("yes" or "no"). Demographic questions and debriefing followed.

Table 1
Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables in Study 1.

	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	1	2	3	4
1. Prejudice cues (0 = control, 1 = third-party prejudice)	–	–			
2. Participant group (0 = M, 1 = E)	–	–	–		
3. Preference for Eldan candidate (1–9)	4.94 (2.38)	–0.21**	0.18**	–	
4. Interpersonal concerns (1–5)	3.30 (0.94)	0.51**	–0.06	–0.53**	–
5. Task-focused concerns (1–5)	2.96 (1.00)	0.31**	–0.06	–0.60**	–0.67**

** $p \leq .01$.

3.2. Results

Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for all variables.

3.2.1. Role-relevant considerations

We tested the prediction that role-relevant concerns about hiring an “Eldan” would be higher when there were cues that the third-party might be prejudiced against “Eldans” (versus the control condition) with a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant group condition: “Eldan” vs. “Millisarian”) Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) on (a) interpersonal concerns, and (b) task-focused concerns. Results revealed significant main effects of prejudice cues condition on interpersonal concerns, $F(1, 427) = 151.50, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.262$ ($f = 0.59$, a large effect), and on task-focused concerns, $F(1, 427) = 43.81, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.093$ ($f = 0.32$, a medium effect). As expected, interpersonal concerns were stronger in the third-party prejudice cues condition ($M = 3.78, SD = 0.85$) versus the control (no cues) condition ($M = 2.82, SD = 0.76$), $M_D = 0.95, SE = 0.08, 95\%$ Confidence Interval (CI) $[0.802, 1.106]$. Task-focused concerns were also stronger in the third-party prejudice cues condition ($M = 3.27, SD = 1.02$) than the control condition ($M = 2.65, SD = 0.88$), $M_D = 0.61, SE = 0.09, 95\%$ CI $[0.426, 0.786]$. No other effects were significant, $ps > .143, \eta_p^2 < 0.006$.

3.2.2. Preference for an “Eldan” candidate

To test H1 that preference for an “Eldan” candidate would be lower when there were cues that the third-party might be prejudiced against “Eldans” (versus the control condition), we performed a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant group condition: “Eldan” vs. “Millisarian”) ANOVA on preference for an “Eldan” over a “Taurgon.” As predicted, there was a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition, $F(1, 434) = 21.04, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.046$ ($f = 0.22$, a medium effect). Participants had a lower preference for an “Eldan” when there were cues indicating that the third party was prejudiced against “Eldans” ($M = 4.43, SD = 2.68$) versus the control (i.e., no cues) condition ($M = 5.45, SD = 1.91$), $M_D = -1.00, SE = 0.22, 95\%$ CI $[-1.433, -0.574]$.

As expected, there was also a significant main effect of participant group condition, $F(1, 434) = 14.16, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.032$ ($f = 0.18$, a small to medium effect). Participants in the “Eldan” group were significantly more likely to select an “Eldan” over a “Taurgon” ($M = 5.35, SD = 2.55$) compared to participants in the “Millisarian” group ($M = 4.52, SD = 2.11$), $M_D = 0.82, SE = 0.22, 95\%$ CI $[0.393, 1.253]$. However, the interaction between participant group condition and prejudice cues condition was not significant, $F(1, 434) = 3.03, p = .082, \eta_p^2 = 0.007$.¹

3.2.3. Indirect effects via role-relevant considerations

To test the prediction (related to H2) that role-related concerns underlie the accommodation of third-party prejudice, we examined the indirect effects of third-party prejudice cues condition on preference for an “Eldan” over a “Taurgon” as mediated by both interpersonal and task-focused concerns using the PROCESS macro, model 4 (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) with both mediators in parallel (10,000 bootstraps, 95% bias corrected). Results, which are illustrated in Fig. 1, were consistent with mediation by interpersonal concerns, $b = -0.64, SE = 0.15$ $[-0.966, -0.355]$, as well as task-focused concerns, $b = -0.64, SE = 0.12$ $[-0.881, -0.418]$. Including participant alien group as a covariate did not change the results.

¹ Ancillary analyses, reported in SOM, found no influence of participant ethnic background on these results.

3.3. Discussion

The results of Study 1 offer direct support for our two main hypotheses. Compared to the control condition in which participants did not have reason to suspect third-party biases, the prejudice cues condition was associated with stronger concerns that hiring candidates of certain groups would result in poor-quality relations between the third party and the new hire (i.e., interpersonal concerns), and that these candidates would not perform successfully in a context of prejudice (i.e., task-focused concerns). As further predicted, these considerations, which reflect demands and expectations inherent to the gatekeeper role (Rivera, 2012; Tsai et al., 2011), significantly mediated the accommodation of prejudice on selections. Also, although participants in Study 1 showed stronger preference to appoint a member of an in-group over an out-group, in line with in-group favoritism (Greenwald & Pettigrew, 2014; Tajfel et al., 1971), they equivalently accommodated third-party prejudice in their selections. The overall pattern of results indicate that strong role demands can lead gatekeepers to behave in ways that align with the perceived prejudices of others in order to meet those role demands, even in ways that would be contrary to what would be expected based on gatekeepers' social identities.

Study 1 might be limited given that the manipulation of third-party prejudice was admittedly fairly blunt and could potentially create experimental demand characteristics (but see Mummolo & Peterson, 2017, and McCambridge, De Bruin, & Witton, 2012). Thus, in Study 2, we employed a more subtle prejudice cue, as well as explored the generalizability of third-party prejudice accommodation in a different type of context.

4. Study 2

In Study 2, we conducted a conceptual replication of Study 1, testing the effects of learning of third-party prejudice (H1) and social category membership, again but in the context of gender-based prejudice. We employed a similar methodology as in Study 1, in which participants must appoint a chief negotiator to oversee truce talks between two countries engaged in military conflict, but we adapted the scenario to the context of gender. Moreover, we addressed a potential limitation in Study 1 by employing a fairly subtle cue—the geographical location of the third party—to trigger an inference of third-party prejudice against women. Specifically, we varied the geographical location of the warring countries. Given that Westerners perceive the Middle East as having very traditional attitudes toward women (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008) and that Western media often portray Middle Eastern women as victims of Muslim patriarchy in need of Western liberation (Mishra, 2007), locating the two countries in the Middle East served as a subtle cue to trigger participants' inference that the leaders of those countries (i.e., the third party) might be prejudiced against women. Consistent with H1, we expected participants would report lower preference to hire a woman in the Middle East condition compared to the control condition (in which we did not specify a geographical location).

In Study 2, we sought to provide additional insights into the processes that underlie the prejudice accommodation effect (H2) by asking participants to indicate the degree to which they considered the leaders' preferences for a male or female negotiator when making a selection. To the extent that they sought to meet role demands in their decision-making process, we expected that participants would accommodate third-party prejudice more strongly. We predicted (a) that participants across conditions would generally consider the preferences of third parties in making their selections, in line with gatekeeper role demands to consider fit (Cable & Judge, 1997), and (b) that when these third parties were perceived as biased (i.e., in the Middle East condition), participants' consideration of third-party preferences would be associated with stronger preference for a male negotiator over a female negotiator.

As in Study 1, in addition to a prejudice accommodation effect, we

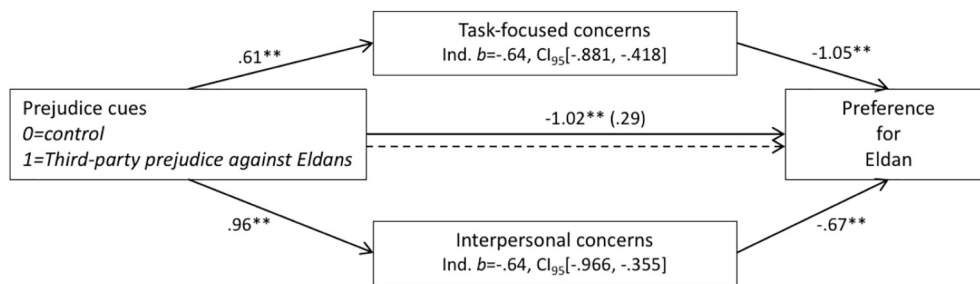


Fig. 1. Effect of third-party prejudice cues on preference for an Eldan candidate as mediated through role-relevant concerns (task-focused and interpersonal) in Study 1. Bold lines indicate significant effects, and dotted lines indicate non-significant effects. ** $p \leq .001$.

expected to find an effect of participant gender, such that female (vs. male) participants would show greater support for a female negotiator, in line with in-group favoritism. However, given that social category group memberships are relatively less influential in contexts in which role demands are strong and salient (Avery et al., 2009; LaFrance et al., 2003), we expected male and female participants to accommodate third-party prejudice against women.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

We recruited 301 participants on Mturk with a HIT that was available to workers with a completion rate of 85% or higher, who received \$0.55. We excluded three participants who indicated that some of their answers were jokes or were random ($n = 298$; mean age = 33.92, $SD = 11.27$; 56.4% female; 74.5% White). One participant did not indicate gender. Based on sensitivity analysis (Faul et al., 2007), a 2×2 ANOVA model with $n = 298$ is sufficient to detect a small to medium effect (i.e., $f = 0.16$) with power = 0.80 and $\alpha = 0.05$.

4.1.2. Procedure

Similar to Study 1, participants were asked to imagine that they were the President of the United States and had to appoint a chief negotiator to oversee truce talks between two countries engaged in military conflict. In order to manipulate the inference of third-party prejudice against women in a subtle manner, we randomly assigned half of participants to a condition in which the warring countries were located in the Middle East; for the other half of the participants the location of the conflict was not specified (manipulation and measures in SOM). As in Study 1, we asked participants at the end of the vignette, “All other things being equal (e.g., personality traits, professional experience, etc.), who would you appoint as chief negotiator, a man or a woman?” from 1 (*definitely appoint a man*) to 9 (*definitely appoint a woman*). As a manipulation check, we measured participants’ inference that the leaders of the two countries were prejudiced against women with 6 items ($\alpha = 0.89$) rated from 1 (*disagree completely*) to 7 (*agree completely*). Finally, we measured the extent to which participants considered the preferences of the two countries with three items ($\alpha = 0.94$) rated from 1 (*did not consider at all*) to 5 (*considered a great deal*). Demographic questions and debriefing followed.

4.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations are presented in Table 2.

4.2.1. Manipulation check

We first examined whether the geographical location cue served as intended to manipulate participants’ inference of third-party prejudice against women. As expected, the 2×2 ANOVA on prejudice inference with location (Middle East vs. unspecified) and participant gender

Table 2

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables in Study 2.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3
1. Location (0 = unspecified, 1 = Middle East)	–	–		
2. Participant gender (0 = M, 1 = F)	–	–	–	
3. Preference for female candidate (1–9)	3.99 (2.05)	–0.10 [†]	0.12*	–
4. Consideration of third-party prejudice (1–5)	4.05 (1.74)	0.03	0.08	–0.41**

[†] $p = .081$.

* $p \leq .05$.

** $p \leq .01$.

(male vs. female) revealed that participants inferred stronger prejudice against women in the Middle East condition ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.26$) versus the unspecified location (control) condition ($M = 4.36$, $SD = 1.27$), 95% CI [0.540, 1.131], $F(1, 293) = 30.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.095$. No other effects were significant, $ps > .435$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.003$.

4.2.2. Consideration of third-party preferences

We then tested the assumption that participants would consider third-party preferences in both experimental conditions, in line with the gatekeeper role demand to take into account the fit between job candidates and relevant third parties. Consistent with this assumption, participants’ self-reported consideration of third-party preferences was high across location conditions (Grand Mean = 4.06, $SD = 1.73$, on the 1-to-5 scale from “*did not consider at all*” to “*considered a great deal*”). Moreover, a 2 (location: Middle East vs. unspecified) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVA revealed a nonsignificant effect of experimental condition on consideration of third-party preferences, $F(1, 293) = 0.08$, $p = .778$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.001$. No other effects were significant, $ps \geq .116$, $\eta_p^2 \leq 0.008$.

4.2.3. Preference for a female candidate

We examined preference for a female candidate over a male candidate for the chief negotiator position as a function of experimental condition and participant gender, similar to Study 1, to test our main prediction that participants would be more reluctant to select a female negotiator in the Middle East condition (vs. control). Results of a 2 (location: Middle East vs. unspecified) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of location condition, $F(1, 293) = 4.50$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.015$ ($f = 0.12$, a small effect). In line with H1 and Study 1, participants had significantly lower preference for a female negotiator in the Middle East condition ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 2.11$) versus the control condition ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.98$), $M_D = -0.51$, $SE = 0.24$, 95% CI [–0.984, –0.037].

There was also a significant main effect of participant gender, $F(1, 293) = 5.30$, $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.018$ ($f = 0.13$, a small effect): Women had a stronger preference for a female negotiator ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 2.13$) versus men ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.93$), $M_D = 0.55$, $SE = 0.24$,

95% CI [0.080, 1.027]. The interaction between participant gender and location was not significant, $p = .823$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.001$.²

4.2.4. Moderation by consideration of third-party preferences

Finally, given H2 that third-party prejudice accommodation would occur because role demands require gatekeepers to attend to the preferences of relevant third parties (which in some cases represent social biases), we tested a linear regression on preference for a female candidate with location condition (0 = unspecified, 1 = Middle East) consideration of third-party preferences (mean-centered), and their interaction as predictors. We expected that the difference in participants' preference for a female candidate as a function of geographic location would depend on how much participants took into consideration the preferences of the third party (the two countries' leaders). We used β as a measure of effect size instead of Cohen's d , a common approach for linear regression (Nieminen, Lehtiniemi, Vähäkangas, Huusko, & Rautio, 2013). A small, medium, and large effect size is denoted by a β of 0.10, 0.30, and 0.50, respectively (Wuensch, 2015).

As hypothesized, the model revealed a significant interaction between geographic location and consideration of third-party preferences, $b = -0.30$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .016$, $\beta = -0.19$ (a small effect), which is illustrated in Fig. 2. Simple slopes analysis (Aiken & West, 1991) indicated that for participants who did not strongly endorse the role demand to consider the preferences of relevant third parties ($-1SD$ below the mean in consideration), geographic location had no effect on their hiring preference, $b = 0.15$, $SE = 0.30$, $p = .624$, $\beta = 0.04$. But for participants who strongly endorsed these role demands ($+1SD$ above the mean in consideration), there was a significant main effect of location condition: Preference for a female candidate was lower in the Middle East versus the control condition, $b = -0.90$, $SE = 0.30$, $p = .004$, $\beta = -0.22$ (a small to medium effect). Thus, participants who more strongly endorsed the role demand to take third-party views into consideration were more influenced in their decisions by cues to third-party prejudice.

4.3. Discussion

In a different social context than in Study 1 (i.e., choosing a negotiator when the warring countries were located in the Middle East vs. an unspecified location), participants in Study 2 displayed a general preference for a male over a female negotiator across conditions, as tends to be the case in male-dominated domains (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Moreover, Study 2 replicated the basic finding from Study 1 in the context of gender-based prejudice, as participants had a significantly lower preference to appoint a female negotiator to oversee truce talks between two warring countries when there was a subtle cue (geographic location) suggesting that the leaders of those countries might be biased against women (vs. no cues) (H1). Also, extending the findings from Study 1 and supportive of H2, participants who reported taking third-party preferences into consideration more accommodated third-party prejudice against women to a greater extent. As in Study 1, women in Study 2 showed stronger preference than men for a female negotiator, consistent with in-group favoritism. But both men and women equivalently displayed evidence for the accommodation of gender-based third-party prejudice.

Although the results of Studies 1 and 2 were comparable and in line with our role-based explanation of prejudice accommodation, both studies were limited in their focus on high-stake contexts where the potential consequences of failure were extremely dire (i.e., the loss of lives). Perhaps the extremity of these situations would motivate gatekeepers to accommodate prejudice even when they would not typically do so in more mundane contexts. Another limitation is the focus on third parties that involved groups (i.e., political leaders) whose

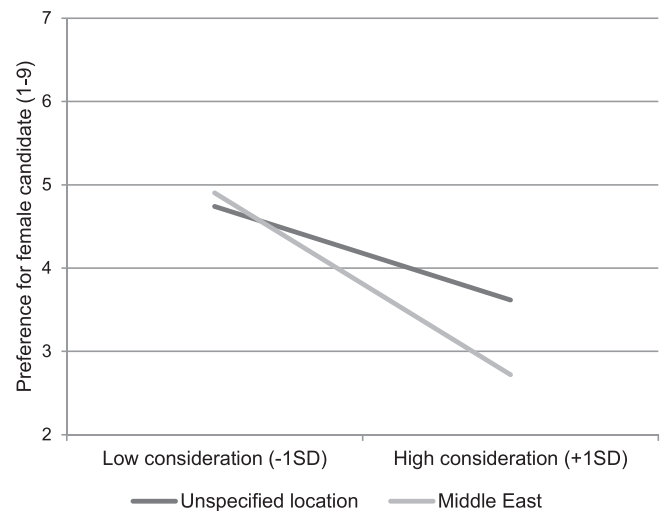


Fig. 2. Preference for a female over a male candidate in Study 2 as a function of geographic location, depicted at low and high levels of self-reported consideration of third-party preferences ($\pm 1SD$ above/below the mean).

prejudiced views were inferred from those of larger collectives (i.e., countries, planets). We addressed these issues in the studies that follow, generalizing our investigation to hiring decisions more broadly.

5. Study 3

The objective of Study 3 was to replicate the third-party prejudice effect demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2 in a less extreme context in which the stakes or potential consequences of failure were less pressing than in an international conflict negotiation. In Study 3, we placed participants in a different experimental context—a hiring role—and we varied the description of the relevant third-party, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), to represent the CEO as holding traditional views of gender roles or not (a procedure adapted from Stroebe, Dovidio, Barreto, Ellemers, & John, 2011; see also Wang, Stroebe, & Dovidio, 2012; and Vial et al., 2018). As in the previous studies, and consistent with H1, we expected preference for a female job candidate to be lower when the CEO was described as holding traditional gender attitudes (vs. not).

In Study 3, we sought to gather converging evidence that role-relevant concerns underlie the accommodation of third-party prejudice (H2). Complementing Study 1, which probed the mediating role of interpersonal and task-focused considerations related to the role priority to maximize candidate fit, in Study 3 we examined gatekeepers' concerns about what it would mean personally for them to not meet the responsibility of their role in a context of third-party prejudice, and we examined the association between those role-relevant concerns and gatekeepers' decisions. For instance, a gatekeeper may be concerned that their credibility as a staff recruiter would suffer if they did not accommodate third-party prejudice—that others in the organization would think they are not doing their job or upholding their role responsibilities. We expected role-relevant concerns to be higher when the CEO was described as holding traditional views of gender roles (versus not), and to mediate the accommodation effect.

In Study 3, we also compared role-based concerns to two other potential considerations that, although not central to the responsibilities of the gatekeeper role, could nevertheless be similarly activated in the context of third-party gender-based prejudice. Learning about third-party prejudice against women is likely to trigger a variety of concerns in gatekeepers, but we expected role-relevant concerns in particular to significantly explain gatekeepers' behavior in a role-relevant context (i.e., making a hiring decision).

One potential alternative gatekeeper response to cues that signal

² Participant ethnic background had no influence on these results (see SOM).

third-party prejudice against women is a paternalistic desire to protect female candidates (Moya, Glick, Expósito, De Lemus, & Hart, 2007). For example, in Study 2, in addition to a role demand to prioritize candidate fit, it is possible that participants were also concerned that sending a woman to oversee war negotiations in the Middle East might place the woman in danger. In Study 3, in addition to measuring role-relevant concerns about what it would mean personally for gatekeepers to not meet the responsibility of their role, we examined these “Protective Concerns.” We expected to find an indirect effect of prejudice cues condition on preference for a female candidate through gatekeepers’ role-relevant concerns above and beyond any effect of Protective Concerns.

A second potential alternative concern that may arise for gatekeepers revolves around the status of women and gender inequality in the workplace more generally. Hiring a woman for a role in which women are usually underrepresented could contribute to diversity and promote gender equality. However, participants might be concerned that if they hired a woman and she underperformed (i.e., due to third-party bias against women), her failure would reinforce negative gender stereotypes and hurt the prospects of other women in the organization—in essence, hiring a woman in a precarious position could set her up for failure and thus serve to reinforce gender inequality (Manzi & Heilman, 2017; Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, Kulich, & Atkins, 2007). We measured these “Inequality Concerns” in Study 3, in addition to measuring role-relevant concerns about not meeting role responsibilities. We anticipated that participants might report stronger Inequality Concerns when we provided cues to third-party prejudice (vs. no cues), similar to Protective Concerns. However, we expected to find a mediation effect via role-relevant concerns, above and beyond any potential effect of Inequality Concerns.

In sum, we expected cues indicative of third-party prejudice against women to trigger a variety of concerns in gatekeepers—including those related to their role, as well as Protective Concerns and Inequality Concerns. Importantly, Protective Concerns and Inequality Concerns are not typically related to the central demands of the gatekeeper role, which revolve primarily around identifying someone with the right credentials and expertise and who will be a good fit with existing organizational members (Cable & Judge, 1997; Rivera, 2012; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Tsai et al., 2011). Thus, we expected role-relevant concerns in particular to significantly explain gatekeepers’ hiring preferences beyond any potential effect of non-role considerations.

Finally, in line with the results of Studies 1 and 2, and consistent with in-group favoritism, we anticipated that female participants would show a stronger preference for a female candidate relative to male participants. But given that role demands were consistently strong across conditions in Study 3, we expected that both men and women would accommodate third-party prejudice in their selection, replicating the results of Studies 1 and 2.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

We recruited 404 Mturk workers to participate in exchange for \$0.55 via a HIT that was available to those with a completion rate of

85% or higher. We excluded three participants who indicated that some of their answers were jokes or were random ($n = 401$; mean age = 33.21, $SD = 10.67$; 63.7% female; 75.1% White). Two participants did not indicate their gender, race, or age. A 2×2 ANOVA model with $n = 401$ is sufficient to detect a small effect (i.e., $f = 0.14$) with power = 0.80 and $\alpha = 0.05$, according to sensitivity analysis (Faul et al., 2007).

5.1.2. Procedure

Participants were asked to imagine that they worked as a hiring manager in a technology company, and that they had to select a new Vice-President (VP) of operations (full vignette in SOM). The VP of operations would report to a male CEO (i.e., the third party). For half of participants, he was described as holding traditional gender attitudes (adapted from Stroebe et al., 2011; Vial et al., 2018). For the other half of participants in the control condition, the CEO was described only with general information about his life. After reading the vignette, participants indicated their preference for a female or an identical male candidate for the VP of operations position, from 1 (*definitely select a man*) to 9 (*definitely select a woman*).

In order to measure how concerned participants were about different issues when making their decision, we asked them to rate nine items from 1 (*not at all concerned/worried*) to 5 (*extremely concerned/worried*), presented in random order. All items are listed in SOM. Three of the nine items tapped role-relevant concerns about meeting role responsibilities ($\alpha = 0.80$), three items measured Protective Concerns about the candidate ($\alpha = 0.89$), and the remaining three items assessed Inequality Concerns ($\alpha = 0.88$). A confirmatory factor analysis (maximum likelihood with three factors) using direct Oblimin rotation with Kaiser normalization ($\delta = 0$) revealed as expected that the nine items loaded onto three separate factors, with factor loadings ranging from 0.70 to 0.95. Demographic questions and debriefing followed.

5.2. Results

Table 3 presents means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations.

5.2.1. Role-relevant considerations

To test the prediction that all three kinds of concerns would be higher when there were cues that the third-party might be prejudiced against women (versus the control condition), we performed a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) MANOVA on (a) Role-relevant Concerns, (b) Protective Concerns, and (c) Inequality Concerns.

As we had anticipated, there was a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition on Role-relevant Concerns, $F(1, 395) = 38.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.089$ ($f = 0.31$, a medium effect). In line with H2, compared to participants in the control condition ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.28$), those in the third-party prejudice cues condition reported stronger Role-relevant Concerns about not meeting role responsibilities ($M = 2.19$, $SD = 1.16$), $M_D = 0.79$, $SE = 0.13$, 95% CI [0.542, 1.045].

The analysis of Protective Concerns also revealed a main effect for the prejudice cues condition, $F(1, 395) = 191.69$, $p < .001$,

Table 3
Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables in Study 3.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Prejudice cues (0 = control, 1 = third-party prejudice)	–	–				
2. Participant gender (0 = M, 1 = F)	–	–	–			
3. Preference for female candidate (1–9)	4.41 (1.74)	–0.16**	0.15**	–		
4. Role-relevant concerns (1–5)	2.60 (1.29)	0.32**	–0.03	–0.29**	–	
5. Protective concerns (1–5)	3.13 (1.54)	0.60**	0.05	–0.26**	0.63**	–
6. Inequality concerns (1–5)	3.61 (1.48)	0.28**	0.09	–0.25**	0.59**	0.58**

** $p \leq .01$.

$\eta_p^2 = 0.327$ ($f = 0.70$, a large effect): Participants in the third-party prejudice cues condition reported stronger Protective Concerns ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.25$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.21$), $M_D = 1.77$, $SE = 0.13$, 95% CI [1.522, 2.026]. This main effect was qualified by a significant interaction with participant gender, $F(1, 395) = 4.20$, $p = .041$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.011$ ($f = 0.10$, a small effect): Men and women were similarly concerned about the well-being of the female candidate in the control condition ($M = 2.31$, $SD = 1.27$ vs. $M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.18$), $F(1, 395) = 1.28$, $p = .259$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.003$, whereas women in the third-party prejudice cues condition reported stronger Protective Concerns ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.26$) than men in this condition ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.21$), although not significantly so, $M_D = 0.35$, $SE = 0.18$, 95% CI [-0.009, 0.705], $F(1, 395) = 3.68$, $p = .056$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.009$.

Finally, a main effect for the prejudice cues manipulation was also obtained in the analysis of Inequality Concerns, $F(1, 395) = 28.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.067$ ($f = 0.27$, a medium effect): Participants in the third-party prejudice cues condition reported more Inequality Concerns ($M = 4.03$, $SD = 1.36$) than those in the control condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.47$), $M_D = 0.79$, $SE = 0.15$, 95% CI [0.499, 1.080]. Inequality Concerns were somewhat higher for women compared to men ($M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.51$ vs. $M = 3.44$, $SD = 1.41$), but this difference was not statistically significant, $M_D = 0.25$, $SE = 0.15$, 95% CI [-0.038, 0.544], $F(1, 395) = 2.93$, $p = .088$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.007$.

No other effects were significant on any of the three outcome variables, $ps > .269$.

5.2.2. Preference for a female candidate

We tested a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVA on preference for a female candidate over a male candidate. Supporting H1, there was a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition on preference for a female over a male candidate, $F(1, 395) = 10.14$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.025$ ($f = 0.16$, a small to medium effect): Preference for a female candidate was significantly lower in the third-party prejudice cues condition ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.89$) versus the control (no cues) condition ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.53$), $M_D = -0.56$, $SE = 0.18$, 95% CI [-0.913, -0.216]. Moreover, women expressed a stronger preference for the female candidate ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.81$) compared to men ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.55$), $M_D = 0.61$, $SE = 0.18$, 95% CI [0.264, 0.964], $F(1, 395) = 12.10$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.030$ ($f = 0.18$, a small to medium effect). The interaction between prejudice cues condition and participant gender was not significant, $F(1, 395) = 0.001$, $p = .975$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.001$.

5.2.3. Indirect effects via role-relevant considerations

To test the prediction (related to H2) that Role-relevant Concerns would mediate the accommodation of third-party prejudice above and beyond any effect of Protective Concerns or Inequality Concerns, we used the PROCESS macro, model 4 (Preacher & Hayes, 2004), with the three types of concerns as parallel mediators of the effect of prejudice condition on preference for a female candidate (10,000 bootstraps, 95% bias corrected). The results of this analysis are illustrated in Fig. 3. As expected, the indirect path of prejudice condition on candidate selection through Role-relevant Concerns was significant, $b = -0.20$, $SE = 0.09$ [-0.393, -0.036]. In contrast, there were no significant indirect effects via Protective Concerns, $b = -0.13$, $SE = 0.18$ [-0.497, 0.221], or Inequality Concerns, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.07$ [-0.229, 0.040]. Including participant gender as a covariate in the analysis did not change the results.

5.3. Discussion

Study 3 replicated the third-party prejudice effect from Studies 1 and 2 in a less extreme hiring situation, and further illuminated the underlying dynamics based on role demands by testing participant

concerns about meeting the responsibilities of the gatekeeper role. As in Studies 1 and 2, we found a lower preference to hire a female job candidate when there were cues to suggest that she might not fit in well due to third-party prejudice against women. Although women had overall a higher preference to hire a female candidate, there was no interaction between participant gender and prejudice cues.

Moreover, in line with Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 showed that participant concerns about meeting the responsibilities of the gatekeeper role mediated the accommodation of third-party prejudice against women in hiring preferences, supporting H2. Furthermore, although third-party gender bias also made other concerns more salient (e.g., a concern with protecting female candidates from exposure to sexism), we found no evidence that these concerns were a factor in gatekeepers' tendency to accommodate prejudice. Instead, consistent with a role-based framework, it was participants' concerns about meeting role responsibilities, rather than these alternative considerations, that significantly mediated the third-party prejudice effect. In Studies 4 and 5, we sought to provide further evidence for this underlying process based on role-demands by manipulating role definitions and role-demands experimentally.

We note that Studies 1–3 focused on third parties that occupied high-status positions (e.g., a company CEO). It is possible that, in addition to considering the preferences of these third parties in order to maximize candidate fit, participants might feel the need to accommodate prejudice because of the third parties' relatively high-status positions (Brief, Buttram, Elliott, Reizenstein, & McCline, 1995). In order to investigate the effect of role demands independently from status-based influences, in Studies 4 and 5 we examined whether gatekeepers would accommodate a prejudiced third party at lower rungs of the hierarchical ladder.

6. Study 4

The previous studies provided evidence in support of a role-based account of the third-party prejudice effect by (a) showing mediation by two specific concerns related to the gatekeeper role demand to maximize candidate fit (interpersonal and task-focused concerns) in Study 1, (b) showing moderation by gatekeepers' endorsement of the role demand to take into consideration the preferences of relevant third parties in Study 2, and (c) providing evidence that concerns about meeting the responsibilities of the gatekeeper role (and not alternative concerns unrelated to the role) mediated the third-party prejudice effect in Study 3. The goal of Study 4 was to gather additional evidence for a role-based process by experimentally contrasting different role definitions that emphasize distinct role priorities relevant to the hiring decision.

In Studies 1–3, participants were placed in roles that implicitly focused on maximizing the instrumental outcomes of the hiring decision in a way that made it a strong priority for gatekeepers to ensure a good fit between the new hire and a relevant third party. Across studies, participants in these kinds of roles consistently accommodated the preferences of the relevant third-party when making a hiring decision as a way to meet those role priorities; when there were cues suggesting that the third-party was biased, these role priorities indirectly led participants to make hiring decisions that disadvantaged candidates from the group that was the target of third-party prejudice (i.e., “Eldans” in Study 1, and women in Studies 2 and 3). In Study 4, in addition to this kind of gatekeeper role focused on maximizing performance (and therefore overall candidate fit; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005), we also examined participant responses to prejudice cues when the role emphasized maximizing company diversity rather than performance.

For gatekeepers focused on maximizing company performance, hiring a female candidate when there is a suspicion of prejudice against women in a relevant third party would be somewhat incompatible with the demands of the role. As in Studies 1–3, we expected that cues to

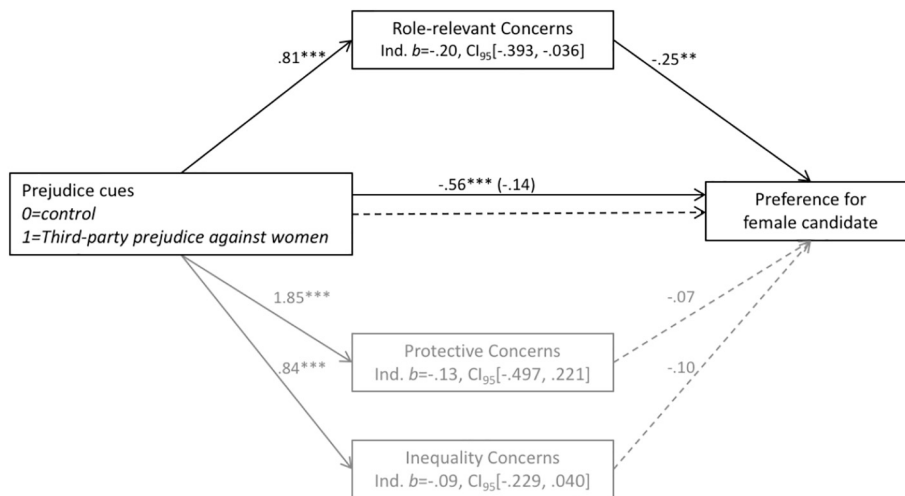


Fig. 3. Third-party prejudice cues predicting preference for a female candidate as mediated through role concerns, protective concerns, and inequality status concerns in Study 3. Bold lines indicate significant effects, and dotted lines indicate non-significant effects. Significant indirect effects appear in black; non-significant indirect effects appear in gray. ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.

third-party prejudice against women would increase role-relevant interpersonal and task-focused considerations for participants in this kind of role, which would mediate hiring preferences. In contrast, for participants whose role is focused on prioritizing company diversity, hiring a female candidate would align with their role demands regardless of third-party prejudice against women. Thus, we anticipated that diversity concerns would mediate the effect of role condition on preference for a female over a male candidate.

Additionally, in Study 4 we not only investigated the effect of gatekeepers' social category group memberships in determining hiring preferences (as in Studies 1–3), but we also examined the effect of gatekeepers' personal attitudes. The role-based model of prejudice accommodation (Vial et al., 2018) posits that gatekeepers would accommodate prejudice regardless of whether the gatekeeper's personal attitudes were in accordance with or contrary to such prejudice. Past investigations indeed suggest that role demands may sometimes determine behavior more strongly than individual attitudes and beliefs (e.g., Pratto et al., 1999; Richeson & Ambady, 2001, 2003). Even those who have internalized egalitarian norms as their personal standard of conduct (Klonis, Plant, & Devine, 2005) likely attend to the demands of their role in role-relevant contexts. Accordingly, Vial et al. (2018) found that participants with both relatively high and relatively low modern sexism scores—a belief that gender inequality no longer exists (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995)—as well as those with relatively more traditional versus more progressive gender views (Rudman & Kilianski, 2000) accommodated third-party prejudice against women in their hiring decisions to a similar extent.

We extended these findings by testing the effects of a different, though related, set of attitudes: participants' benevolent and hostile sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996). “Hostile sexism” is basic animosity toward women whereas “benevolent sexism” is a romanticized idea of women as innocent and in need of male protection. These complementary ideologies serve to maintain women's low status relative to men (Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010). The more participants endorsed these ideologies, the less we expected them to express a preference to hire a woman. However, as in Studies 1–3, given that role demands can influence behavior regardless of social identity (Avery et al., 2009) and personal attitudes (Pratto et al., 1999), we did not expect gatekeepers' gender or gender attitudes to moderate the effect of prejudice cues on condition.

Finally, in Study 4 we sought to address another potential limitation of Studies 1–3. Although, as predicted, participants in Studies 1–3 consistently accommodated the prejudices of prominent, high-status third parties, it remains an open question whether they would similarly accommodate a third party at lower hierarchical levels. In Study 4, we examine the accommodation of third parties who do not occupy

particularly high-status positions, but who would nevertheless work closely with a new hire (e.g., a programmer with some supervisory responsibilities). Moreover, in Study 4, we assigned participants to prominent roles at higher levels than the third party (e.g., Chief Strategy Officer), thus giving gatekeepers some authority over the third party. Therefore, while Studies 1–3 might have tapped a normative motive to defer to the opinions of high-status individuals in addition to role-based motivations to accommodate prejudice, in Study 4 the potential influence of such normative motivation is less likely.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

We recruited 371 Mturk workers via a HIT that was available to those with a completion rate of 95% or higher, and we compensated \$0.55. We excluded 58 participants (15.6%): 16 who indicated that some of their answers were jokes or were random, 16 who gave signs of inattention (i.e., wrote gibberish responses to an open-ended question described in the procedure), and 26 who failed one or more of three attention checks described in the procedure (final $n = 313$; mean age = 34.13, $SD = 10.86$; 58.5% female; 69.0% White). One participant did not specify gender. Sensitivity analysis (Faul et al., 2007) indicated that a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA model with $n = 313$ is sufficient to detect a small to medium effect ($f = 0.16$; with power = 0.80 and $\alpha = 0.05$).

6.1.2. Procedure

We used a similar vignette and procedure from Study 3 with some important changes. Participants in Study 4 were randomly assigned either to imagine that they were the Chief Strategy Officer in a technology company whose main duty was to promote and maximize company performance, or to imagine that they were the Chief Diversity Officer in the same company whose main duty was to promote and maximize company diversity (full vignette in SOM). Participants were asked to imagine that the human resources department was seeking their input on whether to hire a male or a female programmer who would report to a male senior programmer (i.e., the third party). For half of participants, the senior programmer was described as holding traditional gender attitudes, which we conveyed in the same way as in Study 3 (Stroebe et al., 2011; Vial et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2012). Then, participants read that the human resources department had narrowed down the search to two highly qualified candidates, a man and a woman, and, similar to Studies 1–3, participants indicated their preference from 1 (*definitely recommend the man*) to 9 (*definitely recommend the woman*), with counterbalanced scale anchors.

After participants indicated their hiring preference, they rated nine

role-related concern items from 1 (*did not consider at all*) to 5 (*considered a great deal*). Similar to Study 1, three items tapped interpersonal concerns ($\alpha = 0.92$) and three items tapped task-focused concerns ($\alpha = 0.83$). In Study 4, we included three additional items tapping diversity concerns ($\alpha = 0.89$). All nine items were presented together in random order, and are listed in full in SOM.

Finally, participants completed a short, 10-item measure of ambivalent sexism (Bareket, Kahalon, Shnabel, & Glick, 2018; Glick & Fiske, 2001), including six items from the benevolent sexism subscale ($\alpha = 0.86$) and four items from the hostile sexism subscale ($\alpha = 0.86$). Demographic questions and debriefing followed, including one final open-ended attention check that asked participants to type in the name of the person who would supervise the new programmer (i.e., “John A.”) We excluded participants who did not respond correctly, as well as any participants who typed-in gibberish responses. Participants also completed an attention check asking them to indicate whether a statement was true or false (“John A., the person who will supervise the new programmer, is married with children”). The statement was true for all participants across conditions, and we excluded any participants who responded “False.” Finally, we also included an attention check meant to identify role condition (“According to the vignette, your main responsibility in the company was to promote and maximize? Company performance/company diversity”), as well as two questions that were meant as a manipulation check of role priorities, rated from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*): “My main responsibility in this study was to maximize company performance;” and “My main responsibility in this study was to maximize company diversity.”

6.2. Results

Table 4 presents means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for all variables.

6.2.1. Manipulation check

We examined whether our manipulation of role definition served to convey different role priorities to participants by conducting a 2 (role condition: chief strategy officer vs. chief diversity officer) \times 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) MANOVA on the two questions asking whether the role prioritized (a) company performance or (b) company diversity. As expected, results indicate a significant main effect of role condition on self-reported responsibility to prioritize company performance, $F(1, 304) = 382.74, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.557$ ($f = 1.12$, a large effect), as well as company diversity, $F(1, 304) = 1025.97, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.771$ ($f = 1.83$, a large effect). Participants in the chief strategy officer role condition reported significantly more of a role priority to maximize company performance ($M = 5.42, SD = 1.06$) than participants in the chief diversity role condition ($M = 2.32, SD = 1.58$), who, in contrast, reported more of a priority to maximize company diversity ($M = 5.76, SD = 0.66$) relative

to participants in the chief strategy role condition ($M = 1.95, SD = 1.34$). No other effects were significant, all $ps > .191$.

6.2.2. Role-relevant considerations

In order to test whether our manipulation of role definitions changed gatekeepers' consideration of interpersonal, task-focused, and diversity concerns when making a recommendation about hiring a female candidate, we conducted a 2 (role condition: chief strategy officer vs. chief diversity officer) \times 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) MANOVA on (a) interpersonal concerns, (b) task-focused concerns, and (c) diversity concerns.

Results revealed a significant main effect of role condition on diversity concerns, $F(1, 304) = 76.71, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.201$ ($f = 0.50$, a large effect). Participants in the chief diversity officer condition reported stronger diversity concerns ($M = 4.41, SD = 0.75$) than participants in the chief strategy officer role condition ($M = 3.37, SD = 1.29$), $M_D = 1.04, SE = 0.12, 95\% CI [0.806, 1.273]$.

The analysis also revealed a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition on interpersonal concerns, $F(1, 304) = 39.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.116$ ($f = 0.36$, a large effect). As in Study 1, interpersonal concerns were higher when there were cues to third-party prejudice ($M = 2.79, SD = 1.33$) compared to the control (i.e., no cues) condition ($M = 1.83, SD = 1.11$), $M_D = 0.89, SE = 0.14, 95\% CI [0.616, 1.174]$.

The only other significant effects were a main effect of gender on task-focused concerns, $F(1, 304) = 11.12, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.035$ ($f = 0.19$, a medium effect), and a main effect of gender on diversity concerns, $F(1, 304) = 5.09, p = .025, \eta_p^2 = 0.016$ ($f = 0.13$, a small effect). Male participants expressed more task-focused concerns about hiring a female candidate ($M = 1.88, SD = 1.09$) than female participants ($M = 1.53, SD = 0.76$), $M_D = 0.35, SE = 0.11, 95\% CI [0.144, 0.560]$. In contrast, female participants expressed more diversity concerns ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.17$) than male participants ($M = 3.76, SD = 1.13$), $M_D = 0.27, SE = 0.12, 95\% CI [0.034, 0.501]$.

6.2.3. Preference for a female candidate

In order to test our main prediction that preference for a female job candidate would vary as a function of role condition and prejudice cues condition, we performed a 2 (role condition: chief strategy officer vs. chief diversity officer) \times 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) on preference for a female versus a male candidate for the programmer position.

As expected, there was a significant main effect of role condition, $F(1, 304) = 81.85, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.212$ ($f = 0.52$, a large effect): Participants in the chief diversity role condition had a stronger preference for a female programmer ($M = 7.24, SD = 2.02$) compared to participants in the chief strategy role condition ($M = 5.36, SD = 1.76$), $M_D = 1.95, SE = 0.21, 95\% CI [1.525, 2.373]$. However, the interaction between role condition and prejudice cues condition was not

Table 4
Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables in Study 4.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Prejudice cues (0 = control, 1 = third-party prejudice)	–	–							
2. Role condition (0 = strategy, 1 = diversity)	–	–	–						
3. Participant gender (0 = M, 1 = F)	–	–	–	–					
4. Preference for female candidate (1–9)	6.34 (2.13)	0.03	0.43**	0.13*	–				
5. Interpersonal concerns (1–5)	2.29 (1.31)	0.36**	–0.02	–0.03	–0.20**	–			
6. Task-focused concerns (1–5)	1.67 (0.92)	0.06	0.01	–0.04	–0.39**	0.47**	–		
7. Diversity concerns (1–5)	3.92 (1.16)	0.10†	0.45**	0.01	0.55**	0.06	–0.06	–	
8. Hostile sexism (1–6)	2.72 (1.36)	0.04	0.04	–0.20**	–0.33**	0.11*	0.36**	–0.17**	–
9. Benevolent sexism (1–6)	2.99 (1.18)	0.06	0.08	–0.25**	–0.14*	0.14*	0.31**	0.01	0.61**

† $1.0 > p > .065$.

* $p \leq .05$.

** $p \leq .01$.

significant, $F(1, 304) = 1.68, p = .196, \eta_p^2 = 0.006$. Nor was there a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition, $F(1, 304) = 0.001, p = .999, \eta_p^2 < 0.001$.

There was a significant main effect of participant gender, $F(1, 304) = 13.36, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.042$ ($f = 0.21$, a medium effect), such that women had a stronger preference for a female candidate ($M = 6.67, SD = 2.02$) than men ($M = 5.91, SD = 2.19$), $M_D = 0.79, SE = 0.21, 95\% CI[0.364, 1.212]$. This effect was qualified by a significant interaction with prejudice cues condition, $F(1, 304) = 4.01, p = .046, \eta_p^2 = 0.013$ ($f = 0.11$, a small effect): Male participants seemed to accommodate prejudice whereas female participants reacted against it (the simple effects were not significant).

No other effects were significant, $ps > .298, \eta_p^2 < 0.005$.

6.2.4. Indirect effects via role-relevant considerations

We first examined whether interpersonal and task-focused concerns mediated the effect of prejudice cues on preference for a female candidate for participants in the chief strategy role condition (i.e., those for whom role-demands to maximize candidate fit were strong), similar to Study 1. We tested this prediction using the PROCESS macro, model 4 (Preacher & Hayes, 2004) with interpersonal concerns and diversity concerns as parallel mediators (10,000 bootstraps, 95% bias corrected). We did not test task-focused concerns as a mediator given the lack of a significant main effect of prejudice cues on this variable. The model was consistent with mediation by interpersonal concerns, $b = -0.27, SE = 0.13 [-0.557, -0.062]$, as well as by diversity concerns, but in opposite direction, $b = 0.31, SE = 0.14 [0.044, 0.606]$. Including participant gender as a covariate in the analysis did not change the results.

Then, in order to test the assumption that different role definitions impact hiring decisions via differing underlying role concerns, we examined whether diversity concerns mediated the effect of role definitions on hiring preferences irrespective of prejudice cues. We used the PROCESS macro (Preacher & Hayes, 2004), model 4, with diversity concerns and interpersonal concerns as parallel mediators of the effect of role condition on preference for a female candidate (10,000 bootstraps, 95% bias corrected). The model was consistent with mediation by diversity concerns, $b = 0.89, SE = 0.13 [0.662, 1.158]$, but not interpersonal concerns, $b = 0.02, SE = 0.05 [-0.093, 0.126]$. Including participant gender as a covariate in the analysis did not change the results.

6.2.5. Moderation by hostile and benevolent sexism

As can be seen in Table 4, benevolent and hostile sexism were significantly, positively correlated (e.g., Glick et al., 2000). Moreover, they were both significantly higher among men relative to women. Hostile sexism scores were significantly, positively associated with more task-focused considerations about hiring a woman, and with lower diversity concerns. Both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism correlated significantly (and negatively) with participants' preference to hire a female candidate.

We conducted two linear regression models in order to examine the potential moderating effect of hostile and benevolent sexism. First, we entered role condition (0 = chief strategy role condition, 1 = chief diversity role condition), prejudice cues condition (0 = no cues, 1 = third-party prejudice cues), and hostile sexism (mean centered) as well as all interaction terms as predictors of preference for a female candidate, adjusting for benevolent sexism (mean centered) and participant gender (i.e., given their significant associations with hostile sexism). Results revealed a significant effect of hostile sexism, $b = -0.46, SE = 0.15, p = .003, \beta = -0.29$ (a medium effect), but no interaction with prejudice cues condition, $b = -0.24, SE = 0.22, p = .277$. In the second model, we included benevolent sexism as a predictor (along with all interaction terms), and participant gender and hostile sexism as covariates. Results revealed no significant effect of benevolent sexism, $b = 0.34, SE = 0.21, p = .104$, and no interaction with prejudice cues, $b = -0.25, SE = 0.26, p = .343$. All coefficients

for both models are presented in the Supplementary Online Materials (SOM).

6.3. Discussion

We found support for our predictions when we experimentally contrasted two different role definitions that emphasized distinct role priorities relevant to the hiring decision (i.e., maximizing company performance versus company diversity). As in Study 1, interpersonal concerns significantly mediated the effect of prejudice cues on hiring preferences for participants whose role prioritized maximizing performance, although we did not find significant mediation via task-focused concerns. In contrast, participants whose role focused on prioritizing company diversity (and for whom, accordingly, hiring a woman would align with the demands of their role regardless of third-party attitudes) did not accommodate third-party prejudice and were significantly more likely to recommend hiring a female candidate than participants whose role prioritized company performance. As expected, diversity concerns significantly mediated the effect of role condition on preference for a female over a male candidate.

Although these indirect effects were consistent with predictions and with the results of Study 1, in Study 4 the main effect of prejudice cues on preference for a female candidate was not significant. It is possible that the third-party prejudice effect is somewhat less robust when the third party is relatively low status, as was the case in Study 4 in comparison to the vignettes employed in Studies 1–3, in which the third party occupied a prominent position. We again sought to test the accommodation effect in this kind of context in Study 5, in which we examined the hiring preferences of participants in a role that prioritized performance, but with the additional manipulation of the mediating variable, interpersonal concerns.

Finally, Study 4 replicated the results of Studies 1–3 on the effect of participants' own social category membership (e.g., gender). And, Study 4 provided evidence that gatekeepers' own attitudes toward women as measured by hostile and benevolent sexism—while influential in their own right—did not explain gatekeepers' propensity to channel the gender attitudes of relevant third parties. Less sexist gatekeepers were no more likely than more sexist ones to resist accommodating others' sexist views. We sought to replicate this finding in Study 5, while seeking to gather further evidence for the role-based account of prejudice accommodation by intervening directly to manipulate the mediating variable.

7. Study 5

In this final study, we sought to gather additional evidence for our role-based account of prejudice accommodation by intervening directly to manipulate one of the mediators (interpersonal concerns), as recommended by Spencer, Zanna, and Fong (2005). Statistical mediation involving measured variables (as in Studies 1, 3, and 4) cannot definitively identify the direction of causality between the mediator and the dependent variable (Bullock, Green, & Ha, 2010; MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007). We addressed this limitation in Study 5 by randomly providing participants in a gatekeeper role that prioritized performance with additional information regarding the collegiality of the third party. This information had the purpose to either reassure gatekeepers that the new hire and the third party might get along well despite third-party prejudice (i.e., high third-party collegiality condition) or, on the contrary, to exacerbate role-relevant interpersonal concerns (i.e., low third-party collegiality condition). When interpersonal concerns are relatively weak (i.e., when the third party is very collegial), we would expect the accommodation of third-party prejudice to be reduced relative to when interpersonal concerns are relatively strong (i.e., when third-party collegiality is low).

As in Study 4, we again investigated the effects of gatekeepers' social category group memberships as well as their personal attitudes (i.e.,

Table 5
Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables in Study 5.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Prejudice cues (0 = control, 1 = third-party prejudice)	–	–						
2. Collegiality condition (0 = low, 1 = high)	–	–	–					
3. Participant gender (0 = M, 1 = F)	–	–	–	–				
4. Preference for female candidate (1–9)	5.28 (1.93)	–0.02	0.02	0.19**	–			
5. Interpersonal concerns (1–5)	2.67 (1.36)	0.28**	–0.46**	–0.02	–0.18**	–		
6. Task-focused concerns (1–5)	1.66 (0.98)	0.09†	–0.15**	–0.22**	–0.23**	0.45**	–	
7. Hostile sexism (1–6)	2.71 (1.32)	0.04	0.01	–0.26**	–0.23**	0.10†	0.31**	–
8. Benevolent sexism (1–6)	2.87 (1.20)	–0.01	0.01	–0.21**	–0.07	0.08	0.28**	0.56**

† 1.0 > p > .065.

** p ≤ .01.

hostile and benevolent sexism; Glick & Fiske, 1996). We expected that participants' gender and their attitudes toward women would both have a direct impact on preference for a female over a male job candidate, but we did not expect gatekeepers' gender or gender attitudes to moderate the effect of prejudice cues on hiring preferences, as role demands are expected to influence gatekeeper choices regardless of their social identity (Avery et al., 2009) and personal attitudes (Pratto et al., 1999).

7.1. Method

7.1.1. Participants

We recruited 438 Mturk workers and compensated them \$0.55. The HIT was available to workers with a completion rate of 95% or higher. We excluded 12 participants who indicated that some of their answers were jokes or were random, eight who gave signs of inattention (i.e., wrote gibberish responses to an open-ended question described in the procedure), and 61 who failed one of two attention checks described in the procedure (final n = 357; mean age = 34.89, SD = 11.49; 59.9% female; 68.9% White). Sensitivity analysis (Faul et al., 2007) revealed that a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA model with n = 357 is sufficient to detect a small to medium effect (i.e., f = 0.15) with power = 0.80 and α = 0.05.

7.1.2. Procedure

All participants read the same vignette as in Study 4, and were assigned to the Chief Strategy Officer role, whose main responsibility was to promote and maximize company performance. As in Study 4, all participants were asked to imagine that the human resources department was seeking their input on whether to hire a male or a female programmer who would report to a male senior programmer (i.e., the third party). For a random half of participants, the senior programmer was described as holding very traditional gender attitudes, which we conveyed in the same way as in Study 4 (versus no prejudice cues).

In Study 5, we also provided participants with additional information about the collegiality of the third party, meant to either reduce or exacerbate role-relevant interpersonal concerns about hiring a female programmer (i.e., one of the mediators in Study 1 and Study 4). Specifically, half of participants were randomly assigned to a high collegiality condition in which they read that the senior programmer got “along with everyone” and did not “allow his personal views and beliefs to influence the way he treats his colleagues and supervisees”. In contrast, participants in the low collegiality condition read that the senior programmer did “not get along with everyone” and that he “often allows his personal views and beliefs to influence the way he treats his colleagues and supervisees” (full text is reported in SOM).

Then, participants completed an attention check asking them whether a statement was true or false (“John A., the person who will supervise the new programmer, is married with children”). The statement was true for all participants, and we excluded any participants who responded “False.” Additionally, as a manipulation check of the

collegiality condition, we asked participants to rate the following statement, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*): “John A., the person who will supervise the new programmer, is always respectful and pleasant to work with.” Similar to Studies 1–4, participants then indicated their preference for a female or an identical male candidate for the programmer position, from 1 (*definitely recommend a man*) to 9 (*definitely recommend a woman*), with counterbalanced scale anchors.

After indicating their hiring preference, participants rated six items, presented in random order, from 1 (*did not consider at all*) to 5 (*considered a great deal*), tapping interpersonal concerns (α = 0.88) and task-focused concerns (α = 0.85) that were identical to those in Study 4. Then, as in Study 4, participants completed a short, 10-item measure of ambivalent sexism (Bareket et al., 2018; Glick & Fiske, 2001), including six items from the benevolent sexism subscale (α = 0.99) and four items from the hostile sexism subscale (α = 0.99). Demographic questions and debriefing followed. As in Study 4, we included one final open-ended attention check that asked participants to type in the name of the person who would supervise the new programmer, and we excluded any participants who did not respond correctly or who typed in gibberish responses. Finally, as a second manipulation check of collegiality condition, we asked participants how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statement about the person who would supervise the new programmer, from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*): “He sometimes allows his personal views and beliefs to influence the way he treats his colleagues and supervisees.” This second manipulation check correlated significantly and strongly with the first one, r (333) = –0.86, p < .001, and we averaged the two items for analysis after reverse-scoring the first item. Lower scores indicated lower perceptions of third-party collegiality.

7.2. Results

Table 5 presents means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for all variables.

7.2.1. Manipulation check

First, we checked whether participants processed the collegiality information as intended by conducting a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (collegiality condition: high vs. low) ANOVA on the composite of the two manipulation check questions. This analysis revealed that participants in the high collegiality condition rated the third party as significantly more collegial (M = 4.61, SD = 0.71) than participants in the low collegiality condition (M = 1.49, SD = 0.68), $F(1, 353)$ = 1761.37, p < .001, η_p^2 = 0.833 (f = 2.23, a large effect). No other effects were significant, p s > .448, η_p^2 < 0.001.

7.2.2. Role-relevant considerations

In order to test whether our manipulation of collegiality had the intended effect of reducing role-relevant considerations (i.e., interpersonal and task-focused concerns about hiring a woman), we

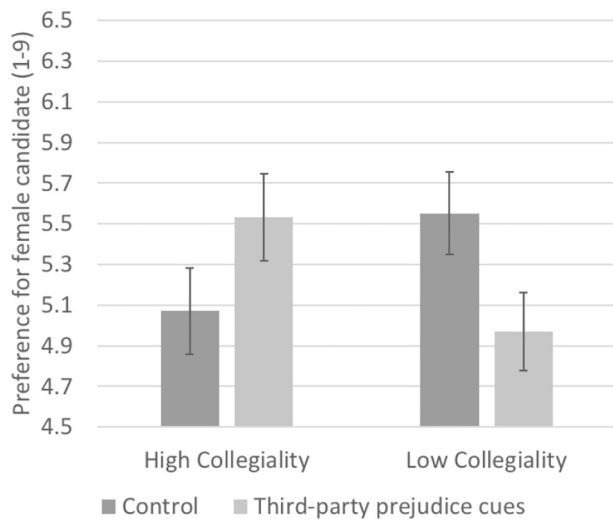


Fig. 4. Preference for a female candidate as a function of prejudice cues condition and collegiality condition in Study 5. Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

conducted a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (collegiality condition: low vs. high) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) MANOVA on (a) interpersonal concerns and (b) task-focused concerns.

This analysis revealed significant main effects of collegiality condition on interpersonal concerns, $F(1, 349) = 99.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.222$, ($f = 0.53$, a large effect), as well as on task-focused concerns, $F(1, 349) = 6.49$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.018$ ($f = 0.13$, a small effect). As expected, interpersonal concerns were higher in the low collegiality condition ($M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.24$) compared to the high collegiality condition ($M = 2.02$, $SD = 1.68$), $M_D = 1.22$, $SE = 0.12$, 95% CI [0.982, 1.465]. Similarly, task-focused concerns were higher in the low collegiality condition ($M = 1.80$, $SD = 0.98$) relative to the high collegiality condition ($M = 1.51$, $SD = 0.96$), $M_D = 0.25$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI [0.058, 0.451]. These results suggest that, as intended, providing information about the high collegiality of the third party served to reassure participants that hiring a female candidate would not lead to interpersonal conflict between the new hire and the third party or jeopardize task performance.

The analysis also revealed a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition on interpersonal concerns, $F(1, 349) = 34.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.091$ ($f = 0.32$, a medium to large effect). As in Studies 1 and 4, interpersonal concerns were higher when there were cues to third-party prejudice ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.34$) compared to the control (i.e., no cues) condition ($M = 2.25$, $SD = 1.26$), $M_D = 0.72$, $SE = 0.12$, 95% CI [0.482, 0.965]. For task-focused concerns, the main effect of prejudice cues condition was not significant, $F(1, 349) = 2.67$, $p = .103$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.008$.

For interpersonal concerns, the interaction between third-party collegiality and prejudices cues condition was not significant, $F(1, 349) = 1.33$, $p = .250$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.004$. And, although the main effect of participant gender was not significant, $F(1, 349) = 1.25$, $p = .264$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.004$, there were significant interactions between participant gender and prejudice cues condition, $F(1, 349) = 6.91$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.019$; and between participant gender and collegiality condition, $F(1, 349) = 4.63$, $p = .032$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.013$. The effects of both experimental manipulations on interpersonal concerns were stronger among female participants compared to male participants (see SOM). The three-way interaction between participant gender, prejudice cues condition, and collegiality condition was not significant, $F(1, 349) = 0.789$, $p = .375$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.002$.

For task-focused concerns, there was a significant interaction between the two experimental manipulations, $F(1, 349) = 12.65$,

$p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.035$ ($f = 0.19$, a medium effect). In the low collegiality condition, there was a significant main effect of prejudice cues, $F(1, 349) = 13.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.038$ ($f = 0.20$, a medium effect), similar to Study 1: Task-focused concerns were higher when there were cues to third-party prejudice ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 1.06$) versus the control (no cues) condition ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 0.80$), $M_D = 0.52$, $SE = 0.14$, 95% CI [0.243, 0.793]. In contrast, in the high collegiality condition, the effect of prejudice cues condition on task-focused concerns was not significant, $F(1, 349) = 1.81$, $p = .179$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.005$. Moreover, there was a significant main effect of gender $F(1, 349) = 18.69$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.051$, qualified by a significant three-way interaction between participant gender, prejudice cues condition, and collegiality condition, $F(1, 349) = 8.20$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.023$. We did not predict this interaction but we report exploratory simple effects in SOM. The analysis suggests that collegiality information assuaged task-focused concerns more strongly for male participants relative to female participants.

7.2.3. Preference for a female candidate

In order to test our main prediction that preference for a female job candidate would vary as a function of prejudice cues condition and collegiality condition, we performed a 2 (prejudice cues condition: third-party prejudice cues vs. no cues) \times 2 (collegiality condition: low vs. high) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVA on preference for a female versus a male candidate for the programmer position.

As expected, there was a significant interaction between prejudice cues condition and collegiality condition, $F(1, 349) = 6.41$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.018$ ($f = 0.13$, a small effect). This interaction is plotted in Fig. 4. As can be seen in the figure, in line with H1, there was a significant main effect of prejudice cues condition in the low collegiality condition, $F(1, 349) = 4.90$, $p = .027$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.014$ ($f = 0.12$, a small effect), such that preference for a female programmer was significantly lower in the third-party prejudice cues condition ($M = 4.97$, $SD = 2.42$) compared to the control (i.e., no cues) condition ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.71$), $M_D = -0.64$, $SE = 0.29$, 95% CI [-1.203, -0.071].³ However, consistent with H2, the effect of prejudice cues condition was not significant in the high collegiality condition, $F(1, 349) = 1.89$, $p = .170$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.005$.

In line with the results of Studies 1–4, there was a significant main effect of participant gender on preference for a female versus a male programmer, $F(1, 349) = 11.41$, $p = .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.032$ ($f = 0.18$, a medium effect): Women had a stronger preference for a female programmer ($M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.97$) compared to men ($M = 4.84$, $SD = 1.79$), $M_D = 0.69$, $SE = 0.20$, 95% CI [0.290, 1.098]. No other effects were significant, $ps > .164$, $\eta_p^2 < 0.007$.

7.2.4. Moderation by hostile and benevolent sexism

As can be seen in Table 5, benevolent and hostile sexism were significantly, positively correlated, as in past investigations (e.g., Glick et al., 2000). Moreover, both benevolent and hostile sexism scores were significantly higher among men relative to women, and both sexism scores were significantly, positively associated with stronger task-focused concerns about hiring a woman for the programmer position. Hostile sexism correlated significantly and negatively with preference to hire a female candidate, as in Study 4, but there was no association between benevolent sexism and hiring preference.

We conducted two linear regression models in order to examine the potential moderating effect of hostile and benevolent sexism. In the first model, we entered prejudice cues condition (0 = no cues, 1 = third-party prejudice cues), collegiality condition (0 = low collegiality,

³ In the low collegiality condition (i.e., when role-relevant reasons to accommodate prejudice were strong), interpersonal concerns and task-focused concerns both significantly mediated the effect of prejudice cues condition on hiring preferences. These mediation analyses are reported in full in SOM.

1 = high collegiality), and hostile sexism (mean centered) as well as all interaction terms as predictors of preference for a female candidate, adjusting for benevolent sexism (mean centered) and participant gender (i.e., given the significant associations between hostile sexism and these two variables). Results revealed a significant effect of hostile sexism, $b = -0.33$, $SE = 0.16$, $p = .039$, $\beta = -0.22$ (a small to medium effect), but no interaction with prejudice cues condition, $b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.21$, $p = .786$. The second model, which was identical except that it included benevolent sexism as a predictor and participant gender and hostile sexism as covariates, revealed no significant effect of benevolent sexism, $b = 0.10$, $SE = 0.17$, $p = .548$, and no interaction with prejudice cues, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.23$, $p = .693$. The full results for both models are presented in SOM.

7.3. Discussion

The main goal of this last study was to test the role-based process of prejudice accommodation by intervening directly to manipulate one of the mediators (interpersonal concerns). We examined gatekeepers' tendency to accommodate biased third parties at lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy than Studies 1–3 as a function of third-party collegiality. Overall, our predictions were supported. As expected, when the third-party was more (vs. less) collegial—that is, when there were less interpersonal and task-focused concerns about candidate fit—the accommodation of prejudice was eliminated. Moreover, Study 5 replicated the results of Studies 1–4 on the effect of participants' own social category membership (e.g., gender) and attitudes toward women, both of which had a direct impact on hiring selections. Consistent with Studies 1–4, female participants overall had a significantly stronger preference for a female programmer than male participants. However, these individual-level variables did not moderate the effect of prejudice cues on hiring preferences (Avery et al., 2009; Pratto et al., 1999). Both men and women responded to information about the third-party's collegiality by reducing the accommodation of third-party prejudice, indicating that role demands (rather than social identities) underlie the propensity to accommodate the biases of other people.

8. General discussion

The present research, consisting of five studies, examined how the social biases of others may be translated into discriminatory actions by individuals, independent of their own attitudes and orientations, in ways that maintain and reinforce structural inequities. Thus, even when people are personally unbiased or share a social category membership with a target of bias, they may behave in ways that accommodate the biases of others. Across studies, we found that individuals placed in gatekeeper roles are consistently less likely to provide opportunities to women (Studies 2–5) and members of novel groups (Study 1) when these gatekeepers have reason to suspect that others in the context that these candidates will enter harbor prejudices toward these groups (third-party prejudice accommodation, Hypothesis 1).

The current research extends previous work (Vial et al., 2018) by illuminating the processes that underlie third-party prejudice accommodation. Based on role theory (Biddle, 1979, 1986; Staines, 1986) and recent investigations (Vial et al., 2018), we proposed that when gatekeeper roles emphasize prioritizing the overall fit between a job candidate and the values of potential co-workers or supervisors (e.g., Cable & Judge, 1997) the suspicion of prejudice in relevant third parties would trigger role-relevant concerns and, as a consequence, gatekeepers would accommodate third-party prejudice, reflecting other people's biases in their own hiring recommendations. Our results revealed accordingly that, when role demands to maximize candidate fit were strong, preference for candidates of a given group tended to be lower when there were cues to third-party prejudice against that group (vs. no cues), and we found evidence that a motivation to meet the demands of the gatekeeper role was at the root of participant hiring

preferences and their tendency to accommodate prejudice.

Underscoring the impact of the role priority to maximize candidate fit, participants' self-reports of taking third-party preferences into consideration moderated the extent to which they accommodated prejudice against women in Study 2—an important assumption in Vial et al. (2018) that had not previously been tested. In Study 3, a concern about meeting role responsibilities mediated the accommodation of gender-based prejudice, but other kinds of concerns did not (e.g. consideration for the well-being of an individual candidate). We found evidence for the third-party prejudice effect in four out of five roles that prioritized performance (the effect was only indirect in Study 4), and prejudice cues had no influence in the single role condition that prioritized something *other* than maximizing performance through candidate fit (i.e., maximizing company diversity). Similarly, when we reduced the impact of third-party prejudice on participants' ability to meet role demands in Study 5 by experimentally manipulating the level of collegiality of the third party (i.e., reducing role-relevant interpersonal concerns), we found that the accommodation of prejudice was eliminated.

Furthermore, the current studies provide converging evidence that, even when people are personally unbiased or share a social category membership with a target of third-party prejudice, they will nevertheless accommodate this prejudice due to role-relevant processes. Even participants with relatively low levels of hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) accommodated prejudice against women in their decisions (Studies 4–5), and they did this even when this prejudice targeted a social in-group, whether based on gender (Studies 2–5) or randomly assigned group memberships (Study 1). Notably, the replication of the third-party prejudice effect in a novel groups context supports the notion that people accommodate prejudice not due to the way they think about groups (e.g., their own pre-existing biases or knowledge of cultural stereotypes), but due to the way they construe the demands of their formal roles. These results contribute to a growing body of research (Vial et al., 2018; Vial, Bosak, Flood, & Dovidio, 2019) suggesting that role demands promote group inequality by motivating individuals to use the preferences of others as a substitute for their own when making staff decisions, which can lead to discriminatory decisions when those third-party preferences are biased.

As a whole, these findings expand an understanding of how bias may be systematically perpetuated in ways independent of an individual's personal attitudes, shifting the focus away from gatekeepers' characteristics and redirecting attention to role demands that may constrain gatekeeper decisions. Thus, our findings complement past work that underscores how institutional factors can produce group disparities even in the absence of direct individual hostility toward members of stigmatized groups (Henkel, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2006; Lukachko, Hatzenbuehler, & Keyes, 2014). From this perspective, gatekeeper roles could represent a key interface through which structural and institutional bias is expressed and reinforced as a result of the demands that these roles typically entail (e.g., prioritizing candidate fit; Cable & Judge, 1997). This focus on the roles that people occupy and on the demands of those roles helps illuminate how structural biases and institutional discrimination (Feagin & Feagin, 1978) are transmitted through individual-level processes in ways that perpetuate disparate, unfair treatment in the absence of personal animus on the part of key decision makers (e.g., hiring managers).

Building on previous work (Vial et al., 2018), we adopted role theory (Biddle, 1979, 1986; Staines, 1986) as the guiding conceptual framework for the current set of studies. Role theory posits that when people occupy particular roles they conform to the expectations that they perceive the role requires (i.e., role demands), often in ways independent of their personal beliefs, attitudes, and orientations. This perspective thus suggests that the primary motivation underlying third-party prejudice accommodation is the motivation to conform to role demands rather than the expectations of other individuals (as would emphasize a normative social influence position, e.g., Blanchard et al.,

1994). Nevertheless, we acknowledge that other perspectives may also account, potentially in a complementary fashion, for aspects of our findings. For instance, whereas role theory focuses on roles within an organization or group, self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; see also Hogg, Abrams, & Brewer, 2017)—a derivative of social identity theory—highlights how identification as a member of a social group influences how people perceive themselves (in a way more prototypic of the group) and shapes how they believe they should act (in ways that promote the welfare of the group) differently than when their personal identity is primarily salient. Thus, future research might consider more directly how identification with a group and the clarity of the role one occupies in the group may contribute jointly to one's action on behalf of the group, generally, and third-party prejudice accommodation, in particular.

Similarly, role-related demands and social influence principles may operate in tandem to influence third-party prejudice accommodation. Studies 4 and 5 were the first in research on this phenomenon to examine prejudice accommodation involving third parties that were not particularly powerful. Whereas Vial et al. (2018) only examined the accommodation of high-status third-parties, it is possible that authority figures may be strongly influential independently from role demands (Brief et al., 1995). Although our findings overall suggest that the third-party prejudice effect does extend to lower hierarchical levels, we also found some indication that the effect might be less robust in these contexts: We found a direct effect of prejudice cues on hiring decisions in Study 5, whereas in Study 4 we only found an indirect effect via role-relevant concerns. These mixed results indicate that indeed role-relevant processes and normative influence processes (Brief et al., 1995) may work together to exacerbate peoples' tendency to channel the perceived biases of others. Future investigations may systematically probe these ideas by manipulating the status of the third party to further examine how status-based processes and role-related processes interact to elicit prejudice accommodation.

Additional research may address limitations involving the kinds of responses tested in our studies. Whereas meta-analysis suggests that behavioral intentions are a good (albeit imperfect) predictor of actual behavior (Webb & Sheeran, 2006), future research may examine behavioral responses in order to derive stronger conclusions about the impact of prejudice accommodation on discrimination. Furthermore, the kinds of decisions examined could also be expanded to explain a broader range of situations in which people channel the biases of others due to role demands. For instance, it is possible that individuals might recuse themselves from a particular position in response to third-party prejudice cues if doing so were consistent with role demands (e.g., a female lawyer might recuse herself from trying a case if she believed the judge to be biased in favor of male lawyers, assuming a strong role demand for lawyers to prioritize the needs and interests of clients; Arthur et al., 2014).

Other potential limitations in the current studies involve the measures and samples employed. Whereas our measures of role-relevant considerations were highly face valid, had good internal reliability, and in some cases were adapted from prior research (Vial et al., 2018), future investigations including independently validated measures adapted to the context of prejudice accommodation would be especially valuable (e.g., Cable & DeRue's, 2002 measure of candidate fit perceptions). Additionally, although the MTurk participants in our studies may bring a broader range of personal experiences to the situation than would undergraduate samples (Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011), it would be valuable to replicate the current findings with a sample drawn from a different source, particularly one including individuals knowledgeable about and directly involved in hiring, such as human resources professionals.

Moreover, future investigations might explore whether differences in the way that individuals construe the gatekeeper role in hiring contexts may moderate the accommodation of third-party prejudice. Although role expectations are highly consensual (Biddle, 1979; Eagly

& Steffen, 1984; Koenig & Eagly, 2014), different people nevertheless experience roles in subjectively different ways. While subtle, these differences could be very consequential. For example, variability in role expectations, as conceptualized by the construct of role ambiguity, tends to predict low performance of role-related behaviors (Kalbers & Cenker, 2008; Tubre & Collins, 2000). In the case of prejudice accommodation, to the extent that hiring managers believe that maximizing candidate fit is a strong role priority for someone in their position (Rivera, 2012; Tsai et al., 2011), such belief would be associated with a stronger tendency to accommodate others' preferences (and prejudices) in hiring decisions. Thus, additional research might probe whether individual differences in the way that professionals construe the demands of the gatekeeper role in hiring contexts may moderate third-party prejudice effect.

The present investigation has important implications for the maintenance of group inequality and the professional advancement of underrepresented groups. Whereas considerable work has sought to reduce individual-level prejudice as a way to reduce discrimination (Carnes et al., 2015; Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012; Moss-Racusin et al., 2014), which has had limited impact on reducing structural inequality (Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006), the current research suggests that, regardless of gatekeepers' personal attitudes, redefining the role priorities of those involved in hiring decisions could curtail the spread of bias and increase the representation of women and members of other traditionally underrepresented groups in high status, influential positions (Matsa & Miller, 2013).

In conclusion, this investigation provided the valuable insight that discriminatory behaviors are often an indirect result of prejudice rather than its direct manifestation. Even when they were not directly involved in hiring, biased individuals influenced the makeup of an organization to the extent that gatekeepers knew their biases and could not find a way to meet the demands of their roles without catering to those biases. In this way, a focus on the demands of the roles that people occupy can advance our understanding of how bias spreads socially and how inequality is maintained structurally.

Open practices

All materials, data, and analysis code for the five studies in this investigation are available on the Open Science Framework database (<https://osf.io/m6vkg>).

Appendix A. Supplementary Materials

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2019.01.004>.

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