

DISCRIMINATION OF ARABS AND MUSLIMS IN SIMULATED
HIRING DECISIONS: THE ROLE OF MULTIPLE CATEGORIZATION,
PERCEIVED JOB FIT, AND SOCIAL DOMINANCE

by

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Abstract

Discrimination in hiring contexts has received a lot of attention from researchers in Industrial Organizational Psychology. However, discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in hiring contexts has been overlooked in the literature. The current study explores discrimination targeting Arabs and Muslims in the workplace. The theory of multiple categorization (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999) was applied to Arabs and Muslims in order to determine the relative effect of national origin and religious affiliation. Perceived job fit (Heilman, 1983) was also examined using an airport security position and a shipping and receiving clerk position. Participants rated mock résumés on several measures of hireability and ranked the applicants in the order in which they would hire them. The results show that the Muslim applicants were rated lower than the Christian applicants and the Arab applicants were rated lower than the Caucasian applicants. Furthermore, the Caucasian Christian applicant was rated significantly higher than the Caucasian Muslim applicant, the Arab Christian applicant, and the Arab Muslim applicant. This study shows that Arabs and Muslims were rated lower than their equally qualified counterparts, providing evidence of discrimination of Arabs and Muslims.

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Introduction

Discrimination can be defined as differential treatment on individuals based on their perceived group membership. Differential treatment can involve treating a group more positively than another group, treating a group more negatively than another group, or a combination of both behaviors (Brewer, 1979). For the purpose of this study, I will focus on unfair discrimination. Unfair discrimination occurs when an individual or group is discriminated against based on job-irrelevant factors such as race or ethnicity.

Employment discrimination on the basis of race, religion, color, age, sex, disability, national origin, or citizenship status is prohibited by federal law, as delineated in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Despite this, discrimination is still a pervasive problem in organizations. Discrimination in the workplace can be manifested in various ways including hiring, promotion, compensation, job assignment, or termination. Due to the large body of literature that suggests discrimination can influence personnel decisions, this study will focus on discrimination in the hiring process.

Discrimination in hiring decisions has been found to occur on the basis of many factors including race (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), sex (e.g. Schein, 1973), weight (e.g. Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, & Spring, 1994), age (e.g. Maurer, 2001; Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995), disabilities (e.g. Johnson & Lambrinos, 1985), and sexual orientation (e.g. Badgett, 1995). However, discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in hiring contexts has received very little attention. Therefore, this study will contribute to the existing literature by investigating discrimination targeting Arabs and Muslims in hiring contexts. Also, because there is a large

population of Arabs that are not Muslim as well as a large population of Muslims that are not Arab, the current research seeks to establish if these groups receive different amounts of discrimination. The study will also examine how perceived job fit affects discrimination against these groups and if social dominance orientation is related to discrimination against Muslims and Arabs.

Arab/Muslim Discrimination

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) defines an Arab as a cultural and linguistic term referring to people who speak Arabic as their first language (n.d.). Due to many Arabs residing outside of their native countries and not speaking Arabic as their first language, an alternative definition is anyone with origins tracing to one of the 22 Arabic countries located in North Africa and the Middle East. The majority of Arabs are Muslim but there are large Christian and Jewish Arab populations. The ADC defines a Muslim as any one who follows Islam. There are an estimated 1.2 billion Muslims in the world, most of which are not of Arab decent (ADC, n.d.). Despite Arabs and Muslims being two distinct populations, the categories have been collapsed into one homogenous group in the U.S. media (Cainkar, 2002).

While there is evidence that Muslim and Arab individuals have been discriminated against in the United States since the early 1900's (Naber, 2000), discrimination against them has sharply increased after September 11 and the subsequent events. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's (2000, 2001) hate crime report showed an increase in incidents against Islamic individuals from 28 reported incidents in 2000 to 481 in 2001. Moradi and Hasan (2004) surveyed Arab Americans and found that over half of the participants reported unfair treatment

due to their ethnicity. Padela and Heisler (2010) surveyed a representative sample of Arabs in the greater Detroit area and found that 25% of respondents reported either abuse based on race, ethnicity, or religion against themselves or other members of their household after September 11.

American sentiments toward Arabs and Muslims were compiled from different public opinion surveys to analyze attitudes toward these groups after September 11 (Panagopoulos, 2006). Most respondents reported having very little knowledge about Islam and the Qur'an. The majority also reported feeling that Islam has little in common with their personal religion. Despite the reported lack of familiarity, 40% of Americans felt that the September 11 attacks reflect Islamic teachings. The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that since 1994, one-third of Americans continually report believing that Islamic fundamentalism is a threat to national security. The number rose to 61% in 2002 (Panagopoulos, 2006).

Cornell University (MSRG, 2004) conducted a national survey of public opinion with an emphasis on opinions about the War on Terror, foreign policy, and Islam. The results showed that 47% of respondents believed that Islam was more encouraging of violent acts in comparison with other religions. Furthermore, 44% of respondents expressed agreement that restrictions should be placed on the civil liberties of Muslim Americans. When participants were asked if Islamic values are similar to Christian values, only 27% agreed.

Bushman and Bonnaci (2004) found that participants reported more prejudice toward Arab-Americans than any other ethnic group, including African-Americans, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans. Also, a public opinion survey on immigration found that the majority of respondents reported feeling that too many Arab immigrants reside in the United States

(Gallup, 2002). Similar to Bushman and Bonnaci's findings, attitudes were more negative toward Arab immigrants than any of the other immigrant groups tested. These negative attitudes toward Arabs and Muslims have important implications for the members of these groups and there is evidence that these attitudes carry over into the workplace and hiring decisions.

Hate crimes and illegal discrimination against Arab and Muslims in the workplace have also shown an increase. Between September 2001 and September 2002, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee received 800 reports of employment discrimination. This constitutes a four-fold increase in the number of reported occurrences of workplace discrimination against Arab Americans in the preceding years (Ibish, 2003). Derous, Nguyen, and Ryan (2009) found that applicants with Arab sounding names and Arab affiliations on their résumés received the lowest job suitability ratings. There is also evidence to suggest that Muslims wearing religious identifiers are discriminated against in employment decisions. Ghumman and Jackson (2008) found that applicants wearing Muslim religious identifiers, such as the turban and headscarf, were rated the least employable in high status jobs and the most employable in low status jobs relative to applicants wearing Christian or Jewish religious identifiers. Similarly, Persad and Lukas (2002) found that 40% of Muslim women surveyed were told by an employer that they must discontinue wearing a hijab in order to get the job.

Discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in the workplace has received some attention both in the United States and internationally. Rooth (2007) conducted a study in Sweden in which applications were sent to job openings with either a native Swedish name or an Arab name. Applications with Arab names were 10% less likely to get a call back than applications

with Swedish names (Rooth, 2007). In France, a study was conducted to look at the relationship between different ethnic groups and their success in the labor market three years after leaving school. The lowest overall attainment levels in the labor market were found among the Muslim immigrants from North Africa and Turkey and 40% of North African Muslims reported experiencing discrimination in the labor market. Unemployment rates among Muslims from North Africa were significantly higher than those of French natives even when education level was controlled for (Silberman, Alba, and Fournier, 2007).

Discrimination is an important issue to investigate not only because of the implications it has in the workplace but also because discrimination has implications for the individual's health. Discrimination has been linked to low self-reported physical and mental health for other populations such as African Americans (Gee, Ryan, Laflamme, & Holt, 2006), Latinos (Gee, Ryan, Laflamme, & Holt, 2006), Asians (Gee, Spencer, Chen, & Takeuchi, 2007), and Arabs (Padela & Heisler, 2010; Moradi & Hasan, 2004). Increased perceived discrimination after September 11 has been found to be associated with higher levels of psychological distress, lower levels of happiness, and a lower overall health status among Arab Americans (Padela & Heisler, 2010; Moradi & Hasan, 2004).

Multiple Categorization

Evidence shows that Arabs and Muslims are discriminated against both in and out of the workplace but it is still unclear if Arabs and Muslims experience different levels of discrimination. Since the Arab and Muslim populations are closely associated and may be seen as a single group, it is hard to discern if discrimination derives from their national origin or from

their perceived religious affiliation. Awad (2010) examined how religious affiliation affected the amount of discrimination perceived by people of Arab and Middle Eastern descent. It was found that Muslims in the sample reported experiencing more discrimination than Christians. Non-Arab Muslims, however, were not examined in the study.

Awad's findings are consistent with what you would expect based on the rationale of multiple categorization. In cases of multiple categorization, individuals are simultaneously categorized into two different groups based on in-group, out-group distinctions, which are sufficient to engender discrimination (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999). Multiple categorization then creates a situation where you have double in-group members, double out-group members, and partial in-group members. As illustrated in diagram 1 below, the double in-group in this case would be Caucasian Christians, the double out-group would be Arab Muslims, and the partial in-group members are Arab Christians and Caucasian Muslims. The additive pattern of categorization posits that double out-group members will be seen the least favorably, double in-group members will be seen the most favorably, and partial in-group members will fall in the middle of the other two groups (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999). Applied to the current study, multiple categorization suggests that the Arab Muslim category will receive the most discrimination.

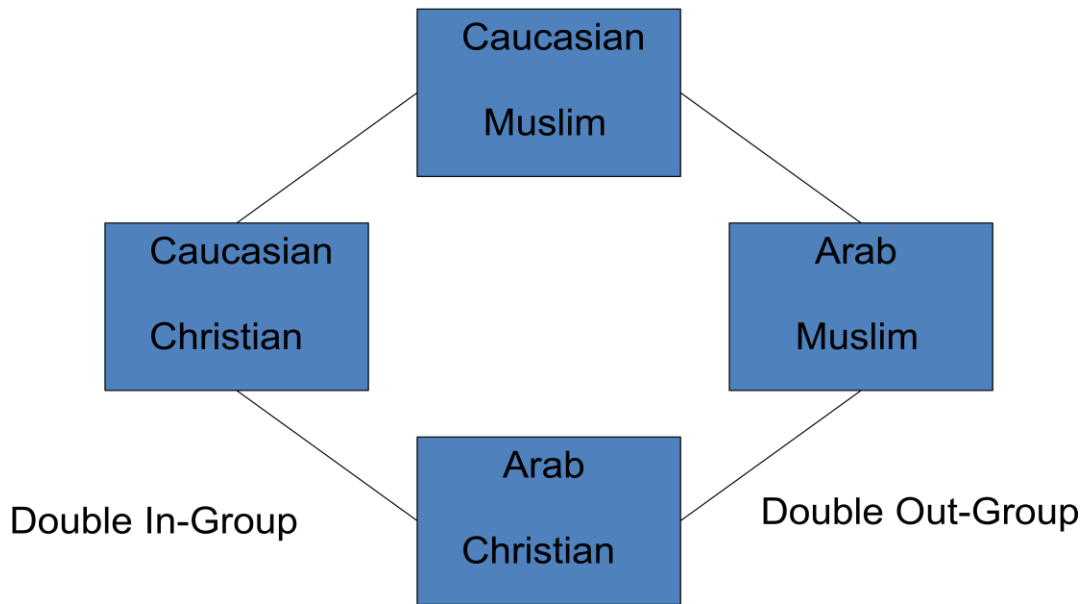


Figure 1. Multiple Categorization.

Job Fit

The level of employment discrimination a group experiences is in some part dependent on the type of job that they are seeking. The lack of fit model, which was originally proposed as a theory to explain sex discrimination in the workplace, shows that discrimination varies as a function of job type (Heilman, 1983). The model proposes that it is the incongruity, or lack of fit, between the perceived knowledge, skills, and abilities needed for a job and the perceived characteristics of an individual that leads to discrimination. Based on this assessment, expectations are then established about how successful an individual will be at a particular job. These expectations can create prejudgments about the individual that will impact how their performance is perceived. Presumed lack of fit can influence whether someone is hired as well as how they are evaluated and rewarded (Heilman, 1983). Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon

(1989) tested the model by having participants rate successful managers, men in general, and women in general on different characteristics. The results showed that participants assigned more congruent ratings to successful managers and men in general than they did for successful managers and women in general. Race has also been shown to influence the perceived job fit of an applicant for a certain job. It has been found that black applicants are less likely to be hired for typically white jobs and white applicants are less likely to be hired for typically black jobs (Terpstra & Larsen, 1980).

Applying this rationale to discrimination against Arabs and Muslims, it would be expected that discrimination would be the highest for jobs that are incongruent with the stereotypes associated with these groups. Deros, Nguyen, and Ryan (2009) examined whether résumés with Arab names and affiliations were perceived less suitable for jobs requiring high customer contact and high cognitive demand. There were no significant differences between Arab applicants and White applicants in suitability ratings for either of the job types. Mansouri (2004) also conducted a study to assess whether job fit plays a role in discrimination against Muslim applicants. Mansouri chose to use a security guard position and a shipping and receiving clerk position with the expectation that the Muslim applicant would be perceived as less congruent with the security position because of the stereotype that Muslims are not trustworthy.

The study found that the Muslim applicant was in fact rated lower than the non-Muslim applicant for the security position and that the Muslim applicant was relatively less likely to be invited for an interview for the security position. This pattern did not hold up for the shipping and receiving clerk position. The findings from Deros, Nguyen, and Ryan (2009) could reflect

the difficulty in classifying occupations along ethnic lines. There is a great deal of ambiguity when typing a job for a specific ethnicity and those classifications shift with time. Mansouri's (2004) study shows that the job-fit hypothesis holds true when there a specific attribute, such as trustworthiness in the case of Mansouri's study, that is inconsistent with the stereotypes associated with a particular ethnic group. Due to the previous findings, for this study the job types will be based on jobs that will activate Arab/Muslim stereotypes.

Social Dominance

Social dominance theory is a theory of social hierarchy centered around the basic observation that societies tend to be structured hierarchically with a small number of dominant groups on top and a larger number of subordinate groups at the bottom (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This group-based hierarchy leads to prejudice, racism, stereotypes, and discrimination. Social dominance orientation (SDO) is the psychological component of social dominance theory. SDO is defined as “an individual difference orientation expressing the value that people place on nonegalitarian and hierarchically structured relationships among social groups” (p. 61). People high in social dominance endorse, desire, and support the domination of low status groups by high status groups as well as ideologies and policies that maintain that inequality. In line with the previous statement, these individuals show relatively more positive attitudes toward the high status groups and relatively more negative attitudes towards low status groups. At the individual level, social dominance orientation can manifest itself in ways such as an employer deciding to not hire or promote an individual from a particular minority group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Consistent with what Sidanius and Pratto stated, a study conducted by Parkins, Fishbein, and

Ritchey (2006) found that individuals high in SDO were found to engage in more workplace bullying.

SDO is a good predictor of prejudice in individuals as indicated by research showing a correlation between SDO and beliefs that belittle subordinate ethnic groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Individuals scoring high on SDO have been found to score relatively higher on measures of racism, sexism, nationalism, cultural elitism, and patriotism. Social dominance orientation has been shown to correlate with negative attitudes toward a wide variety of groups, including blacks (Whitley, 1999; Parkins, Fishbein, & Ritchey, 2006), Arabs (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), the obese (Parkins, Fishbein, & Ritchey, 2006) and homosexuals (Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Lee, 2000), as well as generalized prejudice (Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004), and sexism (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

The Current Study

Hiring bias against Arabs and Muslims has received little attention in the literature on workplace discrimination. Therefore, the first purpose of the current study is to determine whether discrimination does occur against Arab and Muslim applicants in simulated hiring decisions and the relative influence of national origin and religious affiliation on discrimination against Arabs and Muslims. Furthermore, the current study seeks to understand how perceived job fit relates to discrimination against Arabs and Muslims based on Heilman's lack of fit model (1983). Last, the study seeks to examine if social dominance orientation is related to discrimination towards these groups.

For this study, discrimination is defined as receiving lower hireability ratings than an equally qualified counterpart. It is hypothesized that the Caucasian Christian applicant will be rated the most favorably and that the Arab Muslim applicant be rated the least favorably. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that perceived job fit will impact the hiring decision. For the airport security guard position, it is expected that the Arab Muslim applicant will receive the least favorable hireability ratings. It is also predicted that the Caucasian Christian applicant will not be rated differently when considered for the airport security position than when considered for the shipping and receiving clerk position. Last, it is hypothesized that higher scores on Social Dominance Orientation will be related to increased discrimination against these populations. The examination of the relative effects of national origin and religious orientation on discrimination is being exploratory and no specific predictions are made as to which category, if either, will be rated less favorably.

H1a: The Caucasian Christian applicant will be rated the most favorably on employability and willingness to interview.

H1b: The Arab Muslim applicant will be rated the least favorably on employability and willingness to interview.

H2a: The Arab Muslim applicant will be rated less favorably on employability and willingness to interview for the airport security position than the shipping and receiving clerk position.

H2b: The Christian Caucasian applicant will not be rated differently on employability and wiliness to interview when considered for the airport security position than when considered for the shipping and receiving clerk position.

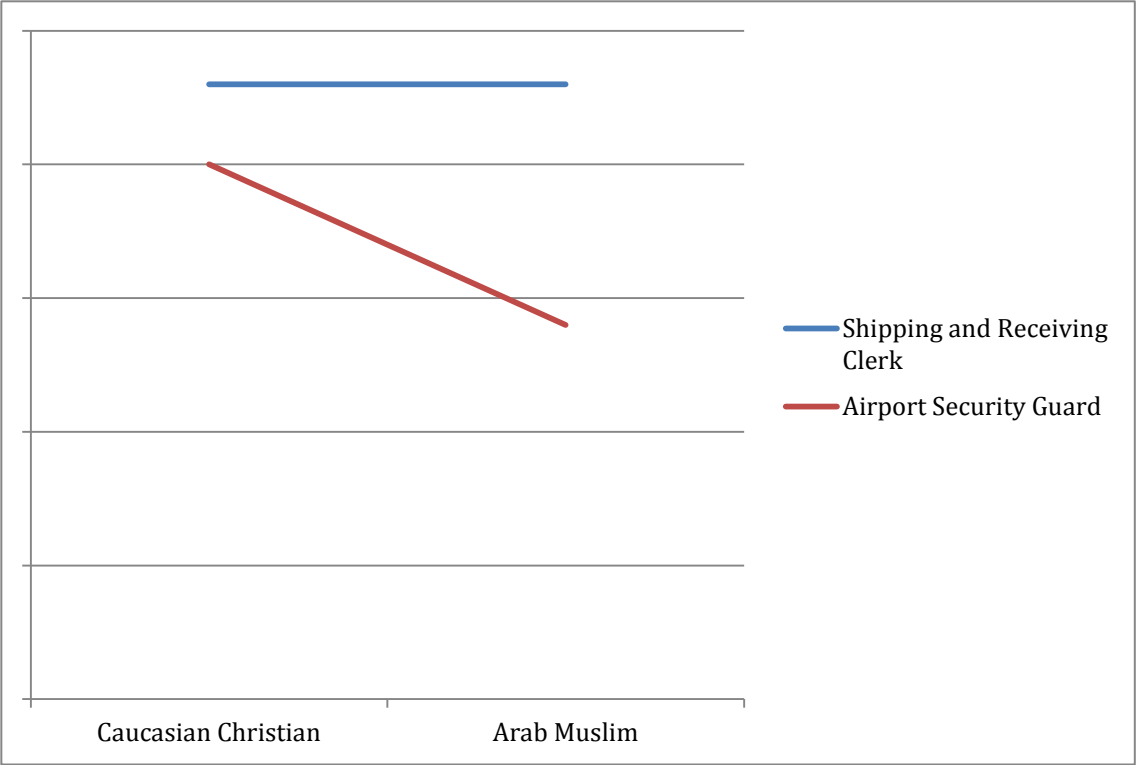


Figure 2. Graph of Hypotheses.

Method

Participants

The participants included in this study consisted of University of Central Florida undergraduate students who participated in the study on the internet. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. The study was posted on the SONA system and participants potentially received course credit for participation in the study, as decided by their course instructor.

Procedure

The study is a 2 x 2 x 2 mixed factorial design; the ethnicity and religion conditions are within subjects variables and the job condition is a between subjects variable. The three independent variables are religion (Muslim versus Christian), ethnicity (Arab versus Caucasian), and job type (an airport security position versus a shipping and receiving clerk position). Names and affiliations were manipulated so that résumé 1 is a Muslim Arab applicant, résumé 2 is a Christian Arab applicant, résumé 3 is a Muslim Caucasian applicant, and résumé 4 is a Christian Caucasian applicant. In addition, there were also three filler résumés. The applicants' race and religion was varied using Arab or Caucasian names and Muslim or Christian organizations for the four experimental applicants. The three filler applicants were depicted as being Caucasian but their religion was kept ambiguous. A reference letter and a picture also accompanied all of the résumés. For the experimental applicants, the reference letter was either from an Imam of a Mosque or a pastor of a Church. The résumés were kept identical in terms of experience and educational attainment. All seven résumés were used with each of two job types, an airport security position and a shipping and receiving clerk position.

Prior to partaking in the study, participants were given a consent form that stated that they were going to evaluate résumés in order to determine how résumé styles affect hiring decisions. The consent form also outlined the tasks the participants were asked to complete. Then they were presented with the résumé, picture, reference letter, job advertisement, and a short questionnaire to assess their hiring decisions about the applicant. Participants were instructed to make their hiring ratings as if they were the manager for the company. The instructions stated: “Imagine that you are a manager making a hiring decisions for this applicant and you will be held responsible for the future success of the person hired in the position.” After completing the hiring questions, participants then completed the Social Dominance Orientation Scale, the Islamophobia scale, the Anti-Arab racism scale, and a short demographic questionnaire. At the conclusion of the each session, the participant was debriefed and the true purpose of the research was revealed.

Materials

Résumé Development.

Mock résumés were used to test if there were differences between the conditions in terms of hiring ratings. The résumés depicted an applicant with average qualifications. All of the applicants for the experimental conditions were male and two of the filler applicants were female while one was male. For the Arab applicants, the names Mohammed Al-Hasan and Ahmad Haddad were used. For the Caucasian applicants, the names Steven Miller and Michael Smith were used. To manipulate the applicants’ religion, the résumés depicted that the applicant volunteered for either Muslim organizations or Christian organizations. The filler applicants volunteered for non-religious organizations such as the Red Cross and the Humane Society.

Job Selection.

The two jobs used for this study, airport security guard and shipping and receiving clerk, were selected using the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) (available at: <http://www.onetonline.org/>). They were selected based on similarity in terms of the required education and experience needed to perform the job. Both of the jobs selected are classified under the same job zone (zone 2) on O*NET and have comparable knowledge, skills, abilities, and work activities. Job Zone 2 on O*NET includes jobs that need “some preparation” in order to perform the job successfully. Job Zone 2 occupations tend to require a high school diploma, some previous work experience, and they are typically occupations that help other people. Other jobs classified as Job Zone 2 include customer service representative, sheet metal workers, concierges, and pipelayers. Also, the two job types were used because they were also used in Mansouri’s (2004) study.

Photographs.

A photograph that supposedly depicted the applicant accompanied each résumé. The photos were taken from the Georgia Tech Face Database (available at: http://www.anefian.com/research/face_reco.htm). There were two Caucasian male photos, two Caucasian female photos, and two Arab male photos. All of the photos had the same background and the people in the photos all have neutral expressions. Participants were told that the photographs were taken at the time that the applicant submitted their résumé in order to explain the identical backgrounds.

Scales and Measures

A hireability questionnaire was used to assess the participant's evaluation of the applicant. This measure contains five items that were rated with a 5-point scale (1 = not at all likely; 5 = very likely). Items on the questionnaire include questions such as "How would you rate the overall quality of the résumé?" and "If you were making a hiring decision, how likely would you be to recommend this applicant for employment."

The *Social Dominance Orientation Scale* (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) is a 14-item measure that assesses the extent to which a person endorses in-group dominance over out-groups. Participants were asked to rate each statement on a 7-point scale (1 = very negative; 7 = very positive). Items on the Social Dominance Orientation Scale include "Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others" and "It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others. "

The *Islamophobia Scale* (Lee, Gibbons, Thompson, & Timani, 2009) is a 16-item scale, which consists of an affective-behavioral subscale and a cognitive subscale. The affective-behavioral subscale includes items such as "I would support any policy that would stop the building of new mosques (Muslim place of worship) in the U.S." The cognitive subscale contains items such as "Islam is a religion of hate." The items on the scale are measured on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree).

The *Anti-Arab Racism Scale* (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) consists of 5 questions that measure attitudes toward Arabs and were rated on a 7-point scale (1 = very negative; 7 = very positive). The original items on the scale use the terms Arabs, Muslims, and

Iraqis. This study seeks to examine Arabs and Muslims as separate groups and therefore the scale was adapted for this purpose and mentions of Iraqis or Muslims were replaced with Arabs. An example of a question on this scale is “Most of the terrorists in the world today are Arabs.”

Participants were also asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. Items on the demographic questionnaire inquire about things such as religious affiliation, race, gender, and political orientation.

Results

The present study used participants from the University of Central Florida. Of the 127 people that signed up to take the survey, 101 (79.5%) people provided data. Incomplete responses were excluded as well as data that were clearly carelessly completed (e.g. when the data was Christmas treed), which reduced the sample size to 80 (63%) participants. The participants were evenly split between the two job conditions. The demographic data from the sample is shown in Table 1. The mean age of the sample was 22, ranging from 18 to 54. The sample consisted of 65 females and 15 males. More than half of the sample (66%) reported being Christian. Similarly, about half (58%) of the sample identified as Caucasian. Political orientation was evenly split in the sample.

Table 1. Demographic Breakdown of the Sample.

Gender	Percentage
Male	19%
Female	81%
Religion	
Christian	66%
Jewish	8%
Muslim	1%
Other	25%
Race	
Caucasian	58%
African American	9%
Hispanic	16%
Asian	4%
Mixed Race	8%
Other	6%
Political Orientation	
Republican	29%
Independent	33%
Democrat	38%

A repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effect of religion, ethnicity, and job condition on hireability ratings. The results of the ANOVA are shown in Table 2. There were significant effects of religion [$F(1,78)=49.60, p<.01$], ethnicity [$F(1,78)=12.00, p<.01$], and job condition [$F(1,78)=12.66, p<.01$] on hireability ratings. There were also significant two-way interactions between religion and job condition [$F(1,78)=26.84, p<.01$] and religion and ethnicity [$F(1,78)=16.08, p<.01$]. The interaction between ethnicity and job condition was not significant [$F(1,78)=2.46, n.s.$]. Lastly, there was a significant three-way

interaction between religion, ethnicity, and job condition [$F(1,78)=4.96, p<.05$]. The means and standard deviations of the hireability ratings of each applicant are shown in Table 3.

Table 2. Effect of Religion, Ethnicity, and Job Condition on Hireability Ratings.

	SS	df	MS	F	Eta Squared
Religion	502.50	1	502.50	49.60**	.39
Religion x Job Condition	271.95	1	271.95	26.84**	.26
Religion (Error)	790.29	78	10.13		
Ethnicity	155.40	1	155.40	12.00**	.13
Ethnicity x Job Condition	31.88	1	31.88	2.46	.03
Ethnicity (Error)	1010.47	78	13.00		
Religion x Ethnicity	184.53	1	184.53	16.08**	.17
Religion x Ethnicity x Job Condition	56.95	1	56.95	4.96*	.06
Religion x Ethnicity (Error)	895.27	78	11.48		
Job Condition	747.25	1	747.25	12.66**	.14
Job Condition (Error)	4603.54	78	59.02		

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 3. Hireability Ratings.

	M	SD
Caucasian Christian	22.29	4.76
Arab Christian	19.38	5.10
Caucasian Muslim	18.26	4.76
Arab Muslim	18.39	5.92

Paired-samples t-tests were run to analyze the differences between hireability ratings of the applicants. The results are shown in Table 4. The Caucasian Christian applicant ($M=22.29$, $SD=4.76$) was rated significantly higher, $t(79)=4.84$, $p<.01$, than the Arab Christian applicant ($M=19.38$, $SD=5.10$). The Caucasian Christian applicant was rated significantly higher, $t(79)=7.44$, $p<.01$, than the Caucasian Muslim applicant ($M=18.26$, $SD=4.76$). Lastly, the Caucasian Christian applicant was also rated significantly higher, $t(79)=6.94$, $p<.01$, than the Arab Muslim applicant ($M=18.39$, $SD=5.92$). There were no significant differences among the other conditions.

Table 4. T-tests of Differences in Hireability Ratings Between Applications.

	Caucasian Christian	Arab Christian	Caucasian Muslim	Arab Muslim
Caucasian Christian	---			
Arab Christian	4.84**	---		
Caucasian Muslim	7.44**	1.88	---	
Arab Muslim	6.94**	1.68	0.24	---

Note: ** $p < .01$

As shown in Table 5, the Caucasian Muslim applicant was rated significantly lower, $t(78)=3.43, p<.01$, for the airport security job position ($M=16.55, SD=4.08$) than the shipping and receiving clerk position ($M=19.98, SD=4.81$). The Arab Muslim applicant was also rated significantly lower, $t(78)=5.69, p<.01$, for the airport security job position ($M=15.20, SD=5.34$) than the shipping and receiving clerk position ($M=21.58, SD=4.67$). There were no significant differences in hireability ratings for the Arab Christian and the Caucasian Christian applicants between the two job conditions.

Table 5. Rating Differences Between Job Conditions.

	Shipping and Receiving Clerk (M)	Airport Security Guard (M)	t	df
Caucasian Christian	23.00	21.58	1.35	78
Arab Christian	19.88	18.88	0.88	78
Caucasian Muslim	19.98	16.55	3.43**	78
Arab Muslim	21.58	15.20	5.69**	78

Note: ** $p < .01$

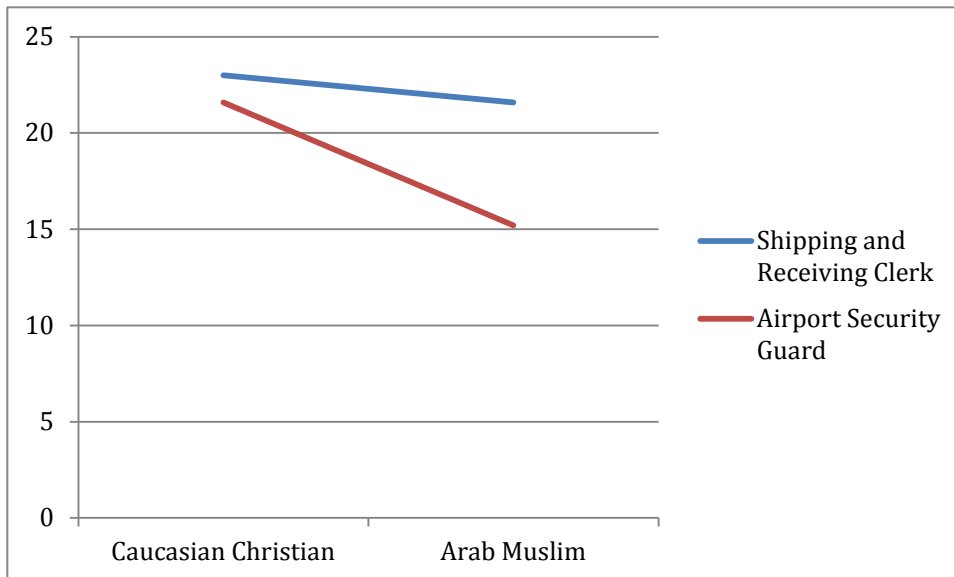


Figure 3. Religion and Ethnicity by Job Condition.

Participants were asked to rank the applicants in the order in which they would hire them for the position, with 1 being the first choice for hire and 4 being the last choice for hire. The mean ranking for each of the applicants is shown in Table 6. Crosstabulations were conducted to examine the effect of religion, ethnicity, and job condition on rank-order rankings of the applicants. There were significant differences for religion, $\chi^2(3,78)=37.74$, $p<.01$, and ethnicity, $\chi^2(3,78)=13.49$, $p<.01$. The differences were the greatest for the first and last place selections. For religion, the Muslim applicants were chosen first for hire 17 times while the Christian applicants were chosen first 61 times. The Muslim applicants were chosen last for hire 51 times while the Christian applicants were chosen last 28 times. The same pattern emerged for ethnicity as well. The Arab applicants were chosen first for hire 26 times as compared to the Caucasian applicants, which were chosen first 52 times. The Arab applicants were chosen last for hire 45 times while the Caucasian applicants were chosen last 45 times.

Crosstabulations were also used to examine the differences between the applicants. There were significant ranking differences between the Caucasian Christian applicant and the Arab Christian applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)= 40.25$, $p<.01$, the Caucasian Muslim applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)=29.46$, $p<.01$, and the Arab Muslim applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)=44.63$, $p<.01$. There were also significant ranking differences between the Arab Muslim applicant and the Arab Christian applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)=32.61$, $p<.01$, and the Caucasian Muslim applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)=34.27$, $p<.01$. Lastly, there were significant ranking differences between the Arab Christian applicant and the Caucasian Muslim applicant, $\chi^2(9,78)=36.49$, $p<.01$. The results of the crosstabulations are shown in Table 7.

Table 6. Rank-order Ratings.

	M	SD
Caucasian Christian	1.74	1.04
Arab Christian	2.55	1.08
Caucasian Muslim	2.86	0.98
Arab Muslim	2.87	1.02

Table 7. Differences in Rank-order Ratings Between Applicants.

	Caucasian Christian	Arab Christian	Caucasian Muslim	Arab Muslim
Caucasian Christian	---			
Arab Christian	40.25**	---		
Caucasian Muslim	29.46**	36.49**	---	
Arab Muslim	44.63**	32.61**	34.27**	---

Note: ** p < .01

Crosstabulations were run to analyze the differences in rank-order ratings between the airport security job and the shipping and receiving clerk job. There were significant differences across the two jobs for the Arab Muslim applicant, $\chi^2(3,78)=11.20$, $p<.05$, and the Caucasian Christian applicant, $\chi^2(3,78)=11.27$, $p<.01$. For the Arab Muslim applicant, the differences in ratings between the two job conditions are concentrated in the first and last selection position. The Arab Muslim applicant was chosen first for hire 9 times for the shipping and receiving clerk position, as compared to being chosen first once for the airport security guard position, and was chosen last for the airport security guard position 17 times, as compared to 9 times for the shipping and receiving clerk position. The Caucasian Christian applicant was chosen first and second more often for the airport security guard position (24 times and 13 times, respectively) than for the shipping and receiving clerk position (21 times and 4 times, respectively). These results are shown in Table 8. The frequencies that the applicants were chosen for each of the four rankings are shown in Table 9.

Table 8. Rating Differences Between Job Conditions.

	χ^2	df
Caucasian Christian	11.27**	3
Arab Christian	4.32	3
Caucasian Muslim	1.03	3
Arab Muslim	11.20*	3

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 9. Frequencies of Rank-order Hiring Ratings.

	Caucasian Christian	Caucasian Muslim	Arab Christian	Arab Muslim
1	57.7%	9.0%	20.5%	12.8%
2	21.8%	28.2%	28.2%	20.5%
3	9.0%	30.8%	26.9%	33.3%
4	11.5%	32.1%	24.4%	33.3%

Participants completed the Social Dominance Orientation Scale, the Islamophobia Scale, and the Anti-Arab Racism scale. The coefficient alphas were computed for the scales and are as follows: Social Dominance Orientation ($\alpha=.90$), Islamophobia ($\alpha=.97$), and Anti-Arab racism ($\alpha=.63$). Correlations were conducted between scores on the three scales, gender, and political orientation and the results are shown in Table 10. Political orientation was significantly correlated with SDO, $r(78)=-0.25$, $p<.05$, and Islamophobia, $r(78)=-0.29$, $p<.01$. Conservative

participants scored higher than liberal participants on SDO and Islamophobia. Social Dominance Orientation was significantly correlated with gender, $r(78)=-0.28$, $p<.05$, showing that male respondents scored higher in SDO than female respondents. SDO was also correlated with Islamophobia, $r(78)=0.53$, $p<.01$, and Anti-Arab racism., $r(78)=.37$, $p<.01$. Participants who were scored high in SDO also scored high in Islamophobia and Anti-Arab racism. Islamophobia was significantly correlated with Anti-Arab racism, $r(78)=0.77$, $p<.01$. Participants who scored high on Islamophobia also scored high on Anti-Arab racism.

Table 10. Correlation Matrix of Gender, Political Orientation, Social Dominance, Islamophobia, and Anti-Arab Racism.

	Gender	Political Orientation	Social Dominance Orientation	Islamophobia	Anti-Arab Racism
Gender	--				
Political Orientation	.01	--			
Social Dominance Orientation	-.28*	-.25*	--		
Islamophobia	-.11	-.29**	.53**	--	
Anti-Arab Racism	.09	-.18	.37**	.77**	--

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Using median splits for the scales, participants were coded as either high or low in Social Dominance (Mdn=29), Anti-Arab Racism (Mdn=16), and Islamophobia (Mdn=22). Independent t-tests were run to determine if the mean hireability ratings and rank-order ratings were different between the participants who scored high on the scales and those who scored low. Participants who scored high on the Social Dominance Orientation scale ranked the Arab Christian significantly higher, $t(76)=2.48, p<.05$, than participants who scored low on the scale. Participants high in SDO ranked the Arab Muslim significantly lower, $t(76)=-2.12, p<.05$, than participants low on SDO. There were no differences between participants high in SDO and participants low in SDO on any of the other measures. The results for the SDO scale are shown in Table 11.

Participants who scored high on the Anti-Arab Racism (AAR) scale rated the Arab Christian applicant, $t(78)=3.08, p<.01$, the Caucasian Muslim applicant, $t(78)=2.78, p<.01$, and the Arab Muslim applicant, $t(78)=3.25, p<.01$, significantly lower than those who scored low on the scale. The results for the AAR scale as shown in Table 12. There were no significant differences on any of the ratings between high and low scoring participants on the Islamophobia scale, as shown in Table 13. There were no significant differences in hireability ratings or rankings between participants who identified themselves as conservative and those who identified themselves as liberal.

Table 11. Mean Hireability Ratings and Rankings of Applicants by Participants Low and High in Social Dominance Orientation.

Mean Hireability Ratings	Low	High
Caucasian Christian	22.60	21.95
Arab Christian	19.48	19.26
Caucasian Muslim	18.48	18.03
Arab Muslim	19.38	17.29
Mean Rankings (out of 4)		
Caucasian Christian	1.73	1.76
Arab Christian*	2.83	2.24
Caucasian Muslim	2.85	2.86
Arab Muslim*	2.63	3.14

Note: * $p < .05$

Table 12. Mean Hireability Ratings and Rankings of Applicants by Participants Low and High in Anti-Arab Racism.

Mean Hireability Ratings	Low	High
Caucasian Christian	22.80	21.67
Arab Christian**	20.89	17.53
Caucasian Muslim**	19.55	16.69
Arab Muslim**	20.23	16.14
Mean Rankings (out of 4)		
Caucasian Christian	1.93	1.51
Arab Christian	2.37	2.77
Caucasian Muslim	2.88	2.83
Arab Muslim	2.86	2.89

Note: ** $p < .01$

Table 13. Mean Hireability Ratings and Rankings of Applicants by Participants Low and High in Islamophobia.

Mean Hireability Ratings	Low	High
Caucasian Christian	22.00	22.58
Arab Christian	20.35	18.40
Caucasian Muslim	19.18	17.35
Arab Muslim	19.68	17.10
Mean Rankings (out of 4)		
Caucasian Christian	1.97	1.51
Arab Christian	2.49	2.62
Caucasian Muslim	2.85	2.87
Arab Muslim	2.74	3.00

General Discussion

There is a long history of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in the United States, starting in the 1900s (Naber, 2000) and escalating in recent years after the events surrounding September 11th (Padela & Heisler, 2010; Moradi & Hasan, 2004). The evidence of discrimination makes understanding workplace discrimination of Arabs and Muslims a very important issue. The current study examined the influence of ethnicity, religion, and job type on employment discrimination. The study also examined how Social Dominance Orientation, anti-Arab racism, and Islamophobia affected discrimination. It was hypothesized that the applicant's ethnicity and religion would have an impact on the applicant's ratings. Further, it was hypothesized that the Caucasian Christian applicant would be rated the most favorably overall while the Arab Muslim applicant would be rated the least favorably overall. It was also hypothesized that job type would impact discrimination. Specifically, it was hypothesized that

the Arab Muslim applicant would be rated less favorably for the airport security position than the shipping and receiving clerk position but that the Caucasian Christian applicant would not be rated differently between the two job types.

The results show a main effect for religion and ethnicity. The Muslims applicants were rated lower than the Christian applicants and the Arab applicants were rated lower than the Caucasian applicants. There was also an interaction effect between religion and ethnicity. The Caucasian Christian applicant was rated the highest of the four applicants, lending support to hypothesis 1a. There were no differences in ratings among the Caucasian Muslim, Arab Christian, and Arab Muslim applicants, which does not lend support to hypothesis 1b.

There was an interaction effect between religion and job type but not between ethnicity and job type. There was also a three-way interaction effect between ethnicity, religion, and job type. The Caucasian Muslim and the Arab Muslim applicants were rated lower for the airport security guard position than they were for the shipping and receiving clerk position. The Arab Muslim applicant receiving lower ratings for the airport security position supports hypothesis 2a. As predicted in hypothesis 2b, the Christian Caucasian applicant was not rated differently across the two job types. There was also no difference in ratings between the two job types for the Arab Christian applicant.

The rank-order data was similar to the hireability rating data. There were significant differences in rankings between the two religions and the two ethnicities. The Muslim applicants were rated first for hire less often than the Christian applicants and last for hire more often than the Christian applicants. Similarly, the Arab applicants were also rated first for hire less often

than the Caucasian applicants and last for hire more often than the Caucasian applicants. There were significant differences in rankings across job types for the Caucasian Christian applicant and the Arab Muslim applicant. The Caucasian Christian applicant was chosen first and second for hire more often for the airport security guard position than the shipping and receiving clerk position. This applicant was not rated differently across the two job types, showing that the Caucasian Christian applicant was not perceived to be more qualified for one job over the other. The increased frequency with which the Caucasian Christian applicant was chosen first and second for hire then suggests that the Caucasian Christian applicant was seen to have the best person-job fit for the airport security guard position in comparison to the other three applicants.

The Arab Muslim applicant had the opposite pattern and was chosen last for hire more often for the airport security guard position. This suggests that the Arab Muslim was seen as the least congruent with the airport security guard position in comparison to the other applicants. There were no significant differences in rankings across job types for the Caucasian Muslim or the Arab Christian applicants. When asked to rank the applicants, 58% of participants chose the Christian Caucasian applicant first for hire while 21% chose the Arab Christian, 9% chose the Caucasian Muslim applicant, and 13% chose the Arab Muslim.

There were few differences between the mean ratings of high and low scoring participants on the three scales. Participants high in Anti-Arab Racism rated not only the two Arab applicants but also the Caucasian Muslim applicant lower than participants low in Anti-Arab Racism on the hireability ratings. This might show that people do not view Arabs as separate from Muslims. Therefore, negative affect towards one group is also associated with

negative affect towards the other. There were no differences, however, between high and low scoring individuals on the Islamophobia on hireability ratings.

Interpretation of Results

The results of this study show that Arabs and Muslims were rated lower than their equally qualified counterparts, providing evidence of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims. There was also evidence that Arabs and Muslims are viewed differently when job type was taken into account. The findings suggest that for the airport security job, religious affiliation played a larger role in determining participants' views of the applicant. Discrimination in the workplace has important implications for the organizations and the individuals involved. For the organization, there is the substantial cost of litigation. In 2008, the top ten discrimination class actions cost the organizations involved over \$18 billion (Seyfarth, 2009). For the individual, as previously mentioned, there is the impact of discrimination on physical and mental health (Padela & Heisler, 2010; Moradi & Hasan, 2004).

This study lends support to the lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983). The results show that the Muslim applicants were perceived to be incongruent with the airport security position regardless of ethnicity but this incongruence was not perceived between the Arab applicants and the airport security position. The differences in ratings between the shipping and receiving clerk job and the airport security job for the Muslim applicants suggests that the Muslim applicants are being stereotyped to possess certain qualities than do not "fit" with the characteristics required to successfully perform the airport security job, supporting Heilman's model. The perceived lack of fit between the airport security job and the Muslim applicants could be due to negative

stereotypes of Muslims being activated by the airport security position, such as being untrustworthy or the association between Muslims and terrorism, which would be even more salient in the context of an airport because of September 11th.

However, the rating differences between the shipping and receiving clerk position and the airport security position for the Muslim applicants could also be due to the amount of customer contact involved in the job. The shipping and receiving clerk position requires little to no contact with customers whereas the airport security position would require direct contact with customers. As previously mentioned, Derous, Nguyen, and Ryan (2009) examined whether résumés with Arab names and affiliations were perceived less suitable for jobs requiring high customer contact and found that there were no significant differences between Arab applicants and White applicants in suitability ratings for high contact jobs. The previous findings by Derous, Nguyen, and Ryan could explain why no differences emerged between the job types for the Arab applicants. Further investigation is necessary to determine if the rating differences for the airport security guard position resulted from stereotypes of Muslims or customer contact.

The study provides limited support for the multiple categorization model (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999) when job type was taken into account. The rank-order data showed the most support for this model. The Caucasian Christian applicant was perceived to be the most congruent for the airport security position, the Arab Muslim applicant was seen as the least congruent, and the Arab Christian and Caucasian Muslim applicants fell in the middle, as there were no differences in ratings for these two applicants. These results are consistent with what the model predicts will happen. However, that pattern did not emerge for the hireability data.

The results provided limited evidence that Social Dominance Orientation relates to views of Arabs. The participants who scored high in Social Dominance ranked the Arab applicants significantly lower than the participants who scored low in Social Dominance. This difference was not found for the hireability ratings of the Arab applicants. The relationship between Social Dominance and negative views of Arabs was previously supported by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994).

Strengths, Limitations, and Implications

The current study contributes to the body of literature on discrimination in the workplace by providing empirical evidence of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims. Most of the current research on Arab and Muslim discrimination is based on self-report data or case studies. The study also contributes to the literature because it is the first study to date to apply the theory of multiple categorization to Arabs and Muslims in an empirical study of discrimination. The study was also one of the first studies to apply the lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983), which was originally a model of sex discrimination, to religious and ethnicity-based discrimination. The results of the study have provided a better understanding of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims.

There are limitations to the study that must be recognized. One limitation is the limited sample consisting only of college students from the University of Central Florida. The sample was racially diverse but it was compromised mostly of females (81%) and the mean age was 22. The lack of demographic diversity in the sample limits the generalizability of the results. However, the age of the sample shows that discrimination against Arabs and Muslims is present

in the generation that will be the future hirers in companies. There is a perception that the younger generation is less prejudiced than the older generations but the results show that this may not be the case in terms of prejudices toward Arabs and Muslims. A second limitation that should be recognized is the gender distribution between job conditions. The distribution of males was not evenly split between the two conditions. Out of the 15 males, 3 participated in the shipping and receiving clerk condition and 12 participated in the airport security condition.

Another limitation to the study is that it was done in a lab environment instead of a field environment. The study of discrimination against these populations would greatly benefit from field studies but the current method is not without external validity. The method used in this study, using paper résumés with an attached photo, does not diverge greatly from how managers make hiring decisions. It is not uncommon for managers to receive a résumé to review and companies are increasingly using social networking site (e.g. FaceBook) to review applicants. This would allow the person making the hiring decision to see the applicant's race and perhaps even their religious preference. The last limitation that should be addressed is the photographs that were included with the résumés. Differences in attractiveness of the person depicted in the photograph may have influenced the participants' perceptions of the applicant. The pictures were not rated on attractiveness but were chosen based on similarity within each ethnicity.

This study has theoretical and practical implications for workplace discrimination literature and for organizations. Theoretically, the current study applied the lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983) and the theory of multiple categorization (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999) to religious and ethnic discrimination. Both theories were supported by the results to different extents.

Practically, the study has implications for diversity training programs. Given the evidence of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims, training efforts would benefit from incorporating training targeting these groups. Also, the findings show that certain job types are more in need of this type of diversity training.

Future Research

Future studies of Arab and Muslim discrimination in the workplace would benefit from field studies. Laboratory research is limited in what it can study and the artificiality of the situations may influence the findings. Field studies would provide a better, more realistic insight into how Arabs and Muslims are treated when applying and interviewing for jobs. Looking at self-reports of discrimination would provide more insight into how multiple categorization affects perceptions of these groups. While self-report data lack the controls of experimental data, it would be beneficial to the literature to examine whether Arab Muslims, Arab Christians, and Caucasian Muslims report different levels of perceived discrimination.

Another future direction that should be taken is to examine a larger number of job types to better determine the fields in which discrimination of Arabs and Muslims is more likely. The current study only examined two job types and found that only the Muslim applicants were seen as incongruent with the airport security position. In order to ascertain what other jobs are seen as incongruent with Muslim applicants and what jobs are seen as incongruent with Arab applicants, more job types need to be studied in this way. Lastly, future studies should examine discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in other contexts in the workplace outside of hiring decisions. Heilman's model (1983) suggests that individuals are seen to possess characteristics

that are incongruent with the job can experience discrimination not only in hiring contexts but also in performance appraisal and whether or not the employee is rewarded. Studies should look at these other areas in which discrimination can occur.

Appendix A: IRB Approval



University of Central Florida Institutional Review Board
Office of Research & Commercialization
12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501
Orlando, Florida 32826-3246
Telephone: 407-823-2901 or 407-882-2276
www.research.ucf.edu/compliance/irb.html

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1**
FWA00000351, IRB00001138

To: **Lindsay Y. Dhanani**

Date: **November 10, 2010**

Dear Researcher:

On 11/10/2010, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review: Exempt Determination
Project Title: Discrimination of Arabs and Muslims in Hiring Decisions: The Role of Multiple Categorization, Perceived Job Fit, and Social Dominance
Investigator: Lindsay Y. Dhanani
IRB Number: SBE-10-07224
Funding Agency:
Grant Title:
Research ID: n/a

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB. When you have completed your research, please submit a Study Closure request in iRIS so that IRB records will be accurate.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

On behalf of Joseph Bielitzki, DVM, UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 11/10/2010 02:49:46 PM EST

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Joanne Muratori".

IRB Coordinator

Appendix B: Survey Materials

Filler #1

Reference Letter for Josh Martin

Brandon Packer
The Humane Society of Tampa
3607 N. Armenia Ave
Tampa, FL 33607

My name is Brandon Packer and I am one of the volunteer coordinators for the Humane Society of Tampa. I would like to recommend Josh Martin for employment. Josh is a volunteer at the Human Society and he has been a great addition to our establishment. His responsibilities include walking and feeding the animals as well as planning fundraisers for the organization. Josh is very devoted to helping the animals and always exceeds our expectations. I hope that you consider Brandon for employment.

Sincerely,
Brandon Packer

Josh Martin

Address: 12126 Temple Terrace, Tampa, FL, 33617

Telephone: (813) 226-3758

EDUCATION:

Obtained G.E.D. (2005)

Attended Freedom High School, Tampa, FL (2001-2004)

EXPERIENCE:

Cashier

Best Buy

- Checked customers out
- Entered the orders in the cash register
- Counted the money and made change

(April 2003- June 2006)

Food Runner

Crispers Restaurant

- Took food to the customers
- Cleared tables
- Restocked the refreshment area

(August 2006- February 2008)

Dish Washer

T.G.I.Friday's Restaurant

- Cleaned dishes and utensils
- Cleared dishes from the tables
- Helped maintain health standards

(February 2008- November 2010)

Extracurricular Activities:

Humane *Society* (2005-present)

- Walked the animals
- Organized fund raisers for the organization
- Cleaned the pens
- Fed and bathed the animals

Caucasian Christian

Reference Letter for Steven Miller

Robert Long
Christ's Church of Marion County
12530 John Young Parkway
Orlando, Florida 32837

My name is Robert Long. I am a minister at the Disciples of Christ Church, which Steven attends. I am happy to recommend Steven Miller. I have gotten to know Steven through the service he has provided for the church through his volunteer work. Steven was born and raised in Florida, where he and his family still reside. Steven is a very hard worker and has shown dedication to the church over the six years he has volunteered here. The work ethic he has demonstrated shows me that he would be a good candidate for employment. If you need further information about Steven, please contact me.

Yours Sincerely,
Robert Long

Steven Miller

Address: 25471 Sports Club Way, Orlando, FL, 32837

Telephone: (321) 465-1228

EDUCATION:

High School Diploma from Astronaut High School, Cocoa Beach, FL (2003-2007)

EXPERIENCE:

Front Desk Cleric

Double Tree

- Checked guests in to the hotel
- Took incoming calls
- Booked rooms for guests
- Provided wake up calls

(March 2007- July 2008)

Customer Service Representative

Wal-Mart

- Greeted incoming customers
- Answered questions and helped customers locate items
- Checked bags as customers exited the store

(July 2008- April 2009)

Cashier

Pacific Sunwear Clothing Store

- Rang up clothing
- Assembled floor displays
- Kept the store tidy

(June 2009- present)

Extracurricular Activities:

Christ's Church of Marion County (2007-2009)

- Went on mission trips to help less fortunate people
- Conducted clerical work for the Church
- Helped prepare for Church sermons

Christian Volunteer Group (2004-2005)

- Volunteered at homeless shelters giving food
- Helped deliver canned goods around the holidays

Caucasian Muslim

Reference Letter for Michael Smith

Rashad Shihab
Masjid Muhammad *Mosque*
32174 Turtle Creek Drive
Orlando, Florida 32801

As the head Imam for Masjid Muhammad Mosque, I have worked closely with Michael Smith over the last few years. I have come to know Michael for the dedication and diligence he has displayed working for the Mosque. Steven was born here in Florida and enjoys giving back to the community in which he was raised. Michael has shown great character and I am confident that he would be a good addition to your organization. He is very involved in helping the community and demonstrates great leadership. Working with Michael at the Mosque has made me confident that he can excel at your organization.

Regards,
Rashad Shihab

Michael Smith

Address: 12194 Eagle Crest Way, Orlando, FL 32801

Telephone: (919)718-7170

EDUCATION:

High School Diploma from Lee County High School, Sanford, NC (2001-2005)

EXPERIENCE:

Cashier

Target

- Kept the store and my check out station clean
- Checked customers out
- Counted money at the end of shifts

(October 2003- May 2005)

Cashier

Block Buster

- Restocked the shelves with returned movies
- Assisted customers in finding movies
- Took money and made change

(August 2005- November 2007)

Food Runner

Red Lobster

- Brought food to guests
- Bused tables
- Cleaned the back food stations
- Refilled customers' drinks

(March 2008- November 2010)

Extracurricular Activities:

Masjid Muhammad *Mosque* (2004-2008)

- Helped set up on Muslim Holy days
- Teach religious classes to members of the community
- Volunteered with the Masjid Muhammad Mosque's youth program

Islamic Society of Central Florida

- Planned volunteer projects in the community
- Helped raise money for the Islamic Society of Central Florida

Filler #2

Reference Letter for Julie Thomas

David Johnson
Feeding America Food Bank
4702 Transport Drive, Building 6
Tampa, FL 33605

Julie Thomas is a volunteer for Feeding America, which is a food bank in Tampa, Florida. I have known Julie Thomas for about five years now and she has continuously demonstrated great character. Julie helps sort and organize food donated to the food bank. She also serves meals to the needy members of the community around the holidays. Through her work at the food bank, Julie has shown that she has a strong work ethic and great organization skills. If more information regarding Julie is needed or you have further questions, please contact me.

David Johnson

Julie Thomas

Address: 3482 Pebble Creek Road , Tampa, FL, 33601

Telephone: (813) 716-3481

EDUCATION:

High School Diploma from Jefferson High School, Tampa, FL (2004-2008)

EXPERIENCE:

Preparation Chef

Ruby Tuesday

- Cleaned food items
- Cut and prepared food for the salad bar
- Assisted the main chefs
- Restocked the salad bar

(June 2004- July 2006)

Receptionist

Well Care of Florida Inc.

- Answered calls and emails
- Filled paper work
- Entered customer information and organized files

(September 2006- March 2008)

Cashier

Banana Republic

- Helped customers find items
- Opened and cleaned dressing rooms
- Checked customers out

(May 2008- present)

Extracurricular Activities:

Give Kids the World (2004-2005)

- Built things for the Give Kids the World organization
- Helped serve the children at meal times
- Landscaped for the organization

Feeding America Food Bank (2005-present)

- Processed foods that were donated
- Packaged food for delivery
- Served holiday dinners

Arab Christian

Reference Letter for Amad Haddad

Martin Houghton
Disciples of Christ Church
4510 Lake Street
Orlando, Florida 32836

Amad Haddad and I met at the Disciples of Christ Church. He and his family had just moved here from Lebanon when we met. He started as just a member of the church and quickly became involved in our various volunteer programs. He organizes and conducts community service projects as well as leads classes at the Church for children in the community. If his performance in our Church is a good indication of how he would perform for your company, he would be a great addition to your organization.

Best Wishes,
Martin Houghton

Ahmad Haddad

Address: 11643 Ruby Lake Road, Orlando, FL, 32836

Telephone: (407) 239-8265

EDUCATION:

High School Diploma from Colonial High School, Orlando, FL (2000-2004)

EXPERIENCE:

Sandwich Artist

Subway

- Made food to order
- Baked bread and stocked the food stations
- Rang up customers' orders

(September 2001- June 2003)

Cashier

Winn Dixie

- Rang up customers' groceries
- Unpacked food from shipments
- Filled customers' deli orders

(December 2003- January 2006)

Valet Attendant

Lake Buena Vista Hotel

- Parked and returned cars
- Welcomed guests to the hotel
- Provided customer service to guests

(February 2006- April 2010)

Extracurricular Activities:

Disciples of Christ Church of Orlando (2006-present)

- Set up food and refreshments before Church services
- Taught religious classes to children in the community
- Took part in community clean up projects sponsored by the Church

President of the Christian Student Association (2002-2003)

- Planned and spoke at association meetings
- Planned fundraisers and other group activities

Arab Muslim

Reference Letter for Mohammad Al-Hasan

Amir Abdullah
Al-Rahman Mosque
1372 Logan Blvd
Sarasota, Florida 32828

I, Amir Abdullah, am the Imam for the al-Rahman Mosque in Sarasota. Mohammed Al-Hasan has recently joined our Mosque and it is my pleasure to recommend him for employment. Mohammed was born and raised in Saudi Arabia and his family recently immigrated to the United States. He and his family now hold U.S. citizenship. Being an immigrant himself has made him a great help to other members of the Muslim community who have recently immigrated to the United States. Please contact me at the Al-Rahman Mosque for further information.

Yours Sincerely,
Amir Abdullah

Mohammed Al-Hasan

Address: 4610 Carcross Court, Sarasota, FL, 32828

Telephone: (941) 714-6538

EDUCATION:

High School Diploma from Riverview High School, Sarasota, FL (2002-2006)

EXPERIENCE:

Cashier

Publix Supermarket

- Rang up customers' groceries and bagged items
- Kept the checkout areas clean and organized
- Counted the money in the register at the end of the work day

(May 2005- September 2007)

Food Preparation Worker

Panera Bread Company

- Cooked and packaged food
- Delivered food to customers
- Adhered to safety and health regulations
- Cleaned utensils and work area

(November 2007- December 2008)

Server

Uno's Chicago Grill

- Took and filled customers orders
- Answered customers questions and informed them of daily specials
- Cleaned tables

(February 2009- July 2010)

Extracurricular Activities:

Al-Rahman *Mosque* (2006-2009)

- Member of the al-Rahman Mosque community outreach program
- Assisted Muslims immigrants in their move to the area
- Take part in community service activities sponsored by al-Rahman Mosque

President of the Muslim Student Association (2004-2006)

- Planned and spoke at association meetings
- Planned fundraisers and other group activities

Filler #3

Reference Letter for Elizabeth Davis

Rebecca White
American Red Cross
2131 Deckner Ave.
Lakeland Florida 33813

To whom it may concern,

I am writing this letter on behalf of Elizabeth Davis. It is my pleasure to provide a reference for Elizabeth. I know Elizabeth through my capacity at the American Red Cross chapter in Lakeland. Elizabeth and I have worked together to plan fundraisers and blood drives. Based on her performance at the Red Cross, I believe she would be successful working for your company. Elizabeth has a number of strengths to offer such as leadership skills and punctuality. Based on the aforementioned qualifications, I highly recommend Elizabeth Davis.

Rebecca White

Elizabeth Davis

Address: 1555 Village Center Way, Lakeland, FL, 33813
Telephone: (863) 804-5662

EDUCATION:

Obtained G.E.D.
Attended Lakeland Senior High, Lakeland, FL (2002-2004)

EXPERIENCE:

Server
Smokey Bones

- Took and filled customers' orders
- Delivered food to the customers
- Cleared tables

(February 2003- April 2005)

Crew Member
Starbucks

- Made coffee for customers
- Took orders and rang customers up
- Cleaned the counters and coffee stations

(June 2005- January 2006)

Customer Service Desk Associate
Staples

- Answered customers' questions
- Took incoming phone calls
- Made returns and exchanges

(November 2006- October 2010)

Extracurricular Activities:

Gift for Teaching (2002-2005)

- Stocked shelves and organized teaching supplies
- Packaged teachers' orders

Red Cross (2005-2006)

- Planned blood drives
- Organized Fund Raisers

Hiring Questionnaire

On the following questions, please evaluate the qualifications for the position of the applicant you just reviewed by circling your response from 1-7 with 1 being lowest and 7 being the highest. Imagine that you are the manager who hires this individual and you will be held responsible for the future success of the person hired in the position.

1. Given the applicant's resume, how likely would you be to invite the applicant for an interview?

1 Would definitely not invite	2 Would probably not invite	3 Would lean toward not inviting	4 Would lean toward inviting	5 Would probably invite	6 Would definitely invite
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2. If you were making a hiring decision, how likely would you be to recommend this applicant for employment?

1 Would definitely not recommend	2 Would probably not recommend	3 Would lean toward not recommending	4 Would lean toward recommending	5 Would probably recommend	6 Would definitely recommend
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3. How qualified do you feel this person is for the job presented?

1 Very Unqualified	2 Unqualified	3 Slightly Unqualified	4 Slightly Qualified	5 Qualified	6 Very Qualified
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4. How successful do you think the applicant would be at the job presented?

1 Very Unsuccessful	2 Unsuccessful	3 Slightly Unsuccessful	4 Slightly Successful	5 Successful	6 Very Successful
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5. How well do you think the applicant fits the prescribed job description?

1 Very Poor Fit	2 Poor Fit	3 Slightly Poor Fit	4 Slightly Good Fit	5 Good Fit	6 Very Good Fit
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Job Description: Shipping and Receiving Clerk

The job is for an entry-level shipping and receiving clerk position for a local company. The job entails preparing packages for shipping, make shipping arrangements, and record shipping data. Workers must also determine the best method of shipping different materials. The job requires workers to address issues that arise, such as damages to materials, shortages, and violations of specifications. Applicants should be skilled in active listening, speaking, and critical thinking. Shipping and receiving clerks work in the warehouse and have access only to low security areas. They have no contact with customers but it is imperative that they are able to work well with co-workers. The job requires a high school diploma.

Job Description: Airport Security Job

The job is for an entry-level airport security guard job at a local airport. The job requires responding to suspicious activities and taking action such as calling the police or fire department in case of emergency. The job also entails monitoring and authorizing entrance and departure of employees, visitors, and other persons to guard against theft and maintain security of premises, and protect the safety of passengers and airport personnel. Applicants should be skilled in active listening, speaking, and critical thinking. Security guards will have access to secure areas of the airport. It is imperative that they are able to gain the confidence of the hundreds of passengers they must check each day. The job requires a high school diploma.

Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. Imagine that you are the person responsible for hiring this person for this position. You will be responsible for the success of the individual. What do you think the hiring decision and evaluations would be of most people in the role of the manager making the decision?

If you had to make a hiring decision and there was only one open position, which applicant would you hire?

First rank (most likely to hire) _____

Application Rating

Please rank the remaining applicants in the order that you would hire them for this job Please name only one candidate per rank (i.e., no tied ranks).

Second rank (next most likely to hire) _____

Third rank (third most likely to hire) _____

Fourth rank (fourth most likely to hire) _____

Fifth rank (fifth most likely to hire) _____

Sixth rank (sixth likely to hire) _____

Seventh rank (seventh likely to hire) _____

Anti-Arab Racism Scale

Using the scale below, please select the number that best describes to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following items, with 1 meaning strongly disagree and 7 meaning strongly agree.

1. Most of the terrorists in the world today are Arabs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

2. Historically, Arabs have made important contributions to world culture

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

3. Arabs have little appreciation for democratic values.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

4. People of Arab countries tend to be fanatical.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

5. Arabs value peace and love.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

Islamophobia Scale

Using the scale below, please select the number that best describes to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following items, with 1 meaning strongly disagree and 5 meaning strongly agree.

1. I would support any policy that would stop the building of new mosques (Muslim place of worship) in the U.S.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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2. If possible, I would avoid going to places where Muslims would be.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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3. I would become extremely uncomfortable speaking with a Muslim.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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4. Just to be safe, it is important to stay away from places where Muslims could be.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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5. I dread the thought of having a professor that is Muslim.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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6. If I could, I would avoid contact with Muslims.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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7. If I could, I would live in a place where there were no Muslims.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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8. Muslims should not be allowed to work in places where many Americans gather such as airports.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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9. Islam is a dangerous religion.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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10. The religion of Islam supports acts of violence.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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11. Islam supports terrorist acts.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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12. Islam is anti-American.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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13. Islam is an evil religion.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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14. Islam is a religion of hate.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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15. I believe that Muslims support the killings of all non-Muslims.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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16. Muslims want to take over the world.

1 Strong Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Mildly Disagree	4 Mildly Agree	5 Moderately Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Rate how you feel about each statement on a scale of 1-7 with 1 meaning very negative and 7 meaning very positive.

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

2. Some people are just more worthy than others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

4. Some people are just more deserving than others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

6. Some people are just inferior to others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Negative	Moderately Negative	Slightly Negative	Neutral	Slightly Positive	Moderately Positive	Very Positive

7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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8. Increased economic equality.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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9. Increased social equality.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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10. Equality.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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11. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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12. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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13. We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible. (All humans should be treated equally.)

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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14. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.

1 Very Negative	2 Moderately Negative	3 Slightly Negative	4 Neutral	5 Slightly Positive	6 Moderately Positive	7 Very Positive
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Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer these questions about your demographic information.

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: Male Female
3. Race: _____
4. Religious Affiliation: _____
5. Political Orientation (Circle One): Democrat Independent Republican

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