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The Expression of Religious Bias in the Evaluation of Foreign-Trained Job Applicants

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Psychology
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THE EXPRESSION OF RELIGIOUS BIAS IN THE EVALUATION OF

FOREIGN-TRAINED JOB APPLICANTS

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By

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London, Ontario, Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES

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The Expression of Religious Bias in the Evaluation of Foreign-Trained Job Applicants

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Abstract

This dissertation compromises 2 experiments that investigated religious discrimination as it particularly affects foreign-trained job applicants. Study 1 consisted of a 3 (Applicant's religion: Christian, Muslim, or No Affiliation) X 2 (Applicant's location of training: Canada or Cyprus) between-subjects design. After viewing an advertisement for a health-care position, Canadian participants reviewed a male applicant's CV and watched his taped interview, in which a briefly visible pendant indicated his religious affiliation. The job applicant was then evaluated on two sets of skills: hard (technical) skills and soft (non-technical) skills. As predicted based on the justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), a significant interaction between the applicant's religion and location of training revealed biases in the evaluation of both sets of skills. While no differences emerged within the Canadian-trained condition, results pointed to significant differences within the foreign-trained condition, such that the Muslim was consistently rated less favourably than the Christian. Study 2 partially replicated the design from Study 1 with the addition of manipulating certification to practice in Canada for the foreign trained applicant. In a 2 (Applicant's religion: Christian or Muslim) x 3 (Applicant's location of training: Canada, Certified/Foreign-trained, or Not-certified/Foreign-trained) between-subjects design, Canadian participants evaluated the job applicant on hard skills, soft skills, and hiring recommendation. Findings pointed to an interaction between the applicant's religion and training on the evaluation of soft skills and hiring recommendation; a main effect of training emerged for evaluation of hard skills. As part of the goal to understand the processes underlying hiring decisions, Study

2 also examined several mediators of the hiring recommendation, and found hard skills, soft skills, respect, and admiration to mediate the link between the religion x training interaction and hiring recommendations. Taken together, the findings point to the complexity of the employment process, and the role of bias in the evaluation of foreign-trained job applicants. Implications for policy and future directions for research are discussed.

Keywords: Employment discrimination, religious discrimination, immigrant skills discounting, discrimination reduction, immigrant employment, anti-Muslim prejudice.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to Dr. Victoria Esses, an advisor, mentor, and academic mother who never stopped giving even when I didn't ask. I have learned more than I can recall, grown more than I can describe, and shall always look back and hardly believe that I was lucky enough to have had the privilege of her guidance. The words "thank you" fail to capture the depth of my gratitude and the word "extraordinary" is just one way to describe her.

Acknowledgements

"My mother is a poem I'll never be able to write,
Though everything I write is a poem to my mother"- Sharon Doubiag

My mother has been there during the most stressful moments of my trip to educational enlightenment. In high school, she showed up at my 'Brevet' government exams at 6 am in the back of car with nothing but a wooden board for a seat to drop off my ID card. As an undergraduate, I could always count on her to appear at 3 am with a mug of hot chocolate and marshmallows just when I would be on the brink of giving up. In graduate school, she would repeatedly offer to proof read my work, including this very dissertation. So mom, thanks for the bedtime stories, the hot chocolate, the hugs, and for the ultimate act of making your kids feel loved and supported every day of their lives no matter what it cost you. I can't imagine how anything good would have been possible without you, or how the bad would have been possible to bear.

I thank my brother Wissam for always supporting "the nerd". I could have decided to go for another PhD (kidding! Or am I?) and he would have asked "What do you need?". If I ever had a dream, it was this, and the sacrifices and responsibilities he took on made sure that I could dedicate myself to my education. I hope I can someday make him understand his value to me, but words will always fall short in the face of such deep gratitude as mine. My sister Nadine's dedication to my education started at the young age of 9 years when she showed up in that seat-less car at 6 am with my mom, and in her pyjamas, to drop off my ID. I grew up wishing for an older sister, but I quickly realized that I had something much more than that. Nadine turned out to be the coolest, most giving and supportive sister anyone could have dreamed up for me. The world has scarcely known her kind of generosity, compassion, and intelligent wit, though she is often blind to how rare she is. I don't know what I did to deserve her, but I will always work on never taking such a gift for granted. Next is my sister Yasmine. Her pep talks while I worked on grad school applications from the little corner desk in our bedroom ensured that I never gave up the hope of starting on this path. Sous thanks for the amazing cookies, always being ready to give uplifting advice, and reminding me of the importance of staying true to myself (whether in hating the Tin Tin movie or getting involved in social justice issues). I also want to thank my baby (now grown-up) brother Hisham for his contagious just-do-it attitude and for teaching me that there is a lot to accomplish if I set my mind to it. His phone call before my defense to tell me that *"the tables have turned… it's now my turn to let you know how extremely proud I am of you"* was priceless! My admiration for my siblings is only surpassed by my deep appreciation for being part of a family that is bound by a kind of deep and unconditional love that few will ever know. At the heart of our family is my uncle Ammo Adnan, who is the other "Doctor" I wanted to emulate, and whose presence gives us great comfort. We can never repay him for what he has given, and continues to give.

I may have started on my own, but my friends were there to help me finish. A million thanks to Layal, who has accompanied me on every journey since we met at the

age of 13; asking a friend "can we invite Layal to hang out with us in recess?" was one of my more brilliant moves in Intermediate School, and I'm glad Layal had agreed to join us! We have been hanging out ever since, even though we now live 8 time zones away.

My family away from home: Alexandra, Chris, Irene, Stephanie, are my REAL accomplishments from Western. The sushi dinners with Alexandra and her thoughtful emails, my walks home with Chris, my coffee breaks with Irene, and the evening walks and long talks with Stephanie were the best part of graduate school. This place will always be special to me because of the people I met here. They were there every day, listening and assuring me that this was possible. I find great comfort in knowing that they will always be an integral part of my life, and will ensure that I am never alone on a dance floor.

For reading this work and making sure that it's the best it can be, I thank my committee members. I couldn't have asked for a more insightful or supportive group! I want to thank my advisor Dr. Victoria Esses again for being the kind of mentor who took a chance by taking me on and helping me realize the dream of becoming a social psychologist- I know many other students would have gone to great lengths for the chance to work with her!

Finally, I want to give a shout out to Daft Punk for their work anthem "Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger". DP, if you ever read this and manage to stay awake through the longest acknowledgement section ever written, know that singing along to *"Work it harder, make it better, do it faster, makes us stronger, more than ever, hour after, our work is never over"* got me through my darkest periods of edits.

Here's to happy dissertation endings!

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Introduction

> CAIN: I was asked, "would you be comfortable with a Muslim in your cabinet?" I said, "no, I would not be comfortable." I didn't say I wouldn't appoint one because if they can prove to me that they're putting the Constitution of the United States first then they would be a candidate just like everybody else.
> Q: Would you do that to a Catholic or would you do that to a Mormon?
> CAIN: Nope, I wouldn't. Because there is a greater dangerous part in the Muslim faith than there is in these other religions.[1]

Cain implies that skills, education, and work experience would be one part of the decision to consider an individual for employment in his administration; the beliefs and values of the individual, however, would be the overriding factor. For him to even consider candidates, they would need to show that they have the right "American" values. His statement falls in line with research in psychology attesting to individuals' reliance on non-skill related factors when making employment decisions, including judgements based on perceptions of compatibility between applicants' beliefs, values, and culture, and those of the workplace. While this topic has been primarily addressed within the context of racism and sexism, there is an acute need to study employment discrimination against Muslims in the aftermath of 9/11 (King & Ahmad, 2010), particularly since Islamophobia continues to be touted as one of the last accepted forms of prejudice (Imhoff, Dotsch, Bianchi, Banse, & Wigboldus, *in press*).

Skilled Immigrants in Canada

As "a nation of immigrants" (Knowles, 2002), Canada depends on newcomers for economic prosperity. A review of immigration patterns over the last two decades shows a

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[1] Verbatim quote from an interview with Hermain Cain, Republican nominee for the American presidential race (2012). http://www.theatlanticwire.com/politics/2011/03/how-get-press-fringe-2012-candidate-promise-not-hire-muslims/36148/

shift in immigrant source countries from Europe to religiously diverse regions such as Asia and Africa. This shift in source countries has been accompanied by a rise in the unemployment and underemployment of immigrants, posing serious challenge to the success of Canada's immigration system, and is often linked to *immigrant skills discounting:* the devaluing of immigrants' foreign education and experience relative to those of locally trained employees (Reitz, 2001).

The immigration picture in Canada shows that while over 60% of newcomers are accepted each year based on the need for their skills, the majority face unemployment and underemployment to the extent that the Canadian government has become concerned about two issues: *flight capital* and *economic losses due to underutilized labour*. Flight capital is defined as the loss of skilled immigrants to competing markets that value their skills (Grewal, 2007). One longitudinal study by Statistics Canada (2006) found that 35% of immigrants who moved to Canada between 1984 and 2000 ended up relocating elsewhere. These findings were particularly discouraging because they showed that the majority had originally arrived as skilled immigrants and over 60% had decided to leave within a year of relocating here. These rates are expected to be increasing, with many skilled workers finding employment opportunities in other countries (Statistics Canada).

The second point of concern is the economic losses that have been incurred as a result of the unemployment and underemployment of immigrants, which not only indicates the failure of an immigration system intended to address shortages in the labour market, but has annually cost the Canadian economy between $1.5 - $2.4 billion from skills under-utilization (Reitz, 2001). Not surprisingly, poor immigrant employment

outcomes are perceived to be a public policy failing in the Canadian immigration system, and there have been continued calls for the government to find solutions and provide stronger support for developing intervention programs (Persichilli, 2010).

So far, economics and related fields have provided invaluable data on trends in immigrant employment and the discrepancy in outcomes for minorities versus non-minorities (Harford, 2007). However, this type of analysis uses large datasets to trace patterns and does not point definitively to the mechanisms underlying immigrant skills discounting. While previous researchers have primarily focused on the *what* question, this dissertation is asking *why* by examining the role of bias toward religious minorities in the evaluation of their foreign-acquired skills. Although there have been claims that the Canadian government is not comfortable with acknowledging a significant role for discrimination in immigrant employment (Fong, 2008), overlooking the impact of intergroup relations on immigrants' outcomes represents a serious obstacle to addressing immigrant unemployment and underemployment.

The present dissertation aims to examine employment discrimination toward Muslim applicants and to answer several questions regarding the effects of gaining certification to work in Canada, the distinction between technical and non-technical skills in the evaluation of immigrants, and the mechanisms that affect decisions to hire immigrants.

Prejudice and Discrimination

Contemporary Expression of Prejudice. The term 'contemporary prejudice' refers to the evolved forms of prejudice that have come out of current societal and

personal norms sanctioning the adoption and expression of blatant prejudice. What various theories of contemporary prejudice such as *modern prejudice, aversive prejudice,* and *symbolic racism* have in common is the assumption of widespread subconscious negative feelings and beliefs about stigmatized targets that are expressed in subtle ways (see Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Esses, 2010). Rather than assuming the presence of blatant feelings of hatred, theories of contemporary prejudice predict the presence of more implicit and subtle forms of prejudice stemming from discomfort and anxiety, rather than hatred (e.g., Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008).

One factor that has been discussed as an antecedent to intergroup prejudice is value threat (Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003). Immigrants are especially vulnerable to value-based prejudice due to their cultural and religious diversity (Pehrson, Gheorghiu, & Ireland, *in press*). Muslims may be particularly vulnerable to the adverse consequences of value threat due to their religion's perceived opposition to Judeo-Christian value systems (Hodiwala, 2008; Khan, 2010). Since the events of 9/11 Islam has been particularly branded as a threat to society (Griffiths & Pederson, 2009), with the fear of "Islamisation" often driving anti-immigration agendas (Imhoff, Dotsch, Bianchi, Banse, & Wigboldus, *in press).* For example, Verkuyten (2008) found that Muslim value threat directly mediates the relation between national identification and support for minority rights. Velsaco-Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008) examined the effects of symbolic (value) threat, realistic threat, and negative stereotypes on prejudice toward Muslims. Findings indicated that symbolic threat and negative stereotypes of Muslims,

but not realistic threat, directly predict anti-Muslim prejudice. Research also suggests that anti-immigration attitudes have started moving away from an economics-based rationale and become more strongly rooted in value threats (Newman, Taber, & Hartman, 2010). Findings on the adverse effects of value threat extend beyond Muslims as a target group and include African Americans (Stephan et al., 2002), cultural minorities (Green, 2009), and various immigrant groups (Newman et al., 2010) among others. In short, a strong body of evidence suggests a strong link between value threat and the expression of prejudicial attitudes, the latter of which can be manifested in emotional, cognitive, and/or behavioural forms.

One behavioural component of prejudice is discrimination, which is defined by Correll, Judd, Park, and Wittenbrink (2010, p. 46) as "behaviour toward category members that is consequential for their outcomes", highlighting the behavioural nature of discrimination. In addition, discrimination may take on two forms - either through derogating and disadvantaging an out-group member (outgroup derogation) or exhibiting favouritism toward the in-group (in-group favouritism), both of which create a relative disadvantage for out-groups (Correll et al., 2010).

Research has shown that the link between prejudice and discrimination is not a direct one. Rather, the context plays a major role in facilitating or inhibiting the expression of prejudice through discrimination. The justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) represents a framework for understanding the conditions under which negative attitudes result in discriminatory behaviour. In other words, this model allows us to explain the *dynamics* underlying the expression of

prejudice, independent of its origin. This unified model of contemporary prejudice integrates past research and relies on theories that have received considerable empirical support (see Aberson & Ettlin, 2004; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Hebl & Dovidio, 2005). The basis of this model is the distinction between *genuine prejudice,* which refers to "the first-formed affective component of the evaluation of a group or one of its members" (p. 418), and the expression of bias. To clarify, the 'expression of bias' refers to the manifestation of *genuine prejudice*. Moreover, genuine prejudice is often not directly expressed, but rather constrained by *suppressors*, which may be egalitarian values, norms or personal beliefs. According to this model, the expression of prejudice is regulated by two mechanisms – *suppression* and *justification*. *Suppression* is a motivation to reduce the expression and/or awareness of prejudice. This motivation requires control and may be internally driven and based on a desire to maintain a non-prejudiced self-concept, or can be externally driven and based on a desire to be politically correct in public. *Justifications* are construed as "releasers of prejudice" (p. 423). They represent opportunities to express genuine prejudice without the experience of social or psychological punishment. In other words, when justification exists the overlap between genuine and expressed bias is high. These justifications take on many forms, and can arise out of cognitions, roles, or social contexts that afford the opportunity to use an unprejudiced and legitimate justification for a prejudicial attitude. These "releasers of prejudice" are "explanatory" in nature because they allow the rationalization of prejudice(s).

Crandall and Eshleman (2003) list six categories of justifications, and of particular interest to the current research is the *covering* justification, a process where genuine prejudice is released in the presence of an alternative rationale that is socially or personally acceptable. *Situational ambiguity* can provide such a rationale and allows behaviour that is discriminatory in nature to be expressed in a socially acceptable manner.

Discrimination under Ambiguity. The manipulation of ambiguity, whether presenting ambiguous qualifications or ambiguity in selection criteria, is a common paradigm in employment discrimination research. Early on, Darley and Gross (1983) found that ambiguous credentials lead individuals to rely on existing stereotypes and beliefs in their judgements, and display a "hypothesis-confirming bias". While Darley and Gross found discrimination in evaluations of adolescents with low SES, research has repeatedly proven the applicability of this paradigm to a wide variety of stigmatized targets. For example, Uhlmann and Cohen (2005, p. 474) stated, "discrimination arises, in part, from ambiguity in the qualifications of job applicants" and found that ambiguity leads to restricting recommendations of women and men to gender-specific roles. The presence of ambiguity also facilitates the expression of bias in hiring overweight targets (Brochu & Esses, 2009), African Americans (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Glick, Zion, & Nelson, 1988), and ethnic minority immigrants (Esses, Dietz, & Bhardwaj, 2006). In the context of the discounting of immigrant skills, an important ambiguity that often faces employers is "what does a degree/experience from country X mean"? (Sangster, 2001, *n.p.*). In other words, a general sense of ambiguity surrounds foreign training. Indeed, the Canadian government recently funded a public service campaign for television and print

media aimed at increasing public and employer confidence in immigrant skills (see Bennett-AbuAyyash & Esses, 2011).

The topic of the unemployment and underemployment of Muslims has strong relevance considering that the majority of Muslims living in North America are immigrants, rather than being native-born (Leiken, 2005), and that Muslims represent the largest religious minority in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Before proceeding to focus on Muslims as the primary group of interest, it is important to highlight two facts: the majority of Canadian immigrants belong to religious and/or ethnic minorities (Reitz, Banerjee, Phan, & Thompson, 2009) AND foreign training is perceived to be "ambiguous". As a result, the following question arises: Does foreign training release or facilitate the expression of biases? In other words, can poor immigrant employment outcomes be partly explained by discrimination against minorities?

Muslims and the Media

The importance of Muslim immigration is also reflected in the coverage it receives in the media, which has mostly been negative in nature (see review below). Given the wealth of research confirming the strength of the media in shaping attitudes (Bryant & Oliver, 2009), it is important to consider media depictions of Muslim immigration.

Saeed (2007) conducted an extensive analysis of British media pieces and found that Muslims are predominantly portrayed as "the alien other" and associated with deviance and lack of "Britishness". Harb (2008) provided data from a Canadian context;

she covered stories on Muslims and Islam between 2006-2008 in two widely circulated Canadian media outlets: The Toronto Star and Maclean's Magazine. This period produced several articles that ended up at the centre of a complaint at the Canadian Human Rights Commission, with Harb finding overwhelming evidence of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim racism. Her review revealed that Canadian coverage of Muslims is similar to that of Europe in its emphasis on "the other" who is unwilling to integrate and poses a threat to (Canada's) society.

In one of the few experimental studies on the effects of the media on perceptions of Muslims, Das, Bushman, Bezemer, Kerkhof, and Vermeulen (2009) found evidence of a direct link between coverage of terrorism in media outlets and increases in prejudicial attitudes toward Muslims.

Prejudice and Discrimination toward Muslims

Research on attitudes toward Muslims points to results that are congruent with the media's depiction of Muslims and Muslim immigrants as "the other" and as a source of threat. For example, Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, and Bourhis (2008) found that Canadian participants perceive Muslims to be culturally distant from Canadians. They also support unwelcoming "acculturation orientations" toward Muslim immigrants, which are assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist in nature. Research using implicit measures has also found that in comparison to White faces, Arabs and Muslims are more strongly associated with threat (Maner et al., 2005) and implicit negative attitudes (Motyl, Hart, Pyszczynski, Weise, Maxfield, & Siedel, *in press*). Lyons, Kenworthy, and Popan (2010) found that Muslims are evaluated as the least favourite

kind of immigrant in comparison to Latino, Asian, Africa, Russian, and European immigrants, and elicit the highest level of anxiety due to their perception as sources of threat.

Beyond research on perceptions of Muslims, a literature review points to the prevalence of discrimination toward them in a variety of settings including housing (Ahmed & Hammarstedt, 2008), education (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, 2008), and as I will illustrate below, the workplace.

Researchers at the Discrimination Research Center at The University of California sent out 6,200 resumes to employment agencies and used 20 different names hinting at the ethnicity and religion of the job applicant. 'Heidi McKenzie', the Anglo-Caucasian, received the most call-backs (36.7%), while the least successful applicants were those with Muslim sounding names: 'Sandra Al-Amin' (28%), 'Muhamed Ahmed' (24.5%), and 'Abdel-Aziz Mahmoud' (23%) (Roberts, 2006). Canadian statistics show that Muslims have an unemployment rate double that of the rest of the population (Rahnema, 2006), are especially likely to report that they have encountered discrimination, and express concerns about unemployment and underemployment (e.g., Adams, 2007; Jedwab, 2002).

A report by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia ("Muslims in the EU", 2006) found evidence of Islamophobia and discrimination in employment, housing, and education, with Muslims being "often employed in jobs that require lower qualifications" (p. 1). Evidence included two studies from the UK and France showing that having a Muslim name significantly reduced the chances of being

invited for an interview. The report identified a strong need for research on negative attitudes and discrimination in order to combat further marginalization of Muslims.

In laboratory-based research, Park, Malachi, Sternin, and Tevet (2009) asked managers and undergraduates to take part in a hiring exercise aimed at examining the effect of an applicant's religion on the processing of negative information. The applicant had a Muslim (e.g. "Layla Abdul") or a non-Muslim (e.g. "Jane Smith") sounding name. The authors found that the inclusion of subtly negative information (versus no information) exclusively affected the Muslim applicant, who received significantly lower ratings on items such as salary recommendation and estimated future progression on the job. While they had expected the managers to display less bias based on claims that greater experience would predict higher accuracy, they found the opposite pattern. In other words, managers displayed greater bias and discrimination in comparison to undergraduates. Interestingly, the inclusion of subtly negative information about the applicants' personality did not lead to bias expression in managers' evaluation of technical (education/experience) skills. This study makes the clear implication that employment discrimination is better understood by going beyond the evaluation of education and work experience, and should include non-technical components that evaluators may be considering in their decision-making. In the following section, I will discuss in greater detail the importance of a distinction between technical and non-technical skills, and review how they may be incorporated into research on employment.

Approaches to Studying Employment Discrimination

The study of employment discrimination has tended to focus on the assessment of a candidate's education and training, while failing to account for other dimensions in which prejudice may play a role. Research emerging from as early as the 1990s has been calling for expanding skills assessment to include evaluations of the non-technical elements of a job (Borman & Motowidlo, 1997). *Hard skills* are specific, teachable abilities such as technical, operational, and position-related skills that can be acquired through job experience or education (Tews & Tracey, 2008). On the other hand, *soft skills* refer to a cluster of personal attributes seen to enhance an individual's interaction skills and job performance; more specifically, they include problem solving, communication skills, personal traits, and teamwork skills (Leigh, Lee, & Lundquist, 1999) and can be broadly categorized into intra- and interpersonal skills (Moss & Tilly, 1996). Based on this description, it is not surprising that the evaluation of soft skills is often described as "inevitably subjective" (Moss & Tilly, p. 254) and seen to be susceptible to the influence of pre-existing biases (Tews & Tracey; Thomas, 2003). Krings and Olivares (2007) asserted that the evaluation of interpersonal skills is a challenge for evaluators because unlike technical skills, they do not have visible/measureable markers and cannot be inferred from a resume.

In their paper on stigma toward gay job seekers, Hebl, Bigazzi-Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002) examined discrimination toward a gay job applicant on two dimensions, which they labelled *formal discrimination – personal discrimination*. Hebl et al. found no evidence of *formal discrimination* toward the gay job applicant in

comparison to the applicant whose sexual orientation was undisclosed; i.e., the assessment of technical skills was unaffected by the sexual orientation of the job applicant. The researchers attributed these results to the fact that evaluating whether the applicant meets the formal education/experience criteria of the job is direct and leaves little room for subjectivity and unjustifiable bias. However, employers' behaviours and interpersonal reactions toward the gay job applicant did show evidence of *personal discrimination*. These findings confirm the value of expanding research on employment discrimination to include multiple forms of bias expression for a more accurate representation of the reality surrounding the job application process. In addition, Hebl et al. concluded that research needs to start shifting toward a recognition of the varying forms of discrimination toward job applicants, whether formal or personal, direct or subtle.

Another study conducted in Switzerland illustrated how discrimination against stigmatized targets is better understood when the focus is expanded beyond the evaluation of hard skills (Krings & Olivares, 2007). Researchers found that when the job required strong interpersonal skills, Swiss participants consistently preferred a Spanish job applicant to an identical Albanian applicant. However, discrimination toward the Albanian applicant decreased when the job being advertised focused solely on strong technical skills.

Soft skills are particularly interesting when applied to the context of immigrant employment because they are perceived to be cultural-specific and suggests cultural competency (Tews & Tracey, 2008). In other words, soft skills are related to the ability to

fit within the local work culture, an aspect that may be perceived to be a barrier for foreign-trained newcomers from other cultures.

Overview of the Current Research

This dissertation focuses on the dynamics of prejudice expression in an inter-religious context, i.e. an examination of *how* and *when* prejudice is expressed. While this research does not aim to test for the origins of negative attitudes toward Muslims, a review of the research surrounding religious-based value threat, the depiction of Muslims in the media, and evidence of negative attitudes toward Muslims has provided strong evidence of prejudice toward Muslims, which may at times be expressed.

In this context, the broad goals of this dissertation are to (1) Examine the role of religious bias in the evaluation of immigrants' foreign-acquired skills, (2) Expand research beyond the traditional focus on ethnicity and race (e.g., Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Esses & Dietz, 2005; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005) to include Muslims as a religious minority target, and (3) Examine potential mediators of effects obtained. To accomplish these goals, two studies will examine the effects of religious affiliation on the evaluation of hard skills, soft skills, and hiring recommendations. In addition, they will test the effects of including certification to practice in Canada and explore the possible mechanisms underlying hiring decisions.

Study 1

For Study 1, participants signed up for a study on what makes a good job candidate, and were asked to evaluate a job applicant for a kinesiology position. Prior to evaluating the applicant on his hard and soft skills, participants examined the job

advertisement, the applicant's resume, and a taped interview of the applicant answering a series of skill and scenario-based questions. The applicant possessed either Canadian or foreign credentials with certification to practice in Canada, and represented one of three religious affiliations, Christian, Muslim, or had No Affiliation.

It should be noted that this study was designed in a manner intended to minimize ambiguity surrounding the applicant's hard and soft skills through the inclusion of certification in the CV (hard skills) and the use of a taped interview of the applicant (soft skills). The CVs (including the indication of certification) were derived from a pilot study by Bennett-AbuAyyash, Esses, and Dietz (2011), where participants were asked to compare two resumes: Canadian-trained applicant versus Cyprus-trained applicant with certification to practice in Ontario and Canada. In addition to comparing the overall quality of the two resumes, participants were asked to provide individual ratings for each on a scale of 1 (*Poor*) to 7 (*Excellent*). In the absence of individuating information such as name or religious affiliation, the two resumes were deemed to be equivalent. The job interview used in the current research was filmed specifically for this study and served two purposes. First, it emphasized that the foreign-trained applicant had language skills equivalent to those of a Canadian. Second, it held applicants' interpersonal skills constant.

Having addressed some of the ambiguity typically associated with foreign applicants (e.g., match with Canadian standards, language proficiency, interview skills), persistence of discrimination in this setting would give further credence to the claim that 'foreign training' can function as a baseless rationale for the expression of bias.

Hypotheses

The prevalence of negative attitudes toward Muslims, coupled with the ambiguity of foreign training and its potential to facilitate the expression of bias, may make Muslim immigrants vulnerable to employment discrimination. The pertinent question I am exploring is: does bias toward Muslims contribute to discrimination in the evaluation of their skills?

Based on the justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) discussed earlier, it is predicted that in the presence of foreign training, the prevalent negative attitudes toward Muslims will be expressed. As a source of ambiguity, "foreign-trained" is a justification for the expression of bias toward the Muslim individual. In the absence of ambiguity around their education and skills – i.e. candidates who are Canadian-trained - suppression factors should prevent the occurrence of discrimination toward Muslims (see Figure 1).
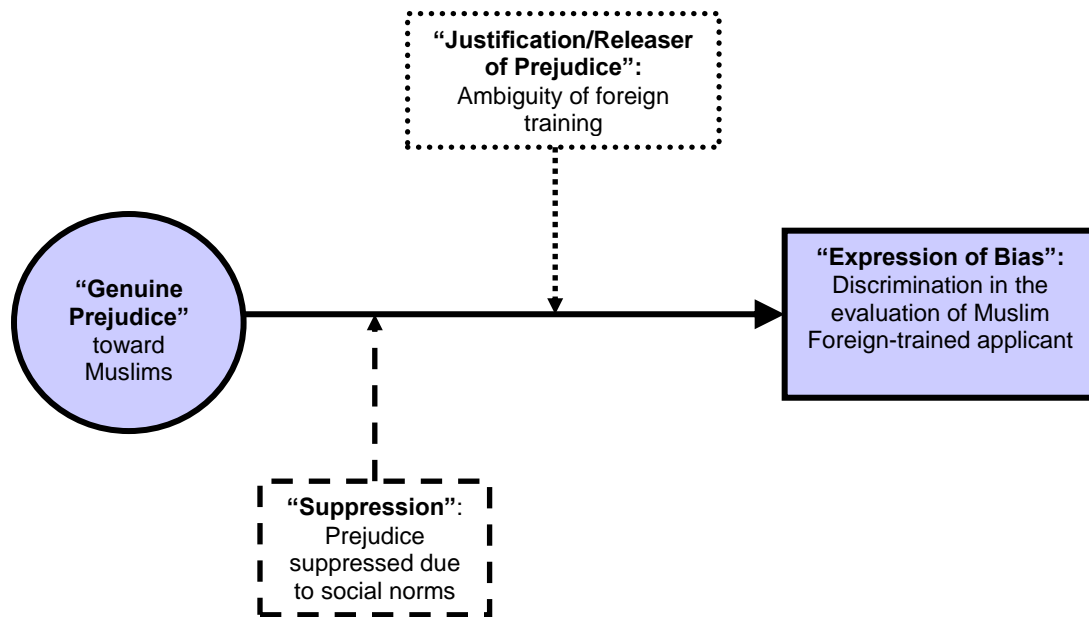
Figure 1. The application of the Justification Suppression Model of Prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) to the evaluation of foreign trained Muslims

An interaction is expected between the religious affiliation of the applicant and his location of training such that the Muslim foreign-trained applicant would be viewed less favourably than the Christian foreign-trained applicant, with no difference between the applicants who are Canadian-trained. This prediction is based on the expectation that an indication of foreign training would create situational ambiguity. In turn, this will give participants room for the expression of anti-Muslim bias without being restrained by motivations to suppress the expression of bias against Muslims.

This prediction would fall in line with previous findings showing that personal discrimination emerges even when an applicant is objectively well-suited for a job, such that bias is particularly likely to be evident in the evaluation of non-technical elements (Parker et al., 2008). There were no hypotheses attached to the 'no affiliation' condition;

the inclusion of a condition of religious ambiguity was intended to inform conclusions on the unique contribution of religion to skills evaluation.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants were 141 undergraduate students at the University of Western Ontario who received course credit for their participation. The mean age of the sample was 18.84 years ($SD = 1.14$), and there were 69 women and 71 men (with 1 unspecified). This study pre-selected Canadian-born participants and excluded anyone who had chosen 'Muslim' as their religion. The top two religious affiliations of participants were Christian $N = 60$ (43%) and 'no religion' $N = 38$ (27%). Participants were divided equally across conditions and run in small group sessions, with a maximum of 4 participants per session.

The design was a 3 X 2 factorial design, with two between-subject factors: religious affiliation of the applicant (Christian, Muslim, or No Affiliation), and location of training of the applicant (Canada or Cyprus). Participants were randomly assigned to evaluate an applicant in one of these six conditions.

Procedure

Participants signed up for a study on "What makes a good job applicant?" After consenting to be part of the study, they were given a cover letter, the job advertisement, and a resume of one of the purported applicants for the position, in which the location of training was manipulated. The religious affiliation of the applicant was reinforced through a reference to a student association the applicant had joined. After reading these

materials, participants watched a taped interview whereby the applicant's religious

affiliation was manipulated through the use of a pendant hanging from a necklace around

his neck. Following the viewing of the interview, participants were instructed to proceed

to the second set of materials containing: (a) The applicant evaluation form (the

dependent measures), (b) Manipulation checks, and (c) Demographic information about

the participant. Once these materials were completed, participants were debriefed, asked

if they had any additional comments, and thanked for their participation.

Materials

  Cover Letter & Job Advertisement. The cover letter informed participants that

the study was designed to examine differences in how recruiters and students used

resume content and interview performance to evaluate a job applicant (See Appendix A).

The job advertisement listed a vacancy for the position of 'kinesiologist' and was based

on standard on-line advertisements for this kind of position (http://www.hrdc-drhc.gc.ca)

(See Appendix B).

  Resume. There were six versions of the resume, which were identical except for

the experimental manipulations, and used a male applicant with the ambiguous name

"Adam Fodos". All resumes provided details of the applicant's educational attainments

(BSc. Physical Therapy), work experience (three years as a physiotherapist at Central

Hospital), kinesiology certifications and memberships, and additional skills and interests

(See Appendix C).

  The details provided in the resume were manipulated so that in one case the

applicant was from Canada with skills obtained in Canada, whereas in the other case the

applicant was from Cyprus and had received training there. Cyprus was used as the 'foreign' location because of its relative unfamiliarity and its profile as a religiously diverse country where English is in dominant use (in case participants did know anything about it). In addition, the resume indicated that as an undergraduate, the applicant had been a member of a Christian, Muslim, or "university" (i.e. no religious affiliation) student union.

Taped Interview. The interview was divided into two parts: an introduction to the applicant (5 minutes), where participants saw the pendant worn by the applicant, followed by the job interview (10 minutes), where the applicant and the interviewer moved to a second room for the interview and the pendant was no longer visible. The applicant, the interview content, the duration of the interview, and the setting were all held constant across all conditions. Aside from the manipulation of the religious pendant for the first 5 minutes, all interviews were identical.

The applicant's religion was manipulated in the introduction phase of the interview. This was done by changing the pendant on the necklace around the applicant's neck: cross (Christian), or the word 'Allah' in English and Arabic (Muslim). In the case of No Affiliation, the necklace didn't have a pendant. The two religious pendant designs were based on a pilot study that had shown them to be effective for conveying the applicant's religious affiliation (Bennett-AbuAyyash et al., 2011). When the applicant walked in to ask about his appointment, the camera was positioned in such a way that his neck and the pendant were visible to the audience for 12 seconds. Later on, the same

taped interview phase (with the pendant tucked into his shirt) was added to each condition.

Interview script. The interview format and questions were formulated based on information obtained from a physiotherapist about typical interview questions that might be used for a kinesiologist position. In addition to soliciting technical knowledge (hard skills), the interview was equally focused on probing for soft skills (e.g., asking about the applicant's approach to handling conflict in the workplace). The replies used in the interview were largely based on sample answers provided by the physiotherapist informant.

Dependent Measures

Our dependent measures included items intended to capture evaluations of hard and soft skills. These included several measures used previously (Bennett-AbuAyyash et al., 2011; Esses et al., 2006), as well as new items assessing perceptions of the applicant and the job interview. We expected these items to load on two factors, thereby representing the 2 dimensions of evaluation - soft skills (intra/inter-personal skills) and hard skills (technical skills).

Evaluation of the applicant's hard skills. Participants evaluated the applicant's education, work experience, and qualification for the position being advertised using materials previously validated by Esses et al. (2006). The 9 items included "The applicant's education prepares him well for understanding complex health care problems and procedures", "Overall, the applicant's experience is suitable for the kinesiologist position", and "Overall, the applicant is well-qualified for the job". Responses were

provided on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*), with higher scores indicating a more favourable evaluation of the applicant. Mean scores were formed by averaging the 9 items and Cronbach's Alpha was .89 (See Appendix D).

Evaluation of the applicant's soft skills. Participants evaluated the applicant on a number of characteristics/descriptions. These 9 items were intended to assess soft skills and included items such as "professionalism", "social skills", and "critical thinking". Responses were provided on 7-point scales ranging from 1 (*Very Low*) to 7 (*Very High*), and mean scores were formed by averaging the 9 items (α = .84) (See Appendix E).

Manipulation checks. After completing these evaluations, participants answered several questions regarding their general impressions of the applicant's demographic characteristics, with particular interest in the recognition of religious affiliation and training condition.

Results

Manipulation Checks

The manipulation check items assessed whether participants were able to correctly report the conditions to which they had been assigned. A review showed a range of 4 responses in the identification of the applicant's religious affiliation: Christian, Muslim, Jewish, or Hindu. A Chi square analysis focusing on the Christian and Muslim applicant conditions revealed a significant association between the applicant's religious affiliation (condition) and participants' reporting of that affiliation, $\chi^2 (3) = 56.28$, $p <$ .001. More specifically, 79% of participants in the Christian condition and 81% of participants in the Muslim condition correctly identified the religious affiliation of the

applicant. With regards to the No Affiliation condition, 47% of participants identified the applicant as Christian, 48% identified him as Jewish, and 5% identified him as either 'Muslim', 'Hindu' or 'Buddhist'.

Chi-square analyses also revealed a significant association between training condition and identification of training, $\chi^2(1) = 20.08.$, $p < .001$, with 97% of participants in the Canadian-trained conditions and 63% of participants in the Foreign-trained conditions correctly identifying the origin of the applicant's credentials. Tests additionally revealed a significant association between training and immigrant status, $\chi^2(1) = 19.03$, $p < .001$, such that 92% of participants in the Canadian-trained conditions identified the applicant as "Canadian" and 62% of participants in the foreign-trained conditions identified the applicant as an "Immigrant".

Main Analyses

I hypothesized an interaction between the applicant's *religious affiliation* and *location of training*, such that the religious minority applicant (Muslim) was expected to receive less favourable ratings on his hard and soft skills than the Christian applicant only when the applicant was foreign-trained; this difference would not be evident when the applicant possessed Canadian credentials. The No Affiliation condition was intended to serve as a control condition against which to compare the Christian and Muslim applicants. To test these hypotheses, a 3 (Religious Affiliation) X 2 (Location of Training) MANOVA was conducted, followed by 3 X 2 analyses of variance on each dependent variable: hard skills, soft skills. All significant effects are reported.

Multivariate Analysis of Variance. Results revealed a significant interaction between religious affiliation and location of training, $F(4, 270) = 3.85$, $p < .01$. As such, a series of follow-up univariate tests were conducted.

Evaluation of hard skills. A 3 X 2 ANOVA on the evaluation of the applicant's hard skills yielded a significant interaction between religious affiliation and location of training, $F(2, 136) = 3.96$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 2)[2].

	Canadian	Foreign Training
Christian	5.01	5.61
Muslim	5.09	4.80
No Affiliation	5.19	4.90
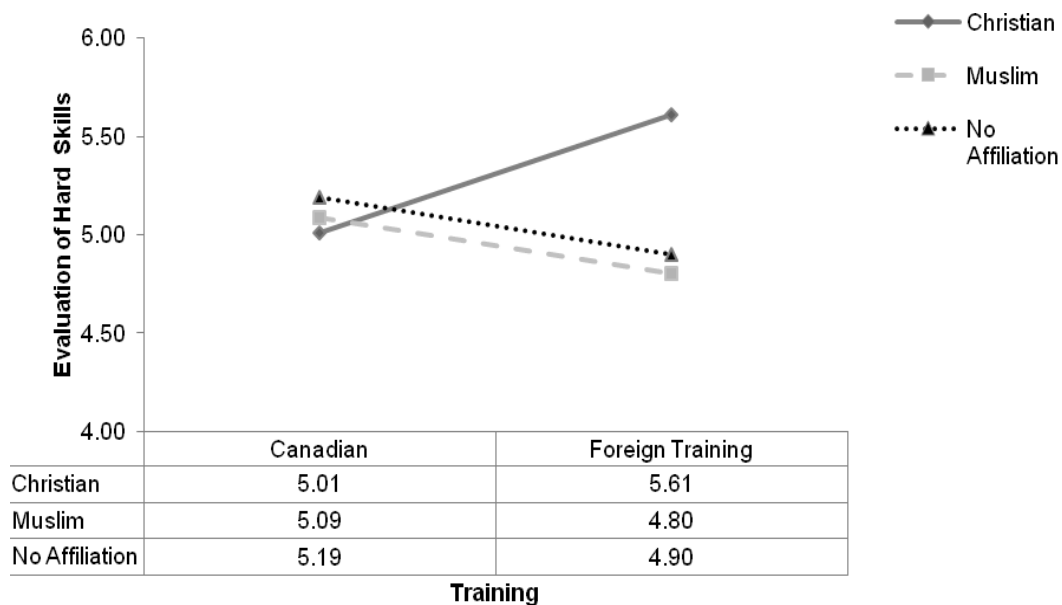
Figure 2. Evaluation of applicant's hard skills as a function of religion (Christian, Muslim, No Affiliation) and location of training (Canada, Cyprus); higher numbers reflect more positive evaluations.

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[2] Follow up analyses revealed no effects for *participant gender*, *participant religiosity*, or accuracy in *identification of conditions (training and religion)*

The significant interaction was followed up by two sets of pairwise comparisons (using Bonferroni tests) within training and religious affiliation conditions. Comparisons within each training condition will illustrate how the experiences of a Canadian or Foreign-trained individual may differ depending on his/her religious affiliation. In addition, looking at the within-religion conditions will shed light on how each religious group is affected by changes in credentials.

Results are grouped under two subheadings:

Contrasts within Training. Regardless of religious affiliation (or lack of), the Canadian-trained job applicants received equivalent ratings, $ps > .05$. In contrast, the hard skills of the Foreign-trained Christian applicant were preferred over both the Muslim and No Affiliation applicants who were Foreign-trained, $ps < .01$.

Contrasts within Religious Affiliation. The Christian applicant received a significant boost in ratings when he was presented as foreign-trained in comparison to Canadian trained, $p < .05$. No differences emerged when comparing ratings for the Muslim and No Affiliation applicants, $ps > .05$.

Evaluation of soft skills. The 3 X 2 ANOVA on the evaluation of soft skills also revealed a significant interaction between religious affiliation and location of training, $F(2,135) = 4.31, p < .05$ (see Figure 3)[3].

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[3] Follow up analyses revealed no effects for *participant gender*, *participant religiosity*, or *identification of conditions (training and religion)*

Training	Canadian	Foreign Training
Christian	4.67	5.03
Muslim	4.77	4.27
No Affiliation	4.35	4.70
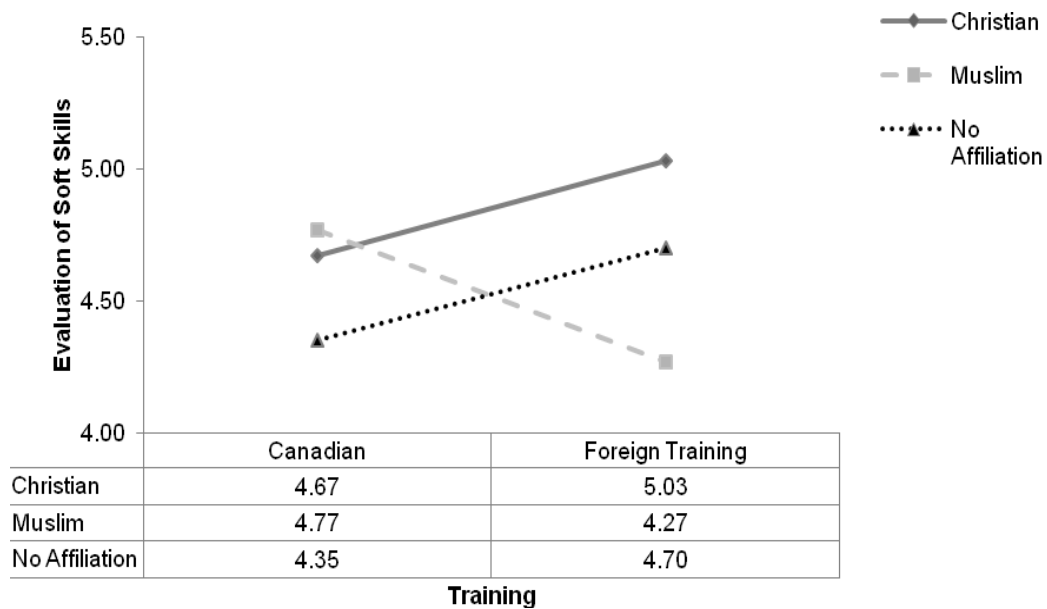
Figure 3. Evaluation of applicant's soft skills as a function of religion (Christian, Muslim, No Affiliation) and location of training (Canada, Cyprus); higher numbers reflect more positive evaluations.

Employing the same strategy from the evaluation of hard skills, two sets of pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustments were conducted to compare the means within religion and training conditions. Results are grouped under two subheadings:

Contrasts within Training. In a replication of the findings from hard skills, no significant differences emerged between the three candidates within the Canadian-trained condition, $ps > .05$. Within the Foreign-trained condition, the difference between the Muslim and the Christian applicants was significant, $p < .01$. The ratings of the No Affiliation applicant tended toward being higher than the Muslim applicant, but these

differences were not significant. The third contrast between the Christian and No Affiliation applicants within the Foreign-Trained condition was not significant, $p > .05$.

Contrasts within Religion. The Muslim Foreign-trained applicant was rated significantly lower on his soft skills in comparison to the Canadian-trained Muslim, $p < .05$. The changes between Canadian and Foreign-trained conditions were not significant for the Christian and No Affiliation applicants, ps $> .05$.

Discussion

General Pattern of Findings

We predicted that a Muslim foreign-trained job applicant would be viewed less favourably than a Christian foreign-trained applicant with identical skills, with no difference expected in the Canadian condition.

In line with those predictions, an interaction emerged for both hard and soft skills. The pattern of findings for the evaluation of hard skills showed that the Christian was at an advantage when he possessed foreign training, with this benefit applying to neither the Muslim foreign-trained applicant nor the unaffiliated applicant. The evaluation of soft skills exhibited a different pattern, whereby perceptions of the Muslim applicant possessing foreign training were adversely affected in comparison to the Christian and unaffiliated foreign trained applicants.

Evaluation of Hard Skills

The findings for the evaluation of hard skills are in line with the hypothesized interaction, which predicted the expression of bias under conditions of ambiguity, represented by foreign training. The Muslim and No Affiliation applicants were

discriminated against within the foreign-trained condition in comparison to the Christian applicant, and identical qualifications were rated differently based on the religious affiliation. The inclusion of No Affiliation allowed a comparison beyond a Christian-Muslim contrast, and indicated the presence of a unique advantage for the Foreign-trained Christian applicant, who elicits more positive ratings.

Follow-up Bonferroni tests also revealed that the Foreign-trained Christian applicant was at an advantage over the Canadian-trained Christian applicant. This boost in ratings was not evident for the Muslim and No Affiliation profiles. Therefore, can foreign experience be an asset under certain conditions? A report by Tillman (2005) on research from the US, Canada, Australia and other countries provides evidence that foreign experience (for nationals) is not always a disadvantage; on the contrary, it is a strength. In addition, a study conducted with an American sample showed that exposure to international experience increased students' competitiveness in the job market (Grosse, 2004). In fact, Comp (2008) presented a compilation of over 40 sources from the past 10 years confirming the advantages of pursuing a foreign education outside North America. These articles included empirical studies, interviews with the CEOs of Top 100 Forbes companies, and survey data on employment success rates, among others. These findings suggest that foreign experience is generally viewed to be an asset when acquired by a member of the host society (i.e., native-born individuals), and by extension, by in-group members.

In this study, the Christians' ratings were contrasted with two other target groups-Muslim and no affiliation. The fact that both were excluded from the boost and were

rated significantly lower within the Foreign-trained condition suggest favouritism toward one particular group - Christians. This is also known as in-group bias, which is the tendency to show preference for one's own group in comparison to other out-groups (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

Evaluation of Soft Skills

The findings also supported the prediction that foreign trained individuals are more susceptible to being targets of discrimination in the evaluation of their soft skills, with the pattern of findings indicating out-group derogation toward the Muslim applicant, particularly in comparison to the Christian applicant.

The within-training results mirrored those from the assessment of hard skills, whereby Canadian-trained applicants were assigned equivalent ratings on their soft skills. However, differences emerged within the Foreign-trained condition. The Muslim applicant garnered the lowest ratings, which were significantly lower than those assigned to the Christian applicant. The ratings of the No Affiliation applicant were also trending toward being higher than those of the Muslim, raising the question of whether being Muslim hurts an applicant's ratings not only in comparison to the Christian applicant, but in comparison to those whose religious affiliation is not indicated.

In addition to being rated lower than the Christian applicant within the Foreign-trained condition, post hoc analyses examining differences between Canadian and Foreign-trained applicants showed that a change in location of training only hurt the Muslim applicant. More specifically, his ratings exhibited a significant drop when presented as Foreign-trained in comparison to being Canadian trained. However, this

effect is absent for the Christian and No Affiliation applicants. In short, the Muslim Foreign-trained applicant was discriminated against in comparison to the Christian applicant, and was the only applicant to be derogated in comparison to his Canadian-trained counterpart. Considering that the evaluation of soft skills is touted as having a strong subjective element (Tews & Tracy, 2008), it is deemed to be more susceptible to the expression of prejudice. In turn, greater subjectivity may have facilitated the expression of bias toward the Muslim applicant in comparison to the Christian applicants.

Summary

Hypotheses were confirmed such that a comparison of the Christian, No Affiliation, and Muslim applicants revealed relative discrimination against the Muslim applicant in the evaluation of his hard and soft skills under the ambiguous label of "foreign training". In the words of the justification suppression model of prejudice, foreign training was a "releaser" of prejudice by providing evaluators with a rationale for the expression of bias. In the case of hard skills, these biases took the form of in-group favouritism toward the foreign-trained Christian applicant, such that he was given higher ratings than the foreign-trained Muslim and No Affiliation applicants, and than the Canadian-trained Christian. In the case of soft skills, the foreign-trained Muslim applicant was the target of out-group derogation, whereby the ratings he received were lower than both the foreign-trained Christian and the Canadian-trained Muslim applicants.

Study 2

Rationale

Although the findings confirm the utility of a hard skill-soft skill distinction in the study of employment discrimination, the patterns of findings still raise a number of questions. Whereas a comparison of the different religious groups revealed a relative disadvantage for the Muslim foreign trained applicant, the underlying pattern was unexpected in the evaluation of hard skills (but not soft skills). As such, it would be beneficial to explore whether our study introduced differences in the ambiguity of hard versus soft skills which could account for those pattern differences. While the ambiguity regarding the applicant's hard skills were minimized with the inclusion of certification to practice Kinesiology, there was no equivalent certification for his soft skills. In light of this difference, it would be interesting to increase the ambiguity surrounding hard skills to see whether this would lead to a change in the pattern of findings.

The value of research on immigrant unemployment and underemployment lies in its ability to inform policy and practice, and understanding the underlying factors is the first step toward developing intervention tools. Manipulating certification to practice kinesiology will not only allow us to test the effects of varying ambiguity, but also serves as a test of certification's ability to improve perceptions of hard skills (through a comparison of the presence versus absence of certification). This is an important practical issue to address as the Canadian government struggles to find strategies to reduce immigrant un(der)employment.

An examination of barriers to immigrant employment is not comprehensive without looking at hiring recommendations. So far, the purpose of this dissertation has been to examine the perception of skills, the previously unexplored distinction between hard and soft skills, and the effects of varying religion and training on each. Study 2 goes further by testing the effects of including/excluding certification to work in Canada, their effects on the evaluation of soft and hard skills, and the role of perceived skills and several other mediators in hiring recommendations.

Including/Excluding Certification

It is important to note that unlike the foreign trained applicant in Study 1 who was certified to work in Canada, the majority of newcomers immigrating to Canada do not possess certification or accreditation by federal or provincial boards ("NDP calls", 2007). In Study 2, I will manipulate the presence of certification to work as a kinesiologist in Canada in order to address several questions. First, this manipulation will help to determine the effects of varying ambiguity on the evaluation of foreign trained individuals. Based on the justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), foreign training and the lack of certification should work to facilitate the expression of pre-existing biases toward the Muslim applicant. Taking away the applicant's certification to practice in Canada will also serve as a more potent test of the effects of ambiguity on the evaluation of a stigmatized target in general and foreign training in particular. As mentioned above, the majority of foreign trained newcomers do not possess certification, including those who do not fall under regulated professions.

Second, the manipulation will serve as a test of the effectiveness of certification as a tool for reducing skills discounting. The Canadian government has set up a *Foreign Credentials Referral Office* in hopes of improving newcomers' employment outcomes and assisting them with getting certification and equivalencies (see www.credentials.gc.ca). However, research on the effectiveness of such measures has been limited, despite the attention they have received from non-governmental organizations, provincial governments, and the federal government. Considering the resources that are currently being employed for such measures, there is a need to ensure that interventions are based on a strong empirical foundation. Dietz, Joshi, Esses, and Bennett-AbuAyyash (2011) conducted a study to examine the effects of varying accreditation and ethnicity on the evaluation of immigrants' foreign education. They found that in the absence of accreditation, a Black South African applicant received significantly lower ratings than his White counterpart. However, when accreditation was indicated, ethnicity did not affect the evaluation of the education. In short, Dietz et al. support the idea that accreditation has the potential to serve as a tool for reducing discrimination against vulnerable targets.

Hiring Recommendation

Another addition to Study 2 is the inclusion of hiring recommendation as an outcome variable and the exploration of factors that influence hiring recommendations, including the evaluation of soft and hard skills. Moss and Tilly (1996) have stated that evaluators place differential importance on the type of skill in order to align them with biased evaluations in hiring decisions; more specifically, emphasis on hard versus soft

skills is adjusted to fit with negative and stereotype-based evaluations of job applicants. Moreover, emphasis on soft skills is especially likely to justify not hiring a candidate who meets education and job experience requirements. As such, it is important to examine the extent to which both hard and soft skills mediate hiring recommendations.

Additional Mediators

A number of additional potential mediators were also included in Study 2: *perceived similarity*, *respect toward the job applicant*, and *affective reactions*. Perceived similarity and respect have been prominently featured in research on workplace discrimination (see Garcia, Posthuma, & Quinones, 2010; McCarthy, Van Iddenkinge, & Campion, 2010), making their inclusion essential to extending the existing research on mediators of hiring decisions. The inclusion of affective reactions is important considering the strong emotions elicited by Muslims (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008) and the research showing that emotions can override other cognitive processes and lead to discrimination (see meta-analysis by Talsaka, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008).

The effects of similarity on workplace outcomes have been primarily focused on demographic similarity. That research has shown that demographic similarity leads to positive outcomes for perceptions of fit (Garcia et al., 2010) and job performance (Pulakos & Wexley, 1993). In contrast, low similarity has been associated with workplace sexism and racism (Avery, McKay, & Wilson, 2008) and employment discrimination (Garcia et al.; McCarthy et al., 2010). Study 2 extends this research to include perceptions of similarity in attitudes and personality. Graves and Powell (1995) developed a measure of similarity on personality and attitudes, and found scores to be

significantly associated with hiring decisions, such that increased perceptions of similarity led to more positive employment outcomes.

As stated earlier, Study 2 is also examining the effect of affective reactions on hiring recommendations. The use of affective reactions builds on past research establishing the presence of an emotional component of prejudice that is linked to discrimination (Talsaka et al., 2008). Considering that Muslims are a target group that leads to strong emotional reactions (Ray et al., 2008), it is important to study how affect may play a role in hiring discrimination toward Muslim targets.

The last mediator to be measured is respect toward the applicant. The well-known status of skilled immigrants as underpaid and underemployed individuals (Reitz, 2006) is likely to lead to negative judgements, including stigmatization and low respect (Biewen & Steffes, 2010). The negative impact of (low) respect has been documented in sexism research. For example, Jackson, Esses, and Burris (2001) found that differential levels of respect for women predicted hiring discrimination.

Overview and Hypotheses

Study 2 relies on the same theoretical framework as Study 1 but goes beyond it by: (1) Exploring the effects of the presence versus absence of certification to practice as a kinesiologist (and by extension, varying ambiguity), (2) Studying the effects of religion and training on hiring recommendations, and (3) Testing mediators underlying hiring recommendations: evaluation of soft skills, evaluation of hard skills, perceptions of similarity, affective reactions, and respect toward the job applicant.

In order to improve the generalizability of the findings, participants in Study 2 included a more diverse sample of participants with a management background[4] and upper year students from across campus. Participants followed procedures similar to those in Study 1 by evaluating an applicant for the kinesiologist position after viewing a job ad, a resume, and a taped interview. The two variables manipulated were religion (Christian, Muslim) and training (Canadian-trained, Certified/Foreign-trained, Not-Certified/Foreign-trained).

Evaluation of Hard Skills. An interaction was expected between religious affiliation and training such that: (1) Within the Canadian-trained condition, the Muslim and Christian applicants would receive similar evaluations; (2) Within the foreign-trained and certified condition, I expected a replication of Study 1, whereby the Muslim applicant would be on par with the Canadian applicants and the Christian applicant would receive a boost; (3) Within the foreign-trained with no certification condition, I expected the Muslim foreign trained applicant to be rated lower than the Canadian Muslim as well as his Christian Not-certified/Foreign-trained counterpart. Based on the study by Dietz et al. (2011), the absence of accreditation increases the chances of discrimination against a minority target group, and we expected that to be the case for religious minorities as well.

Evaluation of Soft Skills. For the evaluation of soft skills, the foreign-trained Muslim (whether with or without certification) was expected to continue facing

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[4] Students enrolled in The Aubrey Dan Program in Management and Organizational Studies Program (MOS) and the Richard Ivey School of Business.

discrimination in comparison to his Christian counterpart. However, no difference was expected to emerge when applicants are Canadian-trained.

Hiring Recommendation. In accordance with the justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003), no differences between the Christian and Muslim applicants were expected in the Canadian-trained condition. However, the Muslim was expected to garner lower ratings than the Christian applicant in both foreign-trained conditions.

Additionally, soft skills, hard skills, respect, affective reactions, and perceptions of similarity were expected to mediate the effects of religion x training on hiring recommendations.

Method

Participants and Design

The sample consisted of 92 participants who were either undergraduate/graduate students or worked at the University of Western Ontario[5]. Participants who responded to a campus advertisement received $10 for their participation, while those recruited through the Psychology Department's participant pool were compensated with a course credit. The mean age of the sample was 21 years ($SD = 5.54$), with 52 women and 40 men. The sample was diverse in terms of educational background, with the highest frequency of participants based in the Faculty of Social Sciences outside of the management program: N = 32 (35%), followed by participants with a business

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[5] The original number of 104 participants was narrowed down after 12 were dropped because they were not Canadian-born and/or belonged to a religious minority.

background (at Richard Ivey School of Business or Aubrey Dan Management and Organizational Studies): N = 20 (22%), and participants from the Faculty of Health Sciences: N = 13 (14%). The most common religious affiliations in the sample were Christian N = 52 (56.5%) and 'No Religion' N = 25 (28%).

The design was a 2 X 3 factorial design, with two between-subject factors: applicant's religious affiliation (Christian or Muslim), and training (Canadian trained, foreign trained with certification to practice, and foreign trained with no certification). Participants were randomly assigned to evaluate an applicant in one of these six conditions.

Procedure

Participants were recruited for a study entitled "Role Playing as Job Recruiter" through the psychology participant pool and poster advertisements. In a procedure mirroring the first study, participants gave consent to participate and reviewed a cover letter, job advertisement, and resume. Before evaluating the job applicant, participants also watched a taped job interview. The religious affiliation of the applicant was manipulated in the tape and reinforced in the resume through reference to membership in a religion-affiliated undergraduate student association. After viewing the job interview, participants completed several measures including evaluation questions (the dependent measures), mediator variables, manipulation checks, and demographic information. Once these materials were completed, participants were debriefed, asked if they had any additional comments, and thanked for their participation.

Materials

Cover Letter & Job Advertisement. The cover letter and advertisements were adapted from Study 1 (see Appendices A & B).

Resume. This study used six resumes, which were taken from Study 1 materials (See Appendix C). In accordance with the goal of testing the effects of taking away certification for the foreign trained applicant, this study added one condition of 'foreign trained with no certification'. For the additional condition, the resume of the foreign trained applicant (Christian or Muslim) from Study 1 did not indicate certification to practice in Canada. In short, the resumes manipulated religious student unions and location of training, including certification or no certification to practice in Canada for foreign trained applicants.

Taped Interview. The interview was adapted from Study 1, and was intended to manipulate religious affiliation through a religious pendant, as well as giving participants exposure to the job applicants' interaction and language skills.

Measures

Dependent variables. Participants evaluated the job applicant on three measures: *hard skills, soft skills,* and *hiring recommendation*.

Hard skills. Participants evaluated the applicant's education, work experience, and qualification for the position being advertised using materials from Study 1. For example, participants rated the statement, "Overall, the applicant's experience is suitable for the kinesiologist position" on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7

(Strongly Agree). Mean scores were formed by averaging the 9 items and Cronbach's Alpha was .93 (see Appendix D).

Soft skills. This measure was used in Study 1 (see Appendix E), whereby participants evaluated the applicant on the list of characteristics/descriptions such as "Rapport with the interviewer" on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (Very Low) to 7 (Very High) (see Appendix E). Mean scores were formed by averaging the 9 items ($\alpha = .84$).

Hiring recommendation. Participants were asked whether they would recommend "hiring the applicant" on a scale of 1 (Not at All) to 7 (Extremely) (See Appendix F)

Mediator variables. Mediator variables included *respect* for the applicant, *affective reactions* to the applicant (composed of two subscales), and perceived *similarity*.

Respect. Participants' respect for the job applicant was measured using a 9-item scale (adopted from Jackson et al., 2001). The job applicant was rated on items such as "the applicant should be respected" and "I look down on this applicant" (reverse scored) on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). A mean score was calculated by averaging all 9 items, $\alpha = .92$ (see Appendix G).

Affective reaction scale. This scale was adapted from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu's (2002) work on emotional reaction toward stereotyped groups. Participants expressed their affective reaction to the job applicant by rating a list of 13 emotions toward the applicant on a scale of 1 (Not at All) to 7 (Extremely). The items represented

two subscales: (1) Admiration: average of 5 items, e.g. "Inspired" ($\alpha = .84$), (2) Contempt: average of 8 items, e.g., "Frustrated" ($\alpha = .86$) (see Appendix H).

Perception of similarity. This measure was adapted from Graves and Powell's (1995) study on perceived similarity as a mediator between applicants' gender and evaluation of job candidates.

This scale was composed of 4 items assessing: "similarity in attitudes toward work", "similarity in approaches to problems", "similarity in treatment of people", and "overall similarity". Participants stated their agreement with the similarity statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 10 (Strongly Agree). Mean scores were formed by averaging the 4 items ($\alpha = .85$) (See Appendix I).

Demographic information. Participants answered several questions regarding their year of study, area of study, gender, age, citizenship, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and religiosity.

Manipulation checks. Before ending the study, participants answered several questions on their general impressions of the applicant's demographic characteristics, such as religious affiliation, location of training, and possession of certification.

Results

Manipulation Checks

Two items assessed participants' recall of the applicant's credentials. The first significant association between the 3 training conditions and identification of certification, $\chi^2 (2) = 26.78$, $p < .001$, revealed that 87% and 97% of participants noted the applicant's certification in the Canadian-trained and Certified/Foreign-trained

conditions respectively. In the case of Not-Certified/Foreign-trained, 57% of participants noted the absence of certification.

A second chi-square analysis indicated a significant association between the 3 training conditions and the applicant's training background, $\chi^2 (2) = 23.64$, $p < .001$. More specifically, 78% of participants indicated 'Canadian credentials' for the Canadian-trained applicant, while 'foreign credentials' was chosen by 63% of participants in the Certified/Foreign-trained condition and 83% of participants in the Not-Certified/Foreign-trained condition.

An examination of participants' recognition of the job applicant's religions affiliation revealed a significant association between religious condition (Christian/Muslim) and identification of religious affiliation, $\chi^2 (2) = 15.69$, $p < .001$. Participants' responses ranged between 3 religious affiliations: Christian, Muslim, or Jewish. Seventy-seven percent correctly identified the Christian applicant and 58% did so for the Muslim applicant.

Main Analyses

A 2 (religious affiliation) x 3 (training) MANOVA was conducted for the three variables: Evaluation of Hard Skills, Evaluation of Soft Skills, and Hiring Recommendation. The results revealed a marginally significant interaction, $F (6, 170) = 2.04$, $p = .06$. These findings were followed up with univariate analyses for each of the dependent variables.

Evaluation of Hard Skills. Scores on the assessment of *hard skills* were analyzed using a 2 (religion) x 3 (training) ANOVA, which revealed a significant main effect for training, $F(2, 86) = 3.39$, $p < .05$ (see Figure 4)[6].

	Canadian	Certified WITH Foreign Training	NOT Certified with Foreign Training
Christian	5.76	5.50	5.56
Muslim	5.84	5.47	4.82

Training

Figure 4. Evaluation of hard skills as a function of religion (Christian, Muslim) and training (Canadian, Certified/Foreign-trained, Not-Certified/Foreign-trained); higher numbers reflect more positive evaluations.

Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustment showed this effect to be driven by the significant difference between the Canadian Trained and Not-Certified/Foreign-trained conditions, $p < .05$. However, this pattern was exclusive to the Muslim applicant,

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[6] Follow up analyses revealed no effects for *participant gender*, *participant religiosity*, or accuracy in *identification of conditions (training and religion)*

who showed a significant dip in his evaluations from Canadian-trained to Not-certified/Foreign-trained, $p < .05$.

Additional exploratory pairwise comparisons within the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition, using Bonferroni adjustments, revealed that the Muslim applicant's *hard skills* were evaluated significantly less favourably than the Christian applicant's hard skills, $p < .05$.

Evaluation of Soft Skills. Ratings of *soft skills* were analyzed using a 2 (religion) x 3 (training) ANOVA. Results revealed a significant interaction, $F (2, 86) 3.98, p < .05$ (see Figure 5)[7].

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[7] Follow up analyses revealed no effects for *participant gender*, *participant religiosity*, or accuracy in *identification of conditions (training and religion)*

	Canadian	Certified WITH Foreign Training	NOT Certified with Foreign Training
Christian	5.13	5.46	5.43
Muslim	5.46	4.90	5.05
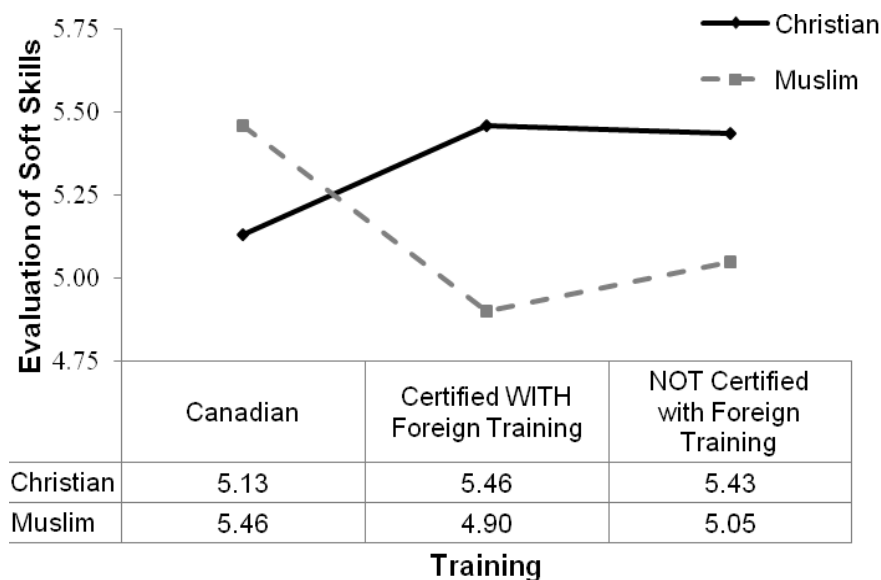
Training

Figure 5. Evaluation of soft skills as a function of religion (Christian, Muslim) and training (Canadian, Certified/Foreign-trained, Not-Certified/Foreign-trained); higher numbers reflect more positive evaluations.

In light of this significant interaction, I conducted a series of pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustments to explore mean differences within the level of each condition. Results are grouped under two subheadings:

Contrasts within training. Tests revealed a significant difference between the Christian and Muslim applicants within the Certified/Foreign-trained condition, such that the Christian was favoured over the Muslim applicant, $p < .05$. No differences emerged for the Christian and Muslim applicants within the Canadian-trained and Not-Certified/Foreign-trained conditions, $p > .05$.

Contrasts within religion. Pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustments within each of the two religion conditions pointed to a significant mean difference between the Muslim as a Canadian-trained and the Muslim as Certified/Foreign-trained applicant $p < .05$. This dip in ratings did not emerge for the Christian applicant, and none of the other pairwise comparisons revealed any significant differences, $p > .05$.

Evaluation of hiring recommendation. A 2 (religious affiliation) x 3 (training) between-subjects ANOVA revealed a marginally significant interaction, $F(2, 86) = 2.60$, $p = .08$ (See Figure 6)[8].

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[8] Follow up analyses revealed no effects for *participant gender*, *participant religiosity*, or accuracy in *identification of conditions (training and religion)*

	Canadian	Certified WITH Foreign Training	NOT Certified with Foreign Training
Christian	4.29	4.93	4.60
Muslim	4.89	4.25	3.86
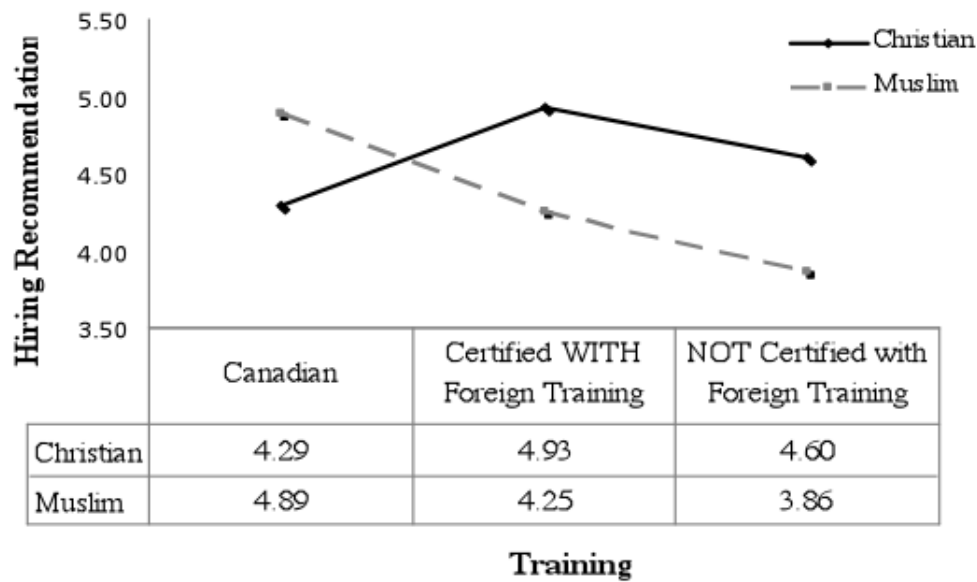
Training

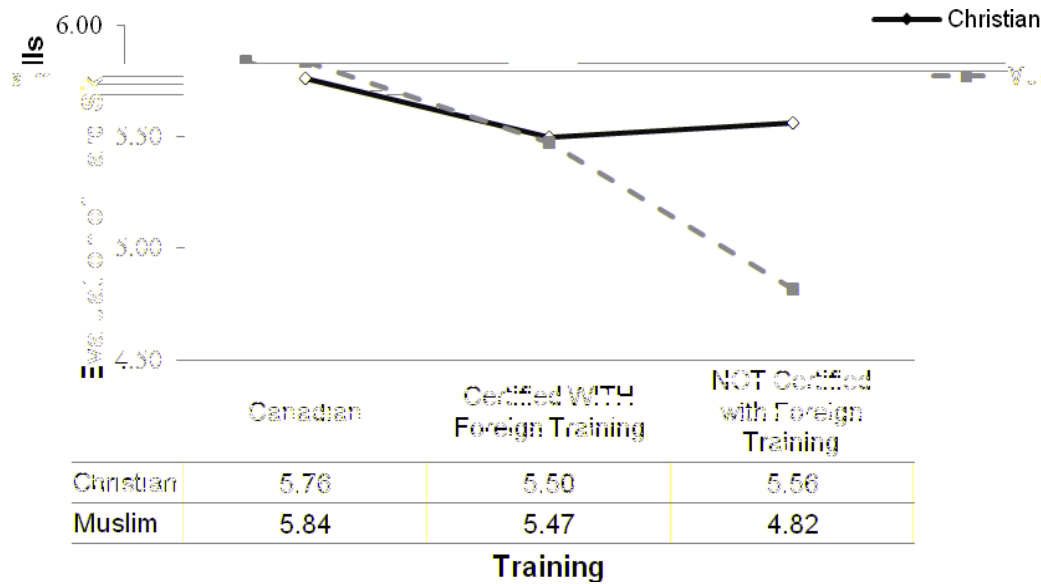Figure 6. Hiring Recommendation as a function of religion (Christian, Muslim) and training (Canadian, Certified/Foreign-trained, Not-Certified/Foreign-trained); higher numbers reflect more positive evaluations.

In light of this marginally significant interaction, a series of pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni adjustments were used to test mean differences within the level of each condition. Results are grouped under two subheadings:

Contrasts within training. Pairwise comparisons revealed no effect of religion on *hiring recommendation* within the 3 training conditions, and the differences between Muslim and Christian candidates were non-significant, $p > .05$.

Contrasts within religion. A marginally significant difference emerged between the Muslim as Canadian-trained versus Not-certified/Foreign-trained ($p = .09$). This finding is interesting because it is not mirrored in the evaluation of the Christian applicant, whose ratings were not affected by changes in training condition, $p > .05$.

Mediation Tests for Hiring Recommendation

Covariate analyses were used to test the mediating effects of six variables: *hard skills, soft skills, respect, affective reactions (admiration and contempt), and perceived similarity*. These variables were entered separately as covariates in 2 (religion) x 3 (training) ANCOVAs for hiring recommendation. Results showed several variables to be mediating the effects of the interaction (religion x training) on *hiring recommendation*; only significant covariates will be discussed below. In the case where the inclusion of the covariate led to the reduction of the interaction to non-significance, follow-up analyses examined the covariate's effect size and changes to pairwise mean comparisons.

Hard Skills. *Hard skills* emerged as a significant covariate $F(1, 85) = 26.60$, $p < .001$. In addition, its inclusion in the ANCOVA led to the disappearance of the marginally significant interaction for *hiring recommendation* ($p = .08 \rightarrow p = .12$) and non-significance of all post hoc comparisons.

Soft Skills. The original interaction effect for *hiring recommendation* became non-significant following the inclusion of soft skills as a covariate ($p = .08 \rightarrow p = .71$). In addition to showing soft skills to be a significant covariate, $F(1, 85) = 56.52$, $p < .002$, results also indicated that significant differences within cells had become non-significant.

Respect. Following the inclusion of *respect* as a covariate, the interaction between religion and training shifted from $p = .08$ to $p = .26$ and all simple main effects became non-significant. As expected, results showed respect to be a significant covariate, $F(1, 85) = 67.80$, $p < .001$.

Admiration. In addition to being a significant covariate, $F(1, 85) = 50.47$, $p <$ .001, *admiration* led to the disappearance of marginally significant effects for both the interaction of religion and training ($p = .08 \rightarrow p = .24$), and the follow-up mean comparisons.

Non-significant covariates. Two variables, *perceived similarity* and *contempt*, emerged as non-significant covariates.

Effect sizes for significant covariates. In an adaptation of a method used by Lewandowski, Aron, and Gee (2007), effect sizes were used to compare the relative effect of the mediators on the dependent variable. Following the inclusion of all significant covariates in a 2 x 3 ANCOVA, the effect sizes were derived and plotted (see Figure 7). Results showed respect to have the strongest effect size, with hard skills being the weakest.
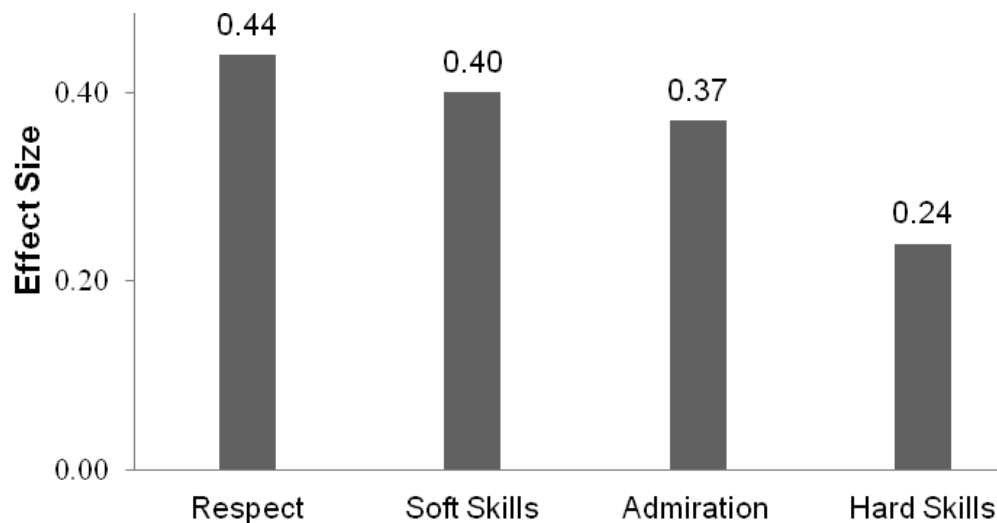
Figure 7. Effect sizes (partial η^2) of significant covariates on the outcome variable *hiring recommendation*, presented by order of strength (strongest to weakest).

Discussion

Evaluation of Hard Skills

Although I predicted an interaction effect for all three dependent variables, findings for assessment of *hard skills* revealed a significant main effect of training. This significant effect was driven by the mean difference between the applicants in the Canadian-trained condition and the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition. In other words, Canadian training is viewed significantly more favourably than foreign training without certification to practice in Canada.

The pattern of findings, particularly as they relate to the equivalence of Certified/Foreign-Trained applicants to Canadian-trained applicants, implies that

certification is a helpful tool for foreign-trained job applicants. Certification programs, many of which are starting to be developed and applied by non-profit organizations and multiple levels of government, may facilitate the evaluation of immigrants' hard skills and improve objectivity in judgement of applicants' education and job experience.

A series of exploratory tests also revealed two findings that pointed to the potential problems of being unable to attain certification. Within the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition, the Muslim's *hard skills* were discounted in comparison to those of the Christian applicant. In addition, the evaluation of his *hard skills* decreased significantly in comparison to the Canadian trained Muslim applicant, whereas the Christian applicant was immune to changes in training condition. Therefore, there is evidence suggesting that being foreign trained with no certification may leave applicants vulnerable to biases in the evaluation of their education and job experience (i.e. their hard skills).

Evaluation of Soft Skills

As expected, the assessment of soft skills was marked by an interaction between the applicant's religious affiliation and training background. While the Christian applicant garnered equivalent ratings across conditions, the same cannot be said for the Muslim applicant. As a Certified/Foreign-trained applicant, the Muslim was rated significantly less favourably than the Christian and the Canadian-trained Muslim. An examination of the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition shows no evidence of a difference between the Christian and Muslim applicants.

Taken together, two patterns of results in the evaluation of soft skills suggest out-group derogation toward the Certified/Foreign-trained Muslim applicant. He was not only discriminated against in comparison to the Christian with identical training, but was also the only applicant to receive significantly lower ratings than his Canadian counterpart.

A re-examination of the findings for hard skills and soft skills shows differences in patterns of discrimination. In the Certified/Foreign-trained condition, where certification provided evidence of the applicant's competence to practice in Canada, hard skill evaluations were on par with Canadian-trained evaluations. That was the opposite case for the evaluation of soft skills within the Certified/Foreign-trained condition, where the Muslim applicant was discriminated against. These results are congruent with a study by Park et al. (2009) which used recruitment staff to evaluate job applicants with a Muslim or non-Muslim sounding name and found that while discrimination on the basis of hard skills was not evident, that was not the case for evaluations with elements of soft skills. According to Park et al. (2009), the subjective element in the evaluation of items such as "ability to progress in the organization" facilitated the expression of recruiters' biases in spite of having earlier given them hard skills evaluations that were on par with non-minority applicants.

In a reversal of the findings in the condition discussion above, the absence of certification in the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition led the Muslim applicant to be rated significantly less favourably on his hard skills, but no differences emerged in the evaluation of soft skills.

In short, the patterns imply that when the applicant's hard skills were certified, providing less room for subjectivity in evaluations, participants expressed bias through the evaluation of soft skills. This pattern was reversed for the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition, where the absence of discrimination on the applicant's soft skills was met with evidence of discrimination in the evaluation of his hard skills.

Hiring Recommendation

I predicted an interaction between religion and training on hiring recommendations, such that evidence of discrimination against the Muslim job applicant would be restricted to the foreign-trained, and not Canadian-trained, conditions. Following the emergence of a marginally significant interaction, pairwise Bonefrroni analyses were conducted to explore the pattern of discrimination.

While there were no significant differences in mean scores on *hiring recommendation* within the training conditions, comparisons between the Muslim Canadian and Muslim Not-certified/Foreign-trained indicated that the possession of foreign training adversely affected the Muslim applicant's evaluation. Furthermore, equivalent comparisons for the Christian applicant revealed no differences in *hiring recommendation* as a function of training.

Therefore, the Muslim foreign-trained applicant who is unable to obtain Canadian certification is less likely to be recommended for hire in comparison to his Canadian counterpart. In contrast, the Christian job applicant is not adversely affected by this foreign training.

Certification to practice in Canada may have positive effects for employment outcomes of immigrants, although it should be noted that this advantage may not be available to all newcomers considering that many professions do not provide certifications while other make them very difficult, and at times near impossible, to obtain (Girard, 2005). As such, it is important to keep in mind that many immigrants who do not belong to regulated professions will not have the option of obtaining a professional designation, and may therefore be unable to provide objective evidence of their qualifications' fit with Canadian practices.

Mechanisms underlying Hiring Recommendation

As reported in the results section, analysis of covariance revealed four mechanisms that can help explain responses on *hiring recommendation.* In addition to being significant covariates (and reducing the overall interaction to non-significance), *hard skills, soft skills, respect,* and *admiration* also reduced the significance of all post hoc contrasts.

Effect sizes (partial etas) were used to compare the relative contribution of each variable to the effect of the interaction (religion x training) on *hiring recommendation.* As is evident in Figure 7, the assessment of hard skills had the smallest effect size, implying that discrimination toward the Muslim is more strongly explained by the evaluation of non-technical elements than the assessment of technical skills.

The relative strength of the soft skills effect size implies that non-technical skills exercised a stronger influence on the decision of whether to recommend the applicant for hire. This falls in line with past research that shows a stronger reliance on soft skills in

employment discrimination, particularly against hiring African Americans who are stereotyped as having poor interpersonal skills (Moss & Tilly, 1996).

Respect showed the largest eta squared. This measure was intended to capture respect as "a type of attitude characterized by feelings of esteem for another that manifest in both highly valuing the person's feelings, thoughts, and behaviours and a willingness to be influenced by that person" (Jackson et al., 2001, pp. 48-49). Jackson et al. found respect to be directly responsible for hiring discrimination against women, and in light of the de-valuation of immigrant skills in Canada and the prevalent stereotype of immigrants as underemployed workers (Bennett-AbuAyyash & Esses, 2010), it was important to extend that research to hiring discrimination toward immigrants. In light of the importance of respect for hiring recommendations, it was not surprising to find that a closely related concept with emphasis on valuing and emulating a target, that of 'admiration', proved to be another significant variable. In sum, the extent to which participants respected and admired the job applicant had a significant impact on the extent to which they would recommend hiring him.

Effect sizes can be a helpful starting point for understanding the relative contribution of several variables, and one conclusion is clear: a myriad of variables underlie the relation between training and religion on one hand, and hiring recommendations on the other. Based on the intuitive association between employment and education, as well as the pre-dominance of hard skills assessment in the literature on employment discrimination, it is easy to focus on hard skills as a predictor of hiring. In contrast, this research has shown that non-technical skills, affective reactions, and respect

toward a job applicant are all important factors. The extent to which they are completely independent constructs is unclear (e.g. respect being rooted in lack of confidence in foreign education), but they also represent important factors to study and address in the fight against immigrant unemployment and underemployment.

General Discussion

This dissertation was composed of two studies. The first study examined the expression of bias in the evaluation of foreign trained applicants, with a particular focus on the distinction between hard skills and soft skills. In addition to including Christian and Muslim as the two religious groups, it included a no-affiliation condition, which allowed this study to draw conclusions about discrimination beyond a Christian-Muslim contrast. Study 2 expanded on Study 1 and used a more diverse sample in terms of age composition and educational background. Additionally, Study 2 examined the effects of removing certification to practice in Canada on participants' evaluations of a job candidate. It also included a hiring recommendation outcome and tested the mediating effects of several variables on hiring, including evaluations of hard and soft skills.

Assessment of the Applicant

Evaluation of hard skills. The two conditions that were common to both studies were Canadian-trained and Certified/Foreign-trained, and although both revealed discrimination toward the Muslim foreign trained applicant, Study 1 results were driven by an interaction and Study 2 results were driven by a main effect of training.

In line with the original predictions, neither study found differences within the Canadian-trained condition. In contrast, the patterns differed within the

(Certified)/Foreign-trained condition between both studies. Study 1 indicated bias in favour of the Christian applicant (see Figure 2), while Study 2 revealed a significant main effect for training, with foreign training garnering lower ratings than Canadian training (see Figure 4). Aside from the significant difference in age composition between the samples of Study 1 and Study 2, t (230) = -4.79, p < .001, Study 2's sample was more diverse in background, and included business and upper year/graduate students in an effort to better represent those making recruitment decisions. Considering that research on this topic is still largely unexplored, it is difficult to resolve the partial inconsistency between Studies 1 & 2, especially when considering that both outcomes can be rationalized with the limited literature that does exist. For example, support for the boost in the evaluation of the Christian applicant's certified hard skills can be found in the field research that suggests that foreign experience can be an advantage (Tillman, 2005), and social psychological research that sharing a common in-group identity can lead to positive evaluations (Crisp & Hewstone, 2000). On the other hand, findings from Study 2 make sense in light of research showing mature participants to be non-discriminatory in the evaluation of hard skills (Park et al., 2009), and the pilot study by Bennett-AbuAyyash, Esses, & Dietz (2010) showing that the inclusion of certification makes a CV equivalent to a Canadian one. In addition, the certification is a definite attestation that a candidate meets Canadian standards, and is therefore a strong tool for ambiguity reduction. Further research is therefore needed to explore the effects of certification on the evaluation of hard skills, particularly when it comes to intergroup contexts.

Despite these differences, it is important to note that bias against the foreign trained Muslim did occur in both studies. In the case of Study 1, the Muslim was at a disadvantage when the Christian applicant received a boost to his ratings. In Study 2, the main effect was driven by the difference between Canadian-trained and No-Certification/Foreign trained conditions, but this difference in ratings only held true for the Muslim applicant.

Evaluation of soft skills. While certification was intended to address the ambiguity surrounding the standards of hard skills, the interview provided participants with information about the applicant's interaction skills. However, discrimination within the Certified/Foreign-trained condition was still evident in both studies and may be understood in light of negative attitudes toward Muslims. The challenge with addressing discrimination in the evaluation of soft skills is their susceptibility to pre-existing biases, especially in the case of Muslims who are generally perceived to be lower on positive personality dimensions and a source of fear, threat, and anger (Ray et al., 2008).

 According to Goldsmith, Sedo, Dartiy, and Hamilton (2004), soft skills are inherent and independent of a candidate's job knowledge, and are seen as less susceptible to change and/or development. In fact, the inclusion of the interview and the ability of the evaluators to directly observe the applicant interacting with the interviewer did not prevent discrimination in either of the two studies. These results are cause for concern in light of Zedeck and Goldstein's (2000) assertion that soft skills are an important part of a job evaluation regardless of the job level being advertised.

Significant differences between the Christian and Muslim applicants in Study 1 and Study 2 illustrated that discrimination in the evaluation of soft skills can arise in the absence of discrimination in the evaluation of hard skills. Indeed, past research has shown similar dissociation in the findings between soft and hard skills (Leigh, Lee, & Lundquist, 1999; Moss & Tilly, 1996; Tews & Tracey, 2008; Thomas, 2003), and can serve as an argument for the importance of considering both in employment studies.

Hiring recommendation. A marginally significant interaction on hiring recommendations implies that the location of training has differential effects on job applicants depending on their religious affiliation. The Muslim was the only applicant to be deemed less employable when he was non-certified and foreign trained. In order to better understand the factors underlying the decision to recommend the job applicant, a series of mediation analyses were carried out. The results pointed to the importance of several factors, thereby highlighting the complexity of immigrants' employment outcomes.

More specifically, hard skills emerged as the covariate with the smallest effect size, suggesting that the evaluation of the applicant's education and work experience holds the relatively weakest sway in the hiring recommendation. In addition, the mediating strength of *respect* and *admiration* imply that the perception of immigrants and the extent to which they are respected and/or admired plays an important role in the evaluation of their potential as hires. These findings consequently raise questions regarding the effects of the prevalent stereotype of skilled immigrants as workers in low-skilled and low-paying jobs; i.e., are these stereotypes adversely affecting hiring

outcomes through their effects on respect and admiration? In fact, research by Bennett-AbuAyyash and Esses (2010) found that the evaluation of immigrant skills and immigrant competence could be improved through advertising only after the stereotypes of immigrants as cab drivers and office cleaners were directly countered with information about the inconsistency between job roles and qualifications. Otherwise, exposure to the stereotype alone produced no improvement in the evaluation of immigrants' competence and skills.

Taken together, these mediators show that meeting the requirements for education and work experience (hard skills) is not sufficient for ensuring employment. Instead, immigrants have to contend with the evaluation of their soft skills and the manner in which they are perceived. These findings are important because they serve as proof that research on hiring should go beyond the evaluation of hard skills, and requires a consideration of social factors surrounding perception of immigrants, including the evaluation of their interpersonal skills.

Implications

Theoretical implications. This research was based on the premise that the ambiguity of foreign training would facilitate and release pre-existing biases against Muslim job applicants. Using the justification suppression model of prejudice (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) as a basis for understanding the dynamics of prejudice expression, it was hypothesized that the phenomenon of immigrant skills discounting could not be fully understood without considering the intersection of ambiguity and religion-based group

membership in the employment outcomes of newcomers to Canada, who are statistically more likely to belong to an ethnic and/or religious minority (Reitz, 2006).

Discrimination was defined as biased behaviour toward a job applicant, regardless of whether it was based on bias favouring the in-group or bias against the outgroup. Both studies showed the Muslim to be disadvantaged in the presence of the ambiguous label "foreign training", whether due to receiving significantly lower ratings in comparison to his Christian counterpart, or in comparison to the Canadian-trained Muslim. Whether due to in-group favouritism or out-group derogation across both studies, it is clear that when differences in evaluation occurred, it was related to foreign training. This lends credence to the assumption that the "foreign" factor is a facilitator of prejudice, and the fact that adding certification can have a discrimination reduction effect implies a link with uncertainty/ambiguity reduction.

In sum, the comprehensiveness of the justification suppression model of prejudice and its emphasis on ambiguity makes it well suited as a framework for understanding our results. Taken together, our findings support the model's emphasis of ambiguity as a factor with detrimental effects for stigmatized targets.

Practical implications. Findings from Study 1 and 2 show different patterns of findings for the Certified/Foreign-trained condition. While noting that Study 1 showed in-group favouritism toward the Christian applicant, both studies showed the Muslim receiving equivalent ratings to those of the Muslim Canadian on his hard skills. Therefore, working toward providing foreign-trained newcomers to Canada with

certification/accreditation is a positive step toward improving evaluations of their hard skills.

With regards to soft skills, the development of interventions is a challenge due to the complexity of factors underlying this variable and the subjective standards that evaluators often employ (Parker et al., 2008). Aside from work-based interventions, research in social psychology can suggest strategies for reducing the effects of biases in the evaluation of applicants' soft skills, including literature on the utility of raising awareness on issues of discrimination (Paluck & Green, 2009).

While certification is a necessary component in addressing immigrant unemployment and underemployment, the results on soft skills and the mechanisms underlying hiring recommendation confirm that newcomers' ability to integrate into the job market is not only about skills recognition. As such, it is perhaps important to not limit the literature on immigrant employment to the term *immigrant skills discounting* ("the devaluing of immigrant skills")(Reitz, 2001) as it only captures part of the challenge being faced by immigrants, and may misconstrue the problem as simply one of skills recognition.

Conclusion and Future Directions

This dissertation primarily relied on measures from racism and sexism research, which can run the risk of ignoring how religious prejudice may differ from other forms of prejudice. I suggest that the combination of two elements – explicit value threat and controllability - make religious-based prejudice relatively unique to other forms of prejudice.

Affiliation with a specific religious group denotes a preference for a specific value system over others, meaning that those who belong to other (outgroup) religions are perceived to be in direct opposition to one's own beliefs/religion (Wood, Hill, & Spilka, 2009). Beyond posing a value threat, religious affiliation is seen as a matter of choice, with the majority of individuals asserting that the adoption of a particular religious affiliation is based on free will (Turner & Lehmann, 2010). Consequently, religious affiliation is perceived to be 'controllable' despite general consensus that we are often socialized into religion at an early age (Turner & Lehmann). Control over one's own choices and groups is an important factor to consider because a body of research has shown that when perceptions of control are high – including for belief systems, weight, sexual orientation, and other often-stigmatized factors - the expression of prejudice is facilitated (see Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2008; Hegarty & Golden, 2008). In similar light, research by Bennett-AbuAyyash, Cheung, and Olson (2011) has shown that describing a target as having free will over a stigmatized status (overweight or having contracted a fictitious illness) increases the levels of support for negative comments and leads to their interpretation as non-prejudicial. Beyond its use for understanding the source and the acceptance of prejudice, the factor of control has also been incorporated into the development of tools for the amelioration of prejudice, such as a campaign for the International Day Against Homophobia that emphasized the message of: "sexual orientation is not a choice" (www.homophobiaday.org).

The importance of studying religious-based prejudice is important from a practical standpoint due to its social relevance. However, this line of research also poses

theoretical importance because it represents an intersection of the research on value threat and controllability, two aspects that have been traditionally studied independently. The study of religious prejudice therefore represents a focus on a novel category of prejudice in an field that has traditionally been dominated by "uncontrollable" categories of membership such as race and gender. Although this dissertation focused on the dynamics of prejudice expression, the origins of this type of prejudice will need to be explored before we gain a deeper understanding of how it operates and the consequent ways we can ameliorate it. Therefore, the type of research covered in this dissertation can greatly benefit from future work on religious prejudice, particularly since the bulk of the current literature on hiring discrimination, unemployment, and underemployment adopts a racism and sexism perspective.

The importance of research on unemployment and underemployment is difficult to understate considering that poor employment outcomes not only lead to the maintenance of shortages in the labour market, but additionally contribute to poverty, frustration, and poor psychological well-being for immigrants who had relocated in search of a better life (e.g., Aycan & Berry, 1996; Price, Choi, & Vinokur, 2002; Turner, 1995). Feeling that one is excluded from the labour market and a target of discrimination can lead to marginalization, lack of trust, lower identification with the host country, and can threaten social cohesion (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007).

Given the importance of this topic to public policy makers, Canada's growing immigrant population, and its implications for discrimination research, the topic of

discrimination in immigrant employment has a wealth of questions that are in need of being addressed in the future.

First, it would be important to study the effects of more explicit displays of religious affiliation. Previous works have suggested that a major determinant of who is most vulnerable to anti-Islamic abuse may be the degree to which the individual is visibly identified as Muslim (Allen & Nielsen, 2002). It follows that women may be more likely than men to encounter discrimination on the basis of their Muslim identity since wearing a hijab would convey this identity visually (Allen & Nielsen). Beyond research showing that wearing the hijab increases hiring discrimination against women (Unkelback, Schneider, Gode, & Senft, 2010), wearing a headscarf may also affect perceptions of competence of job fit. For example, Mahmud and Swami (2009) asked 57 men to rate a number of women on an array of attributes, including intelligence. After giving them images of women who were either unveiled or wore the hijab, they found that veiled women were rated as less intelligent. Looking at the effects of the hijab would therefore be an interesting direction for the research on employment of Muslim immigrants to take. More particularly, that line of research could answer questions regarding gender differences in hiring, and the effects of the hijab on the evaluation of soft skills (for example, are these women perceived to be submissive employees and not fit for leadership roles?).

While this study looked at Muslim applicants in particular, the reality of immigration means that newcomers are often likely to be perceived as culturally different, which raises the question of how policy makers can address this potential

barrier to employment. While certification is important, these studies suggest that it may be only part of the story behind the unemployment and underemployment of Canadian immigrants. According to King and Ahmad (2010), Muslims who engage in anti-stereotypical behaviour are less likely to be targets of interpersonal prejudice. Based on existing research showing Arabs to be seen as low on warmth (Fiske et al., 2002) and anti-Western sentiments, the promotion of Canadian volunteer experience for Muslim immigrants may be one means of combating stereotypes of the "other" and "unwilling to integrate". This would be in line with federal government-funded programs that attempt to enhance immigrants' experiences in Canada by encouraging volunteerism (e.g. http://www.albertacanada.com/immigration/enjoying/rec-volunteering.aspx).

An important extension of this research would be to conduct additional studies on how certification affects the evaluation of hard skills, particularly in the case of religious and ethnic minority immigrants. The findings from both studies revealed different patterns, raising the importance of further replications to examine whether it is the case that foreign training is an added advantage for applicants with a common "in-group" identity (consistent with the results of Study 1) or whether it can help reduce discrimination in comparison to the Not-certified/Foreign-trained condition (consistent with the results of Study 2). A related line of research can look at the implications of foreign credentials for Canadians, by examining the effects of education and/or work experience abroad on Canadians' job prospects. This would provide insights into the interaction between training and citizenship. For example, if results show that Canadians trained abroad are still competitive and employable in the Canadian job market whereas

immigrants trained abroad are not, we can conclude that the mere fact of being non-Canadian contributes to un(der)employment beyond education and experience.

Finally, research into the distinction between hard skills and soft skills is intended to ultimately understand the employment experiences of foreign trained workers. As such, their importance resides in understanding how each contributes to immigrants' job-related outcomes. Study 2 was a step in that exploration, but further work is needed to understand what factors outside both skills contribute to outcomes, and how the inclusion/exclusion of an interview would affect hiring recommendations.

The success of Canada's immigration policies does not stop at attracting immigrants, but extends to ensuring that newcomers have opportunities to integrate into the workforce. Studies show that this is a necessary precursor to all other integration outcomes (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007), and is therefore a policy issue that cannot be overstated. Conducting research on barriers to securing employment is important from both economic and social justice perspectives. From a social justice point of view, workers from countries with developing economies are often encouraged to immigrate to North American and European countries where their skills are needed, leading to acute brain drain in many regions of the world (Krotz, 2008). Host countries therefore have a responsibility to ensure that skilled newcomers who have been encouraged to immigrate realize their potential, and fulfill the goal of a better life in their second home.

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Appendix A: Cover Letter

PLEASE READ IN FULL

In most business organizations, Human Resource Managers are the initial contact between job applicants and the organization. The evaluation of applicants is one critical task that Human Resources Managers fulfill. On the basis of the evaluation strategies, Human Resources Managers select and shortlist job candidates for the organization; this is a difficult and important task that is necessary for efficiently screening candidates.

To increase the scientific knowledge of applicant evaluations, we are undertaking this study on the effects of resume content and interview performance on how applicants are evaluated. In the course of this exercise we will ask you to perform an applicant evaluation task similar to that recently performed by Human Resource Managers, as a measure of your skill in this area. Your co-operation is exceedingly important in terms of advancing scientific knowledge in this area, and completing this exercise may make you aware of issues you need to consider for your own future job applications.

In order to ensure that you have sufficient information to evaluate the applicant, here is a brief description of the 'Kinesiologist' position: the general purpose of the field of kinesiology is to optimize health and performance and prevent injury and illness by gaining a better understanding of human movement and physiology. Basically, a Kinesiologist evaluates physical activity-related matters and recommends solutions in health, sports, rehabilitation, and many other settings.

The exercise consists of several stages. Following the presentation of an advertisement for a Kinesiologist position, you will receive a resume and observe a taped interview of one of the applicants for this position. Then you will receive a set of questions regarding your perception of the applicant and his/her qualifications and suitability for the position. **Please pay attention to the instructions very carefully. It is essential that you complete the exercise independently.**

We guarantee you complete confidentiality. Thus, please be as honest and open as possible in answering each of the questions asked. We are interested in your true thoughts and feelings. Thank you very much for your help; it is important. Please remember: (a) to read all instructions very carefully and (b) to complete the exercise independently.

Prev   Next

Appendix B: Job Advertisement

Maximal Care Clinic

KINESIOLOGIST (LOCATION: BRAMPTON, CANADA)

We are a leading provider of health-care services for individuals seeking rehabilitation and consultation on active living. Maximal Care offers a variety of customized programs designed and implemented by our qualified and highly specialized staff of managers, medical doctors and kinesiologists. As a Kinesiologist, you will be part of health care services team working with highly trained professionals and valuable patients on programs of therapy and rehabilitation. Job duties include conducting fitness assessments and assisting in development and execution of rehabilitative/fitness counseling programs. The required certification and professional skills must be supplemented by relationship-building and interpersonal skills. As such, excellent people skills are important for interacting with employees and for handling customer relations (responding to requests, answering questions, and handling complaints). You must be able to think critically, solve problems efficiently, excellent communication skills, and be innovative and open to new ideas. Maximal Care aims to retain its client base, attract new patients, and promote a positive work environment.

Position Summary:
- Interacting with patients in a health-care environment
- Assisting in patient, client, and family education
- Maintaining constructive communication with colleagues
- Participating in team meetings regarding the planning and implementation of patient care
- Maintaining clear and concise records of patients and their progress

Qualifications:
- **Education:** BSc Kinesiology (or BSc Physical Therapy)
- **Experience:** 2-4 years experience
- **General Skills:**
  - Ability to prioritize and manage time efficiently
  - Ability to work in groups and independently
  - Readiness to follow directions and co-operate.
  - Ability to promote a relaxing environment for patients
  - Computer application use (mainly Windows-based)

The Company Offers:
- Competitive wages
- Health and dental insurance
- Day Care
- Flextime

Your interest in this opportunity is appreciated. Only applicants under consideration will be contacted.

Appendix C: Sample Resume

Adam Fodos

Place & Date of Birth

Larnaka, Cyprus- November 1981

Education

| 2004 | *UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS* | Nicosia, Cyprus |

B.Sc. Physical Therapy

Training

| 2004-2005 | *SPECIAL NEEDS CLINIC- UNIVERSITY OF CYPRUS* | Nicosia, Cyprus |

Physiotherapy Intern
- Conducted physiotherapy sessions with children who have mobility problems
- Helped design rehabilitation programs that facilitating integration of children into public schools

Professional Employment

| 2005-2008 | *CENTRAL HOSPITAL* [*Rehabilitation Ward*] | Nicosia, Cyprus |

Physiotherapist
- Part of team responsible for researching and recommending therapy programs
- Implementation of rehabilitative physiotherapy with patients of strokes, accidents, trauma
    + Assisting with stretching routines   + Setting up equipment
    + Motivating patients to progress with program
- Attendance and participation in national conferences

Memberships & Certifications

- Licensed to practice by the Ontario Kinesiology Association and the Canadian Kinesiology Alliance
- First Aid certification

Extracurricular Activities

| 2001-2004 | University of Cyprus- Christian Student Union | Nicosia, Cyprus |

Hobbies: Cycling, swimming, and reading

Additional Qualifications

- Computer skills (Microsoft Works, Microsoft Word, Microsoft Excel)
- Interpersonal and communication skills

References available upon request

Appendix: D: Evaluation of Hard Skills

In this part of the assessment, you will be asked to evaluate <u>two distinct indicators of whether the job applicant is suited for the job</u>: 1. past education and 2. past job experience

Overall, please rate the applicant's <u>past education</u>:

	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1	2	3	4	5	6	STRONGLY AGREE 7
Overall, the **quality** of the applicant's education for the kinesiologist position is high	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, the applicant's education puts them in a position to be a **good performer** on the job	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The applicant's education prepares them well for **understanding** complex health care problems and procedures	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, the applicant's education is **suitable** for the kinesiologist position	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Overall, please rate the applicant's <u>past job experience</u>:

	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1	2	3	4	5	6	STRONGLY AGREE 7
Overall, the applicant's job experience is **suitable** for the kinesiologist position	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The applicant's job experience prepares them well for **understanding** complex health care problems and procedures	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, the applicant's job experience puts them in a position to be a **good performer** on the job	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, the **quality** of the applicant's job experience for the kinesiologist position is high	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Overall, the applicant is **well-qualified** for the advertised position	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix E: Evaluation of Soft Skills

Based on the interview, please rate your perception of the applicant on the dimensions below by choosing the number that best corresponds to your answer:

	VERY LOW						VERY HIGH
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ambition	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Critical thinking	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Analytical skills	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Integrity	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Social Skills	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Likely to conform to organizational norms	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Professionalism	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Rapport with interviewer	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Hardworking	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix F: Hiring Recommendation

How strongly would you recommend hiring the applicant for the advertised position?

◯ 1   ◯ 2   ◯ 3   ◯ 4   ◯ 5   ◯ 6   ◯ 7

NOT AT ALL   EXTREMELY

Appendix G: Respect Measure

Please state your agreement with the following statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree):

	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1	2	3	4	5	6	STRONGLY AGREE 7
The applicant should be respected	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I do not respect this applicant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I respect this applicant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would value this applicant's opinion	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I look down on this applicant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I value this applicant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would not value this applicant's opinion	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
This applicant is submissive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel confident about this applicant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix H: Affective Reactions Measure

The job applicant makes you feel...

	NOT AT ALL 1	2	3	4	5	6	EXTREMELY 7
1. Admiring	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Fond	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Inspired	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Proud	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Respectful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Angry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Ashamed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Contemptuous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Disgusted	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Frustrated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Hateful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Resentful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Uneasy	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix I: Perception of Similarity

Please state your agreement with the following statements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 10 (Strongly Agree).

The job applicant and I share...

	STRONGLY DISAGREE 1	2	3	4	5	6	STRONGLY AGREE 7
Similarity in attitudes towards work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Similarity in approaches to problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Similarity in beliefs about how people should be treated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Overall similarity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Appendix J: Ethics Approval

Department of Psychology The University of Western Ontario
Room 7418 Social Sciences Centre,
London, ON, Canada N6A 5C1
Telephone: (519) 661-2067 Fax: (519) 661-3961

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	10 04 08	Approval Date	10 04 28
Principal Investigator	Vicki Esses/Caroline Bennett-AbuAyyash	End Date	10 08 31
Protocol Title	How do students evaluate job applicants		
Sponsor	n/a		

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human
Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and
regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/)

to the University's

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

be initiated without prior
r when the change(s) involve
er etc). Subjects must receive a

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone numbe copy of the information/consent documentation.

ly;

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:
a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the stud
b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

uitment advertisement, the
B for approval.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recr
newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PRE

st, do not participate in

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of intere
discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.

Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

pker

The other members of the 2009-2010 PREB are: David Dozois, Bill Fisher, Riley Hinson and Steve Lu

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Western

Use of Human Subjects - Ethics Approval Notice

Review Number	10 09 01	Approval Date	10 09 01
Principal Investigator	Vicki Esses/Caroline Bennett-AbuAyyash	End Date	10 12 20
Protocol Title	How do students evaluate job applicants?		
Sponsor	n/a		

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Department of Psychology Research Ethics Board (PREB) has granted expedited ethics approval to the above named research study on the date noted above.

The PREB is a sub-REB of The University of Western Ontario's Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. (See Office of Research Ethics web site: http://www.uwo.ca/research/ethics/)

This approval shall remain valid until end date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the University's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

During the course of the research, no deviations from, or changes to, the protocol or consent form may be initiated without prior written approval from the PREB except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazards to the subject or when the change(s) involve only logistical or administrative aspects of the study (e.g. change of research assistant, telephone number etc). Subjects must receive a copy of the information/consent documentation.

Investigators must promptly also report to the PREB:
a) changes increasing the risk to the participant(s) and/or affecting significantly the conduct of the study;
b) all adverse and unexpected experiences or events that are both serious and unexpected;
c) new information that may adversely affect the safety of the subjects or the conduct of the study.

If these changes/adverse events require a change to the information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment advertisement, the newly revised information/consent documentation, and/or advertisement, must be submitted to the PREB for approval.

Members of the PREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussion related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the PREB.
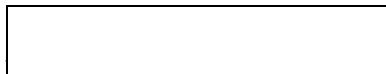
Clive Seligman Ph.D.

Chair, Psychology Expedited Research Ethics Board (PREB)

The other members of the 2009-2010 PREB are: David Dozois, Bill Fisher, Riley Hinson and Steve Lupker

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files

Appendix K: Curriculum Vitae

Name	Caroline Bennett-AbuAyyash
Post-secondary education And degrees	The American University of Beirut BA - Public Administration and Political Science Beirut, Lebanon 1997- 2000
	The University of Western Ontario MSc - Psychology London, Ontario, Canada 2004-2006
	The University of Western Ontario PhD – Psychology with specialization in migration studies London, Ontario, Canada 2006-2011
Honours and Awards	Harold Crabtree Award in Public Policy (co-recipient: Dr. V Esses) (2011)
	Province of Ontario Graduate Scholarship (2009-2011)
	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Fellowship (2008-2009)
Related Work Experience	Dalmas A. Taylor Public Policy Fellow 2011 Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
	Teaching Assistant 2004-2008 The University of Western Ontario

Selected Publications

Bennett-AbuAyyash, C, & Esses, V. M. (2011, January). *Using advertising to improve attitudes toward immigrant skills: Are emotions enough?* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, San Antonio, TX.

Esses. V.M., Jackson, L.M., & Bennett-AbuAyyash, C. (2011). Intergroup competition. In J.F. Dovidio, M. Hewstone, P. Glick, & V.M. Esses (Eds.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination*. Sage: London, England.

Bennett-AbuAyyash, C., Esses, V.M., & Hamilton, L.K. (2010). Religious prejudice, accreditation of foreign-acquired skills, and the evaluation of immigrants' hard and soft skills. In *Research Capsules: Select Expert Research on Foreign Credential Recognition in Canada.* Citizenship and Immigration Canada.